UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

LOCATING THE AGENCY OF ARCHITECTURE: A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION'S HIRSHHORN MUSEUM AND SCULPTURE GARDEN IN WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

ANGELA M. PERSON
Norman, Oklahoma
2016

Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/34627

LOCATING THE AGENCY OF ARCHITECTURE:
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION'S
HIRSHHORN MUSEUM AND SCULPTURE GARDEN IN
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

BY

_____
Dr. Robert Rundstrom, Chair

_____
Dr. Stephanie Pilat

_____
Dr. Karl Offen

_____
Dr. Darren Purcell

_____
Dr. Laurel Smith

© Copyright by ANGELA M. PERSON 2016
All Rights Reserved.

To Nick and Nora.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my advisor, Robert Rundstrom, for his encouragement, thoughtful comments, and sustained curiosity about the Hirshhorn over the years. Especially in the months leading up to my defense, he provided me with the structure and sense of rigor I needed to write and polish the final chapters. I also thank my committee members, Stephanie Pilat, Karl Offen, Darren Purcell, and Laurel Smith, for their thorough readings of this dissertation, their thoughtful comments, and their lively conversation during the defense. I thank the Department of Geography and Environmental Sustainability and the Smithsonian Institution Office of Facilities Management and Reliability for their professional and financial support. My colleagues at DGES and SI, especially Matt McNair and Judie Cooper, were especially wonderful.

I also thank the archivists at the Smithsonian Archives and the National Capital Planning Commission, as well as the librarians at the Smithsonian Libraries and the University of Oklahoma Libraries, for their support in locating valuable sources. Finally, this project would not have been possible without the support of Chris Wailoo of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, as well as the many other Hirshhorn staff who shared their time and expertise with me as this project unfolded.

I especially thank my sister, Kristin Minner, for photographing the Hirshhorn and for helping with interview transcription. I also thank Molly Grubb for her capable transcription assistance. Thanks are due to Chie Sakakibara for providing valuable translation assistance. To Nick and Nora; my mom, Lisa; my grandmother, Nancy; my amazing in-laws; my good friends Kallie, Emily, and Dorothy; as well as countless others: Thank you all for your patience and encouragement throughout this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents v

List of Figures viii

List of Tables ix

Abstract x

Section 1: Overview of the Study 1

Chapter 1: Introduction 2
Purpose of this Study 5
Overview of the Dissertation 6
Significance of this Scholarship 10

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework 12
Geographies of Architecture 12
Geographic Understandings of Place 18
Architectural Geographic Understandings of Affect 20
Architectural Geographic Understandings of Identity 22
Hirshhorn Study in Relation to Recent Literature 24

Chapter 3: Methods 25
Ethnographic Research 26
Field Observations 28
Participant Selection 30
Questionnaires 33
Polyvocal Interviews with Photo-elicitation 34
Autophotography and Discontinuous Writing 36
Web 2.0 Data Collection 37
Archival Research 39

Chapter 4: Study Site 42
Study Site Selection 42
The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden 45
Situated Knowledge 50

Section 2: Intersections of Hirshhorn and Individual Identities 60

Chapter 5: Feelings of, Feelings in, and Feelings about Buildings 61
Introduction 61
Data and Analysis 64
Summary 68

Chapter 6: Introduction: The Feel of Buildings 69
The Feel of: Staff Perceptions 72
The Feel of: Visitor Perceptions 82
The Feel of: Summary 94

Chapter 7: Feelings in the Hirshhorn 121
Introduction: Feelings in Buildings 121
Feelings in: Staff Perceptions 122
Feelings in: Visitor Perceptions 134
Feelings in: Summary 141

Chapter 8: Feelings about the Hirshhorn 121
Introduction: Feelings about Buildings 121
Feelings about: Staff Perceptions 122
Feelings about: Visitor Perceptions 134
Feelings about: Summary 141

Section 3: The Hirshhorn as a Living Building 142

Chapter 9: The Hirshhorn as a Living Building 143
Meeting the World 147
Signs of Life 160
Purposeful Crafting 178
Summary 198

Section 4: Conclusions 200

Chapter 10: Conclusions 201
Summary of the Dissertation 202
The Future of the Hirshhorn 206
The Future of Architectural Geography 209
Toward an Empathetic Architecture 210

References 211

Appendices 226

Appendix A: Study Questionnaire 226

Appendix B: In-Depth Interview Protocol 236

Appendix C: Photo-Elicitation Protocol 239

Appendix D: Solicited Journal and Photography Protocol 252
Follow-up interview protocol 254

Appendix E: TripAdvisor Reviewer Information 256

Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by U.S. State, District, or Territory of Residence 270
Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by Country of Residence 272
Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by Age/Gender..... 273

Appendix F: Interview Transcript Code Book 274

Appendix G: TripAdvisor Data Code Book 276

Appendix H: Selected Interview Transcript Excerpts 277
Participant 1M, Excerpt 277
Participant 5M, Excerpt 280

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Hirshhorn's proposed seasonal inflatable pavilion 3
Figure 2. Hirshhorn Museum 4
Figure 3. The Smithsonian Castle 4
Figure 4. Hirshhorn Museum in the context of the National Mall 8
Figure 5. "Song 1" 9
Figure 6. "Belief+Doubt" 10
Figure 7. Hirshhorn Museum, view from the southeast 45
Figure 8. View of the Hirshhorn's interior plaza, facing north 46
Figure 9. View of the third floor balcony and its accompanying windows 47
Figure 10. View of the wedge-shaped lobby space from the northwest. 48
Figure 11. Aerial view of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden 49
Figure 12. Section of the Hirshhorn Museum and Scultpure Garden. 50
Figure 13. Plan of second and third levels. 51
Figure 14. "Palimpsest," by Ann Hamilton and Kathryn Clark. 57
Figure 15. Core affect model 70
Figure 16. Affect observed among Smithsonian and Hirshhorn Museum staff 73
Figure 17. Artist Peter Coffin's "Untitled (Big Dog)" 75
Figure 18. Affect observed among TripAdvisor reviews of the Hirshhorn 82
Figure 19. Food trucks lined up near the Hirshhorn 102
Figure 20. Warhol's "Shadows" at the Dia:Beacon and at the Hirshhorn 103
Figure 21. Yves Klein's "With the Void, Full Powers," shown at the Hirshhorn 105
Figure 22. Hiroshi Sugimoto: History of History, shown at the Hirshhorn 105
Figure 23. Workers evacuate after the magnitude 5.0 earthquake 107
Figure 24. The Hirshhorn's brand recognition campaign 112
Figure 25. The view from the Lerner Room's windows 113
Figure 26. The Burghers of Calais in the Hirshhorn Sculpture Garden 118
Figure 27. The ARTLAB+, located underground 129
Figure 28. The ARTLAB+ online homepage 131
Figure 29. "Woman, Sag Harbor" (1964), by Willem de Kooning 133
Figure 30. Winning design for the Smithsonian Museum of Modern Art 148
Figure 31. The Army Medical Museum and Library 150
Figure 32. Designs for the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden 152
Figure 33. "The Museum of the Future," published in the *Washington Post* 160
Figure 34. "Futuristic touch," published in the *Washington Post* 161
Figure 35. Comparison of the Hirshhorn Museum and a bunker 163
Figure 36. Brochure from the Hirshhorn Museum's opening 164
Figure 37. Hirshhorn Museum opening exhibition posters 166
Figure 38. Kenneth Noland's "Beginning" and poster featuring the artwork 169
Figure 39. Spring Bridal Shoot at the Hirshhorn, *Washington Star News* 171
Figure 40. Promotional images of Song 1 180
Figure 41. Barbara Kruger's "Belief+Doubt" 184
Figure 42. Disney Concert Hall and Tate Modern 190
Figure 43. Conceptual model and rendering of the Seasonal Inflatable Pavilion 193

.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Examples of Hirshhorn-Sanctioned and Non-Sanctioned, and Visitor-Planned and Unplanned Interactions with the Museum's Built Environment 173

Table 2. TripAdvisor Reviewer Data 256

Table 3. TripAdvisor Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by U.S. State, District, or Territory of Residence 270

Table 4. TripAdvisor Ratings of the Hirshhorn by Country of Residence 272

Table 5. TripAdvisor Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by Age and Gender 273

ABSTRACT

Through my fieldwork and interviews at the Hirshhorn Museum in Washington, D.C., as well as archival research, this study explores the complex relationships between the building, its staff, and its visitors. In this study, I focus on specific ways the building influences affect, memory, and judgments, as well as how people influence the building's embodiment as a living organism. In Chapter 2, I present the conceptual framework for this study that is grounded in architectural geography literature, which includes understandings of place, affect, and identity. In Chapter 3, I describe my mixed-method, ethnographic approach to this study, including in-depth interviews, photo-elicitation, questionnaires, site observations, Web 2.0 data collection, and archival research. In Chapter 4, I describe the study site, including my rationale for identifying the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden as the sole focus of this study. This chapter also situates my own feelings of, in and about the Hirshhorn Museum.

The second section of this dissertation explores intersections of Hirshhorn and individual identities over the course of four chapters. Chapter 5 introduces a tripartite conceptual framework specific to understanding individuals' feelings of, in, and about buildings. In addition, this chapter introduces the two key questions asked in Section 2:

1. What does discourse about the Hirshhorn's architecture reveal about its relationship to people in terms of its social, environmental, and emotional affects?
2. What are the implications of these outcomes for the Hirshhorn museum's own identity?

In answering these questions, the following three chapters attend to the feel of the Hirshhorn, feelings in the Hirshhorn, and feelings about the Hirshhorn.

Chapter 6, "The Feel of the Hirshhorn," uses the core affect model to document

affect, in the form of moods elicited at the Hirshhorn. This chapter maps the moods of staff and visitors onto the four quadrants of the model, finding that both staff and visitors experience moods that rest within each quadrant, but to varying degrees (activated-pleasant; pleasant-deactivated; deactivated-unpleasant; unpleasant-activated). The results show that, in many cases, the Hirshhorn's built environment provides positive feedback, amplifying feelings of those who work in and visit the place.

Chapter 7, "Feelings in the Hirshhorn," demonstrates that memories, both dramatic and mundane, influence feelings in the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment. These memories, which may be formed as a result of interactions with the Hirshhorn, itself, or with other places, differ in the ways they influence feelings in the building for staff and for visitors. For staff, these memories often relate to their daily routines, to memorable art exhibitions that have been installed in the museum, to significant events that occurred in the building, and to their experiences in other museums. For visitors, these memories relate to memories of escaping the bustle of the National Mall, looking at both art and architecture, and experiencing nature.

Chapter 8, "Feelings about the Hirshhorn," draws on the previous discussions of affect and memory to assemble an understanding of the judgments staff and visitors make in relation to the Hirshhorn's built environment. I find that staff tend to frame the building more negatively than visitors in their discourse about its aesthetic and function. These judgments—for example, labeling the building as "forbidding" or "welcoming," "fun" or "boring"—contribute to the sense of place that people understand to exist inside and outside of the Hirshhorn. Broadly speaking, among both staff and visitors there is a sense that the Hirshhorn is an otherworldly place.

Section 3 describes how the Hirshhorn functions as a living building. In Chapter 9, I answer the question: What specific processes allow the Hirshhorn to *gain momentum* as a living building? Specifically, I find that the Hirshhorn has gained momentum through the processes of political debate and controversy, grand ceremonies, intense media coverage, and its dynamic interactions with staff and visitors, especially staff members' careful crafting of its spaces over time. As I trace the Hirshhorn's life, and its growing momentum, I note that the human attachment of bonds to the building demonstrated the integration, co-constitution, and co-dependency between people and things. Through these bonds, the building, itself, becomes "deadening" or "playful," for example. As these characteristics are transferred to the building, they have also become a part of the Hirshhorn's identity as a changing, malleable organism.

I close with Section 4, "Conclusions," in which I describe the implications of this study for the future of both the Hirshhorn Museum, as well as for the sub-discipline of architectural geography. I also posit that "empathetic architecture"— buildings that understand and respect the feelings of their occupants and the communities in which they live—is a valid aim as we consider the future of our built environments.

Section 1: Overview of the Study

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2009, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden announced its multi-million dollar, 150-foot-tall seasonal inflatable structure project, thereafter known to the public as the "Bubble" (Fig. 1). From the outside, this conceptually and structurally complex feature, one which would inhabit the building's inner ring for part of each year in order to host special events, appeared to be an exciting addition to the Hirshhorn's architectural space. Hirshhorn director Richard Kosahelek believed the project would serve as "an international think tank on art and culture, and a way to curate public space" (O'Neal Parker 2013). Despite these grand intentions, the Hirshhorn museum's staff was widely divided over the merits of the project and its relationship to the museum's identity and mission.

By 2013, amidst the resignations of several museum board members and growing fears over the cost of the project, Koshalek also resigned, and the "Bubble" project was laid to rest after its four divisive years of planning. The failure of this trademark project left the Hirshhorn and its parent organization, the Smithsonian Institution, to continue its search for ways the Hirshhorn building could achieve, in the words of Smithsonian Undersecretary Richard Kurin, "a lightness of being and less bunker mentality." This tension between the desire for lightness and the building's existing bunker-like characteristics has, in some respects, plagued the Hirshhorn building since the inception of its design. It is a powerful metaphor for this study, which documents and describes staff members' and visitors' relationships to the Hirshhorn's brutalist architecture.



Figure 1. Model of Hirshhorn Museum with the proposed seasonal inflatable pavilion (wamu.org)

The Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden was constructed between 1969 and 1974, on the National Mall at the intersection of 7th Street Southwest and Independence Avenue. Architect Gordon Bunshaft envisioned his Hirshhorn building as a "large piece of functional sculpture" ("History of the Hirshhorn"). This sculptural building was constructed to house the extensive collection of contemporary art that uranium mining investor Joseph Hirshhorn bequeathed to the U.S. government's Smithsonian Institution in 1966. Like other prominent brutalist buildings in Washington, D.C., the Hirshhorn faced immediate criticism following its construction. Well-known architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable wrote that,

> [the building] is known around Washington as the bunker or gas tank, lacking only gun emplacements or an Exxon sign… It totally lacks the essential factors of aesthetic strength and provocative vitality that make genuine 'brutalism' a positive and rewarding style. This is born-dead, neo-penitentiary modern. Its mass is not so much aggressive or overpowering as merely leaden. (Huxtable 1974)



Figure 2. Hirshhorn Museum (author's image)



Figure 3. The Smithsonian Castle (si.edu)

The Hirshhorn (Fig. 2) bears stark contrast to the buildings that pre-date it on the National Mall, whose neoclassical and Victorian forms align more readily with tourists' visions of Washington, D.C. (Fig. 3). This severe contrast is, in large part, what initially attracted me to the Hirshhorn when I was selecting a study site. In addition to its unusual appearance that often elicits strong reactions from passersby and its high-profile location on the National Mall, this building also appealed to my academic background in museum studies. The Hirshhorn building houses an organization whose mission is built around "creating meaningful, personal experiences in which art, artists, audiences and ideas converge" ("Artists + Art + Audience"), and as such allows for consideration of how characteristics of its architectural space intersect with the museum's organizational identity.

Purpose of this Study

This study stems from my fieldwork in Washington, D.C., between 2012 and 2013, and archival research related to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden. This dissertation research analyzes staff, visitor, and media discourse pertaining to the design, construction, and dynamic inhabitation of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden. This analysis contributes to new ways of understanding how multiple identities—both architectural and human—are mutually constituted over time. The discourse analyzed in this study was collected from participant observation, Web 2.0 sources, and the use of questionnaires and in-depth interviews. This study is also informed by archival research at the Smithsonian Institution Archives, the National Capital Planning Commission Archives, and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture

Garden library, in addition to archives available through the University of Oklahoma library system. By triangulating these accounts, as well as my own observations, this analytical study describes and analyzes how individuals, as well as the Hirshhorn Museum organization, have perceived of and related to this architectural place from its founding in the mid-1960s to today.

This dissertation research contributes to existing architectural geographic analysis by documenting and describing relationships between architecture and identity formation in multiple dimensions, including affect, memory, and judgment. Specifically, this study takes into account the entangled constitution of architectural, individual, and community identities.

Overview of the Dissertation

Introductory Matter

Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, outline the conceptual framework and research methods underlying this dissertation project. Chapter 2 begins with a description of the academic origins of contemporary architectural geography, a sub-discipline of cultural geography that has changed dramatically over the past 25 years. In support of these evolving architectural geographic perspectives, Chapter 2 also reviews pertinent literature related to geographic understandings of place, affect, and identity construction. Chapter 3 describes my fieldwork, data collection, and methods of analysis. It also includes an overview of several specific facets of this ethnographic study, including questionnaires, interviews, and photo-elicitation, as well as exercises in autophotography and discontinuous writing. Chapter 4 provides a brief overview of the

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden site. This information related to the Hirshhorn's historical and physical contexts is important to understanding the findings of this study described in the following sections.

Study Results

Following the introductory matter, this study's results are presented in two sections: Section 2, which documents and describes individual feelings of, in, and about the building; and Section 3, which describes how the Hirshhorn has gained momentum as a living building over time (Strebel 2011).

Section 2 (Chapters 5-8) considers ways the Hirshhorn Museum building specifically affects individual identity formation. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the intellectual foundation and methods specific to this section on feelings of, in, and about the Hirshhorn. Chapter 6, "The Feel of the Hirshhorn," identifies varying types of affect, as experienced by staff and visitors at the Hirshhorn, per the core affect model (Posner et al. 2005; Russell 1980). Chapter 7, "Feelings in the Hirshhorn," looks at the role of memory in shaping staff and visitors' experiences of the Hirshhorn's built environment. Chapter 8, "Feelings about the Hirshhorn," describes the influence of judgment in staff and visitors' experiences of the Hirshhorn Museum building.

Section 3, "The Hirshhorn as a Living Building," (Chapter 9), documents important processes through which the Hirshhorn has gained momentum as a living building (Strebel 2011). These processes, which span from the 1960s to today, have enabled the Hirshhorn Museum building to exist as a powerful agent which influences both individuals and its broader contexts, including the Smithsonian Institution

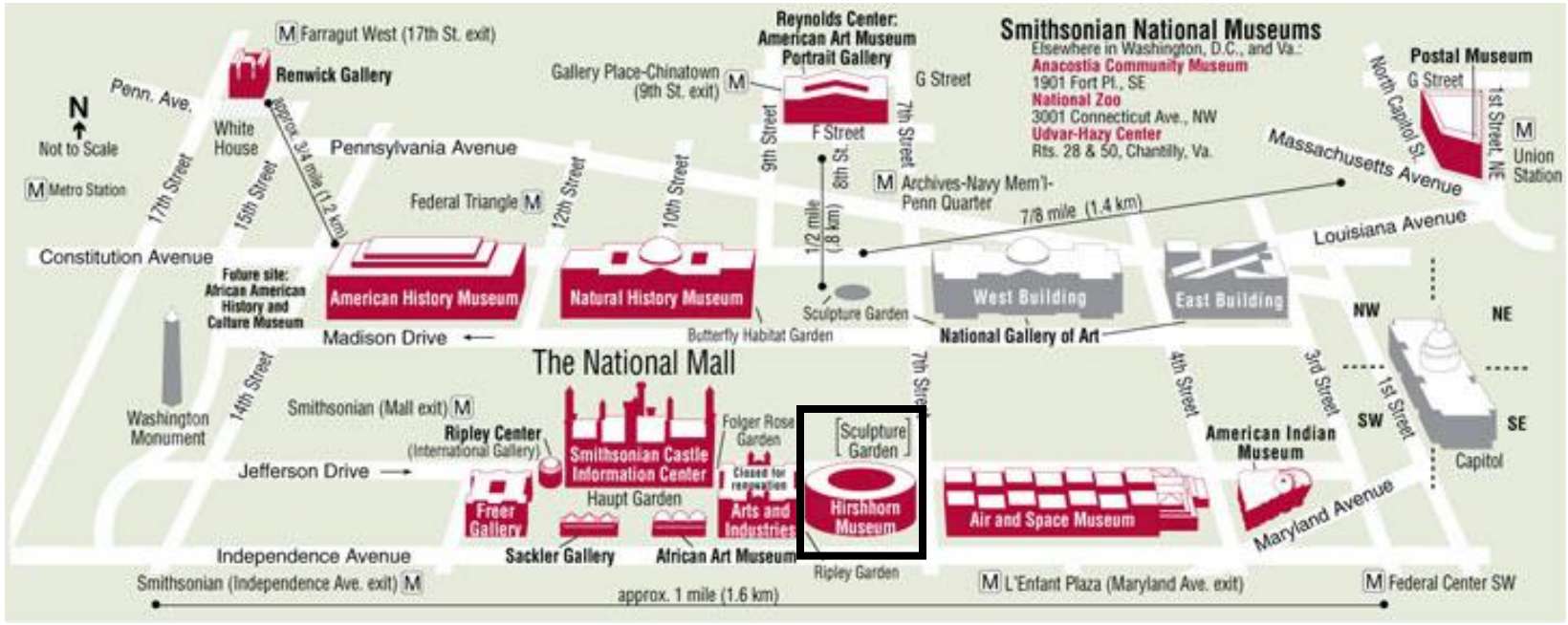


Figure 4. The Hirshhorn Museum in the Context of the National Mall (si.edu)



Figure 5. "Song 1" (dougaitkenworkshop.com)

complex and the National Mall (the Mall) in Washington, D.C. (Fig. 4). This chapter demonstrates ways individuals continuously contribute to the identity of the Hirshhorn's built environment. In doing so, this chapter considers several large-scale art installations, including "Song 1" (Fig. 5); "Belief+Doubt," a large-scale, temporary installation by artist Barbara Kruger that fills a large part of the museum's lower level (Fig. 6); and the seasonal inflatable, or "Bubble," project discussed earlier. By analyzing production processes and experiential outcomes of "Song 1," Belief+Doubt," and the "Bubble," this section contributes to current understandings of how social and material identities are conceived, perceived, lived, and contested in a contemporary museum setting (Dale and Burrell 2008).



Figure 6. "Belief+Doubt" (hirshhorn.si.edu)

Conclusion

Chapter 10 concludes this dissertation by revisiting its research questions, as well as its key results. I propose future research questions for the sub-discipline of architectural geography, and I provide an analysis of the methods applied in this study.

Significance of this Scholarship

This dissertation research contributes to emerging literature grounded in single-building geographic analysis. Single-building studies have gained currency among geographers over the past 10 years (e.g. Kraftl 2006, 2009, 2010; Adey 2008; Strebel 2011; Jacobs et al. 2012), primarily among scholars working in the United Kingdom, but such studies have yet to receive much scholarly attention among geographers working in the United States. Specifically, this scholarship represents the first explicitly

architectural geographic study in the United States that explores a brutalist building in relation to its effect on identity construction at multiple scales. Because relatively few detailed, single-building geographic studies exist to-date, these findings contribute significantly to the body of literature available to scholars who are practicing inductive research and building theories about relationships between buildings and people.

Recent geographies of architecture, rich with analysis of the many ways that buildings relate to their social and material contexts, do not tend to document reciprocity with study sites. This study responds to recent calls for geographers to practice "publicly engaged geography" (Brewer 2013) and "being useful" (Taylor 2014), as it will be shared with the Hirshhorn community as a decision-support resource. The concluding chapter shares "knowledges that are useful in practice" (Mason et al. 2013, 253), by translating study results into specific, actionable suggestions for the Hirshhorn administration to consider. This degree of reciprocity suggests that geographies of architecture have the potential to move in the direction of participatory action research that generates "more tangible benefits" for research participants (Cameron & Gibson 2005, 316; Klocker 2012).

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I describe the academic origins of contemporary architectural geography, which has evolved dramatically since the mid-1980s. In support of changing architectural geographic foci, this chapter reviews recent literature related to geographic understandings of place, affect, and identity construction. These understandings serve as the backbone of my study of the relationship between individual identity construction and the physical and social environments of the Hirshhorn Museum building.

Geographies of Architecture

> …[G]eography has generally failed to come to terms with the complexity of architectural form and meaning. (Goss 1988, 392)

In the late 1980s, Jon Goss issued a call to his fellow cultural geographers, asking them to take a close look at the ways in which architectural geography had been conducted in the past and to craft a more meaningful future for the sub-discipline. More specifically, he urged his peers to see buildings as cultural artifacts that could be analyzed in terms of the intentions of those constructing buildings, the constraints placed upon buildings' production, the ways they are occupied, and the feelings and experiences of the buildings' occupants. In part influenced by David Harvey's work, including his critique of the influence of capitalism on urban landscapes (1978), as well as his single-building study of the Basilica of Sacre-Coeur in Paris (1979), Goss wrote that,

> Architecture has profound socio-spatial significance deserving of more rigorous theoretical concern. Architecture should be treated as complex function: as a cultural artifact, as an object of economic value, as a sign, and as a spatial system. The interrelationships among these categories deserve greater theoretical and empirical research. (1988, 402)

What is so significant about Goss' call for more theoretically rigorous research is that that, until his call, geographic inquiry of built space by 20th century cultural geographers consisted primarily of descriptions of the distribution of house-types across specific landscapes.

These initial studies—conducted by geographers including Henry Glassie, Fred Kniffen, and Terry Jordan-Bychkov—were informative inasmuch as they helped decipher which building types were preferred in specific regions and how they were distributed. Specifically, these types of architectural geography can be traced to the Berkeley School tradition of Carl Sauer, who encouraged an appreciation of landscapes, especially the material characteristics particular to a given landscape. For example, Kniffen and Glassie (1966) explored the construction types and distribution of wood structures in the eastern United States, while Jordan-Bychkov (1985) described the introduction of log home building techniques in the United States, including a full account of its varied origins in Europe. Similarly, prior to Goss' call, Fusch and Ford (1983) published a study describing distributions of housing in two cities in Ohio and California, and Kaups (1983) wrote about Finnish log homes in the Midwest. Despite their historical and descriptive merit, Goss argues that these studies do not reveal enough information about the actual places being studied, their accompanying identities, or the makeup of the identities of the residents in these places.

In the nearly-thirty years since Goss's first call for the "explain[ing] of architecture as a social product, as the spatial configuration of the built environment incorporating economic, political, and ideological dimensions" (1988, 394), several scholars have emerged in response. Domosh's (1989) study of the New York World

Building offered an immediate response to Goss's call for inquiry into the meanings of singular buildings. Goss (1993) followed suit with his own study of the American shopping mall, analyzing key ways malls are designed to influence behavior, consumption, and increase profits. However, following Goss's mall study, others did not continue to advance this type of single-building study until Lees' (2001) exploration of the Vancouver Public Library. In this study, Lees overtly cites Goss' work as having formed the methodological underpinnings for her research. Through ethnographic and archival inquiry into the construction and occupation of this library, Lees pieces together a moving account of its varied uses and cultural meanings.

Since 2001, several geographers in the United Kingdom have taken up Lees' participatory-ethnographic approach to architectural geography and have published a number of single-building studies of sites in the U.K. and Europe. Meanwhile, a review of geographic literature published by American geographers over the past decade reveals a dearth of U.S. architectural geographic study. It appears as though, beginning with Lees, geographers from the U.K. truly picked up where Goss left off.

Following Lees' study of the Vancouver Public Library, Jenkins (2002) published a single-building study of a seemingly banal building located at 11, Rue du Conservatoire in Paris. Using actor-network theory to situate the building with respect to its environment, Jenkins broke down the notion that buildings are "black boxes" impervious to outside contexts. Instead, Jenkins maintains that buildings are permeable entities that are especially affected by the technologies that move through them. Jenkins concludes that, by envisioning buildings as parts of a complex web, researchers are able to assemble "a narrative that embeds an individual building within a number of

changing contexts at the same time" (p. 233). In this way, each building, regardless of the era in which it was built is continually remade through the circumstances under which it is occupied and/or permeated.

After Jenkins' experiment with actor-network theory, Llewellyn published two articles—one that focuses solely on articulating methods for architectural geographic inquiry (2003) and another that applies these methods to a study of a Modernist housing block in London, the Kensal House (2004). Llewellyn, like Lees, advocates a polyvocal approach to architectural analysis. He suggests that ethnographic engagement, including collecting oral histories, as well as "a sustained period of working in these places helps to make sense of the everyday architectural geographies played out in the present, but which are tied to the past" (Llewellyn 2003, 269). Through application of this polyvocal method at the Kensal House, Llewellyn concludes that there is a "blurred and messy" (229) relationship between the Kensal House's architects, the resultant space, and its occupants. This study is important, Llewellyn argues, because it fills the gap in literature pertaining to Modernist architecture. Instead of describing the effects of the buildings on occupants (and vice versa), most accounts of Modernist historical buildings simply look to the architects and the built forms for information. Llewellyn believes that traditional studies of architecture "have not gone far enough in acknowledging the agency and status of the residents in the reproduction of their space" (p. 246). With this assertion, he affirms Goss' and Lees' calls for studies that engage architects and inhabitants, as well as the resultant built forms.

Over the past ten years, Kraftl has been the most prolific architectural geographer (2006; with Adey 2008; 2009; 2010). Kraftl specializes in children's

geographies, as well as in inquiry of architectural spaces, so it is follows that two of his studies (2006; 2008, with Adey) articulate how the design of school spaces for children contribute to the construction of an "ideal childhood" (2006, 488). Like Lees and Llewellyn, Kraftl takes up ethnographic methods by conducting in-depth interviews of the school's architect, parents, teachers, and students. Additionally, he spent several days a week at the school over the course of four months, documenting his observations. Kraftl finds that how the school is assembled—including its tables, door handles, and even plaster—contributes to the "construction of childhood" in its spaces (501).

While Kraftl explores the construction of childhood (2006) and the "extraordinary" (2009), Adey explores mobility and sensation from the balcony of the Liverpool airport. Focusing on just one area of a large building, Adey describes a variety of ways that this space is experienced, including its visual character, sensation, and identity. Additionally, Adey traces the history of airport design, linking the roots of the "spectacle of flight" to Nazi propaganda that sought to reify German national identity (Adey 2008, 31). Airports are configured, to this day, as spaces that enable people to watch the "theatre of the air" (32). By situating airports as being both socially and materially constructed places to "view from," not merely symbolic spaces, Adey reveals that the architectural geography of airport balconies fuses "people, things, objects, planes, seats, wind and more" into one cohesive viewing experience (44).

As architectural geographic research over the past decade has shown, integrative, interpretive readings of architectural spaces and places—spaces and places that constitute much of the physical environment with which we interact each day—are

advancing the sub-discipline in several ways. For example, such readings allow for deeper understandings of how conscious acts of material and social construction and physical and phenomenal habitation affect, constitute, and reinforce social structures at varying scales. Buildings are built by and capable of building social structures and human agency (Thrift 1983; Lees 2001; Imrie 2003; McNeill 2005; Faulconbridge 2009). Illustrating the interconnectedness between architecture and social structures, Jones (2009) writes that that there is an explicitly symbiotic relationship between architecture and the governing political and corporate interests in any built environment. In many ways, it is explicit that buildings are shaped by society, insofar as they are created to meet the needs of members of society. However, the myriad ways in which buildings shape social conditions are not as well documented.

Several theorists have described architecture in terms of its ability to rationalize and solidify existing power structures (Stevens 1998; Larson 2004). It is also important to acknowledge that buildings cannot simply reinforce these power structures of their own accord. Rather, people—architects, developers, and planners—conceive of buildings, and it is through design, construction, and inhabitation that these power structures are often reinforced. Bourdieu (1996) suggests that it is impossible for architects to practice in a politically neutral manner, because they must conduct their business while under the influence of social power relations. And, so, it becomes apparent that the flow of power through the constitution and re-constitution of the built environment is cyclical in nature—social structures influence the architect, who influences the building typology, which influences social structures, and so on. In this way, it is important to consider the roles pieces of architecture play as influential social

agents. One way in which these roles can be uncovered by examining how buildings act as "objects of (re)interpretation, narration, and representation" (Gieryn 2002, 35) of the people and places whose lives these buildings shelter and whose landscapes they populate.

Geographic Understandings of Place

Beginning with the humanistic geography movement of the 1970s, textual analyses, informed by the humanities' ability to articulate meanings in "both imaginative and material terrains" (Blunt 2009, 66), have supported architectural geographers' understandings of how "architecture can be a form of code-making, or control" (Kraftl and Adey 2008, 214). The work of architectural geographers is now influenced by humanistic geographers' considerations of place-making, such as that of Tuan, who wrote:

> How a mere space becomes an intensely human place is a task for the humanistic geographer; it appeals to such distinctively humanist interest as the nature of experience, the quality of the emotional bond to physical objects, and the role of concepts and symbols in the creation of place identity. (1978, 269)

Integrating considerations of place into studies of architecture makes way for an acutely phenomenological understanding of the built environment. Exploring ideas of place and place-making encourages scholars "not only to consider the semiotic meaning of the external façade of buildings, but the meaning of the spaces behind the walls" (Sime 1986, 50). Geographic approaches are appropriate for exploring such architectural meanings because of the rich body of geographic theory available to help understand the formation of place identities (McNeill 2005).

Place has been conceptualized as a "center of meaning and attention; it is

composed of social interactions occurring over time and their sedimented layers of meaning" in a particular space (Adams 2009, 2). While this seems to imply that spaces simply exist, each unique place cannot come into being without first being constructed by a person or group of people. Offering a tripartite definition of the concept of place, Agnew (1987) explains that its three primary aspects are location, locale, and sense of place. Location simply refers to where a point is located, physically, within space. Locale refers to the physical nature of a place—its materiality, its buildings, lakes, rivers, texture, and its capacity for interaction with humans as a means through which meaning is constructed. A 'sense of place' evokes a particular emotion or set of emotions that characterize experiences of a place. Thus, sense of place is constructed as a function of human interaction with space over time.

Each of these constructions is wholly dependent upon who is constructing it and for what purpose. For example, Cresswell describes place as "not just a thing in the world, but a way of understanding the world" (Cresswell 2004, 11), while Tuan views place as the melding of a "sense of position within society (the uses and symbolic significance of specific locations) with the sense of and identity with spatial location that comes from living in and associating with it" (Tuan 1974, 28). Because place can be characterized as both specific location and spatial awareness, consideration of the manners in which people first come to observe a specific *space* and, in turn, become acquainted with it as a *place* is pertinent to this discussion.

Humans move through both time and space, and encounter locations—or places—along the way. Elaborating on this, Thrift writes:

> The body is in constant motion. Even at rest, the body is never still. As bodies move they trace out a path from one location to another. These paths constantly

> intersect with those of others in a complex web of biographies. These others are not just human bodies but also all other objects that can be described as trajectories in time-space: animals, machines, trees, dwellings, and so on. (Thrift 1996, 8)

As each body moves through space, it becomes re-positioned with respect to its sense of place. The intersection of these bodies with varying places and other bodies allows for individuals to develop unique perceptions of particular places. With respect to the importance of this individuals' unique positioning within the greater context of the world, Merleau-Ponty writes, "[t]ruth does not 'inhabit' only 'the inner man', or more accurately, there is no inner man, man is in the world, and only in the world does he know himself" (Merleau-Ponty 2002, xii). This idea—that "only in the world" can one know oneself—is significant to my study, because it requires that I am cognizant of the mutual constitution of human identities and material, architectural contexts.

Architectural Geographic Understandings of Affect

> The problem that must be faced straight away is that there is no stable definition of affect. It can mean a lot of different things. These are usually associated with words such as emotion and feeling, and a consequent repertoire of terms such as hatred, shame, envy, jealousy, fear, disgust, anger, embarrassment, sorrow, grief, anguish, pride, love, happiness, joy, hope, wonder…. (Thrift 2004, 59)

Further illustrating that affect has not been assigned a singular definition, Thrift discusses four ways to conceptualize affect. First, affect can be seen as ways of embodied being in the world that produce a distinct exterior outcome. This outcome can present itself in the form of an emotion that is very difficult to characterize using words alone. Because it is difficult to articulate in words, affect can easily be overlooked by quantitative data capturing methods, such as surveys (Thrift 2004; Katz 1999).

A second way to view affect is the common perception that emotions result from an inner, "physiological drive" (Thrift 2004, 61). Affect can also be viewed as the characteristics resulting from "the active outcome of an encounter," which heighten or diminish the capability of one's body and mind to take action. A fourth, Darwinian idea of affect observes how social influences and involuntary facial expressions come together to communicate one of five basic emotions in response to culturally specific triggers. What these understandings of affect have in common is that they rely on slightly different "sense[s] of push in the world" (64). In any case, when conceptualizing affect, I find it to be most helpful to keep in mind that there are always bodies—whether they are people, buildings, trees, or rocks— "being affected" that, in turn, "affect" elements of their greater context over space and time (Anderson 2006, 735).

Architectural geographies benefit from current understandings of affect by taking into account that "different bodies and objects have different affects" (Kraftl & Adey 2008, 215). Kraftl and Adey explore affect in relation to specific buildings by looking at how the buildings engender particular identity outcomes, such as impressions of childhood, given the buildings' architectural designs and the actual activities that take place within them over time. They point out that "political and material" forces are enacted within and by built environments that constrain and influence what can be performed within their walls (227). Even if a body has encountered a particular space before, when the body encounters the space again, it happens upon a unique set of circumstances comprised of "the performance of architectures as moments, emotions,

events, atmospheres or affects" (227). This layering of performance is understood through polyvocal analysis, a method which is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Strebel's recent work (2011), which looks at maintenance practices in a multi-story apartment building, provides a critique of studies that privilege affect over "a deeper understanding of architecture [that] can be found by studying unfolding courses of action" (p. 259). Strebel nonetheless argues that day-to-day maintenance practices are constitutive of material environments, and she supports this argument through accounts of mundane tasks, rather than explorations of intangible affects. Understanding experiences of built environments as such complex encounters that are re-made again and again helps to expose layers of meaning within the discourse used to describe experiences of a given building. Because people affect buildings and, in turn, buildings affect people, despite the difficulty of documenting and describing such "intractable if intangible" elements of human experience (Davidson & Bondi 2004, 373), this study frames identity construction within the messy contexts of affect and lived experiences of the Hirshhorn Museum.

Architectural Geographic Understandings of Identity

Whereas adults were once understood to have fixed identities resulting from biological and early childhood influences, the idea that one's identity is constantly made and remade through ongoing processes such as self-reflexivity and responses to social relationships is now widely accepted. As a person constructs ways of viewing and talking about him or herself through "'texts or storytelling" (Dale & Burrell 2008, 108), this discourse builds up over time and comes to represent the person's self-identity. This

identity is informed by social discourse, as well as "enacted by human bodies in social spaces on a daily basis" (110). In this way, identities are not only comprised of cumulative discourse, but also through embodied practices.

Built environments are often the sites of these embodied practices, so they are important agents to consider when piecing together an individual's process of identity formation. The character of these built environments is not static, but is ever changing due to the pulses, joys, worries, and tensions enacted by their occupants. Each building "becomes alive and integral, inextricably connected to and mutually constitutive of the meanings and cultural politics being worked out within it" (Lees 2001, 70-71). Understandings of these connections can be assembled through ethnographic research.

For example, Kraftl's single-building study in Vienna looks at identity construction within a unique architectural context. This study explores one of Vienna's most visited tourist attractions, the Hundertwasser-Haus, which is a public housing building known for its "extraordinary" appearance (Kraftl 2009, 111). Through interviews with residents and tourists, as well as an analysis of local media coverage of the building, Kraftl observes that the identity of the Haus was constructed through both people's practices in and around the building, as well as the media's active response to it. Together, these practices and responses "dictate[d] the status of the Hundertwasser-Haus, whatever the importance of the daily practices of inhabitation and tourism which are embroiled with them" (129). One of the conclusions that Kraftl draws is that this unusual house, which defies conventional notions of home, is crucial "for understanding and questioning the familiar" (129). This understanding implies that the effect the

Hundertwasser-Haus has on the identity construction of its greater context extends beyond what can be gleaned from a simple reading of its façade.

Hirshhorn Study in Relation to Recent Literature

In relation to recent literature, this study of the Hirshhorn Museum site responds to architectural geographers' calls for further inquiry into the ways architecture affects identities in myriad ways (e.g., Goss 1988; Lees 2001; Kraftl 2006). Through discourse analysis, an understanding of identity construction in relation to the Hirshhorn building is pieced together (Dale & Burrell 2008). In addition, this study draws on place-identity literature in order to describe how discourse about and representations of the Hirshhorn contribute to understandings of the Hirshhorn as a particular place (Cresswell 2004) and as a living building (Strebel 2011). In Chapter 3, I describe my mixed methods approach for this study aimed at collecting the data which supports my analysis.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

In order to document a range of human experiences in the Hirshhorn Museum building, as well the effects of these experiences on participants in this study, this research utilizes a mixed-method approach and is ethnographic in nature. The methods combined in the design of this research include the distribution of a questionnaire, in-depth interviews, site observations, and archival research. During the interview process, a photo-elicitation technique was utilized with nearly all participants. In addition, the breadth of the study was expanded through the collection of solicited writings and photographs.

Questionnaire responses were used to structure my interview discussions with Hirshhorn staff members, allowing key concepts to be identified prior to entering into these discussions. Photo elicitation, in which photographs of particular Hirshhorn Museum elements were presented to the participants, was used as a means of stimulating the participants' discussions of, and reflections on, their experiences with targeted aspects of the building. The collection of solicited writings and photographs from participants was used to document characteristics of the Hirshhorn Museum building deemed notable from the perspective of a particular participant. Taken together, these methods serve to document the perspectives and experiences particular to individuals within the study group in this specific place.

The selection of these methods was influenced by architectural geography studies over the past ten years that have utilized mixed research methods in order to document and describe how buildings relate to the "political, social, cultural and, indeed, personal contexts that are fundamental to their making" (Kraftl 2010, 406).

These studies have primarily mobilized ethnographic approaches, combining participant observation with interviews and archival research, to unpack human experience in the contemporary built environment. Despite the popularity of these three methods—participant observation, in-depth interviews, and archival research—opportunities exist for architectural geographers to utilize additional interviewing strategies, including photo elicitation, solicited writing, and questionnaires, to further enrich inquiry of built environments.

Recent architectural geography research is organized around conducting "polyvocal" analyses of architecture. These analyses explore more than merely the voices of the planners and architects of individual buildings. Instead, the perspectives of those inhabiting the architectural study sites are taken into account. This polyvocal approach, which triangulates accounts of planners, architects, and building occupants, allows each building to be situated with respect to its production and consumption, given its specific historical context (Llewellyn 2003). In addition to exploring the experiences and observations of those who occupy the building, Lees (2001) suggests that the researchers' own experiences within the built environment should be considered along with those of other, everyday participants.

Ethnographic Research

By engaging in fieldwork and documenting my experiences in the Hirshhorn's built environment, I assembled my own contextual understanding of the place under study (Kearns 2010). Though architectural geographers have actively employed participant observation over the past fifteen years, many of the ways it is carried out

and, later, analyzed are not well documented. This lack of documentation is common among studies employing participant observation, as "systematic outlines of the method" (Kearns 2010, 245) are difficult to come by. This may be, in part, because every participant observation study is entirely unique onto itself. The success of this method is more dependent upon the researcher's ability to be introspective when relating his or herself to what is being studied than it is upon the following of a prescriptive "set of rules" (Evans 1988). For Lees, whose study of the Vancouver Public Library has had a significant impact on architectural geography, participant observation took place in areas like the library coffee shop, the magazine reading area, and even its restrooms (Lees 2001). By analyzing her observations, she was able to understand how the library's spaces were used to negotiate a range of emotions and activities, including facilitating romance, time-space convergence for those from overseas, and allowing persons without homes a semi-private space in which to bathe.

When recording and analyzing experiences resulting from participant observation, it is important for researchers to acknowledge how their presence may affect what is going on around them. In addition to understanding how he or she affects the environment being researched, it is important for the researcher to have a reflexive understanding of what his or her preconceived notions about people and places might be and how these ideas have been constructed. It is not possible to be fully self-aware of all of the ways a researcher is "located" within a project; however, attempting an awareness helps to "think through the various complexities and entanglements involved rather than … deny them" (Crang and Cook 2007, 208).

Ethnographers carry biases when conducting their research, but this does not necessarily undermine the rigor of their research and analysis. For this reason, it is tremendously important that a researcher make a sustained effort to understand and clearly articulate at the outset of the research process and as research unfolds how his or her knowledge is constructed, what preconceived notions he or she is bringing into the research process, and how his or her experiences might be influencing documentation efforts within the context of his or her research. By extension, no information gathered in ethnographic interviews can be taken at face value, and attempts to understand each interview participant's situated knowledge and experiences should be made in order to better understand how he or she is constructing the knowledge imparted during the interview.

Field Observations

Between June 2011 and July 2013, I made dozens of visits to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, at different times of day, through different seasons, and with varying purposes. During these visits, I observed myself in relation to the building. I paid close attention to how I approached it; for example, I noted that, after several visits, I developed a pattern of walking under the Alexander Calder sculpture, "Two Discs" (1965) prior to walking through the building's revolving doors. Once inside the building, I paid careful attention to how I felt moving through its spaces—often finding myself embarrassingly flustered by the building's simple, circular design. I also took note of tourists' interactions with the structure, including their frequent attempts to enter the incorrect doors and often not knowing what museum the building was prior to their

entry. I noted the interactions of the museum guards with both the visitors and with the interior spaces of the building. I paid attention to the function of its circulation between floors and to my own access to services within the building, including its restrooms. I was also witness to several significant transformations that the building underwent during this time, including its gift shop being moved from the first floor to the lower level and the installation of Doug Aitken's large-scale "Song 1" (2012).

In addition to making trips to the building on my own, I also toured the building with my family, getting a different sense of how people, in a group and with children, experience the building. I attended events at the building, including public lectures held in its Ring Auditorium, on the lower level, and I volunteered at a Smithsonian Office of Facility Management and Reliability (OFMR) "open house" held in the building's outdoor plaza.

As a Smithsonian Institution (SI) Fellow, I found that I had privileged access to the facility in several ways. For example, because I had a Smithsonian Fellow badge, I was allowed to bypass the security check line at the entrance. By simply showing the guards my badge, the need to have my belongings searched was negated. Because of my status as a fellow, I was also invited to special events, such as the Office of Facilities, Engineering, and Operations (OFEO) summer picnics and the OFMR open house, which were held at the Hirshhorn building and which gave me an added understanding of how the building was connected to other Smithsonian organizations. There were other, subtler, yet still moving, ways I had access to the building due to my Smithsonian affiliation. For example, when a Hirshhorn Museum guard committed suicide with his service pistol in the lower level of the building, I learned immediately that there had

been a fatality at the facility via a Smithsonian e-mail alert. In ways I cannot yet articulate, I am aware that that e-mail affected my personal relationship to the building.

These field observations informed the questions I would later ask my participants as well as my analysis of the information they shared. For example, after moving through the building, I came to understand very quickly some of their concerns regarding access between floors, the lack of staff meeting spaces, and its difficult-to-locate restrooms. Further, my observations of people in and around the building allowed me an increased understanding of how the building relates to its greater context as part of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as the National Mall.

Participant Selection

This is a qualitative study, and information collected from participants through the study's detailed questionnaires and interviews was gathered for the purpose of making analytic, rather than statistical, generalizations (Curtis et al. 2000). This study analyzes questionnaire and interview responses in light of existing theories related to sense of place, affect, and identity formation, to understand how inhabitant experiences relate to the Hirshhorn Building. Among basic criteria for qualitative researchers to consider when evaluating possible sampling strategies are whether the strategy is applicable to the study's research questions and existing theories addressed by the study. The sample should also be capable of producing "thick description" (Geertz 1973; Miles & Huberman 1994) relevant to the topic under study and contribute to the overall 'generalizability' of reliable study results. Finally, the sampling method needs to

be ethical and workable given the constraints placed on the study (e.g., financial constraints, access to participants, and the researcher's skill set).

As is the case with many qualitative samples (Curtis et al. 2000), this study consists of a small sample of individuals whose experiences are considered in-depth—they have had multiple encounters with the building over time—and whose participation in the study produced a large quantity of data (over 600 pages of interview transcripts). To identify the participants for this study, I used respondent-driven sampling, in which "informants whom the researcher meets are those who supply the referrals" to future participants (Noy 2008, 334). This method worked well in light of constraints placed on the study, as it allowed me to more readily identify persons willing to participate and gave me access to those who would have likely declined to participate had they not been referred to the study by a peer. Though the term "respondent driven" sampling implies that the researcher is absent from the sampling process, I had an appreciable influence on the process (Noy 2008). It was clear that my description of the types of information the study was collecting informed participants' suggestions of additional participants. I was also able to choose which of the suggested participants I would ultimately invite to participate in the study.

Respondent-driven sampling began with an initial contact, Chris Wailoo, whom I met by chance at a coffee shop in Alexandria, Virginia. When I met Chris, who is the Associate Director of Administration at the Hirshhorn, I had already selected the Hirshhorn Museum building as my study site but had been having a difficult time getting a response from the Hirshhorn's then-director, Richard Koshalek. Caught off-guard by this chance encounter with a member of the Hirshhorn's administration, I

introduced myself and mentioned, very briefly, my plans for a study of the Hirshhorn. Chris was immediately enthusiastic about the study, and he invited me to meet with him the following week to discuss my study plans further. After our meeting, when I was preparing my study protocol for review by the University of Oklahoma Institutional Review Board (IRB), Chris provided a letter of support and helped me to navigate the Smithsonian Institution's own IRB review process. Chris, in turn, was my first participant, and he referred five additional participants from throughout the Hirshhorn organization. Following Chris's referrals, my sample slowly increased to fifteen passionate participants—six women and nine men. Among these participants are individuals who have contributed to the Hirshhorn Museum's mission in a variety of capacities, including installing its exhibitions, managing its social media, organizing children's outreach activities, managing the museum's gift shop, and maintaining the facility, among others.

Looking back, I now know that this particular study of the Hirshhorn would not have been possible without the advantages allowed by my Smithsonian badge. To conduct research at the Smithsonian that involves speaking to SI staff, Smithsonian Institution Review Board approval is required, and this approval can only be gained if one is affiliated with the Smithsonian at the time the IRB reviews a study. In addition, it seemed that several of the people whom I interviewed were made more comfortable by the fact that I had a Smithsonian badge. I was allowed to tour behind-the-scenes areas, including art storage, which are only accessible with a badge. As I was earning credibility among participants, it seemed to help to be able to introduce myself as a Smithsonian Fellow. This meant that I had been vetted by the Office of Fellowships and

Internships and had passed a federal background check; these are both pieces of information that I believe helped staff members feel more at ease when speaking to me.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires, which "help discover regularities among groups of people by comparing answers to the same set of questions asked of a large number of people" (Zeisel 2006, 257), are useful tools for architectural geographers keen on identifying occupants' relative satisfaction with a building under study, as well as how specific types of architecture influence certain behaviors or levels of comfort. For example, urban planners have used questionnaire data to demonstrate how residents, forced to move due to urban renewal efforts, have responded to their new homes as compared the homes they previously occupied (Fried 1963). Questionnaires can be an inexpensive way to learn about the "social trends, processes, values, attitudes, and interpretations" within a large population (McGuirk & O'Neill 2010, 192). In turn, this data can be used to formulate in-depth interview questions that delve more deeply into the "themes, concepts, and meanings" (192) that questionnaire respondents have indicated.

This study's questionnaire is comprised of 26 questions. Included in this questionnaire are fill-in-the-blank and multiple choice questions that collect data on participants' understandings of how the building affects their work, comfort levels, mobility, access to and satisfaction with available services, as well as questions relating to their experiences of the Hirshhorn Museum building. This questionnaire was distributed online to the 15 study participants, but a paper version was also prepared and approved by the OU and Smithsonian Institutional Review Boards, should there be

anyone who preferred an offline format (Appendix A). Following each participant's completion of the questionnaire, I reviewed his or her responses and formulated follow-up questions related to these responses that I asked during the subsequent, in-depth interview. This level of tailoring for each interview, though time-consuming, contributed significantly to achieving a depth of discussion in each interview, and allowed for a more targeted use of interview time.

Polyvocal Interviews with Photo-elicitation

In order to present research that describes how a variety of people experience architectural space, geographers—like Lees, mentioned earlier—have begun conducting interviews to supplement their understandings of the built environment. These interviews normally have a defined length and occur in a space that isolates the researcher and the participant from the "'flow' of everyday life" (Kearns 2010), divorced from the experiences of the environment in question. Even so, interviews allow geographers to explore a broad range of "meaning, opinion, and experiences" (Dunn 2010, 102), as well to observe as how these meanings vary across different groups of people. Interviews cannot reveal "*the* truth" or "*the* public opinion," because the idea that there is *one* truth or *one* opinion does not leave room for marginalized truths or opinions to be heard. Instead, interviews can be used to learn what the person being interviewed considers important with regard to the circumstances at hand. Interviews are also used to verify whether the researchers' own opinions and conclusions align with those of the people being interviewed.

The interviews I conducted asked participants to describe what a typical

encounter with the Hirshhorn Museum building entailed, including how they move through the space; what sorts of things they see, hear, smell, and touch; where meals are taken; where social interactions take place; and so on. If participants were unable to identify a "typical" encounter, they were asked to describe their most-recent encounter. As mentioned above, participants were also asked a number of clarifying questions relating to their questionnaire responses (Appendix B). For example, if a participant indicated that she did not prefer the aesthetic of the building or that she had difficulties accessing the restrooms, she would be asked to elaborate on the reasons why she felt these preferences or difficulties existed.

Photo Elicitation

Further interview responses were gathered through photo-elicitation. During photo-elicitation, photographs are presented as a means to stimulate discussion and reflection (as in Hay 2010). I chose these photographs after making my initial site visit. To do so, I selected photographs that depict elements of the building seemed to elicit a strong response from myself and others, as well as elements that I found to prompt interesting user behaviors. These photographs help interviewees reflect upon a particular architectural space or feature under discussion. In addition, they allow the researcher to compare and contrast participant reactions to a given space or feature. In my study, I presented participants with 19 photographs of different parts of the building, taken at different times, spanning its construction to present day, as well as several photographs of buildings nearby the Hirshhorn (Appendix C). Participants were asked to describe what each photograph reminded them of and to share a memorable

experience related to the photograph. Presenting the same set of photographs to people with a variety of backgrounds contributes to this study's understanding of how individuals—and the Hirshhorn organization as a whole—perceive of and relate to specific elements of the Hirshhorn building and its context.

Autophotography and Discontinuous Writing

In addition to using pre-existing photographs to encourage discussion of and reflection on experiences with the built environment, I also asked participants to take part in autophotography. Autophotography aids the interview process in a manner similar to photo elicitation; however, the photographs used in the interviews are taken by the participants as they engage in their environments and document normal activities (Crang and Cook 2007). In addition to using photographs taken by participants, researchers can ask that participants draw mental maps to document their activities and movements through this architectural space (113). These photographs and maps are an appropriate method for architectural geographies, because they provide information about whom and what participants observe and remember and how they experience (and move through) the spaces under consideration.

As well as discussing and interpreting photographs and maps produced by participants, diary entries provide a similar opportunity for participants to record their daily experiences and reflections in the place being studied. The content in these diaries is provided to the researcher and then used within the context of an interview to explore the material in-depth (Crang and Cook 2007). Yet another strategy, discontinuous writing, differs slightly from diary interviews, in that the writing does not occur on a

daily basis. Instead, "certain events and [the respondent's] reactions to and/or feelings about them as they occur" (Hay 2010, 374) are recorded by the respondent during his or her discontinuous writing process. In this case, the researcher—often working with the respondent—defines, beforehand, which types of events or feelings should be documented. As with diary interviews and autophotography, discontinuous writing allows the researcher a closer look, from the perspective of the participant, at his or her experiences within and conceptions of the architectural environment under study.

None of these methods, to date, are commonly employed by architectural geographers. However, I chose to include both solicited journaling and photography in my research protocol, because of their ability to reveal important insights into the ways architecture is viewed and experienced by individuals as they go about their daily lives. Participants who consented to this portion of the study were provided with disposable cameras and journals, as well as with copies of the "Solicited Journal and Photography Protocol" (Appendix D), and self-addressed, stamped envelopes within which to return their cameras and journals. While several study participants consented to participate in this portion of the study, only one participant was able to return his study materials for analysis. Nonetheless, this participant's photographs and journal provide useful information when contextualizing his own experiences of the Hirshhorn Museum building.

Web 2.0 Data Collection

Geographers are increasingly acknowledging the potential to capture data from Web 2.0 platforms, which provide open access to user-generated online content. Among

these platforms are sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and TripAdvisor. Oftentimes, the information uploaded to these platforms by users is associated with particular locations that can be mapped, leading to the availability of data sets that characterize a given location from multiple individuals' viewpoints. For example, on the popular online photo sharing application Instagram, its users often share hashtags that geolocate the images they are posting, as well as hashtags that characterize, from the photographers' viewpoints, the subjects of each photograph.

Web 2.0-generated data sets represent only those users who have access to and, in turn, choose to access, these online platforms. As such, this data is not fully representative of a full range of viewpoints (Stephens 2012; Watkins 2012). Even so, the place-based characterizations that arise on social media provide valuable information about how individuals and groups representing different age, geographic, and gendered demographics experience and situate particular places.

Specifically, this study makes use of the 348 TripAdvisor reviews of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden that span the seven year period from June 23, 2008 (when the oldest review of the Hirshhorn was written), to June 23, 2015. TripAdvisor is a website that allows users to rate different locations on a scale from one to five, as well as to describe their experiences at and impressions of the locations. They may also upload photographs of their experiences, and many users supply information about where they are from, their genders, and their approximate ages within TripAdvisor-defined ranges (ex. 18-24 years; 25-34 years; 35-49 years; 50-64 years; and 65+ years old).

For this study, I analyzed each of the 348 reviews to identify 47 codes, or labels, which relate to user experiences of the Hirshhorn's interior and exterior built environments. Examples of coded items include whether the reviewer visited the Hirshhorn's sculpture garden and not the museum building, whether the reviewer indicates positive or negative interactions with museum staff, and whether the reviewer relates his or her overall impressions of the architecture. Using Microsoft Excel, applicable portions of each review were sorted into columns associated with the code categories, while reviewer demographic information was also captured when available. Because of the ability to sort data according to different demographic indicators, I found Excel to be a valuable, yet straight forward, platform for capturing and organizing coded Web 2.0 data.

Archival Research

Many architectural geographers conduct archival research as a means of understanding historical processes that affect a building and its occupants over time. For example, Lees' (2001) study of the Vancouver Public Library explores documents—spanning newspaper articles and surveys regarding the library's design possibilities—to gain an understanding of public opinion surrounding the library's design and construction. Hagen and Ostergren (2006) use archival research of documents published in Nazi Germany to understand how Adolf Hitler and his architect, Albert Speer, actively sought to craft spaces in Nuremberg that would directly affect the performance of Nazi German identity during large rallies. In studies like these, archival documents assist architectural geographers in understanding and describing how buildings came to

be in specific places and times and in relation to certain power structures.

Archival records also help scholars view buildings as impermanent parts of their environment that come into being under particular circumstances and which are not guaranteed to exist under future conditions. In relation to this idea, Jenkins (2002) draws, in part, on archival documents in his study of Paris, 11, Rue du Conservatoire, mentioned earlier. The historical record Jenkins constructs through review of these documents helps him to demonstrate that buildings neither "embody an age," nor "reflect a period of time" (p. 234). Instead, he argues, buildings exist within a web of economic, environmental, social, and technological conditions that affect their occupants' experiences of them. By seeking out archival records related to the building under study, architectural geographers are in a better position to situate it with respect to these shifting conditions.

The archival research informing this study was completed at the Smithsonian Institution Archives, the National Capital Planning Commission Archives, and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden library, as well as through a review of Hirshhorn-related documents available online through the University of Oklahoma Libraries and publicly available online resources. The Smithsonian Institution Archives provided valuable records relating to the building's architectural history, including its design and construction, as well as documents relating to public perceptions of the building over time, including letters and comment cards from visitors. SI archival documents also included marketing materials relating to the building, as well as press releases. The National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) Archives provided detailed records of negotiations related to the design of the building at several stages, as

NCPC approval was required in order for the building to be built on the National Mall.

The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Library provided dozens of newspaper clippings related to the Hirshhorn Museum and its building, as well as building specifications and museum pamphlets. The Smithsonian Institution Office of Facilities, Engineering, and Operations allowed me access to its architectural records of the building, including its computer-aided drawings of the building. Other archival sources, including newspaper and magazine records, were accessed online through the University of Oklahoma Libraries' online archives. These varied sources contributed valuable discourse to this polyvocal analysis of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY SITE

This chapter introduces the study site, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, providing a description of the study site selection process, visual and written documentation of prominent features of the building, and descriptions of my own interactions with the building.

Study Site Selection

As I began my doctoral studies, my scholarly aim was to contribute to understandings of how architecture affects people and communities from a geographic perspective. During my time as an undergraduate student in an architecture program, and later, as a teaching assistant for an architecture school's beginning design courses, I felt profoundly that, though many people have an intuitive sense of how buildings affect us—and vice versa—these phenomena are, in actuality, ill-understood. In some ways, this is certainly true; it is indeed very difficult to document and describe the day-to-day, often banal, but still important ways that buildings affect people.

My initial impulse at the outset of this research was to complete a case-study analysis, cross-comparing phenomena observed in multiple buildings in order to produce generalizable results that describe ways architecture affects people. What geographers over the past 15 years have shown time and again, however, is that each individual building has its own unique sets of actors, ever-changing material contexts, and always-evolving identities. Because of the richness inherent to a particular building—and the myriad linkages each building has to its people and to its

community—this study commits to achieving a depth of understanding of how one building relates to individuals and to the organization which it was built to house.

At the time I decided to pursue a single-building analysis, I had already begun exploring three possible study sites in Washington, D.C.: the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden; the Third Church of Christ, Scientist; and the Robert C. Weaver Federal Building. Each of these sites can be broadly characterized as brutalist,[1] and, as a result of their stark aesthetic, each engenders strong reactions from passersby and occupants alike. Washington, D.C., was chosen as the urban context for this study, because of its designation as the U.S. capital, as well as my familiarity with and proximity to the city. Selecting a building in the District also allowed my study to explore identity formation as it relates to prominent public interests, such as the National Mall and the Smithsonian Institution. Several internships and, later, a fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution allowed me sufficient time to build connections with people, complete archival research, and make site observations.

From the outset, I found brutalist architecture to be a compelling topic of study, particularly because of its polarizing aesthetic. While some people hesitate to discuss more "normal" architecture, perhaps for fear they lack the technical expertise necessary to do so, brutalist buildings seem to elicit strong feelings or opinions from nearly everyone. In addition, many brutalist buildings are nearing their 50-year anniversaries, and with age comes the need for building owners to invest in costly updates to keep these buildings functioning effectively. For some of these structures, including the

[1] At the height of the Cold War, many high-profile public buildings throughout the United States were designed in a style described as "brutalist," a moniker that refers to stark architectural forms composed of massive volumes of concrete and steel. Despite the multimillion-dollar budgets and post-war optimism that supported these buildings' construction, both their occupants and the public at large have continually voiced strong aversion to these structures over the past 50 years.

Third Church of Christ, Scientist, occupants have already decided that their useful lifespans have been exceeded, and demolition has ensued (Wiener 2014).

Having narrowed possible study sites to these three brutalist buildings in Washington, D.C., I selected the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden to complete my research. The Hirshhorn's position as a constituent element of the Smithsonian Institution's museum complex, as well as its location on the National Mall, was an important factor in my decision-making for several reasons. First, it meant that the building's design and construction processes were well-documented in several archives, including the Smithsonian Institution Archives and the archives of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts.

As a part of the Smithsonian Institution, the Hirshhorn has free admission, and is open to visitors every day of the year, except December 25. This, combined with its proximity to other, more popular Smithsonian Institution museums, means that the Hirshhorn draws in a diverse array of people that neither the Third Church of Christ, Scientist, a private religious building, nor the Robert C. Weaver Federal Building, a secure government facility, allows. In addition, the Hirshhorn, due to its outdoor sculpture garden, provides an added element of well-trodden outdoor space to include in my study that the other possible sites did not. The Hirshhorn also appealed to my academic background in museum studies and allowed me to explore identity and architecture in a setting with which I was academically and professionally familiar.



Figure 7. Hirshhorn Museum, view from the southeast, looking across Independence Avenue Southwest (Photo credit: Kristin Minner)

The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden

Conceived of in the mid-1960s and opened in 1974, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden was initially constructed to store and display Joseph Hirshhorn's collection of over 5,500 modern and contemporary works of painting and sculpture. Located adjacent to the National Mall in Washington, D.C., the Hirshhorn Museum is one of only a handful of the Smithsonian Institution's (SI) 19 museums and cultural centers that bears the name of its benefactor rather than a name that describes the nature of its collection. Between 2010 and 2014, the Hirshhorn, as it is known to staff



Figure 8. View of the Hirshhorn's interior plaza, facing North (author's image)

members and regular visitors, averaged just under 640,000 visits per year, while other SI museums, such as the National Museum of American History and National Museum of Natural History saw visits numbering in the millions (SI Newsdesk 2015).

The Hirshhorn's aesthetic and layout are unique in the realm of not only museum design, but among pieces of civic architecture in general. Most strikingly, from the exterior, it looks like a four story, solid concrete cylinder, surrounded by tall



Figure 9. View of the third floor balcony and its accompanying windows (author's image)

concrete walls (Fig. 7). In reality, the building has a hidden lightness that belies its solid concrete exterior, as its top three levels rest on four massive concrete pylons, and appear to float above the ground. Additionally, encased within its cylindrical volume is a hollow, open-air space, or plaza, that extends from the ground level all the way up to its fourth story (Fig. 8).

The Hirshhorn has a singular strip of windows on its third floor that face outward onto a balcony that affords views of the National Mall looking toward the north (Fig. 9). Aside from this strip of windows, the exterior façade of levels two, three, and four are windowless. However, on its interior, facing toward the plaza, windows completely ring the outdoor space all the way around on the second, third, and fourth floors (Fig. 8).

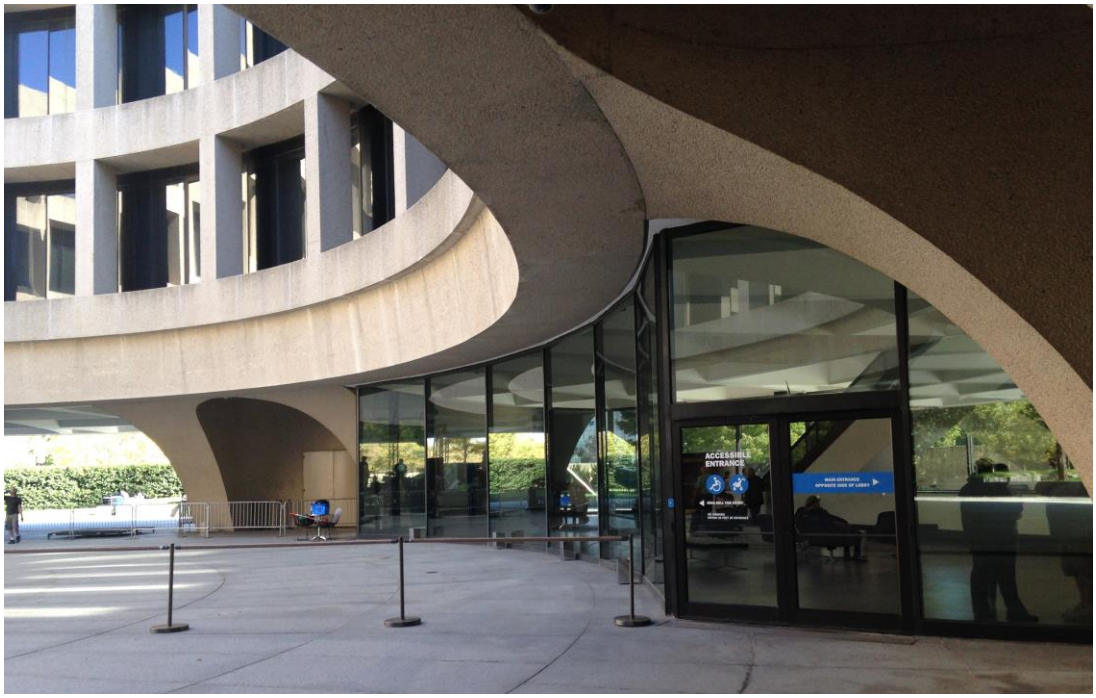


Figure 10. View of the wedge-shaped lobby space from the northwest, looking toward the entry for visitors using wheelchairs and strollers (Photo credit: Kristin Minner).

On the ground floor, a small wedge-shaped glass box serves as the lobby for the museum, and staff and visitors are required to enter though a small revolving door on its south side, unless they are travelling with wheelchairs or strollers, in which case they may enter through a hinged door on the building's north side (Fig. 10). Upon entering, to access exhibits, visitors use escalators to proceed down to the lower level, which now contains the museum's gift shop, as well as temporary exhibitions and the museum's public restrooms and auditorium, or up to the second level and third levels, which also display temporary exhibitions and pieces from the permanent collection. The fourth level is home to painting storage as well as the museum's administrative offices. Additional staff offices are found on the lower level, and in-house sculpture storage is also located on this level.



Figure 11. Aerial view of the Hirshhorn Museum, lower left, and Sculpture Garden, upper left. See Fig. 12 for section spanning points A and B. (www.google.com/maps)

To the north, just across Jefferson Drive Southwest, and connected to the museum building through a now-closed underground tunnel, is the museum's sculpture garden (Fig. 11). The sculpture garden is located on the National Mall, and, to afford privacy and to keep from breaking up sight lines across the Mall, it is built down into

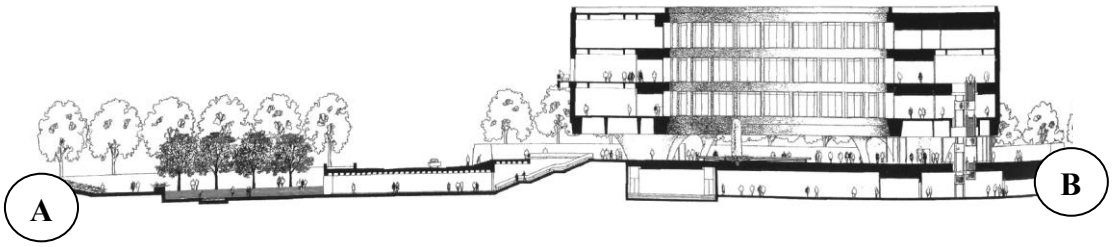


Figure 12. Section of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, spanning points A (north) and B (south) as identified in Fig. 11 (Krinsky 1988, 298).

the Mall and is accessible by stairs or by a ramp. A tunnel connects the museum building to the sculpture garden, but it is currently closed to the public. Adjacent to the sculpture garden is the ARTLAB+, home to the Hirshhorn's after school digital media program for teenagers. Fig. 12 shows a section of the building, from north (A) to south (B), while Fig. 13 shows the layout of the second and third levels (gallery levels) and the administrative level (fourth floor).

Situated Knowledge

In her influential essay, "Situated Knowledges" (1988), Haraway suggests that, "Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see" (p. 583). Almost 20 years after Haraway's call for researchers to locate their bodies, experiences, and viewpoints within the contexts of their studies, Sundberg (2005) points out that it is still uncommon for geographers to explicitly state how their research is affected by such individualized perspectives. The purpose of the following section is to identify several of my personal experiences and viewpoints that affected how I collected and analyzed information for this study of the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment.

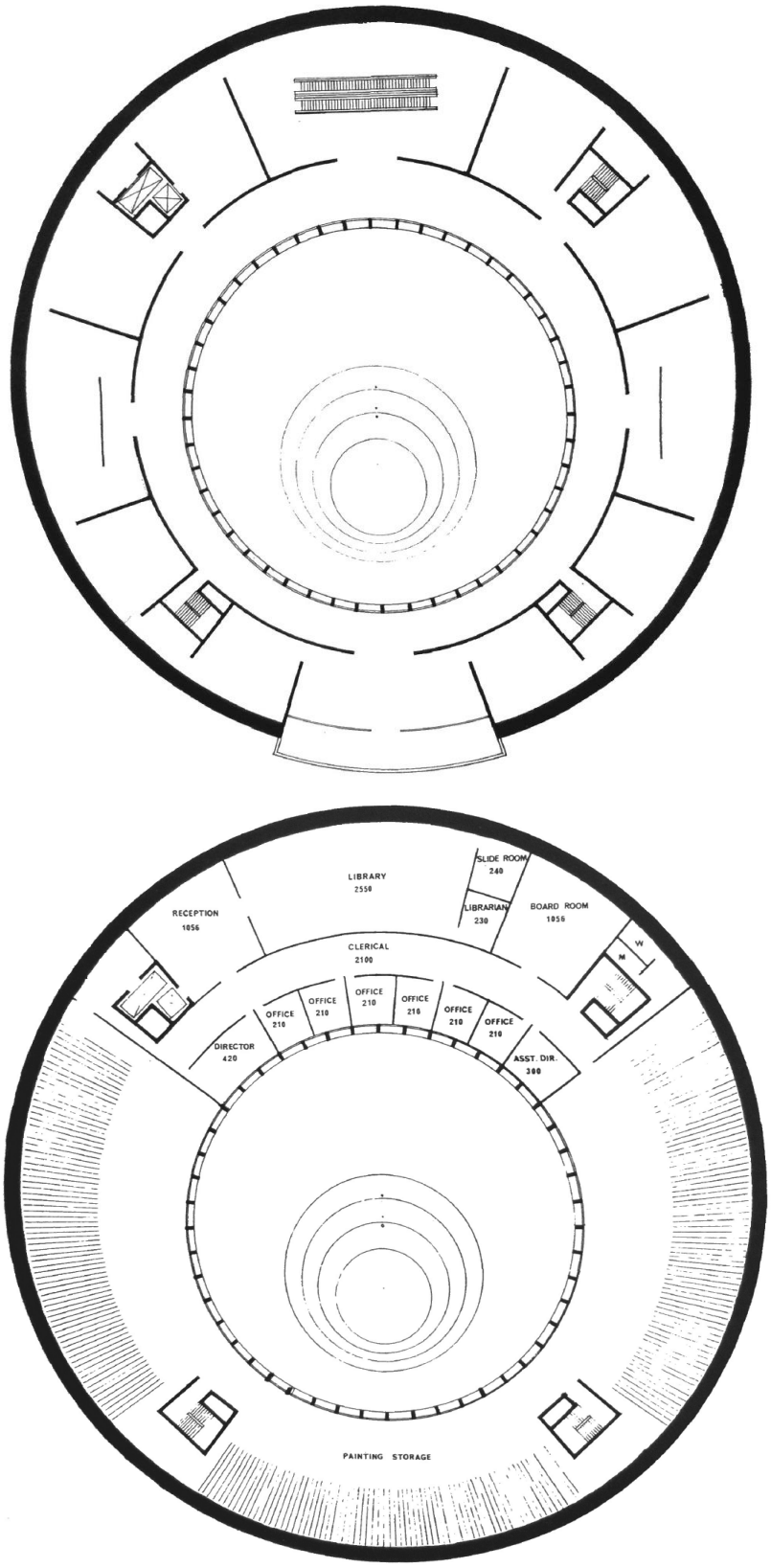


Figure 13. Plan of second and third levels (top) and fourth level (bottom) (Krinsky 1988, 298).

Feelings of, in, and about the Hirshhorn

I first saw the Hirshhorn Museum in the summer of 2009. This was just before I began my doctoral studies and so it was not yet on my radar as a potential study site. Instead, I experienced the building as a tourist and also as someone who is deeply interested in how architecture "works." I was initially struck by its monumental form and its solid surfaces—it truly appeared to be otherworldly, seeming to float above its plaza level: a hulking, heavy volume balanced precariously on just four relatively tiny piers.

I was surprised the first time I entered its plaza and observed the rows of exterior windows ringing its interior surface—how strange, I thought. And, yet, I also thought: how special for an art museum to have so many windows? I now know that this is a function of Joseph Hirshhorn's collection having been primarily sculpture at the time it was acquired by the museum. Sculpture is often less light sensitive than other media, so the Hirshhorn was designed with windows in this interior gallery spaces.

The first time I entered the museum's lobby, it did not have any art on display, and was instead home to its gift shop. The shop was comprised of a small, rectilinear glass box plopped down inside of the lobby, which was itself a large rectilinear glass box (see Appendix C, photo 17). Though the shop looked out of place—and rightly so, for it was a late and temporary addition to architect Gordon Bunshaft's design[2]—the gift shop was a welcoming feature whose playful wares at once indicated 1) that the Hirshhorn was a museum, and 2) that the Hirshhorn was fun. Today, the shop has been replaced by tables and chairs in the museum's lobby. Without the shop and with its

[2] The gift shop was added to the museum's lobby not long after the museum opened, and was to be a "temporary" feature. It was indeed not temporary, as it remained in this location for decades, until it was moved downstairs in conjunction with the opening of Barbara Kruger's "Belief + Doubt" in 2012.

sparse signage, the lobby now has the look and feel of a corporate lobby: somewhat sterile and definitely not provocative.

Ascending to the second floor, I noticed that the Hirshhorn's escalators are narrower than most escalators. This prevents passing others on the escalator and means that, if the person in front of you on the escalator is standing rather than walking up the escalator, you will stand, too, because it is too difficult to move around standing passengers. In Washington, especially as a passenger on the subway, or Metro, one becomes quickly sensitive to the local "stand right, walk left" dictum, with commuters often choosing to walk in order to hasten their arrival to their workplaces. As I stood on the Hirshhorn's escalators, I found it interesting, and somewhat frustrating, to have my pace constrained during those times I was moving between levels in the building.

In my early visits to the building, I found myself very confused by its circular layout. While I understood that, to navigate the second and third floor galleries, one simply needs to walk in a circle, being unfamiliar with and somewhat overwhelmed by the art on display meant that I had a difficult time establishing reference points to know when I had completely circumnavigated each level. In addition, because there are actually two nested circles on each level—the larger, outer circle of windowless galleries, and the interior, windowed "ambulatory"—it was easy to weave in and out of these two gallery spaces and completely lose track of what I had and had not yet seen.

Outdoors, the walls surrounding the building open up to the north and to the south, allowing the Hirshhorn to be approached from one or the other of these two directions. I found myself approaching most frequently from the south, because I would arrive to the L'Enfant Metro station, which exited one block to the south and just to the

east of the Hirshhorn. Approaching the building most often from this particular direction allowed me to establish a routine. I found myself walking underneath Alexander Calder's stabile sculpture, "Two Discs," which is presently located in front of the building's public entrance. Not only was it exhilarating to be in such close proximity to this remarkable piece of art, but this ritual also instilled in me a heightened awareness of Calder's techniques of composition and fabrication. When I visited Chicago in 2012, I immediately recognized "The Flamingo," a giant, red abstract stabile as another Calder work. This recognition was a function of my frequent interactions with the Hirshhorn's entrance.

In addition to my ritual entry of the building, several other interactions with the building stand out most clearly. These interactions highlight ways its spaces and surfaces are used in combination with artists' particular visions. The first was installation artist Doug Aitken's "SONG 1," which was installed during the spring of 2012 (see Fig. 4). And the second was Ann Hamilton and Kathryn Clark's 1989 artwork, "Palimpsest," which appeared as part of the Hirshhorn's 2013 exhibition, *Over, Under, Next*.

The ways that—and extent to which— "SONG 1" affected the National Mall during its short run that spring are complex and are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9, "The Hirshhorn as a Living Building." Suffice to say, Aitken's "SONG 1" was no small technical feat, rendering the entire exterior surface of the Hirshhorn as a 360-degree projection screen. Onto the screen, Aitken projected kaleidoscopic depictions of urban and industrial life, interspersing close ups of individuals' faces throughout his carefully choreographed narrative. High-quality speakers were

positioned all around the Hirshhorn, playing variations on the song, "I Only Have Eyes for You."

Most people who have been to the National Mall after dusk, and this is when "SONG 1" was on display, would likely identify it as a relatively inactive space. Save for the presence of security guards, the occasional pedestrian or cyclist, and light traffic, the Mall is quiet. And dark. It was not so at the intersection of 7th Street Southwest and Independence Avenue each night during the two months that "SONG 1" ran.

Even during the daytime, the Hirshhorn is a space of relative quiet among a sea of tourists, so the crowds "SONG 1" drew were exceptional for any time of day, at any time of year, in this particular location. During the two years I lived in the Washington, D.C.-metro area, "SONG 1" was more talked about than any other exhibition shown at the Smithsonian. People who would not normally discuss art could be heard asking, "Have you gone to see that video outside the Hirshhorn after dark?" They would follow this question up by encouraging their friends and coworkers not to miss it.

It's tough to put my finger on which aspect of "SONG 1" most affected me—was it seeing how effectively it activated the Mall's dead space after dark? Or appreciating the technical prowess required to render Aitken's film in such crisp high definition on the bumpy concrete aggregate that is the Hirshhorn's exterior? Or observing my daughter's reaction and excitement over the otherworldly experience of watching an already floating building transform into a floating, cylindrical movie screen? In any case, when I look back at video documentation of the installation—my own and that produced by others[3]—I get emotional. I still feel affected by "SONG 1,"

[3] A video excerpt of "SONG 1" may be seen here: http://www.dougaitkenworkshop.com/work/song1/

by its specialness; its ephemeral character; its multi-sensory approach. I think, more than anything, it instilled in me a sense of possibility—that this inactive, dark space could, for a time, become utterly alive.

Where Aitken's "SONG 1" was digitally rendered and large-scale, Hamilton and Clark's "Palimpsest" was rendered by hand and at a much smaller scale. Occupying a small room within the *Over, Under, Next* exhibition, "Palimpsest" had a sense of intimacy that most works displayed within the Hirshhorn's large, high-ceilinged, and sterile-feeling galleries do not convey (see Fig. 14). Prior to entering the small room, visitors are required to put on soft, white shoe covers, cueing them into the delicate nature of the artwork. Inside the room, "Palimpsest" is comprised of a multi-sensory array that includes seeing small handwritten notes describing memories tacked to every square inch of the space's walls and also covering its floors; feeling a fan that gently blows; hearing the notes shuffle in the air of the fan; and smelling the beeswax that provides a protective layer over the notes that cover the floor. Toward the back of the room, a steel and glass case holds two large cabbages and around 20 snails that are nibbling away at the cabbages.

Hamilton describes the work as "a meditation on memory, its loss and our finitude" (Padget 2005). Without the artist's prompting, it's hard to say whether I would have located the artwork's theme in the vein of memory and loss. Even so, the multisensory subject matter of "Palimpsest," combined with its alcove-like room within the museum's fluid exhibition space, disrupted my experience of the museum, rendering "Palimpsest" as a precious, personal space within the context of the museum's larger, more sterile feeling galleries.

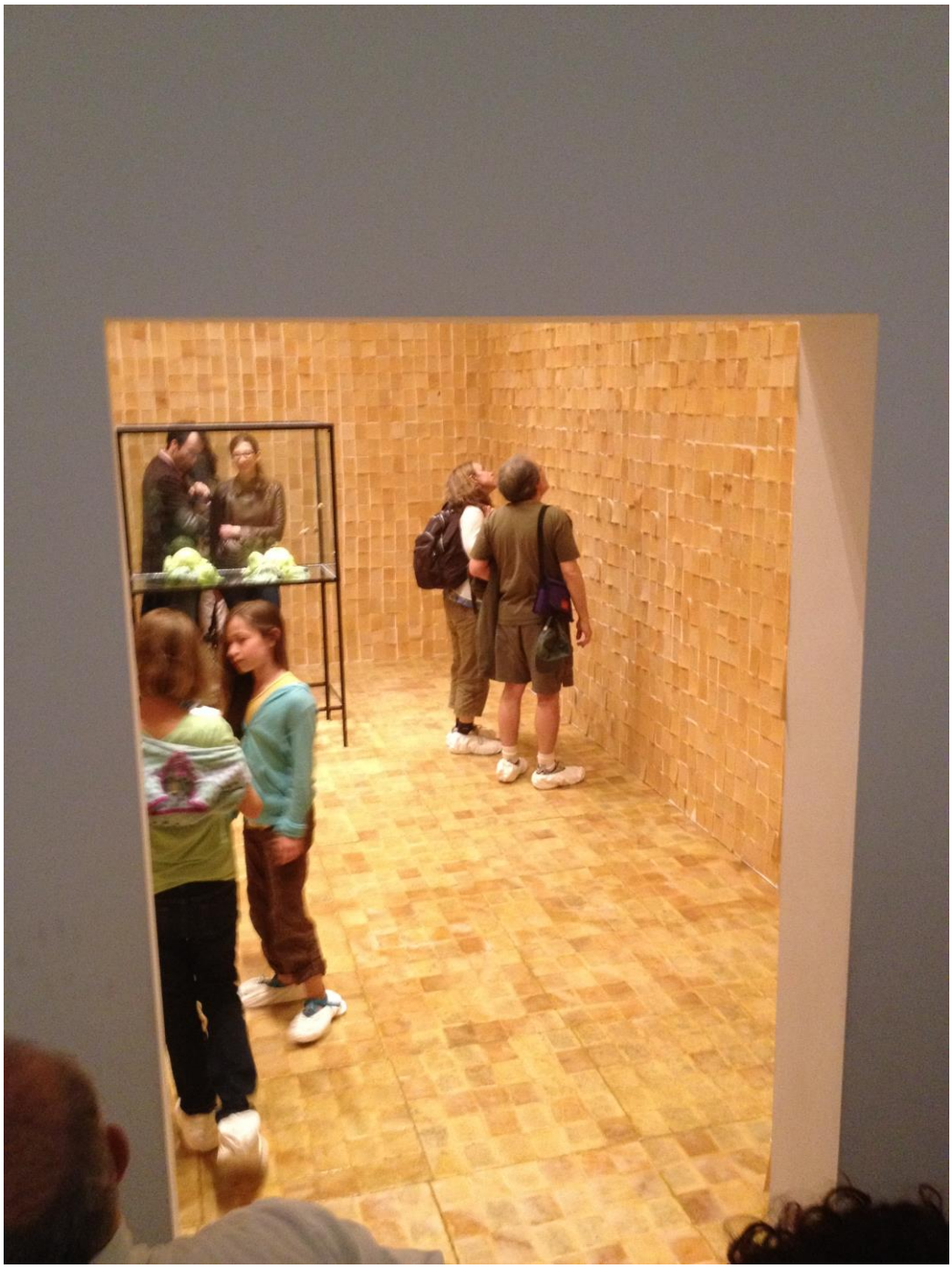


Figure 14. "Palimpsest," by Ann Hamilton and Kathryn Clark, as part of the 2013 exhibition *Over, Under, Next* (Author's image).

Situating myself with respect to my research questions

My personal experiences as a scholar of geography, of design, and of museums, as well as my own experiences in the Hirshhorn building, influenced the questions I

chose to ask and the types of information I sought while conducting this study. For example, my own sense that the building's style differed so dramatically from those buildings surrounding it on the National Mall prompted me to seek out whether others shared this visceral reaction to its presence. My own experiences being frustrated with navigating the inner-outer circle arrangement of its galleries and my impatience with its narrow escalators influenced my questions specific to these two elements of mobility. These questions, which address elements of affect, memory, and judgment, form the backbone of Section 2, "Intersections of Hirshhorn and Individual Identities" (Chapters 5-8).

My own past experiences working in less-than-perfect buildings, in which staff seem to make due despite outdated or counter-intuitive architectural circumstances, prompted me to explore how the Hirshhorn's staff adapted to the building's unique circumstances and succeeded, sometimes in spite of its architecture. My experience as a fellow in the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Facilities Management and Reliability informed my questions and analysis of facilities-related conditions, such as temperature, noise, and humidity, and what governs their maintenance and operations. I sought to discover the extent to which the architecture "mattered" in terms of creating an environment that supported the museum's mission. These experiences and questions ground my explorations in Chapter 9, "The Hirshhorn as a Living Building," in which I explore how the Hirshhorn has gained momentum as an active agent over time.

As a feminist scholar, I acknowledge that the marginalization of "particular ideas, people, and social groups" (Staeheli and Kofman 2004, 1) is a common political practice. As an architectural geographer, I am similarly concerned with exploring how

particular places—single buildings—affect belonging and inclusion and work to reinforce particular identities, while discouraging other identities. This viewpoint influences my analysis of identity construction, particularly in Chapter 8, "Feelings about the Hirshhorn," which explores dimensions of judgment in relation to the Hirshhorn's built environment.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that, during most of my time in the Hirshhorn, I enjoyed greater mobility than the general public. As a fellow who had been granted a Smithsonian badge, I could enter the building without my personal property being searched. It was also easier to connect with Hirshhorn staff, because they knew I had passed a federal background check, and I had a Smithsonian e-mail address that I could use to communicate with them. Though some staff members still seemed to approach our interviews cautiously, I felt as though my status with the Smithsonian helped ease my interactions with Hirshhorn staff.

Section 2: Intersections of Hirshhorn and Individual Identities

CH. 5: FEELINGS OF, FEELINGS IN, AND FEELINGS ABOUT BUILDINGS

Introduction

> There's a lot of fragmentation that happens where, if I look out this window, for instance, I can see the reflection of the trees behind me because there's a clear view. And so it layers – there's a lot of layering that happens and that's nice. I think the hardest thing about this building – that the water and the glass are trying to relieve – is just the heaviness of it. (13M)

As expressed by the Hirshhorn staff member quoted above, after more than 40 years on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., the architecture of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden continues to elicit strong reactions from staff members and visitors, alike. In the fields of architectural geography, environmental psychology, and architectural theory, wide debate exists surrounding how human responses to architecture are formed, their affective nature, and the implications they have for identities in both the human and architectural realms.

This section (Chapters 5-8) considers some complex and varied ways individuals relate to and frame the Hirshhorn Museum building. Rose et al. (2010) suggest that studies of architecture that capture the feel *of* buildings, feelings *in* buildings, and feelings *about* buildings, more fully express relationships between people and buildings than do studies that describe these relationships using the lenses of either actor-network theory (e.g., Jacobs 2006) or affect alone (e.g., Adey 2008; Kraftl 2009; Kraftl and Adey 2008). In addition to drawing on Rose et al., this section engages Geoghegan's (2010) call for geographers to pay greater attention to modes of identity formation and performance in museum contexts specifically.

Throughout this section, the word "feelings" is used to refer to varied ways people relate to aspects of the Hirshhorn's environment. Drawing on Rose et al. (2010),

I describe three types of feelings in relation to the Hirshhorn: the feel *of*, feelings *in*, and feelings *about* its built environment. I understand the feel *of* a building as a range of affect, and accompanying emotions, that physically interacting with a building engenders among individuals. I describe the feel of the Hirshhorn for individual staff and visitors in Chapter 6 and organize this description using the core affect model (Posner et al. 2005). I understand feelings *in* a building to be ways people frame their memories of and experiences in the building. Feelings in the Hirshhorn, including memories and experiences unique to the building, are described in Chapter 7. I understand feelings *about* a building to be judgments and opinions that individuals form about a building in relation to other places (Rose et al. 2010). Feelings about the Hirshhorn, particularly in relation to other prominent art museums and places on the National Mall, are described in Chapter 8.

With the primary goal of advancing understandings of how individuals relate to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden's built environment, this section asks:

3. What does discourse about the Hirshhorn's architecture reveal about its relationship to people in terms of its social, environmental, and emotional affects?
4. What are the implications of these outcomes for the Hirshhorn museum's own identity?

This section draws on information gathered during my ethnographic and archival research according to three segments—the feel *of* the Hirshhorn, situated with respect to affect theory (e.g., Anderson 2006; Pile 2010; Thrift 2004); feelings *in* the Hirshhorn, situated in relation to literature on memory and embodied engagement (e.g., Imrie 2003; Hagen 2009; Lees 2001; Paterson 2009); and feelings *about* the Hirshhorn, guided by literature on identity and place (ex., Cresswell 2004; Kraftl 2009; Massey 1994).

Bringing together understandings of affect, embodied engagement, and place identities contributes to emerging scholarship in geography, architectural theory, and museum studies. This section advances understandings of museum architecture as it relates to day-to-day experiences of staff and the once-in-a-lifetime experiences of museum visitors as they encounter the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The analysis demonstrates that not only does the built environment have an appreciable effect on individual feelings and perceptions, but also that individuals are continuously reinventing the identity of the built environment in relation to their own perceptions and preferences over time. As a result, this research has implications for enhancing visitor engagement initiatives for the Hirshhorn Museum and other contemporary art museums. Additionally, this study demonstrates the value of Web 2.0 media, such as TripAdvisor, as a means of documenting and analyzing individual understandings of particular places. Furthermore, this study's methods can be readily applied to other geographic post-occupancy analyses.

To date, no assessment has taken place that contributes to understandings of how Hirshhorn visitors are affected by, relate to, and, in turn, define the museum's architecture. A thorough assessment of visitor perceptions of the Hirshhorn's exhibitions was completed 35 years ago (Wolf & Tymitz 1980); however, little is known about the mutual constitution of visitor experiences and the Hirshhorn's identity. While that research specifically explicated human relationships with the Hirshhorn Museum, the results presented here contribute more broadly to understandings of ways people relate to built environments and helps to structure future research of architectural geographies.

The following section describes the data collected for analysis, as well as the steps taken in its analysis, and the accompanying results. For greater detail related to each of the methods described here, please see Ch. 3, "Methods." The following three chapters address different facets of individual identity formation in relation to the Hirshhorn. Chapter 6, "The Feel of the Hirshhorn," describes interactions with the Hirshhorn in terms of emotions and affect; Chapter 7, "Feelings in the Hirshhorn," describes interactions with the Hirshhorn in terms of embodied experiences; and Chapter 8, "Feelings about the Hirshhorn," describes how individuals frame the Hirshhorn in relation to their experiences in and impressions of other places.

Data and Analysis

This section documents and describes feelings of, in, and about the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden through a polyvocal approach. This approach triangulates discourse gathered from participant questionnaires and interviews and user-generated reviews posted to the travel website TripAdvisor. This discourse represents individuals with a broad range of expertise and experience, for example, spanning those who know little about the modern art and architecture on display at the Hirshhorn, and who may only visit it once in their lives, to those specifically trained in art history and conservation.

In-depth Interviews

A portion of this study is grounded in a participatory format in which I engaged Smithsonian Institution employees as key stakeholders. In-depth interviews were

conducted with Smithsonian staff, including one who visited the Hirshhorn regularly as part of her job at the Smithsonian Early Enrichment Center, one who worked in the Hirshhorn for years as a part of their security detail and has since moved to another Smithsonian museum, and others who worked in the Hirshhorn at the time of their interviews.

Participants were selected through respondent-driven sampling, in which initial interviewees provided names of possible study participants (Noy 2008). They completed a 25-question questionnaire, comprised of short answer and multiple choice questions (see Appendix A: Study Questionnaire). Each participant's responses were used to structure the interview proceedings, allowing for the identification of key concepts for further exploration during each of the interviews (see Appendix B: In-Depth Interview Protocol). Photo elicitation, in which pre-selected photographs of Hirshhorn Museum elements were presented to participants, was used as a means of stimulating participants' discussions of, and reflections on, their experiences with targeted aspects of the building and its local context (see Appendix C: Photo Elicitation Protocol).

Among participants, the length of their experience working at the Smithsonian varied, spanning from seven months to 36 years. Not all participants granted permission for their names to be used in publications, so, for consistency and to distinguish between participants, each is identified here with a randomly assigned participant ID number. Following each participant number is an M, for male, or an F, for female, which indicates whether the speaker identified as male or female.

Web 2.0 Content

All reviews of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden posted to the Web 2.0 platform TripAdvisor between June 23, 2008 and June 23, 2015, were accumulated for analysis, for a total of 348 reviews. TripAdvisor is a website that allows users to rate different locations on a scale from one to five, as well as describe their experiences at and impressions of the location. Users may also upload photographs of their experiences. As of 2013, TripAdvisor averaged 62 million monthly, unique visitors, and more than 75 million user reviews of different locations had been posted to the site. Some concerns have been raised regarding the possibility of falsified reviews being posted to the site; however, TripAdvisor actively seeks out fake reviews and its research shows that 98 percent of users trust reviews posted to the site (Forbes 2013). Data sets, like that compiled for this study, represent only those users who have access to, and, in turn, choose to access, these Web 2.0 platforms and, as such, are not fully representative of all possible viewpoints (Stephens 2012; Watkins 2012).

As mentioned earlier, many TripAdvisor users choose to supply information about where they are from, their genders, and their approximate ages within a TripAdvisor-defined range (ex. 18-24 years; 25-34 years; 35-49 years; 50-64 years; and 65+ years old). Of the 350 TripAdvisor reviews of the Hirshhorn, 247 were posted by people from 36 U.S. states, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico; 66 reviews were posted by people from 28 additional countries; and 35 reviewers did not include information about their places of residence. Gender identity information was provided by 186 Hirshhorn reviewers, with 94 identifying as male and 92 identifying as female, and age information was provided by 163 reviewers. See Appendix E for tables

that document TripAdvisor reviews by U.S. state, district, and territory; by country of residence; and by age and gender. When quoted, TripAdvisor users are identified by their usernames.

Analysis

Interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder, transcribed, and then analyzed through open coding (Benaquisto 2008) to organize participants' discourse into categories indicative of relationships to and perceptions of the Hirshhorn's built environment. The code book for this study consists of 129 codes organized into categories that include, for example, descriptions of specific affects, of embodied experiences, and of the Hirshhorn's sense of place; descriptions of how the staff make the building "work;" and descriptions of how the building supports the Hirshhorn mission (see Appendix F). Open coding, performed by organizing pieces of discourse into Excel spreadsheets according to the codes they were assigned, was my primary means of discourse analysis in this study, as I looked to the body of discourse of staff, visitors, archival sources, and newspaper accounts to inform the resulting conclusions about the Hirshhorn.

In addition, content from each of the TripAdvisor reviews was divided up with respect to 47 codes that relate to user experiences of the Hirshhorn's interior and exterior built environments (see Appendix G). Fewer codes are applied to the TripAdvisor data because it is generally centered on experiences lasting one or two visits, in contrast to the interview data provided by staff whose experiences of the Hirshhorn which span periods of months and years. Examples of codes unique to the

TripAdvisor data include whether the reviewer visited the sculpture garden and not the museum, whether the reviewer indicates positive or negative interactions with museum staff, and whether the reviewer prefers the sculpture garden to the museum building.

Visitor perspectives are supplemented with archival material that extends the timeline of visitor perceptions back to the opening of the museum. These additional visitor perspectives are drawn from Hirshhorn visitor comment cards and surveys held in the collections of the Smithsonian Archives and the Smithsonian Libraries. In addition, site observations of staff and visitors at the Hirshhorn, as well as my own embodied experiences of the museum, underpin the results described herein.

Summary

The following three chapters elaborate on specific social and physical mechanisms of the Hirshhorn's built environment that affect identity construction at the scale of the individual. Examples of identity formation in response to the Hirshhorn's environment include individuals' choosing to rebel against formal and informal rules governing the environment, their enactment of rituals, and their articulation of artistic preferences in opposition to the Hirshhorn's exhibition offerings. The Hirshhorn's identity—its sense of place—and these myriad individual identities are mutually constituted, and overarching social norms influence both sets of identities—architectural and individual (Massey 1994). It is important to bear in mind that there are as many different identities affected by the Hirshhorn as there are people who come into contact with it, and definitions of its sense of place are similarly diverse and complex.

CHAPTER 6: THE FEEL OF THE HIRSHHORN

Introduction: The Feel of Buildings

Attempts to understand the "feel of" architecture have been among the most common ways to frame geographic studies of architecture over the past 15 years. Even so, affect, as a phenomenon, remains difficult to fully document, analyze, and articulate. In this chapter, I frame affect and emotions as types of feelings. Specifically, I understand emotions to be *affect made manifest*. Affect is representative of the relationships between bodies—for example, human bodies, architectural bodies, and other material bodies.[4] Affective encounters between bodies often influence particular emotions (Anderson 2006). For example, emotions, like aggravation, may arise when a person is unable to easily locate a building's entrance. In this example, affect is responsible for the "motion of emotion" (Thien 2005, 451) or a "sense of push in the world" (Thrift 2004, 64) that results in the emotion of aggravation.

Following Thrift's suggestion that particular affects might be purposely designed by architects and planners (2004), architectural geographers often attempt to understand how affect operates between built environments and their occupants. For example, Adey (2008), describes how the architecture of airports results in an affect characterized by control, and Kraftl (2006) describes how understandings of "home" manifest in the design decisions made in a particular school environment. Each of these

[4] Stated another way, "affects are registered by changes in the capacity to affect or be affected and/or in changes in intensity" (Pile 2010, 9).

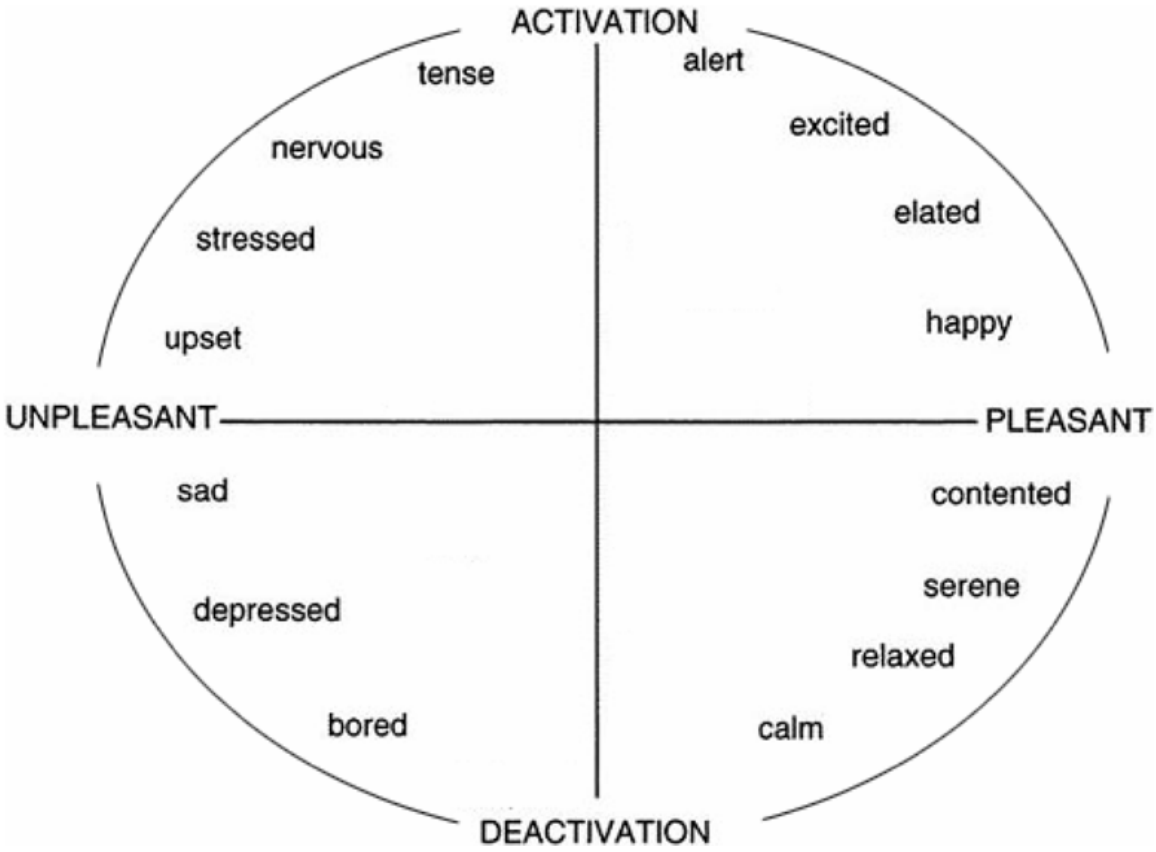


Figure 15. Core affect model (Posner et al. 2005)

studies unpacks a "sense of push" that exists between the built environment and its human occupants.

Affect is intangible and, thus, is difficult to represent (Pile 2010, 9). Scholars caution against recognizing emotions as "the outward expressive representation of some inner subjective reality" (McCormack 2003, 494). Affect is not easily captured by merely recounting the emotions experienced by a person in a given place at a given time. Rather than defining affect in terms of emotion, Grange (1985) describes manifestations of affect in terms of "mood." For example, "the body feels the mood of a place as bright or lowering, as spacious or cramped, as filled with possibility or deadened with hopelessness" (p. 75). Though an imperfect approach, documenting the

"strong if elusive 'feel' that many places have" (Rose et al. 2010, 343)—their respective affects[5]—provides key evidence that contributes to understandings of subtle yet, nonetheless, significant ways buildings relate to people.

In addressing the difficulty of capturing the "feel" of places, I draw from behavioral geography and public health literature frameworks for describing how people relate to their environments in terms of moods. For example, Giraldez-Garcia et al. (2013) document adults' perceptions of their neighborhoods using a five-point rating Likert-type scale to understand participants' impressions of peacefulness, safety, and social integration, among other perceptions. Epstein et al. (2013) link neighborhood influences on moods to participants' drug use behaviors, through a mixed-methods approach in which participants use GPS loggers to capture their exact locations when they identify and score their moods. Recently, Schwanen and Wang (2014) have drawn on the core affect approach to understand how geographic contexts affect well-being at different time scales, spanning from momentary experiences to overall impressions of satisfaction with participants' lives.

The core affect approach used by Schwanen and Wang and Epstein et al. is useful to geographers in that it provides a four-quadrant framework with which to conceptualize affects, or moods, observed in particular places through field research and discourse analysis (Posner et al. 2005; Russell 1980, 2003; Fig. 15). This approach organizes 15 commonly observed moods into four quadrants: the activated/pleasant quadrant (alert, excited, elated, happy); the pleasant/deactivated quadrant (contented, serene, relaxed, calm); the deactivated/unpleasant quadrant (bored, depressed, sad); and the unpleasant/activated quadrant (upset, stressed, nervous, and tense). For the purpose

[5] Colloquially speaking, one might also call a collection of affects the building's "vibe."

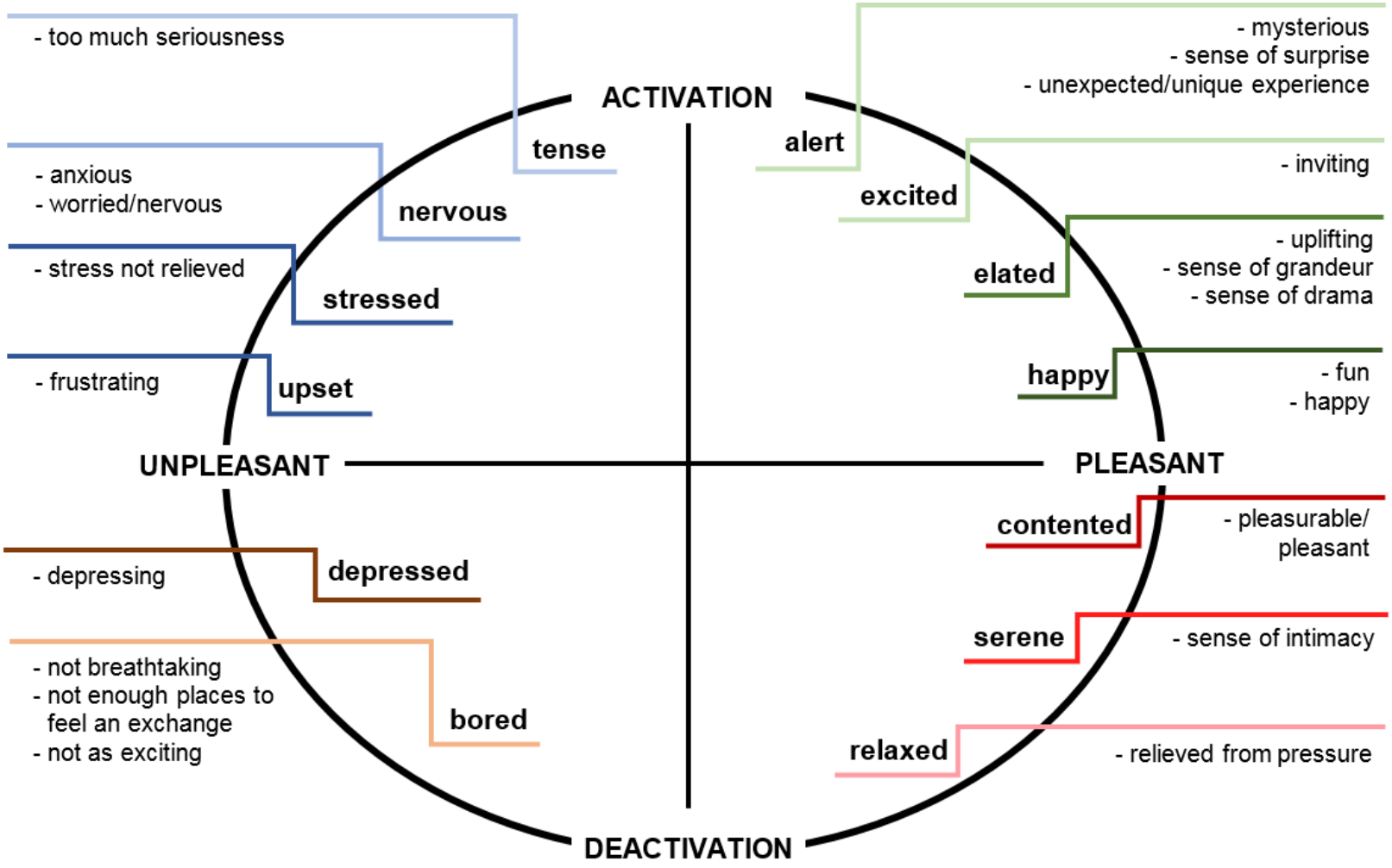


Figure 16. Affect observed among Smithsonian and Hirshhorn Museum staff, organized according to the core affect model (freely after Posner et al. 2005)

of aligning with existing scholarly vocabulary describing affect, this core affect model guides the following discussion of the feel of the Hirshhorn. It is necessary to point out that terms describing basic emotions can mask the intricacies that lie within "affective performances, affective scenes and affective events" (Wetherell 2012, 3).[6] That is to say, while this model is used as an organizational tool, the true contribution of this chapter is in its description of how individuals' emotions are influenced by the Hirshhorn's built environment.

The Feel of: Staff Perceptions

> [The Hirshhorn] is, kind of sublime, but there's not a lot of warmth to it. Obviously, it's just concrete aggregate and glass…. It works—it works both ways, if you're in kind of an optimistic, expansive mood, this building is enlightening. If you're stressed, or if you're in a bad mood, or if you're depressed, I don't think this building is going to offer any kind of human comfort in the way that, you know, the Arts and Industries building might. (1M)

Analysis of data provided by Smithsonian and Hirshhorn staff, many of whom spend each workday in the Hirshhorn, reveals a range of affect in the Hirshhorn's built environment. Participants use language indicative of being alert, excited, elated, happy, contented, serene, relaxed, bored, depressed, upset, stressed, nervous or tense in relation to the Hirshhorn (see Fig. 16). As participant 1M indicates above, the museum's built environment appears in some cases to magnify pre-existing moods.

[6] Keeping this in mind, my discussion of affect "attempts to understand emotion – experientially and conceptually – in terms of its socio-*spatial* mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorized subjective mental states" (Davidson et al. 2005, 3).

Being alert, excited, elated, or happy

The Hirshhorn's circular floorplan, in tandem with the art on display in the building, increases visitors' alertness to both architectural and artistic qualities. Staff describe senses of surprise, unexpectedness, and mystery through their interactions with the building. For example, the building works with large-scale art pieces to produce a sense of surprise when visitors, following the curve of the building's gallery spaces or turning a corner, suddenly come upon a dramatic piece like Peter Coffin's "Untitled (Big Dog)" (Fig. 17). Jim Lambie's 2006 *Zobop* installation covered the floor of the Hirshhorn's lobby in colorful stripes of tape, which clued entrants in to the unique wedged shape of the space (see Appendix C, photo 7). Andy Warhol's *Shadows* (1978) exhibit, which opened in September 2011, ran continuously for nearly 450 linear feet without turning a corner (Hirshhorn 2011). This surprising effect was made possible by the museum's large, circular gallery spaces with removable walls. Participant 2M describes the Warhol show:

> … the way we did it—knock down all of the walls—and just have it all going all the way around—you can really experience something like you couldn't experience anywhere else.

The distinctive experience described by this participant was echoed by other participants, and greater than one-third of interviewees indicated that Warhol's *Shadows* made the best use of the Hirshhorn Museum's architecture.

The unexpected view afforded by the Lerner Room, which is home to the concrete volume's only exterior-facing strip of windows, is often surprising the first time people experience it. Participant 1M was especially affected by this sense of surprise:



Figure 17. Artist Peter Coffin's "Untitled (Big Dog)" on display at the Hirshhorn Museum (Image: America's Family Album; Smithsonian Institution)

> Obviously, that view of the Mall is unexpected. And, especially, from a building with no windows, to see this gigantic window with this unexpected view of the Mall, in all its glory, is—is, I think it's one of the gems of the building architecturally. And, some days, for lunch, I'll just go through the galleries to remind myself which work is up, and I'll always pause here and just say, "God, that's a great view" and that's—that's a beautiful room.

Another aspect that staff associate with a sense of surprise includes their noticing for the first time that the building's mass floats on four pylons. This attribute is hidden by high concrete walls and so is not apparent until one gets close enough to see the pylons.

The Hirshhorn's curved circulation seems to invite, or "dare," participant 5M to circle through an exhibition once more after coming to its end. He describes this phenomenon:

> … there's a certain sense of disorientation, but there's also a sense of completeness and then you wind up back where you started, so it's almost daring you to go on the ride again. (5M)

He contrasts the Hirshhorn's labyrinthine environment, in which you "traverse every inch of the path" as you move around its circular galleries, against experiences of a maze, in which "there are dead ends; there are places you shouldn't want to go if you want to navigate it." At the Hirshhorn, he implies, not only do you want to see it all; once you have, you may feel as though you want to see it once more.

Others suggest that the museum's dynamic, oscillating fountain invites passersby, particularly children, up into the museum's courtyard. Because the fountain is drained during the winter months, whether or not the courtyard space is inviting may have to do with the season (9F). Inside the building, the Lerner Room is identified as an inviting space. With comfortable sofas, and its expansive view, one participant says that "when you sit down in [the sofas], you just want to stay forever" (12F).

Several striking features of the building, including its high ceilings, its escalators, and the expansive curvature of its second and third floor galleries, elicit lofty moods. Staff indicated that the Hirshhorn's architecture has the potential to feel uplifting and dramatic, and to perpetuate a sense of grandeur. For example, when asked if he feels differently upon entering the museum's lobby, participant 1M responds:

> I think it's generally an uplifting space. I think, just the fact that it's got vaulted ceilings, you know--there's just--it breathes. I mean … if I'm coming in and it's a bad day and a stressful day, I think the lobby actually does nothing to hurt. You know, it's—it's soothing.

He also suggests that the escalators, which crisscross one another (see Appendix C, photo 15), provide a "sense of drama" that he enjoys experiencing each day. For

participant 5M, a sense of grandeur results from the expansiveness afforded by the curved gallery walls that seem to go on forever.

> … it's a very expansive space and, you know, there's a feeling of grandeur, sort of like must happen when you go out to the Bonneville Salt Flats and it's so flat you can actually see the curvature of the Earth—you know [laughs]—on a small scale, in a building, it's like, just to see the sweep of one of the large galleries, and, now that I work here and I've become more and more aware of it, I do think about particular installations ….

Though specific architectural features may influence the lofty moods of some, one participant notes that the uplifting sense she gets when she enters the building stems simply from her awareness of the museum's dedication to art (12F).

Happiness and playfulness are also observed, specifically through the building's interactions with art and its flexible floorplan. For example, the Lerner Room is described by participant 9F as "one of the happiest rooms" in the building, and she specifically enjoys artist Sol Lewitt's large-scale drawings, which are drawn directly onto the Lerner Room's tall walls. Jim Lambie's colorful *Zobop* installation, discussed earlier, also provoked a sense of happiness. As participant 12F describes, "… it was just so bright and … wonderful and made you feel really happy when you came in the building. I really hated to see this go." In the gallery spaces, where walls are often moved in order to accommodate new exhibition arrangements, a playfulness is observed by those familiar with the moving walls who ask, "Will this be a show where the galleries are all opened up? Will this be a show where it's subdivided?" (1M).

Being contented, serene, or relaxed

Staff also feel contentment in relation to pleasant aspects of the Hirshhorn's location. The museum's sculpture garden, which is outdoors and dug out below the

surface of the National Mall, is particularly pleasant, offering a degree of quiet that is uncommon not only on the Mall, but elsewhere in Washington, D.C. (2M). Participant 1M identifies a "city side" and a "garden side" of the building, and he believes that approaching from the "garden," or Mall, side is a more a pleasant approach:

> … if I get off [the subway] for any reason at the Smithsonian Metro, and if I'm coming from the Mall, then you get to sort of walk through this sort of sculpture area around the fountain in the summer and then—and that's a nicer approach, because you get to go through … this sort of parkland and see some sculpture and see the fountain.

Another staff member notes that his morning commute by bicycle, through the historic Capitol Hill neighborhood and around the U.S. Capitol building, makes his workdays at the Hirshhorn better than those days he has to ride the bus or the subway (6M).

With its small size in comparison to flagship Smithsonian museums, like the National Museum of Natural History, and its relatively straight forward circulation, it's possible to find the Hirshhorn to be serene or relaxing. A combination of "intimacy and expansiveness" found in the building appeals to participant 5M. This effect results from his traversing the circular floorplan, from the museum's relatively small, more intimate, "core" galleries into the more expansive galleries that span from one core gallery to the next. For others, the ability to walk the entire museum in a short period of time lends it a sense of intimacy. One staff member feels "relieved from pressure" when she enters the building, even if she has "pressure awaiting" her at her desk. She attributes this phenomenon to what she calls the building's "sense of elegance" (12F) and to how open and un-crowded its spaces are in relation to the traffic and crowds often found outside.

Being bored or depressed

Rather than feeling relaxed, some staff members indicate a lack of stimulation in relation to particular elements of the building, including both its exhibition spaces and staff areas. One staff member suggests that, when a museum is at its very finest, it should be awe-inspiring, and the Hirshhorn's exhibitions—even his favorites—have never left him feeling this way (4M). Another staff member points out that the gallery spaces feel more "fun" and "special" than does the "work-a-day world" of the staff areas, though, he believes, "from an aesthetic point of view … [the two areas] shouldn't compare" (1M). Participant 13M suggests that the building needs more social spaces, places where people can feel an exchange between the institution and their own interests: "places for people to eat, places for people to touch things, places for people to … do what they feel comfortable [with], so they're more open to things that they're less comfortable with."

Depressing or off-putting characteristics of the building identified by staff include its lack of live plants in the entrance, the tinted windows of the lobby, the high walls surrounding the building, and its windowless exterior. Participant 9F sums up her impression of why the building might feel uninviting, saying that, without windows on the outside, "it just makes you feel like … if we're not able to able to see through and see what's going on, then there's a reason. There's something hidden there that we're not supposed to be seeing." These characteristics align with notions of defensible space, in which territoriality is defined by off-putting physical cues in the built environment (Newman 1972). According to participant 1M, "… if you're depressed, I don't think this building is going to offer any kind of human comfort in the way that, you know, the

Arts and Industries building (A&I) might." As he points out, the Hirshhorn's stark, windowless exterior may be less comforting than its next-door neighbor, A&I, which is clad in warm, red masonry and has abundant windows, as well as many playful exterior details, including colorful brick patterns, carved floral insets, and decorative lamps.

Being upset, stressed, nervous, or tense

Several features of the building cause staff members to feel upset, stressed, nervous, or tense. On each of the third and fourth levels, there is an outer ring of galleries and, nested within, an inner gallery, known as the ambulatory. People are able to move back and forth between the two rings through a series of doorways. Participant 7F is frustrated by her experience navigating these nested galleries:

> you start at one point and walk all the way around it and know that you've seen everything and know that you've been through all of the galleries but, because there's the outer circle and the inner circle, you can sort of weave around and still get that feeling that you've missed something or that you have to backtrack and it – it just seems unnecessary [laughter]. You know, there's something about wanting to feel like you can see it all and you haven't had to, you know, backtrack or get lost in the middle of it.

The circular galleries are often a challenge for those who work in them installing art. If a co-worker needs to be located, one may end up following him or her around in circles. To bypass this difficulty, some staff now carry walkie-talkies to communicate their locations when working in the galleries.

Recall that the Lerner Room's windows are the only windows on the building's exterior that provide views outward on the building's second, third, or fourth floors. Many people cherish the view these windows provide of the National Mall. For participant 13M, however, this view outward is aggravating, because it is focused on only one portion of the Mall and the balcony outside is inaccessible. In his words:

> … the thing that I – that kind of bothers me about it is it's very like a cyclops. You know, it's very camera-like. It's a postcard picture of the National Mall and, unless we open up the balcony, you really can't turn to look at things. So, I have found over time it's become kind of frustrating. It's more like a picture than an actual place where you can have a sense of exploring.

Some staff indicated that the Hirshhorn Museum can be a stressful place to work, and that the museum's architecture does not necessarily reduce stress levels. Those who work on the museum's lower level do not have windows in their offices, while, on the fourth floor, only those whose offices are located around the inner ring of the building do have windows. Participant 1M, who does have a window, feels that, "if it's going to be a very stressful day, the fact that I have a nice view out the window doesn't help," though he concedes that, "maybe it would be worse if [my office] was a windowless cubicle or something." Those who work in the lower level, without windows, indicate a strong preference for access to natural light, with many leaving the building during their lunch hours in order to access the outdoors.

Staff members' concerns about safety within the building relate primarily to the building's circulation. One participant points out that, due to adult/child ratio requirements, children in Smithsonian Early Enrichment Center's (SEEC) care are unable to use the museum's escalators, which are its primary means of transportation between floors. For this reason, SEEC teachers and children must use the museum's small elevator to move between the floors of the building. She expresses her concern should an emergency situation arise:

> I mean, practically – relying on the elevators … – is a little bit stressful if that's how we have to get out of the building and if the elevators are as slow as I know they are, and as small as I know they are, that could be worrisome being on the third floor and needing to get down and out. (7F)

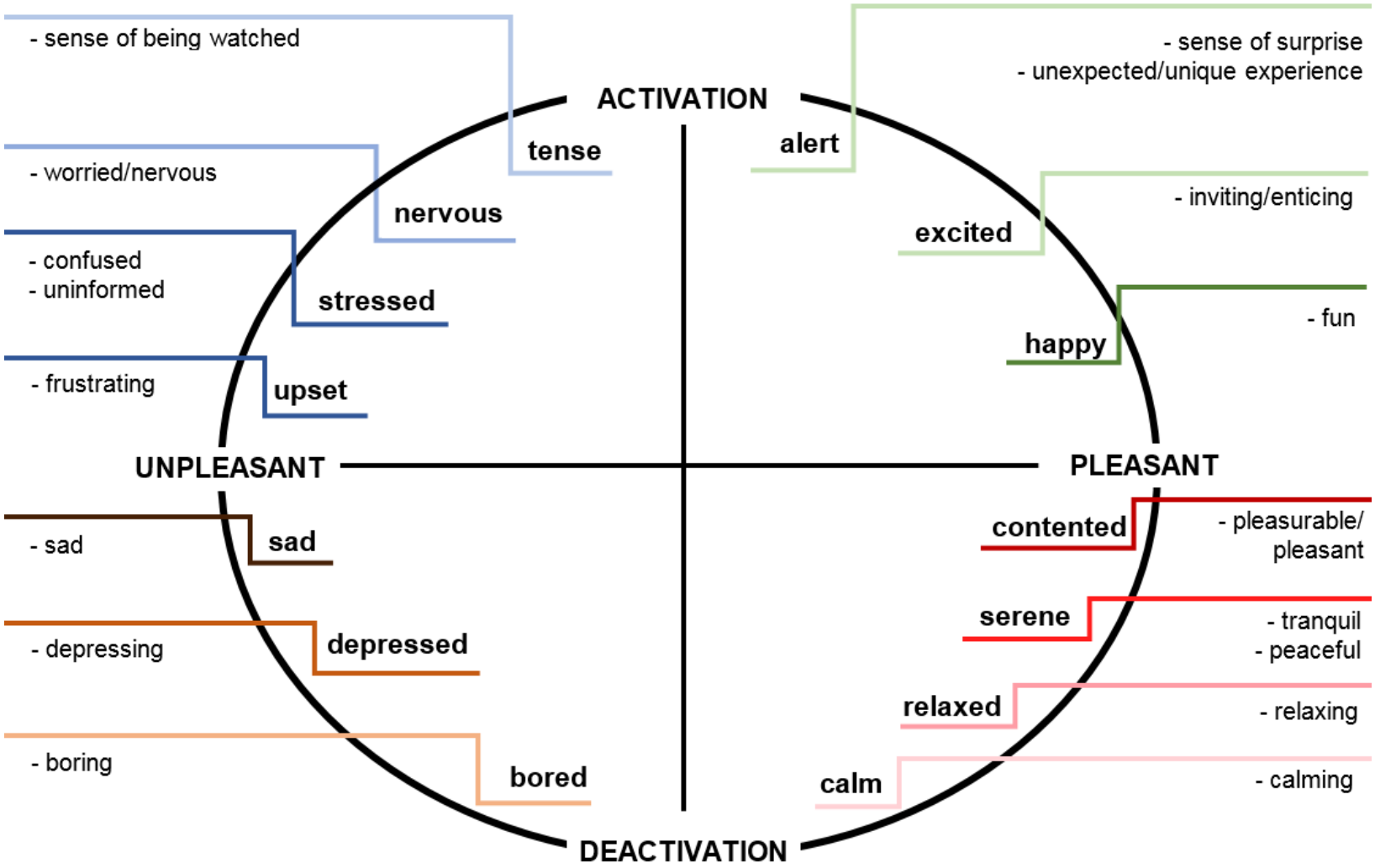


Figure 18. Affect observed among TripAdvisor reviews of the Hirshhorn, organized according to the core affect model (freely after Posner et al. 2005)

Participant 11F, who works in the Hirshhorn's lower level, also worries about how circulation would be affected in an emergency if the building's elevator or escalator were out of service. Though the building has stairs, its stairs are neither meant to be accessed by the public nor meant to be used by staff as a primary means of circulation, and they do not provide access to all floors. This feature of the building proves challenging for staff to navigate.

Participant 13M believes that the building influences a mood of seriousness. This tense atmosphere stems from the museum's aesthetic and it seems dated to him. In his words, "there's a seriousness that's very D.C. and it's just tired." His sentiment—that the building conveys seriousness—contrasts very much with the sense of surprise and playfulness identified by several participants at the outset of this section. This is indicative of how each individual's personal experiences and conceptions influence ways in which he or she is ultimately affected by the Hirshhorn. The "sense of push in the world" (Thrift 2004, 64) felt by each individual in the Hirshhorn manifests as a result of external factors—in the case of the Hirshhorn, its built and social environments—as well as factors that are unique and internal to each individual.

The Feel of: Visitor Perceptions

> The stunning shape of the building and the welcoming outdoor fountain lured me inside as I was on my way to the Natural History Museum. The inside was so arresting that I never made it to my intended museum! (M H)
>
> It is a total waste of time and space in an ugly, cold circle of concrete holding very little art of interest. (Ginbudjim)

As illustrated by the conflicting sentiments of the two TripAdvisor (TA) users quoted above, analysis of TA reviews and archival documents points to a range of affects engendered by the Hirshhorn's built environment. Reviewers use language indicative of being alert, excited, happy, contented, serene, relaxed, calm, bored, depressed, sad, upset, stressed, nervous or tense in relation to the Hirshhorn (see Fig. 18).

Being alert, excited, or happy

Visitors to the Hirshhorn indicated a sense of surprise in relation to the building and its collections. One TripAdvisor reviewer exclaimed, "Another one of those places people don't know about!" (legalbeagle1), while another said "It's a hidden gem that is amazing" (Traveler10531558). These two sentiments echo the impressions of many others—that the museum is not something that visitors expect to find on the National Mall, architecturally or artistically, and many are excited by their "discovery" of it.

In some cases, excitement over the shape of the building is what enticed visitors to venture inside of the museum. For example, Nyusual writes, "Our boys liked the external shape of the museum so much that we postponed our other museum visits to go to this one," while Bouffie says, "The building itself is what first attracted them [pre-teen kids]; after that the exploration began!" In one final example, Fraser5150 writes:

> First of all, the building itself was quite cool to look at from the outside and there are various sculptures dotted around in the vicinity which kind of give you a taste of what the museum has to offer.

The uncommon shape and impressive scale of the building, combined with its large outdoor sculpture act to entice visitors inside, especially those unfamiliar with the Hirshhorn Museum.

Once inside, many visitors indicate that they have fun through their interactions with the building, including experiencing its unique circulation, its interactive exhibitions, and its engaging staff members. Several features identified as fun were originally designed into the building's physical space, such as its circulation, while others were added later, such as Barbara Kruger's temporary "Belief+Doubt" installation covering the walls and floor of the lower level lobby (see Appendix C, photo 11).

About the building's circulation, Ursula_C_P writes, "The setup of the museum is fun. When out in the main hall with the sculptures you walk around a huge hallway in a circle (never getting lost). I really enjoyed this building." People describe children having fun in the museum, particularly as they experience interactive exhibitions and art installations. About "Belief+Doubt," Sigma1994 writes, "Our children (ages 9/5) thought the displays were fun too - especially the life-size word exhibit on the museum's bottom floor." Still other fun attributes located within the confines of the Hirshhorn's walls are tied to the museum's social context. For one visitor, the fun he had in the space was influenced by his interaction with the museum's security staff. He describes this interaction:

> On the third floor after quickly walking through the galleries (near closing) and about to head down the security guard mentioned that we had missed one piece (it can be painted over and remade at any time - the art is the instruction set for creating the visual), brought up a page about the artist on his smartphone and pointed us in the direction of another of his works. It was so fun to talk with someone who was passionate about the place they work. (Dale L)

This visitor's experience with the security guard is not uncommon among reviews of the Hirshhorn, and it illustrates how the Hirshhorn's staff and built environment work together to construct visitors' sense of the Hirshhorn as being a fun place.

Being contented, serene, relaxed, or calm

Visitors described feeling contented, serene, relaxed, or calm during their visits to the Hirshhorn. In many cases, these feelings stemmed from interactions with the Hirshhorn Museum's outdoor sculpture garden. The sculpture garden was widely described as "pleasant" or "pleasurable." For example, AllisonN18, who did not prefer the museum's indoor areas, is one of many who found contentment in the sculpture garden, writing that "The one glimmer of hope is the sculpture garden, which houses some interesting pieces, and is a pleasant walk if the weather cooperates." Another reviewer described the garden as a "pleasant escape" from Capitol Hill (g-raterr). Those who found the sculpture garden to be pleasant often cited its seating, its somewhat hidden location below the surface of the National Mall, and its landscaping.

Other pleasant attributes of the Hirshhorn include its circulation and size. Visitor c7ed, who was particularly impressed with the Hirshhorn's interior circulation and relatively small size, writes that "it's probably the most pleasant and perfect art museum in the world." Similarly, texas-molly writes that the museum is "Not too big, not too, too absorbing, but a pleasure." This sense that the museum's relatively manageable size is appealing was echoed by staff as well.

Several visitors identified a serene quality during their visits. Among the aspects described as tranquil or peaceful were, again, the museum's sculpture garden, its central, oscillating fountain, and the Lerner Room. About the sculpture garden, Edgar T writes, "At the front is the sculpture garden: a quiet site, cold because of the season, but tranquil and peaceful."[7] Some indicated that the sculpture garden was best to visit early

[7] Translated from Spanish: "Al frente queda el jardin de las esculturas: un sitio apacible, frio por la estacion pero que tranquilidad y paz."

in the day, especially in summer, because it would be cooler and quieter. The fountain was appealing because of its peaceful sounds. As Shutterbug35 writes, “There is a fountain inside the center of the building and the canyon feel with the sound of running water makes for a great visiting experience and presents a number of photo opportunities.” He points out that, because the fountain is located inside of the museum’s interior courtyard, or plaza, which is four stories tall, it has a somewhat intimate, canyon-like feel.

Many visitors are taken with the Lerner Room and describe it as peaceful or relaxing. Visitors particularly enjoy the views allowed out of its third-story windows that face the National Mall, as well as its plush seating. Visitor GB4 describes, “There is an enormous couch and tables and chairs in one room which is unforgettable. It's a wonderful room to imagine writing a novel in;” while, Hsphoser36 writes, “on the third floor, [there is] a way cool lounge area with seating where you can relax indoors and watch the mall with a view. Why am I just learning this?!?!?!" More than any other feature of the Hirshhorn’s interior architecture, the Lerner Room seems to engender a strong, positive response.

For many, it’s not what the museum has, but what it doesn’t have that engenders a positive affect: crowds. Several visitors indicated that the Hirshhorn’s environment is relaxing by comparison to other, busier museums, such as the National Museum of Air and Space (NASM) and the National Museum of National History (NMNH). Reviewer sciencesensei encapsulates this comparison:

> Unlike the more popular Air/Space & Natural History Museums, the Hirshhorn Museum is a quiet and relaxing place to visit. It was nice to escape the crowds and stroll along the many floors and sit in one of the chairs interspersed between the sculptures.

MrM1001 simply states that the Hirshhorn provides, “Relief from other more tourist-oriented museums in the Mall area.” Even some visitors who did not prefer the Hirshhorn’s collections recommended it as a go-to location on the National Mall, if only to escape the crowds commonly found elsewhere or to use the restrooms without waiting in line. Jim L states his preference for the museum plainly: “The best thing about this place is that it has restrooms but not much else in it so you can get through and be done with it in ten minutes or less."

This sense that the museum can be visited in a short period of time is appealing to many, and cited as one of the reasons it is a relaxing environment. Jan_from_Atlanta writes that the museum is “small enough to be manageable.” Others indicate that the ratio of art to space is relaxing and prevents fatigue, because there are relatively few pieces of art spread out over a large amount of space. Reviewer acgardiner describes this phenomenon: “A very unusual museum - plenty of space allocated to a single artwork, mesmerizes you provided you slow down and, as the saying goes, 'take time to smell the roses.'” For many, the museum and its sculpture garden offer a respite during what are often frenzied trips to the National Mall. Some describe the museum as having a calming influence, particularly related to its sculpture garden and, again, its general lack of crowds. Visitor classicalmusictravel describes the calm felt by his group: “… the museum was quiet, contemplative even. We appreciated leaving the crowds of Air and Space (also wonderful) and walking into this oasis of beauty."

Being bored, depressed, or sad

In relation to their experiences of the Hirshhorn, some visitors expressed boredom, depression, or sadness. Visitors associated boredom with various aspects of the Hirshhorn's physical and social elements. Some felt that the ratio of space to art was too high and that more of the museum's collection could be on display throughout the building. For example, A D writes, "This huge building is mostly empty and what's on display is pretty boring." This visitor's sentiment contrasts strikingly against others' understandings, discussed earlier, that the ratio of space to art is pleasant and relaxing. This discord in the affects engendered reinforces the idea that a building's sense of place is largely dependent on an individual's preferences and experiences.

Some visitors pay particular attention to the level of the staff's engagement with visitors and the art, taking cues from staff regarding how stimulating—or unstimulating—they should find the environment. Visitor Feenixwest describes an overall sense of boredom while visiting the museum, writing, "Even the security was bored. They were in duos on their smart phones." Expressing similar observations, LolaGo1 writes, "As mentioned in several other TA reviews, employees appeared to be bored and not very friendly, I guess I would feel the same if I was working in such a place." These comments are illustrative of the integral role staff presence plays in the assemblage of visitor experiences of the Hirshhorn.

Visitors' expressions of depression or sadness were primarily linked to the building's physical environment, including its external aesthetic, as well as its overall state of maintenance and intermittent gallery closures. One visitor responds specifically to the shape of the building, as well as to its scale, writing, "Admittedly, the foreboding

pill-box exterior of the Hirshhorn does not give a warm and fuzzy feeling" (sailingboat). Others feel that the building is under-maintained, such as M B, who writes, "The place is really ragged looking and a very depressing museum." Visitors did not identify specific attributes that lead to this depressing look, but some factors observed during field work that might indicate a lack of maintenance include walls that show evidence of years' worth of skim coats from repeated repair, the escalators sometimes being out of order, and carpeting that shows wear.

With respect to gallery closures, due to renovations or the process of installing new exhibitions, visitors described sadness or disappointment. Because so many people "happen across" the Hirshhorn, rather than specifically planning to visit the museum, visitors often do not take into account whether the museum will have all of its galleries open or whether its galleries will be between showings and, thus, empty. When analyzing visitor reviews chronologically, it is evident that visitor experiences of the building oscillate between more and less delight, depending on the state of the facility and the number and overall appeal of its exhibitions.

Being upset, stressed, nervous, or tense

Several attributes of the Hirshhorn engender feelings of upset, nervousness, and tension among visitors. With its space-age looks and intentional lack of signage, the Hirshhorn Museum attracts a number of visitors who incorrectly believe they are entering the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum. Day after day, museum guards inform disappointed visitors that they must cross yet another busy street to reach their intended destination. By making the conscious decision not to place clearly visible

signage denoting the Hirshhorn museum's name and content, the museum's curators—in concert with the museum's aesthetic—unintentionally attract these visitors. In turn, these visitors are presented with the opportunity to enter the Hirshhorn or to continue their journey. Many of those who do choose to enter the Hirshhorn are upset by the contemporary art found inside, which conflicts with their notions of what constitutes art. Examples of comments with respect to the museum's art offerings surfaced soon following the museum's opening. For example, comments from a 1980 visitor survey include,

> Is there some message here? If so, it escaped me. Why can't these people paint bowls of fruit or buildings or battle scenes? That kind of art I can at least understand.

And,

> I think some of the artists just threw paint at the wall. Some missed and hit the canvas accidently (Visitors quoted in Wolf & Tymitz 1980, 29).

The Hirshhorn building's program—to serve as a backdrop to contemporary art—acts as a powerful mediating factor between its occupants and its architecture.

How individuals experience the museum is further constrained by the building's security guard presence and availability, even in non-gallery spaces. For example, the Hirshhorn has three doors on the ground level, but only one of these doors is an active point of entry and exit. This is because there are only enough active security guards available to manage egress in one place at a time, so the south door is the only door that is unlocked. This makes it impossible for people without mobility assistance devices[8] to enter from the courtyard side, despite a highly visible door in that location. On any

[8] People with wheelchairs and strollers are allowed to enter through the north door on a case-by-case basis.

given day, it is likely you will observe frustrated individuals and groups approaching the north door, only to find it locked. Some are so frustrated at being unable to find an obvious point of entry that they give up on entering the building before they ever find their way in. Soon after the building opened in 1974, one guest was so flustered by this that he left a note saying, "Unlock the doors from the lobby to the courtyard so people can go from the lobby to the courtyard. … There is nothing that annoys me more than a well-designed building with the doors locked" (Visitor comment, Smithsonian Archives, #99-006, Box 3, Complaints – 1974).

Guests who do locate the correct entrance are sometimes nervous about entering the small revolving door. As Noonespecial12 indicates concern related to the entrance, particularly for those using assistance devices,

> My friend and I were there before the doors opened and got a little bit nervous to see how the people in line would handle the 'one at a time rule.' It all worked out fine, but please be careful of the little old ladies with walkers who tend to visit the museum frequently.

Once inside, some worry that the building's nested, circular circulation scheme may make it easy for children to get lost, should they become separated from the adults in their party (ex., JeriTx).

As discussed earlier, on its exterior façade, the Hirshhorn has a single stretch of windows penetrating its exterior at the third-floor level. From the building's Lerner Room, these windows open out onto a balcony that faces the National Mall, affording an expansive view of many of the Mall's iconic buildings. After the museum opened to the public, however, the balcony doors were locked due to safety concerns. This has led to many frustrated visitors, whose frustrations stem not only from being unable to access the balcony, but also from the balcony's opaque railing. As one visitor put it,

“It’s a terrible tease to present us with such a magnificent view, only to cover it with an absurdly large railing when one tries to sit down and enjoy it” (Visitor comment, Smithsonian Archives, #99-006, Box 3, Complaints—July–December 1981).

Not only do visitors frequently wish they had greater access to views of the National Mall from the Hirshhorn’s upper levels, but they also often express their desires for additional amenities, including seating throughout the gallery spaces and access to water fountains. When advising another staff member how to respond to a visitor who had requested water fountains, one museum staff member wrote, “Thank him for the suggestion. A good idea. Unfortunately the architect didn’t have this in mind. Maybe if we do a renovation” (Visitor comment, Smithsonian Archives, #10-195, Box 2, Visitor Comments 2001-2002).

Some visitors were upset by their interactions with staff, indicating that they felt that staff members were not inviting. Among the phrases used to describe staff in unfavorable interactions are “dour and surly” (jehenson81), “not very friendly” (LolaGo1), and “barely polite” (Ralph W). Others describe difficulties locating information about the artwork on display, such as travlintoots, who writes, “It wasn't always easy to find the placards that describe each piece, and as someone who relies on them to learn more about a piece, I found that a little disappointing." These two factors—the inaccessibility of some staff members and the unavailability of art information—sometimes work together to make first-time visitors to this contemporary art museum feel that they are unwelcome in this place.

Regulation of the Hirshhorn’s spaces through security guard surveillance, signage, and alarm systems appear to induce tension among Hirshhorn visitors. In some

instances, guard surveillance and a lack of signage produced an aggravating circumstance for children visiting the museum's fountain:

> The security guards, however, were a bit over-zealous. Comically so. There was one security guard waiting for children to put their hands in the huge outdoor fountain that is the centerpiece of the grounds. As each child dipped their hand in the cool water, he yelled at them. There were no signs advising of the rules. (LolaVonZeplin)

Eric J provides another example of the regulation of children's activities in the museum's outdoor space, writing: "Watch out if your kids happen to run near the grass; the security guard will set them straight, worse than by the White House." Some visitors indicate confusion over which behaviors are and are not acceptable in the museum environment. For example, some were told photographs were allowed, then "yelled at" for taking photos of a particular piece of art (Brandi N), while another noted that eating was not explicitly forbidden on signage in the lobby, so he was quite unhappy to be sent outside into the snow with his yogurt (Ralph W).

The Feel of: Summary

By organizing staff and visitor feelings of the Hirshhorn Museum environment within the core affect model, this chapter shows a wide variety of emotions related to individuals' interactions with the building, spanning from active and pleasant to inactive and unpleasant. Affect turns out to be quite a complicated subject, and it is difficult to make broad generalizations about how the Hirshhorn affects people. Nonetheless, in many cases, the Hirshhorn's built environment seems to provide positive feedback, amplifying feelings of those who work in and visit the place.

CHAPTER 7: FEELINGS IN THE HIRSHHORN

Several Hirshhorn staff members remembered a somber event during my interviews with them. In August 2012, a Hirshhorn security guard committed suicide with his service weapon inside of the building, on the lower level. Hirshhorn employees were not initially told what had happened or that they were safe. Instead, confusion ensued when they were evacuated, not with an alarm, but by word of mouth. In the conversation below, one Hirshhorn employee describes her memory of the day:

Participant 10F: The only other time we've actually been evacuated, that wasn't a drill, was when one of the officers committed suicide and that was really unsettling and really, really, surreal and strange. And I remember I was out on the loading dock waiting for a package and I was walking back towards my office and this man that I had never seen before just wearing regular business-y—I don't think he was wearing a suit but he was wearing, like, khakis and a nice shirt with a tie—was running back towards our office and was yelling, like, "Get out, get out!" and, but he wasn't saying what—

Angela: And you're [thinking], "Who are you and why are you here?"

Participant 10F: Right, like, "I've never seen you before in my entire life." And there was no audible emergency system going off, and, so I walk into the office like, "Hey guys, did anybody else hear this?" and he came back into our office and was like, "Get out of the building now. Go!" Like, "Go as fast as you can!"

Angela: But still with no information?

Participant 10F: Not telling us—right. Then we get outside and we go to our normal meeting area for an emergency and we still have no idea what's going on. And, a helicopter landed on the Mall, and that's when I started to be a little bit—

Angela: Something is not right.

Participant 10F: Yeah. And my initial reaction when that—when I saw the helicopter land was to start just getting as far away from the building as possible because, I don't if it's—my dad is a Doomsday kind of person, like: "just start moving."

Angela: Get out of the city.

Participant 10F: Yeah, head towards Virginia. And I was the only person, which, I guess it turns out nothing was actual—I mean yes, there was something wrong, but the building wasn't going to explode, which is where my brain was headed.

Angela: Yeah.

Participant 10F: And it was—wasn't until, like, probably 30 minutes after we were already outside that we finally heard, like, someone shot themselves in the building. And, that was really horrifying and difficult to deal with, and I think really strange and not talked about or dealt with appropriately.

Memories, both dramatic and mundane, influence feelings in the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment. Whereas Participant 10F describes her memory of this horrific, singular event which, in turn, influenced her feelings in the building, other, more banal memories, such as memories of walking to the restroom or eating lunch by the fountain, were also described by staff members. These banal memories nonetheless have an effect on individuals' feelings in the building. In this chapter, I look at accounts of such varied experiences that illustrate the layering of people, place, and memory that contributes to feelings in buildings.

Introduction: Feelings in Buildings

Whereas the previous chapter focused on feelings *of* the Hirshhorn vis-à-vis the core affect model, this chapter describes feelings *in* the Hirshhorn, in terms of memory. Rose et al. (2010) define "feelings in" buildings as the memories that arise when interacting with a building. Identities of particular places are not only influenced by the physical makeup of the places, but also by the previous experiences, or memories, of the people who have spent time in these places (Harrison 2000). Looking at feelings in buildings acknowledges that people have these pre-existing experiences that influence

how they feel in relation to buildings, and that people experience buildings through the lenses of these past experiences.

Memories that come about as a result of being in the Hirshhorn reveal particular, individual histories that overlap in this place. In this chapter, I highlight several prominent categories of memory for staff and visitors. To describe feelings in the Hirshhorn, I draw from interviews with staff in which they described their memories associated with the building (for the full interview protocol, see Appendix B). Interview transcripts were analyzed to identify feelings in the Hirshhorn that are unique to the building. I also draw from 348 TripAdvisor reviews, in which reviewers often described their memories of specific experiences in the building, or related their experience of the building to memories of other places. I analyzed these reviews to understand ways the Hirshhorn Museum elicits memories that are particular to the site (see Appendix E for TripAdvisor reviewer information).

In the Hirshhorn, staff members' feelings in the building are often tied to memories of their daily routines and how they have changed over time, to specific art exhibitions, to significant events within the building, and to experiences in other museums. In some ways, these memories are characteristic of museum workers' feelings in their workplaces in general; however, the Hirshhorn's specific architecture, as well as its location on the National Mall, produces a layering of memories that are unique to this site.[9] When these memories are shared among staff members, they unite to form a cohesive sense of place characteristic of the staffs' feelings in the Hirshhorn as a whole.

[9] I draw on Harrison's (2000) "'geology' of the collective," the idea that an individual's life story and accompanying senses emerge from a complex layering of events and encounters (Harrison 2000, 514).

The Hirshhorn also produces a specific layering of memories for visitors to the site. In their memories of the building, visitors characterize the Hirshhorn as a place for escape, as a place for looking, as a place to experience nature, and as a place for pleasant regulation of their museum experience. These characterizations are unique to the Hirshhorn, and set it apart from other museums on the National Mall.

Feelings in: Staff Perceptions

Staff memories in the building reveal how the Hirshhorn's built environment functions as the unique place in which they perform their work, and these memories continue to influence staff feelings in the building as they experience it over time. In my discussions with staff, specific memories were often related to their daily routines, to memorable art exhibitions that have been installed in the museum, to significant events that occurred in the building, and to their experiences in other museums.

Memories of daily routine

The Hirshhorn's entrance, its circulation, and its proximity to dining options are three elements of daily routines that were frequently recalled in my conversations with staff. Part of the Hirshhorn Museum's mandate is to make large-scale sculpture accessible to the public, and the Hirshhorn's outdoor spaces are adorned with monumental forms by prominent artists like Henry Moore and Alexander Calder. For example, many people indicate a preference for walking underneath—or through—Calder's sculpture, "Two Discs" (1965). Arguably, this sculpture has become an

informal prelude to the museum's revolving door entrance. One Hirshhorn employee describes it as cathedral-like, saying that entering the Hirshhorn via the Calder is:

> sort of like a surrogate religious experience. I'm not saying I'm filled with a religious feeling, but there's that sense of ritual to it. And … [it] … signals the purpose that we direct ourselves towards when we work here. (5M)

Participant 5M's degree of familiarity with the building, as he has worked there for several years, allows for the development of this daily ritual. Elements of informal ritual (Browne 1980) expose the delight that some people find in familiarizing themselves with the Hirshhorn and, in turn, with developing a predictable relationship with the building over time by repeating particular activities. Others less familiar with the building often have a difficult time locating the main entrance, which is a small, revolving door on the south side of the building. For example, describing her first encounter with the building's exterior, Participant 9F says, "I remember being put off by the lack of a clear entrance and the large overbearing wall around it." Over time, her familiarity with the entrance has increased, but her feelings in the building are still colored by her memory of this confusing initial encounter.

The Hirshhorn does not have public staircases, so everyone must use the escalators or single elevator to reach the upper and lower galleries and office spaces.[10] Staff memories of their experiences moving through the Hirshhorn's built environment are strongly influenced by this spatial condition. With respect to circulation, Participant 1M said,

> when the escalators are working, it's a nice experience, we tend to have our major exhibitions on the second floor, and the way you experience them is that

[10] There is a staircase accessible to staff only, but it exits outdoors on the ground floor, so staff cannot use it to go from the upper levels to the first level, and so they generally rely on the escalators and elevator. Some staff who have access to the freight elevator will use it rather than waiting for the passenger elevator.

> you tend to come up the escalator, which leads you right to the opening of an exhibition, and I think that's great. I think that's got a sense of drama. It's got a sense of purpose. If you're here for the Ai Weiwei show, there's no doubt—you go up the escalator, and there it is. The title wall is right there. [It's] another example of how the building works. When the escalators work. [laughter]

As Participant 1M implies, the escalators are frequently out of service—either for routine maintenance or due to mechanical issues—which means that all visitors and employees must rely on the one small elevator and its accompanying security guard-cum-elevator operator to reach the upper and lower levels. This often leads to long wait times to get to these spaces. Further compounding this issue is the fact that the only restrooms are located in the lower level and on the fourth floor. So, if a staff member working in the second or third floor gallery spaces needs to use the restroom, he or she must descend via escalator—or elevator—several levels downward or take the elevator up to the fourth floor staff restroom. Because the escalators only accommodate one-person's width, if people are in front of you on the escalator, there is no option to pass them in order to hasten your descent. Staff frequently recalled their experiences being delayed due to the escalators.

Due to the building's spatial constraints, there is no space for a staff cafeteria, and staff described the inconvenience of having relatively few dining options in the area. However, beginning in 2011, food trucks started to appear near the intersection of 7th Street and Maryland Avenue, about a block from the Hirshhorn (see Fig. 19). Not long after, L'Enfant Plaza, about five blocks away from the Hirshhorn, was updated with an expanded food court. Suddenly, Hirshhorn staff went from having very few lunch options near their workplace, to many diverse options. Today, many Hirshhorn staff rely on the food trucks for lunch on a daily basis, and they indicate that the

presence of these vendors near the Hirshhorn building has made their lives easier. About the food trucks, participant 9F says,

> Luckily there are food trucks now. And that's only a recent thing so before the food trucks it was really kind of – you know, we have nothing inside to get something to eat – very limited selections over here. You kind of had to go all over the place ….

As she highlights, while many other office buildings in the area have cafes, the Hirshhorn does not have its own dining facility. The presence of the food trucks, in particular, altered staff members' relationship to the Hirshhorn's surrounding area, drawing them outside to buy—and oftentimes eat—their lunch.

Memories of art exhibitions

When describing exhibitions that they remember working well in the building, Hirshhorn staff members often recall those that took advantage of the building's continuous, curved walls. Andy Warhol's *Shadows* (1978), which was shown in the Hirshhorn from September 2011 to January 2012, is one exhibit that staff remember vividly. Participant 3F describes how the 103 silkscreened and hand painted panels shone in the Hirshhorn's expansive gallery space, especially in comparison to their installation at the Dia:Beacon in New York (see Fig. 20):

> I think it was because those works were meant to be seen in succession, [and] our installation allowed you to see them without a bend in the wall. Without going around a corner. And you could almost see the whole thing, like almost, if you stood at the middle and looked at it, you could—I mean, you couldn't quite see, but I mean, you really got a sense of like what he [Warhol] was trying to do in a way that, I mean, you could also get on a straight wall, but that would've been a really, really long straight wall.



Figure 19. Food trucks lined up near the Hirshhorn, visible in the center (kellywegelphoto.wordpress.com).

In contrast to the Dia:Beacon, and other places where the *Shadows* exhibit was shown, the Hirshhorn provided a memorable, cinematic experience of the canvases, in which they were viewed in succession, without turning corners.

The 2010 exhibition of Yves Klein's work, *With the Void, Full Powers*, also used the upper level gallery's curved walls to supplement viewer interaction with the art (see Fig. 21). Participant 1M remembers the overall aesthetic of the exhibition: "We had these great views of these very visually powerful modernist works in this kind of, you know, iconic modernist space." He describes how Klein's modernist works were successfully displayed in the curved gallery by introducing a feeling of mystery: "It curves and you're not quite sure where you're going, you know, and that worked out

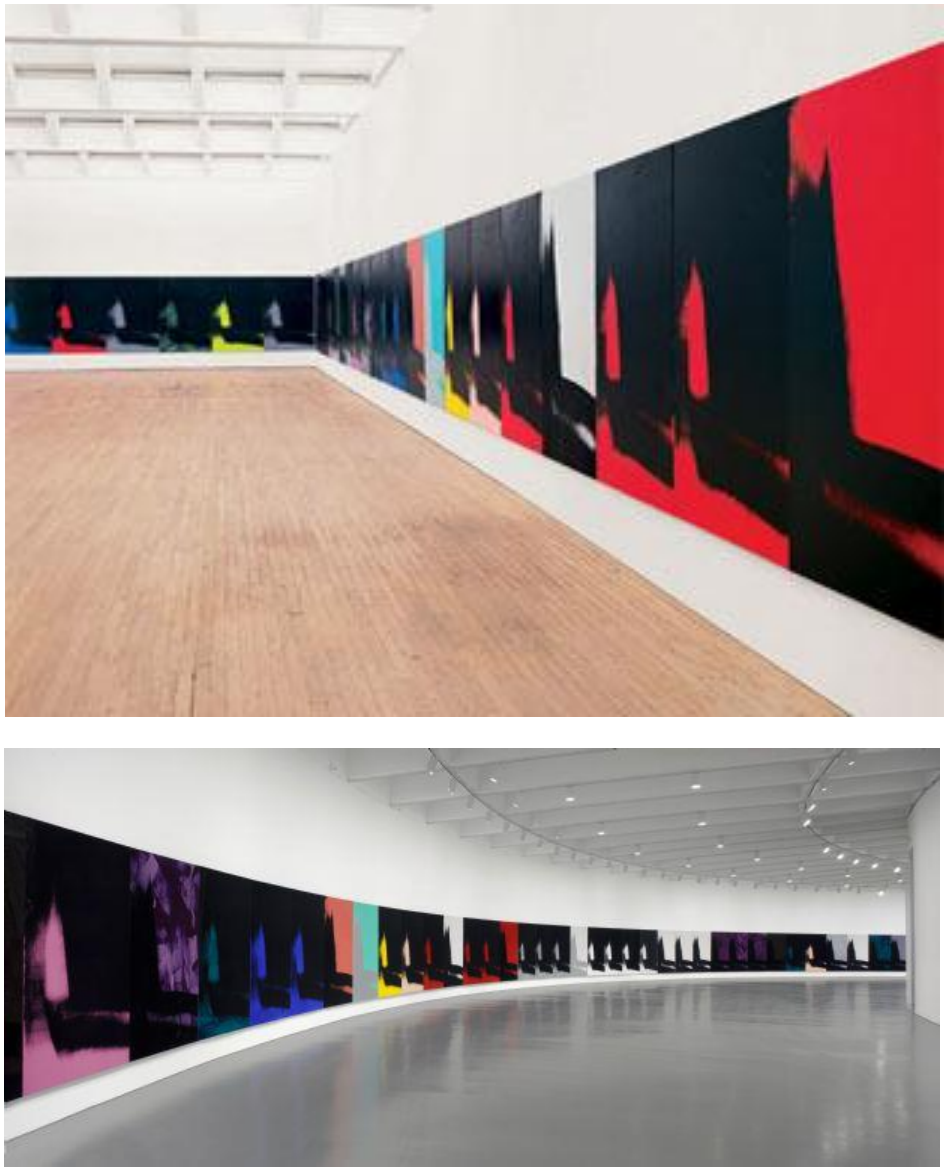


Figure 20. Comparison of Warhol Shadows, installed at the Dia:Beacon (top; www.diaart.org) and Hirshhorn (bottom; hirshhorn.si.edu).

well." For Participant 5M, the Klein exhibition was so successfully executed that he remembers feeling a "sense of loss" when it was no longer being shown.

The exhibition that set the precedent for more recent, large-scale curved installations such as Warhol's *Shadows* and Klein's *With the Void*, was the 2006 exhibition *Hiroshi Sugimoto: History of History* (see Fig. 22). Participant 6M describes the seascapes displayed in the exhibit:

> So there's a series of 11 photographs that Japanese artist Hiroshi Sugimoto took of seascapes around the world and, basically, they're just really, really simple water and sky, nothing else, black and white photographs, very beautiful. You know, and they're labeled as to what part of the world that that was taken.

Thoughtful installation of these large scale pieces was key to allowing for a powerful, cohesive experience. Participant 6M continues, describing how the installation techniques highlighted Sugimoto's seascape photography:

> We had torn down all of the walls that were previously between these two spaces and just lined them up, 11 of them, along this wall. Painted the whole gallery black and then spotlit each one with projectors and they sort of just glowed off the wall, and I think that was really the first time that we saw the potential realized in the space where, how the architecture was really working with the artwork that was in there.

This potential for the Hirshhorn's architecture to work with the artwork in this way was made possible by removing several small, core galleries on the second floor that had been added in the 1980s to display smaller artworks in a more intimate environment. These small galleries broke up the visual continuity of the larger galleries and were not a part of architect Gordon Bunshaft's original design. Once the core galleries were removed, exhibition designs that used the continuous sweep of the outer gallery walls, like the layouts used for Sugimoto, Klein, and Warhol, became possible, and these stand out for staff as providing among the most memorable spatial experiences.

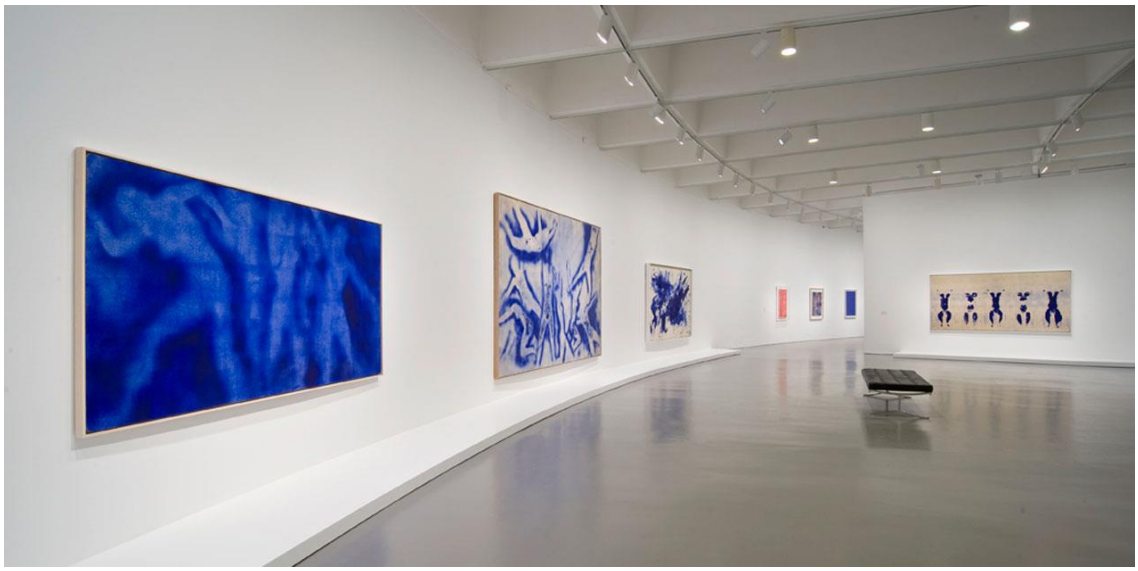


Figure 21. Yves Klein's With the Void, Full Powers, shown at the Hirshhorn in 2010 (hirshhorn.si.edu).



Figure 22. Hiroshi Sugimoto: History of History, shown at the Hirshhorn in 2006 (hirshhorn.si.edu); this set the precedent for large-scale curved installations.

Memories of significant events

Several memories of significant events link the building to its greater physical and social contexts and highlight the museum's relationship to its community, to its neighbors on the Mall, and to the tense post-9/11 security atmosphere as it is experienced in Washington, D.C. In turn, these events, like the memory of the tragic suicide described at the beginning of this chapter, shape how staff members understand the Hirshhorn's environment to this day.

Some of the Hirshhorn staff's feelings relate to interactions with their neighbors who work in the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) office building. In one instance, an FAA administrator contacted the Hirshhorn to ask for a favor: that a large, outdoor spider sculpture by Louise Bourgeois be removed. This was because an FAA staff member, who could see the sculpture from her office, suffered from severe arachnophobia. The Hirshhorn ultimately did not remove the sculpture, and staff still remember this event with a sense of amusement that seems to bind the Hirshhorn staff together through the retelling of this story. In another widely recounted event related to the FAA, the Hirshhorn staff this time asked those in the FAA for a favor: to turn off the lights in its offices at night. The FAA's lights were reducing the image quality on the Hirshhorn's outdoor installation, *Song 1*. FAA administrators declined to turn off the lights, but did ask staff—with varying degrees of success—to close their office shades before leaving in the evening. These memories illustrate how aspects of the built environment—in this case, where sculptures are displayed and when lights are turned on and off—affect how people feel in buildings in sometimes surprising ways. The



Figure 23. Workers evacuate on the National Mall after the magnitude 5.0 earthquake felt in Washington, D.C., on 23 Aug. 2011 (SIarchives.si.edu).

spider incident, for example, appears to have altered staff sensibilities in the direction of greater camaraderie, binding them together with an even stronger, shared sense of purpose about the building and their work.

For some, memories of the magnitude 5.0 earthquake that was felt in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere on the East Coast, in 2011 illustrates heightened anxieties in the D.C. area, especially in the years following the September 11, 2001, attacks. One staff member whose office is in the lower level of the Hirshhorn, and is without windows, described her memory of feeling the earthquake: "I guess I just assumed that someone had blown up the Metro [subway], because we're not that far away from the Metro and we're underground" (Participant 10F). Following this event, thousands of workers evacuated buildings all over Washington, D.C. (see Fig. 23), cell phone lines were jammed, and many did not know what was happening or how to get into contact with loved ones, further elevating anxieties in this situation. This feeling in the building of discomfort and confusion for Participant 10F is compounded by a number of factors, including working in the basement level and being on the National

Mall, a place perceived as being high risk for terrorist attacks. Many D.C. area workers experienced a similar sense of confusion on that day, and those who work in the Hirshhorn now have this memory that influences their feelings in the building they return to each workday.

Memories of other museums

For staff, their feelings in the building are also influenced by their memories of other museums they have visited and worked in. These memories seem to heighten their awareness of particular experiences they have in the Hirshhorn. For example, one staff member, who worked at the Guggenheim Museum previously, feels that while the Hirshhorn lacks a feeling of dynamism, it feels more static and peaceful than the Guggenheim. In his words, he describes this phenomenon:

> But the Guggenheim's really different. It – the message that it sends out to the public is one of "visitor experience first" because, when you walk in, you walk into an atrium that is shaped like a spiral and that spiral is all foot traffic. So basically, it's the movement – what is it? – diegesis – it's the movement of people that you see first. And the spiral and those ramps that they actually – it's challenging to show art on those ramps but those ramps are very much about – it's good and bad, which is it's good that there's a lot of energy that's powered by the actual movement of people in the space, so it's kind of exploratory in that way.
>
> And I would say this building [the Hirshhorn] doesn't have the same – doesn't use the circle in the same dynamic way. And it doesn't have dynamism when you walk in, because there's circles that are stacked on top of each other but then connected by an escalator. It's very static. So I think people feel like it's more peaceful here. But you never see people looking at art here where a big part of the Guggenheim – of the experience of the Guggenheim is seeing other people looking at art. (Participant 13M)

Having experienced the Guggenheim day in and day out through his work there heightened his sense of movement through the Guggenheim in relation to movement through the Hirshhorn, rendering his experience of the Hirshhorn a more static

endeavor. In addition, his memories of the Guggenheim increase his awareness that he isn't able to *see* people moving through and viewing art in the Hirshhorn, whereas this is more possible in the spiral layout of the Guggenheim.

Another staff member suggested that the Hirshhorn fits into her experience that "the ugliest buildings" are often home to "amazing art." She describes it as "the irony that the building you go into to study … beautiful art and interesting art is just boring and ugly [laughter] and outdated" (Participant 7F). She cites the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art, which she describes as "nothing interesting from the outside," and the Middlebury College Museum of Art ("just an eyesore") as two other examples of this phenomenon.

For Participant 10F, visiting the New Museum in New York increased her awareness of wayfinding at the Hirshhorn. Despite being an experienced museum-goer, when she arrived at the New Museum she felt lost, as she describes here:

> I remember walking in and I was, like, "Where do I go? What do I do? Why is this so annoying and difficult?" … And then I realized that, when I looked, there was signage. I just wasn't seeing it. And that made me feel even worse because we [the Hirshhorn] barely have any signage and people are lost all the time. And I was walking into somewhere, and I feel like I know museums, and it had signage up and I was still, like, "Where am I going? I don't understand?"

This experience in the New Museum helped her to feel more empathetic toward those having a difficult time finding their way initially in the Hirshhorn.

Feelings in: Visitor Perceptions

Whereas staff tend to frame their feelings in the Hirshhorn building in relation to its function as a place for work, visitors frame the building differently—often as a place for escape, a place for looking, or a place to experience nature. Specific features of the

Hirshhorn's built environment, combined with its unique location and exhibition subject matter, influence these feelings among many visitors.

A place for escape

Many visitors remember the Hirshhorn as an unexpected find on the National Mall. For them, it serves as a place to escape the other, more crowded Smithsonian museums in the vicinity. Again, and again, reviewers remark that the Hirshhorn offers a place to get away from these crowds, to relax, and to experience a quiet moment. Some are also pleased by the Hirshhorn's smaller footprint in relation to other, larger museums, like the National Museum of Natural History. Still others, who don't even enjoy modern art, advocate visiting the Hirshhorn for its lack of crowds and its short lines for the restrooms. The following reviewers are among visitors who describe feeling a sense of escape in the Hirshhorn:

> If you're tired of elbowing through the crowds jam-packed into other Smithsonian Museums (especially the Air and Space Museum and the Natural History Museum), the less well-known Hirshhorn can be a welcome respite. (Trinigirlmd)
>
> Very quiet when we visited in touristy late August: a haven of quiet and calm in comparison to the Air and Space museum next door! (duffa101)
>
> We had a great time and got to get away from the large crowds of the other museums. (babalu3)
>
> This museum is definitely worth a stop if you're on the National Mall and want to get away from the crowds. This museum is a little less crowded (especially compared to the masses at the Natural History Museum). (duke_katie)
>
> Relief from other more tourist-oriented museums in the Mall area. (MrM1001)
>
> This museum is not one of the big three on the Mall. It's a hidden gem that is amazing. (Traveler10531558)

> A nice, digestible museum in a sea of huge exhausting museums. (LolaVonZeplin)

Based on my observations of the site, I can suggest a few factors that might contribute to its identity as a "hidden gem." First, because it's named for a relatively little-known uranium investor rather than having a title that's explicitly descriptive of its collection—for example, it's not called "the Smithsonian Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art," despite its being just that—its mission and collection will likely go unrecognized by the average passerby who doesn't know that Joseph Hirshhorn was a prominent collector of modern art in the early to mid-twentieth century.

In addition, the Hirshhorn's outdoor signage is relatively sparse, so people pass by it without receiving any indication of what the building is. When I visited in June 2015, I noticed that the museum was attempting to increase recognition of its brand with colorful banners hanging from the outer perimeter wall along the east side of the building. These banners introduced the museum's #FindYourH campaign, and they featured the words humanity, humor, and haunting, but without their first letter, such that they read UMANITY, UMOR, and AUNTING (see Fig. 24). Even with these large scale banners, however, this campaign may not be enough to educate passersby as to what's happening inside the foreboding, windowless building. It would certainly be understandable if people find the #FindYourH campaign to be a bit confusing.

In addition to the museum's nondescript name and its relative lack of signage, its uncommon architecture also contributes to misunderstandings of the building's function. One staff member admitted to me that before she worked at the Hirshhorn, she assumed it was an office building the first time she saw it. And, unlike other museums on the Mall, rather high walls surround the Hirshhorn on all sides (like the east wall,

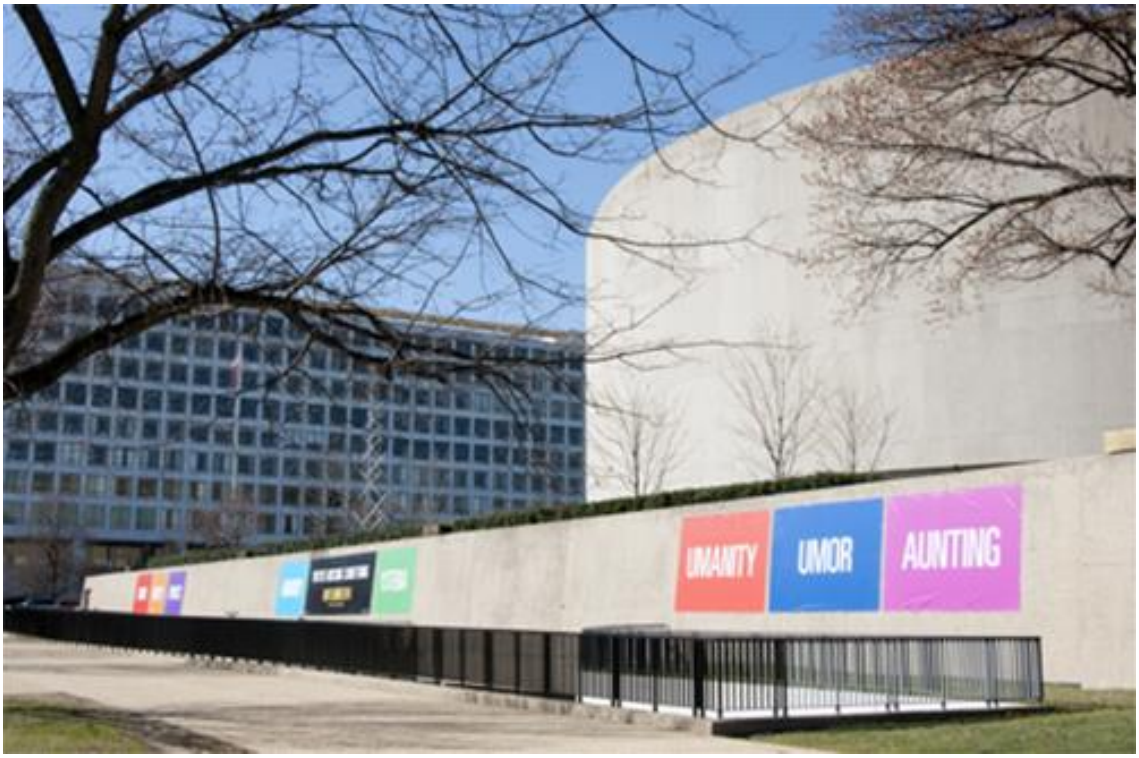


Figure 24. The Hirshhorn's brand recognition campaign (2015). (hirshhorn.si.edu)

visible in Fig. 24), which open up only on the building's north and south sides. These walls seem to set the building apart from the rest of the Mall scene, possibly implying that the facility is privately owned and not among the free public museums that comprise the Smithsonian Institution complex.

For these reasons and perhaps others, once people are finally enticed inside the building, whether out of curiosity or by word of mouth, they are often surprised at what they find. This surprise stems from how quiet and intimate it feels in relation to other Smithsonian museums, as well as from the quality of its exhibitions, which includes famous artists like Ai Weiwei, Andy Warhol, and Barbara Kruger. For those who haven't heard of the museum before, and who also enjoy modern art, the quality of its exhibitions would likely contribute to this feeling that it's a "hidden gem." The contrast



Figure 25. The view from the Lerner Room's windows, with Lawrence Weiner's "REDUCED: Cat. No. 102." (hirshhorn.tumblr.com)

of the very pleasant and warmly designed interior with the building's austere exterior also likely contributes to visitors' positive feeling of having found something hidden and special once they arrive inside.

A place for looking (outward)

For many visitors, the Hirshhorn is remembered as a place for looking outward, across the Mall. The Hirshhorn only has one small strip of windows, and they appear along the northern part of its curve, on the third floor level. From the inside of the building, these windows are accessed from the Lerner Room, named for Abram Lerner, the first director of the Hirshhorn Museum. This room takes up a large, wedge-shaped portion of the third floor, and has original artwork by Sol Lewitt drawn directly onto its walls. The room's windows span from floor to ceiling across its entire width. While enjoying the view, visitors can sit on custom, semi-circular couches that face the windows.

Aside from the presence of Sol LeWitt's wall drawings, the Lerner Room generally seems to be less about the display of art and more about curating a specific view of the National Mall, which includes sights like the National Archives (see Fig. 25, center), the National Museum of Natural History (left), and the West Building of the National Gallery of Art (right). Each of these sights bears stylistic, as well as thematic, contrast to the Hirshhorn's stark form and modern collection, with their Classical Revival aesthetic and historical, decidedly less-than-contemporary, collections.

There seems to be a sense of surprise among visitors upon discovering this view, perhaps because the museum has no other exterior windows, and these windows are partly obscured from the outside by a concrete balcony. A selection of visitor comments illustrates visitors' vivid recollections of experiencing this room with a view:

> … it was the impressive, large panoramic Mall that jumped suddenly to my eyes. There is a balcony, a large room with a glass window on one side, a big black curved sofa had been placed toward the window in such a manner as to draw a semicircle, and you can rest while enjoying the wonderful views of the Mall![11] (イタリアかぶれ)
>
> …on the third floor, a way cool lounge area with seating where you can relax indoors and watch the Mall with a view. Why am I just learning this?!?!?! (Hsphoser36)
>
> There is a beautiful room on the top floor with seating and a wall of windows that overlooks the mall which could be a good place to take a break and relax if needed. (Ann S)
>
> And the top floor has one of the best publicly accessible views of the Mall you can find. (Leo M)

[11] Translated from Japanese, with assistance from Chie Sakakibara,
"もっとも印象的だったのは、突然目にとび込んでくるモールの大パノラマ！！
そこはバルコニーのある、一面ガラス窓の大きな部屋で、入店した時点では黒い大きな曲線ソファーが半円を描くようなカタチで窓にむかって置かれており、モールの素晴らしい景観を楽しみながら休憩できる！"

> On the 3rd level there is a terrific sitting area with large cushioned sofas—you can look out at the tops of the buildings on the mall--a very serene place that has two large Sol LeWitt graphics covering the walls on either side. (Pnemiller)

Feelings in this room seem to reinforce the notion that the Hirshhorn is a place for escape, discussed earlier, while also linking visitors' feelings in the building to other places on the Mall. As Leo M points out, the Hirshhorn provides one of the "best" views of the National Mall available to the public, aside from the Washington Monument, which requires advanced tickets to gain access. The view afforded by the Lerner Room's windows is the most-remembered interior feature of the building for visitors, and it is mentioned more frequently than even the building's circular floorplan.

A place for pleasant regulation

Visitors find the building's circulation to be among the most memorable aspects of their visits. Overall, the Hirshhorn's circulation offers a pleasant means of moving through the building that contrasts with visitors' experiences of larger, more maze-like museums in the D.C. area. Because the Hirshhorn's circulation in its above ground galleries, on the second and third floors, is comprised of two nested rings, visitors are easily led around in these circles in a way that ensures they see all of the art that is on display without having to pay too much attention to a museum map or to rely on a docent for guidance. In some ways, this pleasant regulation of their movement through the museum's spaces seems to offer a sense of relief to harried visitors. Examples of comments that support this sense of pleasant regulation include:

> When out in the main hall with the sculptures you walk around a huge hallway in a circle (never getting lost). I really enjoyed this building. (Ursula_C_P)

> We … love the unique shape and how it lends itself to walking by all of the art in the round. (eatprayloveall)

> Free flowing layout helps you get through easily. (Stadiaguy)
>
> Beautiful collection of modern art and the arrangement of rooms in a circle makes for a nice and easy visit. (Philippos26)[12]
>
> This has to be one of the most manageable galleries/museums I have ever been to. The circular building makes seeing the collection very simple. (Pemblin)

These pleasant memories of circulation in the Hirshhorn are representative of the unique experience afforded by the museum's circular format.

This unique feature of the Hirshhorn's architecture is one that truly distinguishes it from other art museums, save for the Guggenheim, which has a similar, but spiraling, circular format. The Hirshhorn's similarity to the Guggenheim does not go unnoticed by visitors, some of whom call it "Guggenheim South" (Mwiz) and declare that "this Guggenheim-esque circular building is chock full of fun things" (Silasroy). A sampling of the Guggenheim's TripAdvisor visitor reviews revealed that the architecture dominates visitors' feelings in its space, with visitors commenting frequently that they found the Guggenheim's exhibitions to be disappointing, but its architecture to be worthwhile.

My overall sense from observing both Hirshhorn and Guggenheim visitor impressions is that the Hirshhorn's circular format appears to complement visitors' experience of the art, without overwhelming their total experience. Meanwhile, the Guggenheim's architecture dominates many visitors' experience, sometimes souring their impressions of the art by contrast. As one recent Guggenheim visitor put it, "The building itself is the art. That's about it" (Ben_and_Sadie). This is a sentiment that is expressed much more often in relation to the Guggenheim than in relation to the

[12] Translated from French, "Belle collection d art moderne et la disposition des salles en cercle rend la visite agréable et facile."

Hirshhorn, a building which seems to more sensitively balance its architecture against its art.

A place to experience nature

The Hirshhorn's sunken sculpture garden is often remembered by visitors as a place where they can experience nature in the city, as its garden is lush with trees, including weeping beeches, pines, and crape myrtles, as well as with clematis and ivy, which climb its walls (Fig. 26). The garden is located across Jefferson Drive from the Hirshhorn building, to the north, where it inhabits a 1.3-acre portion of the National Mall. The garden's central courtyard is recessed 14 feet below the surface of the Mall, so as not to obscure views across the Mall (SI Gardens).

Originally, visitors were able to access the garden by walking underneath Jefferson Drive from the gallery building. In the years since the museum was built, this point of access has been closed off, supposedly because the tunnel was attracting people experiencing homelessness who set up encampments in the tunnel to get out of harsh weather. Today, the garden is only accessible by the stairs and ramps located on its north and south sides. It is surrounded by walls, as well as trees, shrubs, and other foliage, so it is not immediately visible to those walking around most portions of its perimeter, and this seems to give it a "secret garden" feeling despite its being at the midpoint of the bustling National Mall.



Figure 26. The Burghers of Calais on display on the Hirshhorn Sculpture Garden. (Photo by author)

Several visitors describe their memories "finding" the hidden sculpture garden. For example, L J M writes, "I fell in love with this sculpture garden… I found the Hirshhorn Sculpture Garden tucked away next to the National Mall, on a lovely spring day - it is easily missed." And Traveljules10 remembers her experience discovering the garden:

> We stumbled upon the Hirshhorn Sculpture Garden, after a long day at the Air and Space. Tragically, the Museum itself was about to close, but the Gardens were still open. We were blown away by the wealth of incredible works tucked away in this beautiful space. A must see for anyone with a love of sculpture.

Like the Hirshhorn's museum building, its sculpture garden is often a surprising find for first-time visitors to the Mall.

Many visitors who do discover the garden remember it for its marriage of arts and nature in what is perceived as a quiet, refreshing place. For example, Giac0min0 describes it as, "an almost Alice-in-Wonderland mix of sculptures in a beautiful garden with many sections offering great views, wonderful pieces of sculpture and tucked-

away sections ideal for photography or reflection." This sense of natural beauty, and of feeling that one has discovered art in tucked away places, is a shared experience for many visitors. One visitor sums up these pleasant feeling in the sculpture garden concisely: "Art and humans together in a harmonious space" (sailingboat).

Visitors also seem to enjoy the garden by virtue of its being outdoors, and it is remembered for its "calm green spaces" (nyusual), its "shady spots" (MarkWorld), and because "it is pleasant to walk in the fresh air" (Анастасия У).[13] Some make it explicit that their enjoyment is entirely derived from its being outdoors, such as WhitO5214, who writes, "The sculpture garden outside is ok, mostly because it's outside." Even those who do not enjoy the museum, or contemporary art, seem to remember the sculpture garden as a pleasurable place to experience being outdoors.

Feelings in: Summary

Like the "feel of" a building, feelings in a building are not entirely tied to the built environment's physical makeup, but are largely dependent on individuals' previous experiences and the social and historical contexts in which the building is situated. Feelings in the Hirshhorn described in this chapter reinforce the idea that "emotions about a place can be inconsistent" (Rose et al. 2010, 345), complex, and subject to change. These memories also illustrate how feelings in a building can change over time—for example, from a state of confusion when first encountering the building's entrance to a sense of ritual after entering the building again and again over a period of years. For staff, their memories are often dominated by how the building affects their work, such as whether it enables exhibitions they've designed to be

[13] Translated from Russian, "и приятно гулять на свежем воздухе."

particularly effective or causes their travel through the building to be particularly difficult. For visitors, their memories and, in turn, feelings in the building, are often characterized by how the built environment is unique in relation to other places they have experienced, including the sense that they've discovered the Hirshhorn and its secret garden, its easy-to-navigate circular layout, and the stunning view it affords of the National Mall.

CHAPTER 8: FEELINGS ABOUT THE HIRSHHORN

> We experience these structures in our encounters with the environment and then we project them onto other situations, as metaphors, to organize shared understanding and knowledge. (Franck and Lepori 2007, 47)

Feelings *about* buildings are colored by individuals' previous experiences, their impressions of other buildings, their personal identities, and their emotional reactions to the spaces. These feelings about buildings are "considered, reflexive opinions" (Rose et al. 2010, 346) of the built environment, which stem from individuals' judgments. As Franck discusses above, individuals' experiences of different places influences how they frame their feelings about, and understandings of, different facets of the places they encounter.

Introduction: Feelings about Buildings

This section answers a two part question: 1) How do individual assessments of a given built environment contribute to the formation and projection of a certain architectural identity, and, how does this identity of the built environment evolve, given the various judgments assigned to it by individuals over time? Others have considered these two questions by looking at the mutual constitution of social and spatial conditions (ex., Dovey et al. 2009; Imrie 2003; Lefebvre 1991). For example, Kraftl's study of the Hundertwasser-Haus explores its identity as an "extraordinary" place, situating it with respect to social discourse, including that of tourists, occupants, and the media. This polyvocal analysis of feelings about the Hundertwasser-Haus concludes that the extraordinariness" of the building is an "ongoing socio-spatial construction"

(Kraftl 2009, 129).[14] Its identity continues to evolve in relation to people's shifting judgments of and discourse about the building.

This ongoing construction is linked to the ways people make meaning through their attempts to frame and understand the world around them. These new meanings result in the construction of a range of geographies of space and place. Many of the meanings wrapped up in certain places are "created by some people with more power than others to define what is and is not appropriate" (Cresswell 2004, 27). In this way, 'sense of place'[15] is something that is constructed by individuals, but also influenced by cultural norms that teach individuals how to view and utilize different places. Massey writes that "what is specific about a place, its identity, is always formed by the juxtaposition and co-presence there of particular sets of social interrelations" (Massey 1994, 168-69). Thus, place identities are not static because their production is governed by both individualized perceptions and social contexts that change through time. Also, place identities are not defined independently but in relation to other places and their identities.

Feelings about: Staff Perceptions

Staff members' feelings about, or judgments of, the Hirshhorn Museum building differ depending on whether a staff member is assessing the interior or exterior of the building. When describing the exterior of the building in response to the study

[14] For more about Kraftl's study of the Hundertwasser-Haus, see Ch. 2, "Conceptual Framework." The Hundertwasser-Hause is located in Vienna, and is a public housing building known for its "extraordinary" appearance (Kraftl 2009, 111).

[15] A 'sense of place' evokes a particular emotion or set of emotions that characterize experiences of a place. Thus, sense of place is constructed as a function of human interaction with space over time (Agnew 1987). Place literature is discussed in more detail in Ch. 2, "Conceptual Framework."

questionnaire (Appendix A), adjectives that staff apply to it can be broadly characterized as negative. Among the adjectives staff use to describe the building's exterior are: *aggressive*, *brutalist*, *deadening*, *forbidding*, *intimidating*, *ugly*, and *weird*. Staff also tend to liken it to uninhabitable objects, including *sculpture*, *water tower*, *missile silo*, *cake*, *ring*, *toilet paper roll*, and *shell*, or to sterile, often uninviting building-types, including *fortress*, *penitentiary*, *panopticon*, and *laboratory*, rather than situating its exterior aesthetic in relation to other museums' architecture.

While staff often apply negative adjectives to the building's exterior, some staff indicated more positive assessments of the interior in response to the study questionnaire. These staff members describe it as *elegant*, *lofty*, *soothing*, and *uplifting*. Others, with less-positive assessments, describe the interior as *spare*, *stark*, *bland*, *impersonal*, and *confusing*. Staff also compared the interior to that of an airport lobby or an industrial building. Both of these comparisons suggest that the Hirshhorn's interior can be understood by some as a place in which one is not meant to linger contemplatively.

For some staff, the Hirshhorn's interior prompts unusual feelings about the building that are reminiscent of the Hundertwasser-Haus's "extraordinariness" (Kraftl 2009), discussed earlier. In the case of the Hirshhorn, it is understood as alien in relation to common experiences of architecture, in general, and museums in the Smithsonian complex, in particular. For example, some describe it as otherworldly or as reminiscent of a science fiction setting. For one staff member, it seems bigger on the inside than it

looks on the outside, *à la* Dr. Who's inexplicably spacious TARDIS.[16] For another, the interior projects a sense that the architecture has disappeared altogether, fading into the background. Together, these judgments contribute to the Hirshhorn's identity as an alien environment, one which defamiliarizes, or "mak(es) strange the familiar" (Kitchin & Kneale 2001, 22), common feelings about architectural spaces.

Other staff members' feelings about the Hirshhorn are influenced primarily by their expectations of its performance in support of their work. For example, many indicate that they wish there was more space within the building for offices, storage, and special events. Its round walls constantly challenge the staff members who install flat artworks meant for conventional, flat walls. Its circular configuration also means that it can be difficult to track down a coworker who may be walking away from you around its circular hallways, leading one on a chase that involves literally walking in circles.

In some cases, staff members are able to adapt their practices creatively in response to their feelings about the Hirshhorn's less-desirable traits. To account for a lack of personal workspace in her office, which she shares with six others who have their own desks, as well as some without dedicated desks, one staff member has initiated *ad hoc* boundaries. She describes her strategy:

> I actually keep my desk messy on purpose because I think it will make people not try to use my desk when I'm not around. I have this theory that, if there's crap everywhere, people will not take things off my desk and not leave things on my desk. (10F)

[16] The TARDIS (Time and Relative Dimension in Space) is the time machine from the British television show *Dr. Who*, which appears to be the size of a small "police box" on the outside, but is much larger on the interior. This is possible because its interior and exterior exist in separate dimensions.

This strategy is emblematic of the idea that architectural and social circumstances are in dialogue with one another. While it may be easy to assume that her desk is messy because she is disorganized, her mess is actually a defensive response to the built and social conditions of the office in which she works. In this case, her mess is a manifestation of her feelings about the lack of office space, brought about by the building's design, and her desire to carve out a personal nook within this small, shared area.

The team that installs exhibits at the Hirshhorn provides another example of an adaptation in response to their feelings about how the building should operate. Because the Hirshhorn lacks flat surfaces to hang large-scale paintings in its second and third level galleries, the exhibits team has invested a great deal of energy in the design of an effective solution to this problem. An exhibits team member describes the process of making the curved walls flat:

> … because of the curve, we often have to build what we call a "build out." ... We do these crazy measurements with plumb lines across, and then we figure out what the distance [would be] if it were a flat wall … and then we kind of fill in that gap to support the piece. (11F)

As mentioned in Chapter 6, the exhibits team has also begun carrying two-way radios in response to their finding that the floorplan induces them to follow one another around in circles when they are trying to locate their colleagues installing art on the second and third levels. A staff member who has encountered this challenge provides a humorous re-enactment:

> it gets really frustrating, actually for the staff, when we're having an installation and ... and I need to find somebody for some reason, or talk to somebody, or see how the installation is going.
>
> Almost invariably, I'll go down these stairs, and … the person I need to speak with, you know, I have a feeling that they're working in this gallery today, you

> know, unloading a crate, so I'll head over there. And I'll find their assistant, and they'll say, "No, no—they just went off that way." So I'll go there. Meanwhile, that person has gone there; they've finished; they've come back to do their work.
>
> So we're always chasing—so a lot of our exhibit staff, they all have walkie-talkies, because it's not a big building, but you need that. It's almost a comedy of errors—"Oh … he's looking for me?" … "Oh, I hear, he's looking for me?" … "I'll go look for him, too." (1M)

As he points out, the Hirshhorn doesn't require walkie-talkies by virtue of its size but by virtue of its shape.

These examples illustrate staff members' ability to adapt their practices in response to their feelings *about* particular Hirshhorn traits. These adaptations are products of staff members' intimacy with the building and its quirks, and this familiarity is an important factor that distinguishes staff experiences from visitor experiences of the same building. It's not that visitors couldn't adapt their practices, but with fewer interactions and, thus, less familiarity with the building, there is less incentive for them to do so. Visitors also generally have less time to dedicate to making sense of the building in the first place.

Smithsonian museums are primarily neoclassical buildings with plentiful signage that orients audiences toward understandings of their purpose and their exhibition content. Yet, the Hirshhorn stands out because it provides few cues for understanding its purpose. Several staff members describe how this lack of visual cues can detrimentally affect one's experience of the museum. One staff member focused on prior awareness:

> ... unless you know this is the Hirshhorn Museum, unless you're aware of what's inside, unless you're aware of what you're seeing, or have some familiarity with art history and contemporary art – this is probably going to be less than a satisfying experience, I think. But if you do have all those, I think that it's very satisfying. (9F)

So, whether one finds the Hirshhorn to be a satisfying environment may, at least in part, be predicated on a person's degree of familiarity with modern and contemporary art and the environments it inhabits. It's possible to argue that the Hirshhorn's aesthetic experience – its exterior that can read as "forbidding" and "penitentiary-like" and its sign-free interior – is structured to appeal to those of the cultural elite who already have an understanding of modern and contemporary art, and not to appeal to the uninitiated.

While the Hirshhorn's architectural aesthetic presents a barrier to everyday people with little knowledge of contemporary art environments, the field of contemporary art, itself, reinforces this barrier. The notion that the Hirshhorn appeals to a specific, contemporary art-literate population is supported by research that shows that "people who prefer abstract art, and […] who go to contemporary art museums, have a higher socio-economic status than those who prefer representational art and attend ancient art museums" (Mastandrea et al. 2007, 184). Simply stated, even without considering its forbidding exterior and its lack of signage, there may also be a socioeconomic barrier to entry that is implicit to the Hirshhorn by virtue of its abstract collections. Combined with its uninviting physical form and the general lack of didactic tools within its exhibitions, these barriers appear challenging for the uninitiated to work around.

The Hirshhorn is part of the Smithsonian Institution, whose mission is "the increase and diffusion of knowledge" (SI 2015a). When asked to reflect on whether the Hirshhorn was designed to accommodate the museum's evolving mission, one staff member says, "It was definitely not designed to be the museum it is now" (2M). With this judgment, he indicates a mismatch between the museum's physical space and its

evolving mission to provide more educational opportunities, which he describes in greater detail:

> I think it was designed to be a quiet place to house [Joseph] Hirshhorn's collection. And, you didn't need an awful lot [in the 1970s and 1980s]. You needed a few curators, a director, and, some strong people to do art handling. … It's built for a museum that 'was' … not what this has evolved to be. Not even what the Smithsonian has evolved into.
>
> I mean, we [the Smithsonian] are a much more educational institution. Much more built to engage. You know, looking at, "Seriously Amazing"[17] [laughs], whatever you have to say about that, it is about reaching out, and it is about trying to get more people in here, and it is about not being this academic bastion of whatever it is we do. … That's the paradigm – the place – that the Hirshhorn was constructed and built from, and thought that it would be. (2M)

Perceptions of the Hirshhorn as being sterile and fortress-like may present significant obstacles to diffusing knowledge to the 20 to 30 million tourists that visit the Smithsonian each year (SI 2015b) and who, in turn, may come in contact with the Hirshhorn's collections. The Hirshhorn, itself, received over 680,000 of these visitors in 2015, which seems an impressive number until it is considered alongside the visitorship of its next-door neighbor, the National Air and Space Museum, which received 6.9 million visitors in the same period (SI 2015b).

Both of these Smithsonian-affiliated museums are charged with pursuing the same mission to diffuse knowledge, yet they choose to do so with vastly different spatial and experiential approaches. One staff member offers a sharp critique of the visitor engagement strategies that characterize art museums, like the Hirshhorn, in comparison of those of science museums, like Air and Space:

[17] "Seriously Amazing" is the tagline for the Smithsonian's advertising campaign, unveiled in 2012, to "highlight its best and most innovative work" (Clough 2012).



Figure 27. The ARTLAB+, located underground, adjacent to the Hirshhorn's sculpture garden (artlabplus.si.edu)

> I mean, if you look at the science museums, […] all the galleries are educational spaces. But in our [art] museums, often the idea is that you keep the art separate from activities that people do. Which is interesting because what it does is it separates the art-making from the looking of art. And so it creates a distance for the viewer in terms of the process of art.
>
> And, basically, it fetishizes art so that it divorces it from the process, and it makes it more about the object. Which allows it to be more academic and intellectual and less experiential and exploratory. And so the experiential and exploratory aspects of art museums have, unfortunately, been afterthoughts. (13M)

The act of separating art from its broader context—including the physical process by which art is made—sometimes happens "in favor of highlighting supposedly universal esthetic considerations (frequently accessible to a small elite)" (Petrov 2012, 224).

Whereas Hirshhorn exhibitions in its main galleries tend to separate "the art-making from the looking of art" (13M) and to target those who have pre-existing

knowledge of modern and contemporary art, the museum is nevertheless home to ARTLAB+ (Fig. 27), a self-described "radically inclusive" art studio open to local teens (Hirshhorn 2016). This studio is completely separated from the Hirshhorn's main building, only accessible from the Hirshhorn's sunken garden where it is hidden underneath the sidewalk along Jefferson Drive.

ARTLAB+ is a free, drop-in afterschool program—no registration required. Its regular drop-ins are 80 to 90 percent male, African American youth who live in Anacostia, a neighborhood about three miles away, in D.C.'s Southeast quadrant. Characterizing this neighborhood, Barack Obama once said:

> And yet here, on the other side of the river, every other child in Anacostia lives below the poverty line. Too many do not graduate and too many more do not find work. Some join gangs, and others fall to their gunfire. (Sweet 2007)

The participants of the ARTLAB+ program differ greatly from the types of visitors the Hirshhorn galleries across the street seem to attract. Speaking about those whom he normally sees in the museum's galleries, one staff member comments frankly: "[I'm] always amazed at how many white people are in the museum. It seems very much a certain class of people and certain race of people" (13M). With its ARTLAB+, the Hirshhorn has carved out a dedicated, inclusive space in which to expand its diffusion of knowledge to a broader audience, one that isn't engaged as fully elsewhere in the museum. In relation to the Hirshhorn's aboveground spaces, ARTLAB+ is decidedly rectilinear. It has one wall of windows facing northward, out into the sculpture garden, and inside there are work tables, computer workstations, and many chairs, as well as a variety of supplies and brightly colored surfaces which suggest that it's a creative space in which art is made (see Fig. 28).

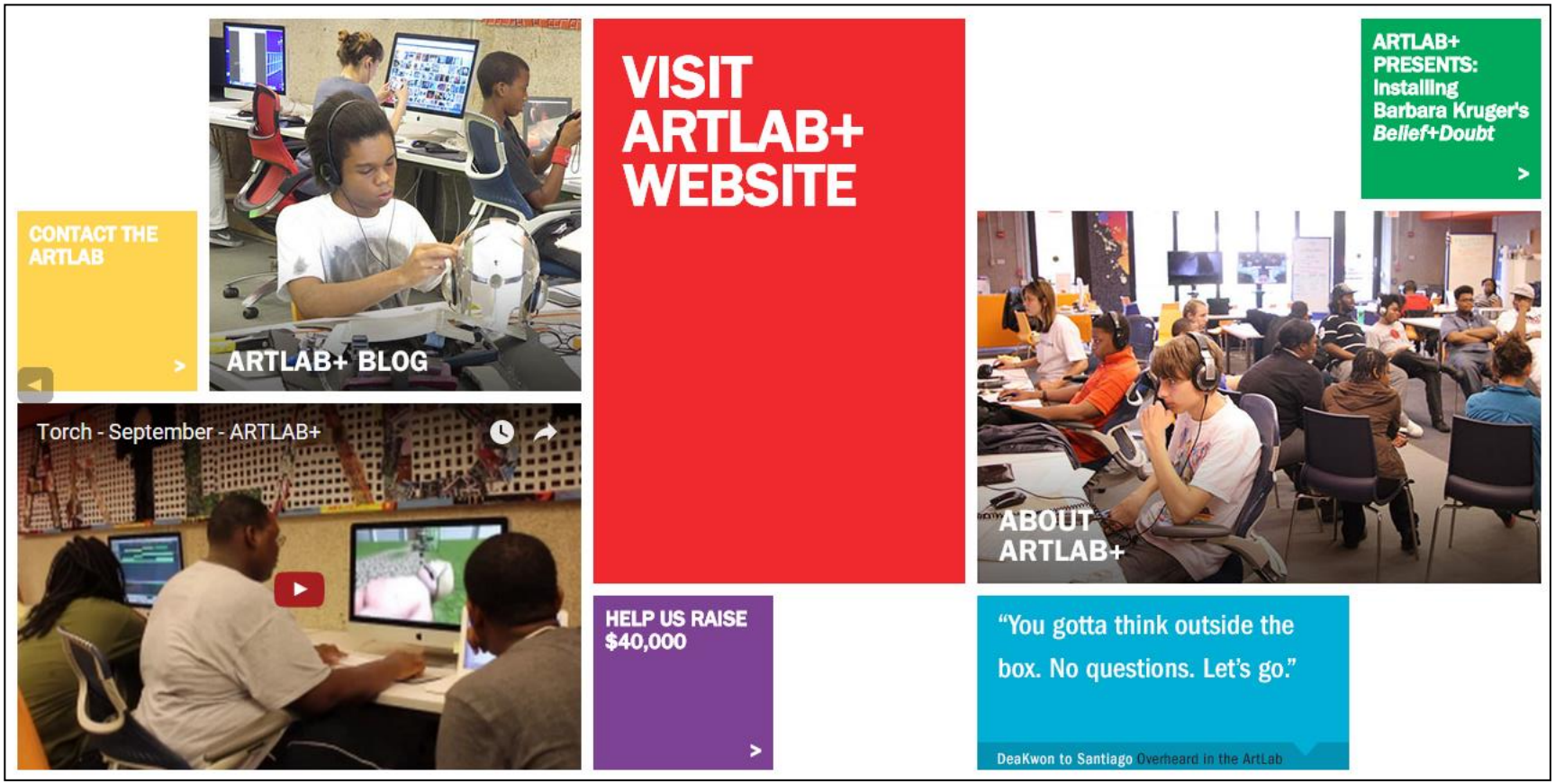


Fig. 28. The ARTLAB+ online homepage, showing afterschool visitors working in its media lab (hirshhorn.si.edu).

In thinking through how the Hirshhorn functions differently from other museums, another staff member describes his perception of how the Air and Space museum's content is more easily accessible by virtue of the historical narrative it presents:

> You know, it's the sort of thing where every kid wants to go there [Air and Space], and so it's one of the big stops, and it's really easy to get anyone to understand … something exactly like, "We went into space on thus and such a day." …
>
> Whereas, you know, you come here [the Hirshhorn], and you see … maybe a de Kooning that's painted on a hollow core door like you might have seen in a '60s split level, and it's this woman who's just this tangle of paint [ex., Fig. 29] … a lot of people may think that that's ugly or incomprehensible. … and I guess we sort of feel like, if you want to learn about Willem de Kooning, especially in the Internet age, look it up, you know? (5M)

Participant 5M's sentiments about the responsibility of individuals to connect with the Hirshhorn environment is an important characteristic of the architectural geography of this place. The separation of art from the intellectual context of its origins—whether historical, ideological, or process-based—is intentional at the Hirshhorn. As this same staff member describes: "We're sort of deliberately less user-friendly than a lot of the Smithsonian museums" (5M). From his perspective, the museum provides the space for people to interact with art, but drawing connections is up to individuals. In his words,

> I think it's good to sort of insist that, even if it's tacit, the interaction between you and the art object is something that we're providing physical space for and that we are facilitating, but [in] that interaction, you bear a lot of the responsibility for yourself. (5M)

This notion of being "deliberately less user-friendly" than other museums reinforces the idea presented earlier that the Hirshhorn, as a place both real and imagined, is structured



Figure 29. "Woman, Sag Harbor" (1964), by Willem de Kooning. Hirshhorn Museum Collection (hirshhorn.si.edu).

to appeal to a specific class of educated elites. In other words, positive feelings *about* the Hirshhorn's environment are more likely to be constructed by those who bring with them sufficient familiarity with contemporary art history and contemporary art museum environments.

Feelings about: Visitor Perceptions

Whereas staff feelings about the Hirshhorn are heavily influenced by their intimacy with the building, visitors' feelings about it are more greatly influenced by their preconceptions of the museum. These feelings about the Hirshhorn are tied to whether visitors' "self-identity and identity-related needs are satisfied" (Falk 2009, 119) during the course of their visit. In my analysis of TripAdvisor reviews of the Hirshhorn, I identified several distinct factors of its built and social environments that make important contributions to visitors' feelings about the Hirshhorn by fulfilling or not fulfilling these needs.

Among material factors that influence visitors' feelings about the Hirshhorn are their overall impressions of the museum's aesthetic, their assessments of its level of maintenance, and their perceptions of its accessibility relative to the National Mall. In relation to the display of art, visitors' feelings about the Hirshhorn are often influenced by how long they expect to spend in the museum, whether information about art is easily accessible, and how well they feel it matches up with expectations they have formed based on experiences visiting other museums. The social atmosphere of the Hirshhorn is also a significant factor, as visitors' feelings about the museum are influenced by how they perceive their interactions with the Hirshhorn's staff. Thus, both the Hirshhorn building and its staff merge in the visitors' perceptions of the Hirshhorn's sense of place.

I found that about 30 percent of reviewers addressed the Hirshhorn's aesthetic directly in their reviews, offering some degree of descriptive appraisal. These feelings about the Hirshhorn's appearance run the gamut from effusive praise—ex., "The

Hirshhorn serves as a culmination of all that has gone before in terms of independent artistic thought yet the building stands on its own as a consummate repository and promoter of modern art" (JoBoLasher)—to sharp criticism—ex., "Perhaps a round building made of concrete was bold during the late Nixon administration, but it looks a little tired today" (ElaineAndGreg, 1st review). Others offer more straightforward assessments of the styles the building mimics, like: "The building is 'Modern Art Museum in the Brutalist Style,' an immense cylindrical donut. The interior looks like a 1970s office building with the faux marble floor" (Brendan S). Again, the Hirshhorn's appearance operates as a polarizing force for a museum on the National Mall.

As with staff feelings about the Hirshhorn, I observed that visitors also understand it as a place that defamiliarizes common notions of what the National Mall should contain and what an art museum should look like. Visitors also show a propensity for relating the Hirshhorn to uninhabitable objects, such as the most common example—a donut—as well as a giant ring, a pillbox, a monument, and "a giant Norelco Clean Air Machine (for those who remember the smoking days)" (Shutterbug35).

Like staff, visitors' discourse indicates that they perceive the Hirshhorn to be alien to its context on the National Mall. As an example, chloesmomNJ describes her feelings about the Hirshhorn's discord with the area around it, writing, "I have always been a little bothered by how the architecture of the building did not mesh with the rest of the area, but it is absolutely appropriate for the venue." Contributing to the idea that the Hirshhorn is otherworldly, several visitors describe its spaceship-like or science fiction qualities:

> The Hirshhorn's circular concrete building, raised above the ground with a fountain in its center, is striking in its own right; it suggests a hovering spaceship. (trinigirlmd)
>
> The building itself is beautifully simplistic. It reminded me of a space ship on a landing pad (Shoshana H)
>
> With a science fiction façade among the bureaucratic government buildings, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden is decidedly modern, with challenging works that prove engaging and thought provoking. (Doug B)

Countering these futuristic impressions of the Hirshhorn's exterior, one visitor writes that she expected to find "stuffy, old artifacts" in the Hirshhorn based on its exterior appearance (rdd02b). Another visitor describes the *inverse* of the "bigger on the inside" feeling described earlier. For her, "the building is very large on the outside, but it doesn't take very long to walk through the exhibits" (shanebarnes1978).

Overall, visitors' feelings about the Hirshhorn's aesthetic are generally positive—even more so than for staff members. Many offer enthusiastic praise, using words such as *awesome*, *beautiful*, *brilliant*, *classy*, *compelling*, *fantastic*, *gorgeous*, *iconic*, *impressive*, *magnificent*, *pleasing*, *striking*, and *stunning* to describe the museum. For some visitors, the opportunity to experience the museum's architecture is reason enough to recommend that others visit the museum:

> Magnificent building which is somewhat better than the art (Pnemiller)
>
> The museum's architecture alone is worth the visit.[18] (fjtf)
>
> In fact the building itself is worth seeing for that reason [the architecture] alone. Remarkable for a museum and favorable for the display of art because it allows tours along the various floors as in a large drum or in a circle.[19] (litprom)

[18] Translated from Portuguese, "A arquitetura do museu por si só já vale a visita."

[19] Translated from German, "In der Tat ist das Gebäude selbst sehenswert, für ein Museum schon deswegen bemerkenswert und für das Ausstellen von Kunst günstig, weil es Rundgänge entlang den verschiedenen Stockwerken wie in einer großen Trommel oder im Kreise ermöglicht."

> For those not very fond [of modern art] (my case) I think it is worth a visit for the building that is interesting and the view you get of the National Mall.[20] (LCP640)

Not everyone has such positive feelings about the museum's aesthetic, and some visitors apply descriptors such as *cold, imposing*, *odd*, *stoic*, *tired*, *ugly*, and *waste of space* to the building. This smorgasbord of feelings about the building's appearance—ex., sci-fi vs. stuffy; beautiful vs. ugly; compelling vs. tired—reminds us how important individuals' preconceptions are in their process of articulating feelings about buildings.

Because the Hirshhorn provides little information about the artworks found on display or directing movement through the museum, and because security guards are the most visible staff members found in the museum, the guards often serve as de facto docents. Many visitors rely on them for directions when they find the building confusing or when they would like more information about a piece of art. The nature of these interactions with the guards—whether positive or negative—is an important social factor that visitors take into account when assessing their feelings about the Hirshhorn. As an example of how guard interactions can figure positively into feelings about the Hirshhorn, one visitor writes:

> I asked two or three guards for information about a particular piece of art. All of them answered my questions with good humor even though I'm not sure that was exactly part of their job description. (ElaineAndGreg, 1st review)

By contrast, sour impressions of the guards have the effect of dampening feelings about the museum. For example, jehenson81 writes, "The Zodiac heads in the courtyard were delightful, but upon entering the building, we were treated very rudely by the staff, who were, to put it mildly, dour and surly." In a place where many visitors are likely feeling

[20] Translated from Portuguese, "Para quem nao eh grande apreciador (meu caso) acho que vale a visita pelo predio que eh interessante e pela vista que se tem da National Mall."

tentative about the building's purpose, and about the message of its artworks, the tone set by the security guards—who greet visitors as they enter and serve as accidental ushers along their journeys through the exhibits—projects a sense of the Hirshhorn's identity, whether welcoming or forbidding, to visitors.

Just over 10 percent of visitors writing on TripAdvisor describe their feelings about pacing oneself within the Hirshhorn, including how one's pacing might be affected by the amount of space dedicated to individual works of art, the museum's circulation, and its size. A common perception among those who described how much time should be dedicated to a visit to the Hirshhorn is that the museum is "doable" within a relatively short amount of time compared to other museums on the Mall. Examples of this sentiment include:

> If you have 15-20 minutes to spare, it's an interesting building that is not crowded. (VirginiaSnoweater)
>
> The best thing about this place is that it has restrooms but not much else in it so you can get through and be done with it in ten minutes or less. (Jim L)
>
> You don't need a ton of time to feast your eyes on marvelous modern art in the big donut of the Hirshhorn. (NVDesertRat)

Reviews like these suggest that visitors often come to the Hirshhorn looking for an experience that can be easily consumed—one that requires little investment of time or energy. Visitors also recommend stopping at the Hirshhorn simply to make quick use of its restrooms, a fact which illustrates the shortage of restrooms on the Mall at large.

Contrary to the idea that it can be consumed quickly, others advocate "slowing down" one's pace in order to enjoy the Hirshhorn's environment and offerings. For some visitors, the 10 to 20 minutes recommended by others is clearly insufficient. Visitor Sagiraffe writes, "Give yourself at [least] 2 hours to stroll, see and read the

thought-provoking memories that will stay with you forever!" This sense that the Hirshhorn is a place for one to linger and stroll conflicts with the idea, presented above, that "you don't need a ton of time" to enjoy the Hirshhorn, highlighting how different perceptions of the space and its contents can strongly influence individuals' assessments of the museum. However, visitors' own agendas within the space are grounded in personal preferences which may pre-exist their interactions with the Hirshhorn's built environment, while nonetheless influencing how they respond to the museum's spaces.

Many visitors also compare the Hirshhorn to the National Gallery of Art. The National Gallery is another government-operated (but non-Smithsonian) museum that has modern and contemporary art in its East Building. The National Gallery is located just to the north of the Hirshhorn, also on the National Mall, but operates on a much larger scale than the Hirshhorn in terms of its annual budget, staffing levels, square footage, collection, and the number of visitors it brings in. Comparing the National Gallery to the Hirshhorn is not a fair comparison to make—the National Gallery's purchasing power, combined with its generous space, allow it to do more and on a larger scale.[21]

Nonetheless, visitors persist in situating their impressions of the Hirshhorn in relation to their assessments of the National Gallery. These comparisons tend to be on the basis of the perceived quality of art in the different buildings and how much space is allocated to each artwork. Examples of comparisons that find in favor of the National

[21] The Hirshhorn's budget for FY 2015 was about $20 million. It has 60,000 square feet of exhibition space and 44 full time employees. Its collection totals around 12,000 artworks, and it had 552,000 visitors in 2014 (Smithsonian Newsdesk 2015). By comparison, the National Gallery's total budget request submitted to Congress for FY 2015 totaled $140 million. It is almost 1.4 million square feet and 807 full time employees. Its collection is over 130,000 works of art, and it had over 4.3 million visitors in FY 2013 (NGA 2015). Its East Wing, which displays modern and contemporary art, has nearly 130,000 square feet of exhibition space (Great Buildings, n.d.).

Gallery include, "… just north of [the Hirshhorn] is a National Gallery sculpture garden with even more fantastic modern masterpieces…" (BuffCrone) and

> If you're just in DC and wandering around the Smithsonian and want to see an art exhibit I'd recommend the Portrait Gallery or the West Wing of the National Gallery hands down over the Hirshhorn. (Zaknafein)

One visitor went so far as to suggest that the Hirshhorn should be dissolved and its collection given over to the National Gallery:

> What little art remains [at the Hirshhorn] could be combined in one smaller building, or even in the National Gallery of Art's 'annex.' … Overall, skip this museum and spend another day at the National Gallery of Art. (AllisonN18)

These visitors reveal how feelings *about* the Hirshhorn are constructed in direct relation to people's feelings *in* other museums, which guide their expectations for their Hirshhorn experience. In this sense, the Hirshhorn's identity will always, in some sense, be tied to that of its richer, more conventional neighbors—a contrast that often works against the Hirshhorn.

However, not everyone indicates a preference for the National Gallery and its East Wing. For example, one visitor writes, "Although the collection pales in comparison to the National Gallery's, [the Hirshhorn] was an amazing collection. The space was brilliant and this was my favorite gallery in DC" (JeffS_Toronto). In his assessment, the Hirshhorn wins out over the National Gallery by virtue of its "brilliant" space. Another visitor writes that it is "...not as grand as the National Gallery of Art, but also not as staid and predictable" (AnnArborMiBob). For him, the Hirshhorn's unconventional atmosphere is desirable. In addition to offering an engaging space, some also appreciate the Hirshhorn for its lack of crowds compared to those seen in the National Gallery.

Feelings about: Summary

Feelings about a building are judgments of a building that are influenced by a range of factors, including how the building matches up to an individual's preconceptions of it, the social norms that govern behavior in the building, and a person's ability to adapt to the building's constraints. The feel *of* (affect) and feelings *in* (memories) a building contribute to the formation of these judgments. Together, these judgments contribute to the sense of place that people understand to exist inside and outside a particular building, such as the Hirshhorn.

Though the Hirshhorn's sense of place is multi-dimensional, it can be described as alien, in the sense that individuals' feelings about the building are often framed in terms of its being out of context on the National Mall, among Smithsonian buildings, and among other art museums. This alien sense of place is defined in part by the building's otherworldly aesthetic, as well as its lack of teaching tools in a sea of institutions focused on the diffusion of knowledge. Among additional elements that contribute to this identity are the levels of familiarity people have with contemporary art and architecture, how much time people are willing to dedicate to the museum, and the museum building's unique circular floor plan.

Section 3: The Hirshhorn as a Living Building

CHAPTER 9: THE HIRSHHORN AS A LIVING BUILDING

> Art and life flow together, inseparable. Architecture then concerns itself with dynamic structures: tissues, networks, matrices, heterarchies. (Woods 1997, 14)

Whereas the previous section looked at individuals' feelings *of*, *in*, and *about* the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment, this section looks at how the Hirshhorn operates as a dynamic, malleable organism in response to its social and material contexts. As an organism, the Hirshhorn depends on its relationships with people and its physical context in order to exist, and its character changes as these relationships change. By turns, its interactions with people are planned, unplanned, public, and private. And it is always being made or unmade.[22]

Buildings have not always been understood in terms of the active manner in which they are made and unmade. Until the 1970s, buildings were broadly understood to "have meaning because architects endow them with meaning and skilled observers can decipher it" (Guggenheim 2013, 446). Later, buildings were understood as capable of projecting symbolic worldviews owing to the ways people used them (ex., Harvey 1979; Bunnell 1999; Goss 1993). More recently, however, scholars have called for more active readings of material environments (ex., Lees 2001 & Jenkins 2002). With this call, the previously held notion that buildings are designed by architects and then exist as merely symbolic "black boxes" was problematized. For example, Jenkins suggests that:

> Instead of simply treating buildings as stable, safe, and static black boxes on which we can hang our arguments and claims, no matter how laudable these

[22] Jacobs writes, "… the materiality of the building is a relational effect, its 'thing-ness'' is an achievement of a diverse network of associates and associations. It is what we might think of as a building event rather than simply a building. Conceived of this way, a building is always being 'made' or 'unmade', always doing the work of holding together or pulling apart. (Jacobs 2006, 11)

> accounts, we need to dispel the myth of buildings as being static, closed, and materially constant. (Jenkins 2002, 226)

Jenkins questions the tendency to understand buildings as fixed entities that "passively await manipulation" (Beauregard 2012, 183). Counter to the idea that buildings are passive, people are now starting to understand them, as well as other material objects, as having the capacity to "make things happen" (Bennett 2010, 5).

In order to understand buildings as agents having the capacity to *make things happen*, it is necessary to decenter the human subject from our considerations of buildings.[23] As mentioned above, until recently, when scholars have looked at buildings, they have understood them as objects whose meaning was grounded in their architects' conceptions of them or in the symbolic meanings that seem to be projected by their forms. In both of these cases, our understandings of them are primarily derived from what we see as a building's utility to people.[24] Taking a less human-centric view of buildings allows us to see buildings as agents with their own "vitality" (Jacobs et al. 2012, 135). Decentering the human subject also enables us to see "humans and non-humans alike [as] material configurations, not dividable, separate or separable, but integrated, co-constituted and co-dependent" (Tolia-Kelly 2013, 154). This idea that humans and non-humans are inseparable material configurations that co-constitute and depend on one another situates buildings as active participants in human lives, and humans as active participants in the lives of buildings.

---

[23] Jacobs et al. write, with regard to decentering the human subject within their research, "Our work has always tried to see architecture as eventful, vital, and performative, much more than simply a built context for human action and more than a mere product of human action" (Jacobs et al. 2012, 128).

[24] Beauregard offers his critique of this system of thought: "To believe that humans are all that matters is to fall victim to the culture-nature divide that has plagued modernism from its inception (Latour 1993). If we are to understand how buildings are produced and cities are made to grow and develop (and to decline), we must leave behind such a human-centric, and false, view of the world." (Beauregard 2015, 533-534)

The literature on material geography is helpful in understanding how to approach these active qualities of buildings conceptually. Recent material geographies, like the architectural geography of Jenkins (2002), look at how materials operate in "dynamic circulations" (Tolia-Kelly 2013, 155).[25] With respect to architecture specifically, a number of scholars encourage a linguistic shift away from understanding "building" (Mimisson 2016), "architecture" (Schmidt et al. 2012), and "space" (Lees and Baxter 2011) as *nouns*, to understanding these ideas as *verbs*. To this end, more recent studies of architecture that look at the dialectic between people and built environments often frame buildings in relation to what they do (ex., Gieryn 2002; Strebel 2011; Guggenheim 2013). In each of these studies, buildings are framed in terms of the active roles they play in their local contexts, both material and social.

When conceptualizing buildings as living agents, people have a tendency to frame buildings' actions in terms of the negative influence they exert in response to human intentions. For example, framing buildings as *obdurate* (Beauregard 2015, 533) or *recalcitrant* (Latour & Yaneva 2008) conveys a negative power.[26] However, buildings are not solely stubborn objects, but also convey a "positive, productive power" (Bennett 2010, 1). For example, buildings can connect diverse human and nonhuman actors—including planners, community members, construction workers, building materials, and electricity—through their design and construction processes (Yaneva & Heaphy

[25] About this dynamic quality of materials, Heatherington and Monroe (1997) suggest that we "move beyond the *surface* of matter, to engage with the politics, grammars and productive power of materials that are in place, shaping place and effectively making a *difference* to place and the place of each other" (Tolia-Kelly 2013, 154).

[26] I would like to acknowledge the contribution of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to these understandings of material objects, such as buildings, as agents which affect their surroundings (Latour 2005). While I'm not formally framing this study in terms of ANT, the theory's intellectual underpinnings influence my argument that the Hirshhorn Museum building operates with agency.

2012).[27] This productive connection between both human and nonhuman agents is sometimes framed as an "intricate dance" [28] (Bennett 2010, 31) or a "dance of agency" (Griswold et al. 2013, 360). Of the role people play within this dance, Bennett writes, "It is also possible to say something about the kind of *striving* that may be exercised by humans within the assemblage"[29] (2010, 38, my emphasis). Among human and non-human agents, humans demonstrate a transformative capacity to strive or consciously exert themselves within this dance. Bennett continues:

> This exertion is perhaps best understood on the model of riding a bicycle on a gravel road. One can throw one's weight this way or that, inflect the bike one direction or toward one trajectory of motion. But the rider is but one actant operative in the moving whole. (2010, 38)

Buildings often "gain momentum" through their interactions with the people who strive to inhabit and maintain them, as well as through their interactions with their broader social and material environments (Strebel 2011, 245).[30] Thus, buildings neither exist as impermeable black boxes nor as autonomous entities that simply carry out their architect's bidding. In other words, "[f]or a building to take form and sustain itself as a big thing, it must 'surrender to technologies; to engineers, to contractors, manufacturers; to politics; to others'" (Jacobs 2006, 12, quoting Koolhaas 1995, 513-514). Just as a human life is created, is sustained, and gains momentum through the interactions of a variety of natural, social, and economic processes, so, too, do buildings.

---

[27] Of this capacity to connect "heterogeneous actors," Yaneva and Heaphy (2012, 35) write, "This particular capacity of a building to associate both human and nonhuman actors makes it an important actor. The social can be found here, in the process of mobilization and enrolment of actors."

[28] As in, "Humanity and nonhumanity have always performed an intricate dance with each other" (Bennett 2010, 31).

[29] Here, "assemblage" refers to the "mosaic" of relationships of human and nonhuman agents.

[30] For example, Strebel (2010, 244) argues that "buildings are 'brought to life' through the work of a block check," and that "the notion of the living building … brings to light a variety of settings in which users, workers and other actors organize their activities, not simply with respect to co-workers and other people involved, but with respect to a specific layout and arrangement of the built environment."

This chapter answers the question: What processes allow the Hirshhorn to *gain momentum* as a living building (Strebel 2011)? To do so, I describe several types of social-material interactions that animate or give life to the Hirshhorn's built environment, including its "meeting the world" and its "signs of life" (Harris 1999, 7, 59). The processes that have come together over time to allow the Hirshhorn to gain momentum can be broadly characterized as overlapping political, social, and material processes. Examples of these processes include securing Congressional and planning commission approval, reaching a consensus on a nickname for the building, and altering the building's makeup to project a new, lighter aesthetic, respectively. Considering these varied interactions between people and the built environment helps us to understand how the Hirshhorn functions not only as an architectural object but also as a malleable organism.

The Hirshhorn: Meeting the World

> Only by enlisting the movements of a building and accounting carefully for its "tribulations" would one be able to state its existence: it would be equal to the building's extensive list of controversies and performances over time, i.e. it would be equal to what it does, to the way it resists attempts at transformation, allows certain visitors' actions and impedes others, bugs observers, challenges city authorities, and mobilizes different communities of actors. (Latour and Yaneva 2008, 86)

As Latour and Yaneva (2008) write, by accounting for a building's controversies and performances, we can state its existence.[31] In the case of the Hirshhorn Museum building, there is no shortage of controversies and performances that punctuate its coming into being on the National Mall. In this section, I describe some of the

[31] Harris similarly suggests that "…examining buildings through their life stages and modes of representation, encourages us to conceive of them not simply as places but as sets of events…" (Harris 1999, 164).

important controversies and performances of the Hirshhorn that comprise its initial life stage, its "meeting the world" (Harris 1999, 7).

Before considering the Hirshhorn's material life, it is important to understand the political and social factors that brought it into being on the National Mall in the first place. The Smithsonian Institution, the Hirshhorn's parent organization, had been working to secure a museum of modern art on the National Mall for decades previous to the opening of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in 1974. Smithsonian leadership viewed a modern art museum as an entity that would legitimize the Washington, D.C., art museum scene, and as an important architectural and cultural feature that was missing from the nation's capital. And so, in 1939, the Smithsonian held a competition, which drew more than 400 entries, for the design of a modern art museum. The submission designed by Eliel and Eero Saarinen and J. Robert F. Swanson won unanimously (see Fig. 30), despite widespread debates over its aesthetic, which married classicism and modernism. Although an Act of Congress in 1938

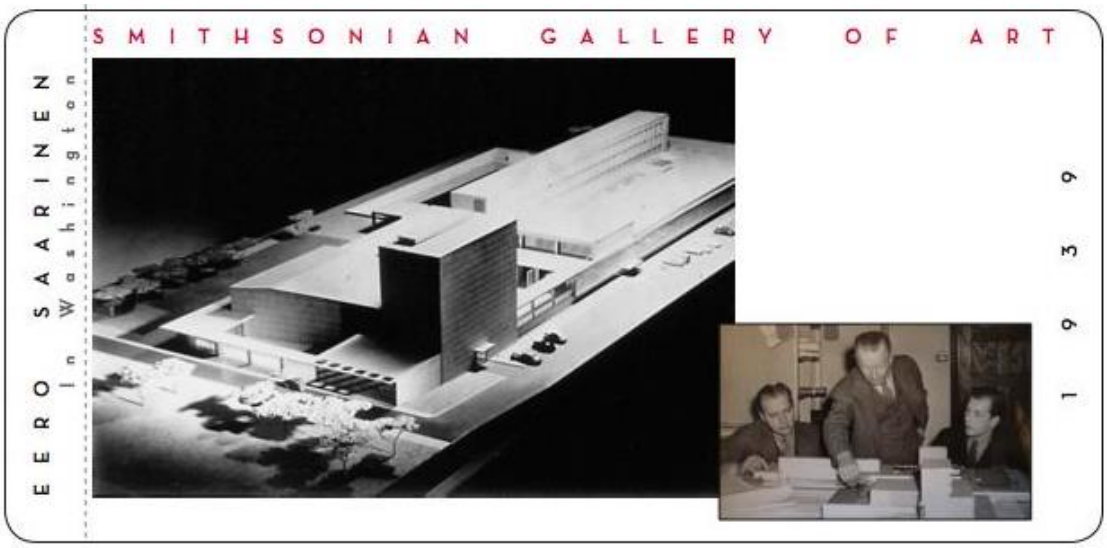


Figure 30. The Saarinens' and Swanson's winning design for a Museum of Modern Art in Washington, D.C., in the 1939 competition held by the Smithsonian Institution. (Image from eerosaarinenexhibiton.com)

provided for its construction, the Saarinen/Swanson-designed museum was never built because of the financial constraints placed on the American economy by the Great Depression and World War II.

By the 1960s, the Smithsonian again began to entertain its desire to be home to a museum of modern art, as well as to construct a museum building that could be classified as a piece of modern architecture. It was during this time that Joseph Hirshhorn, a wealthy uranium investor and avid modern art collector known as the Uranium King, was looking for a home for his extensive collection of modern art. Working with President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Johnson's administration, Smithsonian Secretary Sidney Dillon Ripley began lobbying Hirshhorn to consider the Smithsonian—and, by extension, the National Mall—as the recipient of Hirshhorn's collection (Frieling 2012). Then-First Lady, Lady Bird Johnson, ultimately proved instrumental to convincing Hirshhorn to donate his collection to the Smithsonian, rather than to international competitors, like the Tate Modern in London, when she began visiting Hirshhorn and his art collection.[32]

Soon after the First Lady started appealing to Hirshhorn to donate his art collection to the Smithsonian, he made his formal donation offer, and also agreed to provide $1 million to supplement the $15 million that Congress had allocated for the construction of the museum. In return, the Smithsonian agreed to name the museum after Hirshhorn, a decision that proved controversial and prompted a number of concerned citizens to write letters to members of Congress in protest. Congressmen,

[32] The First Lady impressed Hirshhorn such that he wrote in a letter to President Johnson in 1965, stating, "Mrs. Johnson is darling and has completely charmed me. She is the most perfect wife a president could have—as you know, she has become interested in modern art. Be careful. This interest can be contagious—you had better watch out!" (Hirshhorn 1965, in Frieling 2012)

themselves, cited their concerns over naming the Hirshhorn after someone who did not, as Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. (D., N.J.) wrote, contribute to "giving liberty and independence to this country" (Frieling 2012). Ultimately, however, rather than risk the possibility of Hirshhorn rescinding his offer to donate $50 million worth of art, Congress and the Smithsonian consented to naming the museum after Hirshhorn.

With funds allocated for the Hirshhorn Museum's construction, and its name finalized, the Hirshhorn museum was several steps closer to coming into being; however, a site on the National Mall still needed to be identified as its home. Secretary Ripley recommended that the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology (AFIP) building, which also housed the Army Medical Museum and Library, located at the intersection



Figure 31. The Army Medical Museum and Library, located at the intersection of 7th Street and Independence Avenue, where the Hirshhorn is now located. (Image from Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

of 7th Street and Independence Avenue be razed to make way for the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (see Fig. 31). Despite its status as a National Historic Landmark and its listing on the National Register of Historic Places, the AFIP building was nonetheless demolished in January of 1967 ("The Army Medical Museum and Library"). The erasure of the prominent and well-loved AFIP building, to make way for the Hirshhorn, illustrates the "making" and "unmaking" inherent to the lives of buildings. In this case, the Hirshhorn project had gained enough momentum at this time to displace the AFIP building on the Mall.

Normally, the final design for a new federal building is selected through a competition; however, by Hirshhorn's request, the architect for the Hirshhorn Museum was selected by a small, private selection committee consisting of Hirshhorn and Secretary Ripley and several others. This committee selected Gordon Bunshaft, of the prominent firm Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM), as architect of the museum. Notably, Bunshaft was also a member of the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) at the time, which, along with the National Capital Planning Commission, has oversight over the design approval process for construction projects on the National Mall. Because of Bunshaft's role in the CFA, his appointment as architect for this prominent building drew criticism from those concerned that the CFA would have a difficult time assessing his design impartially.

Initially, SOM proposed that the museum be subterranean; however, Hirshhorn resented this idea, saying "You're not going to bury me underground" (Krinsky 1988, 252). Implicit in his statement is the notion that Hirshhorn conceived of the museum as

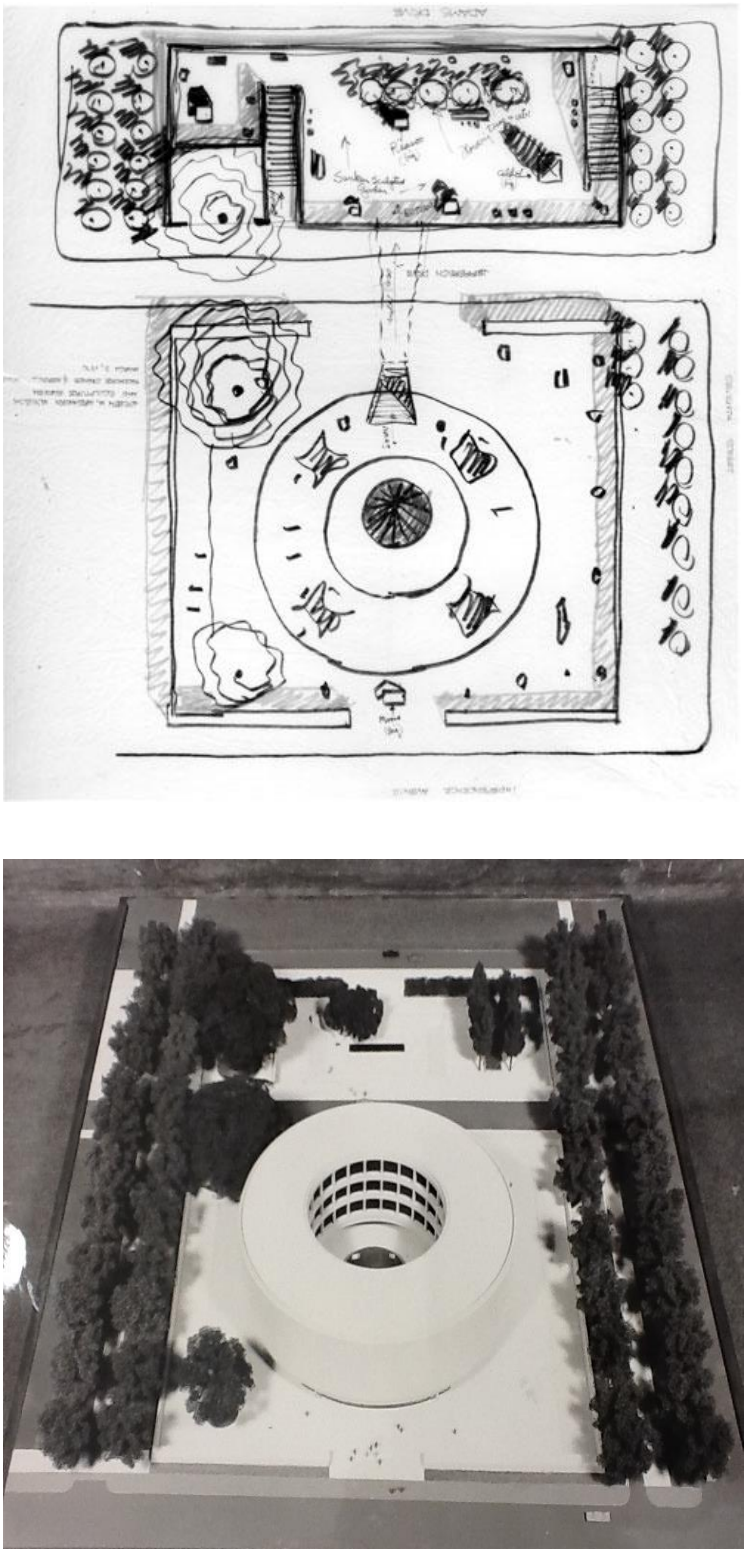


Figure 32. Top: Design Sketch of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (Hirshhorn.si.edu); Bottom: Model of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden. Commission of Fine Arts Archive. Received Aug. 12, 1971. (71-1381).

an extension of his personhood—i.e., putting the museum underground was equivalent to burying Hirshhorn, himself. In response to Hirshhorn's objections to an underground museum, and to the compact former site of the AFIP building, Bunshaft proposed a circular form for the Hirshhorn. His proposal was influenced by several other factors, as well—it allowed the building to contrast visually with the long, rectangular buildings that surrounded it; it provided a way to preserve a grand elm tree on the site; and it also allowed him to pursue the cylindrical form, which had long fascinated him.[33]

By July 27, 1967, Bunshaft's plans for the Hirshhorn (Fig. 32) were approved by the National Capital Planning Commission, and Congress appropriated funds in June 1968 to begin construction of the building (Public Law 90-425, 1968). On January 8, 1969, the groundbreaking ceremony was held for the building, which was attended by prominent figures in the D.C. art and political scenes, including President Johnson, Secretary Ripley, Mr. Hirshhorn, and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

In the life of a building, groundbreakings represent, "a promissory note on the larger outcome, something suggesting a baby shower, held before the fact" (Harris 1999, 20). When ground is broken, the public is ceremonially introduced to the "coming attraction." By this time, a building has already surmounted the complicated pre-natal processes of gathering funds and securing design approvals. For a building of national significance, like the Hirshhorn, whose construction was meant to fulfill the Smithsonian's mandate to establish a museum of modern art, the groundbreaking

[33] Architectural historian Carol Krinsky provides the following account of Bunshaft's desire to design a circular building: "Bunshaft had had the [circular] shape in mind for some time. He had proposed an elevated doughnut-shaped building a half-mile in diameter surrounding a lake to house the 1964 New York World's Fair. Ripley [Secretary of the Smithsonian] had suggested a circular building when he first showed Bunshaft the site" (Krinsky 1988, 254).

ceremony also allowed political figures the opportunity to publicly situate the building's existence within the broader narrative of national identity.

We can look to the address given by Secretary Ripley as an example of how momentum was built for the building during its groundbreaking. He used his groundbreaking address as an opportunity to provide an argument in favor of the museum's unconventional aesthetic, pointing out that the Hirshhorn, like other buildings on the Mall, acted as a marker of its era:

> When Gordon Bunshaft and I talked about a building for this site, I reminded him that the varied, elegant small buildings along this side of the Mall, silhouetted against a backdrop of monolithic government buildings behind to the south on the other side of Independence Avenue, are in a certain scale, like tiny figures in a Bayeux tapestry, each different, each representing an era; the turrets of the original building, the castellated towers, banners flaunting of the exposition building, the cool austerity of the Freer. To create delight, to match the harmonious cacophony of the other buildings, I asked him if he could not create something equally different to all the others. I suggested a balloon ascension. Mr. Bunshaft has indeed provided us with something brilliantly different. It will be gay and delightful, and certainly in today's parlance, it is not 'square.' (Ripley, Groundbreaking Ceremony Address, January 8, 1969, 3)

After describing how the Hirshhorn design fits the Mall's harmonious cacophony, Ripley continues, situating the Hirshhorn building and its sculpture garden as entities that were meant to be. His rationale for their sense of belonging is that they complete Pierre L'Enfant's original plans to establish a cross-axis on the National Mall. Ripley's suggestion that the Hirshhorn sculpture garden's act of cutting across the Mall simply "expresses" L'Enfant's plans was likely in response to naysayers who adamantly argued against the location of the museums sunken sculpture garden. In this way, Ripley is making the case for the controversial existence of the sculpture garden, while also

associating it with the National Gallery's well-loved sculpture garden, located just to the north.[34]

Ripley concluded his address at the groundbreaking by suggesting that the Hirshhorn building would epitomize "the spirit of the place"—the National Mall:

> In this setting there is more than mere symbolism to the juxtaposition of our buildings, the greatest library in the nation next to the Congress, buildings representing vast areas of policy and decision making next to museums, offices next to laboratories and all the busy life itself mirrored in the pools of the Mall, the "finest drive in the world" a place to be made a delight by the very necessities of existence. No building presently planned could add more to the spirit of the place than this one, a fortunate and humane partnership of Joseph Hirshhorn, and our enlightened government. (Ripley, Groundbreaking Ceremony Address, January 8, 1969, 4)

While it is unclear which attributes allowed the Hirshhorn building to add to the "spirit of the place," Ripley clearly frames the Hirshhorn's dissonant architecture as belonging on the Mall.

Despite the groundbreaking taking place in January of 1969, the contract for the construction of the museum was not awarded until more than a year later, on February 27, 1970. Construction commenced on March 23, 1970, with completion slated for September 1972; however, the building was not completed until 1974 (Sanderson, Press Release, SI-217-74, 1974). In the intervening years, between the groundbreaking and the completion of the building, several controversies arose, including debates over its name and ongoing protest over its sculpture garden cutting across the Mall.

[34] In Secretary Ripley's own words, "This elegant museum with its accompanying sculpture garden, stretching across the Mall to express the L'Enfant-planned cross-Mall axis will be a perfect foil, one of a pair, to match the National Gallery. History has been served, a garden will be created, and the vision of architects and planners of the past will become reality. …" (Ripley, Groundbreaking Ceremony Address, January 8, 1969, 3)

A reporter for the *New York Times* characterized these early controversies writing that, "controversy clings to [the project] like bittersweet vines" (Lydon, *New York Times*, July 5, 1971), while another article suggested that "the official groundbreaking ceremony in January, 1969, signaled the beginning of the collection's troubles rather than their happy ending" (*New York Times*, July 14, 1974). A flurry of letter-writing activity—letters written to senators, letters written by senators, and letters written by wealthy patrons of the arts—is evidence of the full-fledged attempts to prevent the sculpture garden from traversing the Mall and "express[ing] the L'Enfant-planned cross-Mall axis," as Ripley had suggested it would do at the groundbreaking. On April 19, 1971, the President of New York's National Sculpture Society, Michael Lantz, wrote to Senator James B. Allen (D-AL) that "the Mall must be preserved without the intrusion of any structure whatsoever, be it architecture or sculpture." He continued, "The Senate Park Commission Plan of 1901 has never been defiled: it should not be now" (Lantz, Letter to James Allen, April 19, 1971). On June 14, 1971, Senator Allen forwarded letters from representatives of both the American Society of Landscape Architects and the National Sculpture Society, to William Walton, Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts.

In Allen's own letter, he said that it was his "hope that no action will be taken to further compound what appears to be irregularities which seem to have plagued this project from its inception" (Allen, Letter to William Walton, June 14, 1971). Indeed, such discourse about how the building should take shape ultimately affected the physical form the Hirshhorn and its sculpture garden would take on the National Mall, and Bunshaft proposed a revised design for the sculpture garden. In his revised design,

the sculpture garden would not cut so deeply into the National Mall, and, instead, would jut out only into in the Mall's side tree panels. The Commission of Fine Arts approved this revised design, writing that "this was a far more satisfactory solution, avoiding the controversial cutting and possibly marring effects of the original scheme" (CFA Meeting Minutes, 21 April 1971).

In May of 1971, the revised design was officially approved (Atherton, letter to James Bradley, May 19, 1971); however, by June, a former member of the Commission of Fine Arts, Gilmore Clarke, sent a strongly worded letter to Smithsonian Undersecretary Bradley, contradicting the CFA's notice of approval of the revised design. A portion of this letter bears reprinting here, as it encapsulates the nature of the strong criticism being levied at the Hirshhorn project during this time:

> Mr. Secretary, "I beseech ye—think that ye may be mistaken"[35] in your decision to permit the Mall to be encroached upon for the first time in its long history. To do so destroys a work of art fashioned by the artists of the Senate Park Commission of 1901 and held to be inviolate by successive Commissions of Fine Arts until a Commission succumbed to your urging a few years ago, thereby breaking a precedent that has stood firm for more than six decades. I am not unmindful of the fact that one of the architect members, the designer of the Hirshhorn complex, was and still is a member of the Commission!
>
> I hope sincerely that you may summon up the courage and use your influence to correct this egregious error; if you do you will regain the respect you may have lost in the minds of sensitive men and women who continue to hold Washington's Mall, and the Central Composition of which it is part, to be the

[35] Earlier in the letter, Clarke references Oliver Cromwell's "I beseech ye …" quote, and includes this dramatic excerpt of Irving Dillard's *The Spirit of Liberty:*

> Let me give you, as an instance, one utterance of his (Oliver Cromwell) which has always hung in my mind. It was just before the Battle of Dunbar; he beat the Scots in the end, as you know, after a very tough fight; but he wrote them before the battle, trying to get them to accept a reasonable composition. These were his words: 'I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think that ye may be mistaken.' I should like to have that written over the portal of every church, every school and every courthouse and, may I say, of ever legislative body in the United States. I should like to have every court begin, 'I beseech ye in the bowels of Christ, think that ye may be mistaken!' (Dillard 1952, pp. 229-230)

> most distinguished work of civic art in the United States. (Clarke, Letter to Dillon Ripley, June 28, 1971)

As the Hirshhorn prepared to meet the world, such strong oppositional rhetoric, built on an *is-ought* argument—i.e., because the Mall *is* in a particular configuration, it *ought* to remain in this same configuration forevermore—threatened its existence. In the end, this argument worked neither in opposition to tearing down the AFIP building, a National Historic Landmark, nor in opposition to the Hirshhorn's encroaching on the Mall. By 1971, the Hirshhorn Museum and Scul pture Garden, as an architectural concept, had gained enough political momentum to overcome even the most prominent naysayers. Architectural critic Benjamin Forgey summed up this momentum when he wrote, "In spite of all of the recent criticism aimed at practically everything about the project, Washington almost certainly will get its new Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum …" (Forgey, *Washington Star News*, February 24, 1971). Several months later, the National Capital Planning Commission approved the sculpture garden's location "in a cliff-hanging session" in which they "first voted to kill the proposed Hirshhorn sunken sculpture garden and then an hour later reconsidered and voted to approve it" (Conroy, *Washington Post*, May 7, 1971).[36]

With the sculpture garden's location now settled—relegated to the Mall's side tree panels, but encroaching on the Mall's terrain nonetheless—and the building nearing completion, an old sticking point reemerged. In April 1974, just six months before the museum's opening, Senator Dick Clark (D-IA) lobbied unsuccessfully for its name to be changed to Franklin D. Roosevelt Gallery of Contemporary Art (*Washington Post*,

[36] A reporter for the *Washington Post* described what prompted the alternative outcome in the second vote: "The change of heart and vote came after Smithsonian Institution Secretary S. Dillon Ripley warned them that otherwise the Joseph Hirshhorn collection of art would be lost to Washington and the Smithsonian" (Conroy, *Washington Post*, May 7, 1971).

April 16, 1974). While many remained unhappy about the Hirshhorn being named for a private donor, the possibility of losing the donation made changing the name at this late date a risk too great to take.

What can be learned from these early debates and controversies in relation to the Hirshhorn gaining momentum as a living building? The Hirshhorn Museum, both as a building and as an organization, emerged from these controversies having proven that it was viable in the context of the National Mall—that it had enough financial and political support to make itself manifest in this challenging landscape. Thus, it began to show "signs of life" (Harris 1999, 59). These signs of life are discussed in the following section.

The Hirshhorn: Signs of Life

Signs of life can come in the form of representations of the building in text, drawings and photographs, through celebrations in honor of the building, and through interactions with its occupants and its caretakers. As the museum took its physical form on the National Mall, its unconventional architecture and brutal material composition became ripe fodder for architectural critics and local and national commentators who began trying out new nicknames for the building. For example, it was called a doughnut, a giant roll of tape, a water tank, and a cultural bunker. The following is a selection of these sentiments, drawn from East Coast newspapers:

> If the museum still looks like a giant water tank from the outside, the circular hole within the doughnut (freed of the construction crane) has opened up to reveal the curving sweep of the interior walls. (White, *Washington Post*, April 15, 1973, see Fig. 33)

> The biggest white marble doughnut in the world …. colossal funerary…. (Huxtable, quoted in *New York Times*, July 14, 1974)



Figure 33. "The Museum of the Future," published in the *Washington Post,* April 15, 1973 (White 1973).

> Its shape resembles that of a roll of tape on legs. As a piece of museum architecture, the Hirshhorn brings to mind a corrected, rampless Guggenheim, with Frank Lloyd Wright's romanticism replaced by Bunshaft's briskness. (Richard, *Washington Post*, June 17, 1974)

Benjamin Forgey, of the *Washington Star News,* summed up the importance of the nickname that had been applied to the Hirshhorn, writing that "Washingtonians will have taken full possession of the new Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden when they have learned affectionately and unselfconsciously to call it by a nickname – our doughnut on the Mall is perhaps the leading candidate" (Forgey, *Washington Star News*, August 11, 1974). As Forgey suggests, there was a sense that the Hirshhorn, with its brutal concrete aesthetic, needed to be humanized and by



Figure 34. "Futuristic touch," published in the *Washington Post* on June 20, 1974.

identifying a nickname, "the people will have humanized the building." [37] The doughnut moniker had a playful, even appetizing appeal that could help make the museum seem more approachable.

Meanwhile, however, imagery from the press worked to perpetuate a sense that the building didn't belong on the National Mall; the idea that it was otherworldly. For example, a widely syndicated image of a construction worker sandblasting the Hirshhorn (see Fig. 34), was accompanied with the caption, "Futuristic touch—looking like a space man, this worker sandblasts wall of the new Hirshhorn Museum of Modern Art…" (*Washington Post*, 20 June 1974). While the *Washington Post* suggested that the Hirshhorn's landscape was unearthly and inhabited by space men, the *New York Times* perpetuated the narrative that the Hirshhorn fit within a landscape of warfare—with Ada Louise Huxtable calling it, "One of the cultural bunkers on the Mall" (Huxtable 1974). Shortly thereafter, Forgey wrote that it looked like a "circular bombproof blockhouse" (Forgey 1974). To be fair, a side-by-side comparison of photographs of the Hirshhorn under construction and an actual World War II bunker reveals striking similarities between the two in terms of shape, texture, and an overall lack of exterior fenestration (see Fig. 35).

[37] Forgey continued, "This will mean that they have accepted architect Gordon Bunshaft's formidable cylinder—which from ground level looks elegant but distinctly inedible, more like a circular bombproof blockhouse than a doughnut—as a usable and even likable monument. In the current phrase, the people will have humanized the building.

"Warming up to the Hirshhorn will take time and some doing. In the first place, the idea of a circular building may create a block for many persons who have grown too accustomed to the overly rectangular, massive building blocks of our city.

"More important, it is the peculiar (though hardly unique) misfortune of the monumental Hirshhorn building to be nearing completion at a time when, for reasons right and wrong, monumental architecture in general and monumental museum buildings in particular are widely scorned."(Forgey, *Washington Star News*, August 11, 1974)

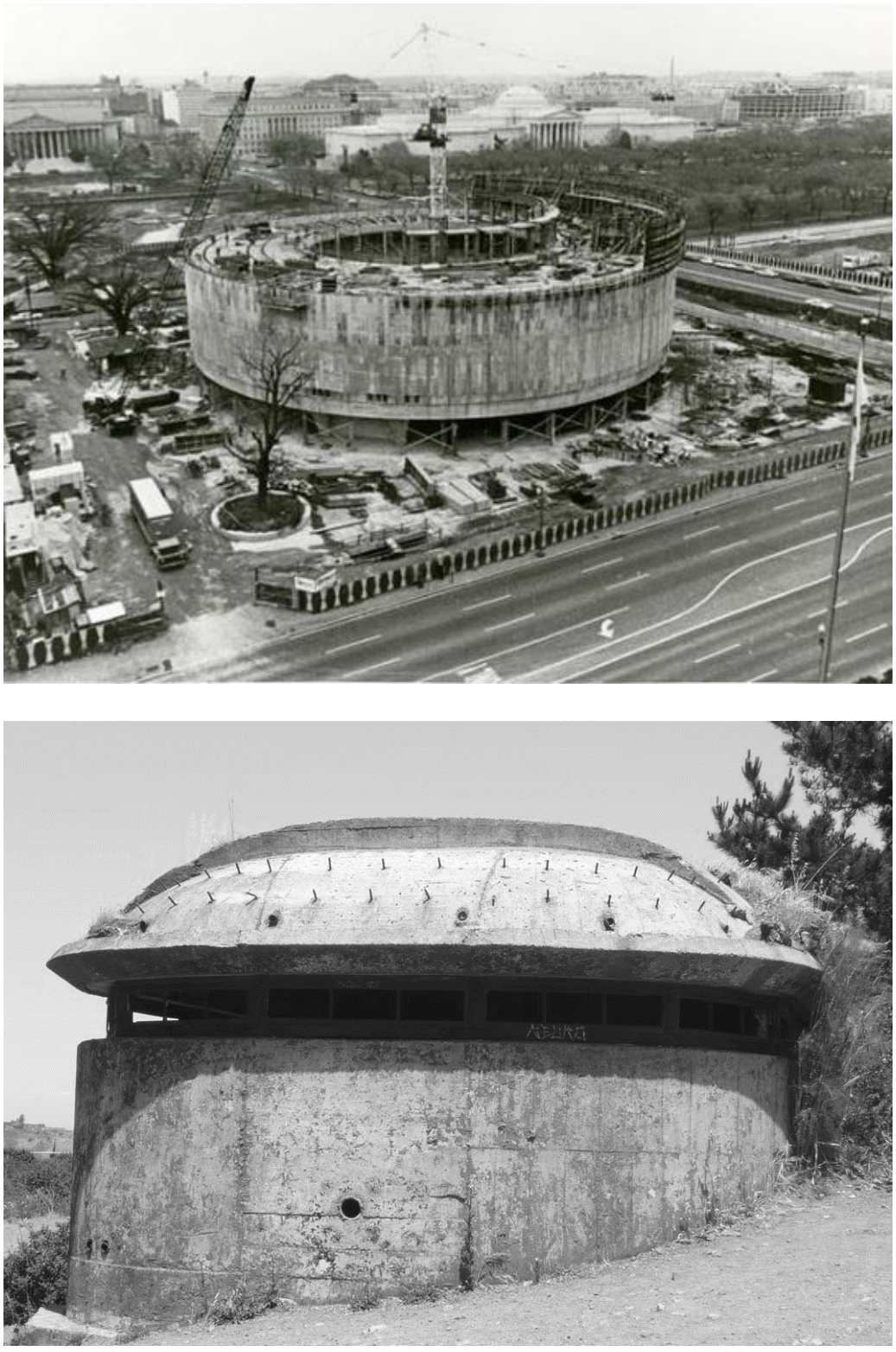


Figure 35. Comparison of the Hirshhorn Museum and a bunker. Top: Hirshhorn Museum, under construction, December 12, 1972 (Smithsonian Twitter, April 2, 2015); Bottom: Military bunker in the San Francisco Bay area (svsm.org, n.d.).



Figure 36. Brochure from the Hirshhorn Museum's opening, featuring the shape of the museum and its fountain, as seen in plan (Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden 1974).

To what extent did these early efforts of the press alter the momentum of the Hirshhorn as a living building? It's fair to say that the constant presence of negative language in the media slowed the building's momentum, working to dehumanize and de-animate it by framing discourse about it in deadening, bunker-like, and prison-related terminology. If we think of buildings as always being "made" and "unmade" (Jacobs 2006), we can situate this discourse about the building in the realm of the "unmaking," in that it weakened earlier, momentum-building arguments, like Ripley's suggestion that the building effectively captured the spirit of the National Mall.[38]

Signs of Life: A Carefully Curated Narrative

Hirshhorn staff attempted to normalize the strange, circular form of the building, featuring it prominently in press documents leading up to, and just after, the building's

[38] Per Ripley, "No building presently planned could add more to the spirit of the place than this one" (Ripley, Groundbreaking Ceremony Address, January 8, 1969, 4)

opening.[39] For example, the brochure distributed during the museum's opening exhibition featured the shape of the museum, as seen in plan, with its off-center, nested fountain (see Fig. 36). In addition, the Hirshhorn commissioned prominent artists, including Robert Indiana and Larry Rivers, to produce posters advertising its opening. Each of these posters played with the museum's form in some fashion (see Fig. 37). The poster produced by Robert Indiana presented a circular logo, reminiscent of the museum's shape, with the museum's name emblazoned across the top of it. Larry Rivers' poster depicted a view of the Hirshhorn building from below. While the building's single strip of windows were blackened, Rivers rendered the Hirshhorn's concrete exterior façade as transparent, mimicking the window arrangement found in its interior courtyard. Behind the windows, he interspersed representative artworks from the museum's collection, which exploded outward, beyond the museum's walls. The brochure and posters both reinforced the significance of the Hirshhorn building as an agent that mediated visitors' experience of the opening exhibition.

In addition to the posters commissioned from Indiana and Rivers, the Hirshhorn produced two posters using artworks from its collection. Notably, one of these posters featured Kenneth Noland's "Beginning" (1958, see Fig. 38). Noland is known for his artworks depicting colorful concentric circle arrangements, and "Beginning," with its slightly irregular, but still concentric, red, blue, and black circles fit nicely with the Hirshhorn's desire to make sense of the building's circular configuration in the context of its opening exhibition.

[39] For example, in a press release describing the building several months before its opening, Hirshhorn Public Information Officer Geraldine Sanderson described it as "a striking circular building" (Sanderson, Press Release, June 4, 1974).



Figure 37. Top: Hirshhorn Museum opening exhibition poster by Robert Indiana (1974); Bottom: Opening exhibition poster by Larry Rivers (1974).

On October 1, 1974, with its construction complete and art installed, the time had come for the Hirshhorn to officially open its doors. The occasion was honored in a dedication ceremony presided over by Secretary Ripley. Ripley's dedication speech conveys that he understands the Hirshhorn to be an agent that challenges the status quo, which will "jog the mind and provoke the spirit." In turn, Ripley characterizes the early life of the Hirshhorn as a set of events that required "wrestling," involved "defeat," and prompted controversy. Yet, the building will nonetheless highlight the art inside with "chaste magnificence" (Ripley, Remarks at the Dedication of the Hirshhorn, October 1, 1974).

Ripley also points out the contrast between the building's interior and its exterior, saying that, while its interior "works beautifully … as no one can deny," its exterior "challenges you to make what you will of it."[40] A significant disconnect

[40] An excerpt of Ripley's dedication speech, in which he addresses the building, specifically, bears reprinting here, as it provides the discursive context I analyzed in order to describe how the building was understood by its occupants at the time of its opening:

"And what of the site? We have had to wrestle to develop it, beginning with the moving of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology Museum to Walter Reed Hospital, a move in which the Congress and then Secretary McNamara greatly aided us. Additionally, an architect had to be chosen and we found Gordon Bunshaft, one of the deans of his profession, one with whom, as I related in 1969, we developed most amicably, plans for a functional building, novel in its shape, band-box like, with "a texture of tweed," as Sir Nicholas Pevsner once described another contemporary structure. For the original proposed marble exterior coating, which we had planned, was defeated by the expense of domestic marble. Escalating costs nearly prevented us having any museum to speak of at all, and I think great credit must be paid to the General Services Administration as well as to the architect that we are open tonight. To the contractor I must give credit for precise and elegant workmanship and an evident pride in his craft if not for dazzling speed. Indeed the pace of the hesitation waltz which we have all been dancing these past three years has been more like a kind of sleep walking than anything else."

"Suffice it to say that this building and its attendant garden of sculpture have been appropriately controversial. If it were not controversial in almost every way it would hardly qualify as a place to house contemporary art. For it must somehow be symbolic of the material it is designed to encase. Imagine avant-garde expression housed in a new Greek temple. No, a Greek temple must already have the patina of age and decomposition before it can be stretch to comprehend appropriately the avant-garde. At the same time a contemporary building in Washington cannot be sterile and faceless as most of them are, if it is to jog the mind and provoke the spirit. The vast and soporific panorama of Brobdingnagian horizontal buildings in Washington cannot be for us. The symbolism of the Smithsonian buildings on this side of the mall must not be lost to the visiting generations: the eager thrusting pseudo-gothic turrets of 1846, an outgrowth of intellectual challenge in a new world; the squat, tent-like abstractions of our neighbor Arts and Industries building, mirroring the baroque strivings of a Centennial World's Fair; the cool classic façade of an eclectic mind built to house misty 'fin de siècle' American art and classically restrained oriental art, the Freer, academism at its best."

between a building's exterior aesthetic and its interior arrangement is common among large buildings, and the buildings that present this incongruity are known as "agents of disinformation" that contribute to an "accumulation of mysteries" in city environments (Koolhaas & Mau 1995, 501).

The Hirshhorn acts as an agent of disinformation in several ways. For example, it is difficult for passersby to ascertain its function, it appears dark and closed on the outside when it is in fact light and open on the inside, and it hides its peaceful sculpture garden below ground level. In the week following its opening, art critic Henry Seldis pointed out an additional way in which the Hirshhorn acts as an agent of disinformation, calling out the balcony: "…the useless, ugly slit-like window and balcony area facing the Mall appears as menacing from the outside as it is gracious in its interior" (Seldis, *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 1974). While such incongruities between the exteriors and interiors of large buildings, like the Hirshhorn are common, the Hirshhorn's incongruities—ex., menacing vs. gracious; dark vs. light—are unusually severe. Perhaps this incongruity is what artist Larry Rivers was trying to overcome in his opening exhibition poster, when he gave the impression that the building had exterior windows covering its entire façade (see Fig. 38, above). Rivers' airy collage gestures at

---

"So the Hirshhorn challenges you to make what you will of it on the exterior if you choose, but works beautifully within as no one can deny, and sets off its sculpture collections all about on the plaza and garden with chaste magnificence, its assemblage of shapes and objects continue to stir our slothful minds and jog our sensibilities as they are designed to do. Man alone with his higher primate relatives is gifted, like the birds, with a seeing eye for color, design and symmetry. But we are lazy most of us and our eyes are veiled, accustomed to patterns, the familiar landscape, the gray blob of the "tube."

"The purpose of the Hirshhorn is to remind us all that life is more than the usual, that the human mind in its relentless diversity is capable of seeing life subjectively, and being stirred by objects into new and positive way of thought, thus escaping from the numbing penumbra of the ritual known as everyday." (Ripley, Remarks at the Dedication of the Hirshhorn, October 1, 1974)





Figure 38. Top: Kenneth Noland, "Beginning" (1958); Left: Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Opening Exhibition Poster, featuring Noland's "Beginning" (1974).

the idea that, if one enters the building, its interior projects a sense of graciousness that transcends its solid walls.

Just as Rivers' poster design projects a specific viewpoint regarding the character of the Hirshhorn, additional representations of the building—particularly photographs—project a sense of its personality over the years. The year it opened, the Hirshhorn was used as the setting for a bridal photoshoot that presented "modern" and "ethereal" brides (Elliott, *Washington Star News*, March 17, 1974). Of note, however, is that the exterior, windowless cylindrical form of the building was not featured in any of the photographs in this shoot. Instead the photographer selected views that showed the building's interior, its windowed courtyard, and the geometric patterning of the coffers on the building's underside (see Fig. 39).

This selective framing of the building's more visually desirable segments is dishonest in that it perpetuates an incomplete understanding of its aesthetic. Nonetheless, with the Hirshhorn, we see the propensity for such selective framing, as well as for image distortion and editing, over and over again. By looking critically at the purpose of these artificial images, it is possible to "[lay] bare the prejudices beneath the smooth surface of the beautiful" (Rose 2001, 69). In other words, these carefully constructed photographs are both revealing and hiding something about the life of the building. Discovering what it is, exactly, that the photographers are hiding provides clues to understanding how the building interacts with its publics in its day-to-day life. In the case of the bridal photographs mentioned above, the building's heaviness is obscured. Forty years on, erasing this heaviness is something that the Hirshhorn still wrestles with.



New Ways With Blue

The contemporary architecture of the Hirshhorn Museum provides the setting for this modern bride in Victorian gown of soft, dotted batiste. Her headpiece has just a hint of veiling over her Lucien-styled hair. The bridesmaid wears a dress with sleeveless bolero, all in a denim look that is accented by her red, white and blue bouquet. Both gowns are by Priscilla of Boston from Woodward & Lothrop.

The fresh, young bride below wears a white linen gown with heavy cotton lace at the hem and daisy appliques at the neck, also by Priscilla. The flower girl is in white eyelet from Lord & Taylor. The bridesmaid is beautifully cool in a pale blue linen with halter back and triangle from Garfinckel's. The baskets of flowers they carry are from Dove.



Face the Experts To Frame Your Radiance

Veiled and clad in white, today's bride walks down the aisle, an ethereal figure beside her father; all eyes are upon her because this of all days is her day.

Her gown has cost several hundred dollars, her parents may have spent upwards of a thousand on the wedding and the reception to follow, and the bride is beautiful. All brides are beautiful, aren't they?

Sometimes it is hard to tell. All too often, the bridegroom lifts the veil to find his bride a version of Hamlet's Ophelia, pale-faced, pale-browed, skin washed out by the starkness of her gown; the only color on her face perhaps a modest [illegible] shadow she wears to look "natural." [illegible] beach on her honeymoon, hair streaming behind, face aglow with youth and sunlight.

But for being on camera — literally, when her wedding pictures are taken — as a bride, and before her wedding, at parties and showers, nature needs a little help.

And help is near at hand in Washington, and for such a modest amount compared to the money already invested in the proceedings, that all brides should put their faces in the hands of an expert.

Garfinckel's charges just $5 for a complete make-up, which is available at the downtown, Montgomery Mall, Seven Corners, Spring Valley and Springfield Mall stores.

"Just enough make-up to be a bride" is Garfinckel's philosophy, engineered by Helen Rakoczy, salon supervisor. She also suggests one facial — "a good cleanup" — at $9.50, several days before the wedding. (The store has other facials, at varying prices.)

Most cosmeticians don't recommend brides have a facial on the day of their wedding because it

To Page 16

Simple, flowing lines are the keynote of this beige jersey gown from Woodward & Lothrop, and its dramatic backdrop, inner court of the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum. This sophisticated bride carries an unusual bouquet of Bells of Ireland.

Fig. 39. Spring Bridal Shoot at the Hirshhorn, *Washington Star News* (Elliott, March 17, 1974).

What can be learned from this carefully curated narrative in relation to the Hirshhorn gaining momentum as a living building? First, we see that even in its earliest days the Hirshhorn organization worked to use its building's unique form in the service of advancing its publicity. By carefully selecting attributes to highlight and—as in the case of Rivers' poster—sometimes fabricating attributes that don't exist in the physical world, the Hirshhorn organization began to curate an identity for the building that was not wholly predicated on its physical and material realities. Even so, as discussed, earlier, members of the press remained happy to poke holes in the Hirshhorn's image-related incongruities. In these examples, we see the interplay between the Hirshhorn staff's crafting of a favorable character of the building and the often less-favorable character constructed by the media.

Signs of Life: Interactions that Animate the Building

In addition to carefully curated narratives and imagery, a range of planned and unplanned interactions between people and the Hirshhorn's built environment contribute to the momentum of the building over time. The following discussion, which characterizes some of these planned and unplanned interactions, is organized according to whether or not the interactions are planned by the Hirshhorn organization (i.e., Hirshhorn-sanctioned) or by visitors to the Hirshhorn (see Table 1). My objective in organizing interactions in this way is to reveal the both ad hoc and museum-planned ways that visitors' interactions with the building unfold. The ad hoc interactions are particularly meaningful, as they suggest ways building acts as an agent that draws people who might otherwise not interact with the museum into its fold.

Table 1. Examples of Hirshhorn-Sanctioned and Non-Sanctioned, and Visitor-Planned and Unplanned Interactions with the Museum's Built Environment

	Hirshhorn-Sanctioned	**Non-Hirshhorn-Sanctioned**
Visitor-Planned	Ex., A visitor attends an official exhibition or tours	Ex., The Vermont junior high school marching band arrives every two years (or so) to play in the courtyard
Visitor-Unplanned (ad-hoc)	Ex., A visitor who happens upon the Sculpture Garden or Song 1	Ex., Mall tourists cut across the Hirshhorn's courtyard *en route* to another location

Hirshhorn-Sanctioned, Visitor-Planned Interactions

In Hirshhorn-sanctioned, visitor-planned interactions with the Hirshhorn's built environment, the Hirshhorn organization sanctions specific events that visitors may plan in advance to attend. In these instances, visitors bring with them their own perceptions of how the built environment should function, and they animate the building as they occupy its spaces during these events. Examples include exhibitions like Warhol's "Shadows" (see Fig. 20 in Ch. 7), or guided tours, like the Highlights Tours that currently occur each day at 12:30 p.m.

In these interactions with the Hirshhorn, visitors primarily understand the building's role in relation to the purpose for which it was designed—exhibiting art and hosting lectures—and they move through the building according to the circulation prescribed by architect Gordon Bunshaft, animating it with their bodies, memories, and

judgments.[41] As they do so, many are impressed with its reconfigurable, circular galleries, which influence the ways in which they use the Hirshhorn's spaces during these planned visits. For example, writing about "Shadows," specifically, TripAdvisor reviewer Jack Yunken[42] points out that, "Since 'Shadows' usually is exhibited with only 70 or so panels [HH had 102], this may be one of the only times you can see the complete version of this amazing work." Of "Shadows," another reviewer wrote that it is "normally at the Dia Beacon Museum, but really effective in the Hirshhorn's circular gallery…" (areview28). Experiencing these memorable events allows the building's agency to extend beyond its immediate sphere, as these visitors go on to share news of their fruitful visits to the Hirshhorn's events far and wide, like the seeds of a flower attaching to an animal and dispersing as it travels to new terrain.

Non-Hirshhorn-Sanctioned, Visitor-Planned Interactions

In non-Hirshhorn-sanctioned, visitor-planned interactions, visitors bring life to the building in new ways not imagined by the Hirshhorn organization. In these interactions, the Hirshhorn makes space for the unforeseen (Lefebvre 1987).[43] For example, one staff member remembers a junior-high school band from Vermont that has identified the Hirshhorn's courtyard as desirable both in terms of acoustics and

[41] See Section 2, "Intersections of Hirshhorn and Individual Identities" for a discussion of specific dimensions of affect, memory, and judgment that manifest in response to the Hirshhorn environment.

[42] "Jack Yunken" is the username of a TripAdvisor reviewer; it's unclear if this is the reviewer's real name.

[43] Lefebvre describes the importance of making space for the unforeseen in urban environments: "The city must be a place of waste, for one wastes space and time; everything mustn't be foreseen and functional … the most beautiful cities were those where festivals were not planned in advance, but there was a space where they could unfold" (Lefebvre 1987, 36).

audience-attraction. The band's director organizes a band trip to the Mall every two to three years, arranging for his band to play in the Hirshhorn courtyard upon their arrival (2M). This use of the Hirshhorn's courtyard was neither planned by the museum's architect, nor by its staff. On these occasions, the building provides space for the band to share their art in the public sphere, enabling a rich performance art experience for the junior high school band members. In return, with their informal use of the museum's built environment, this band brings an unexpected, lively quality to the normally serene plaza space.

In another example of a non-Hirshhorn-sanctioned, visitor-planned interaction, in 2011, a group of local "lactivists" organized a breastfeeding event that drew 150 parents and children to the Hirshhorn. This event was organized after a breastfeeding mother was asked to leave the Hirshhorn Museum's public space and go to a restroom to finish feeding her child. Because the Hirshhorn is a federal property, a woman's right to breast-feed her child is protected by the Right to Breastfeed Act of 1999, and breastfeeding supporters demonstrated this right en masse (Haney 2011). This non-Hirshhorn-sanctioned event, which the Hirshhorn nonetheless supported, demonstrates how the Hirshhorn's status as a U.S. Federal property affects its sense of place, up to and including the activities that are allowed to pulse through its corridors.

Non-Hirshhorn-Sanctioned, Visitor-Unplanned Interactions

In non-Hirshhorn-sanctioned, visitor-unplanned interactions with the Hirshhorn's built environment, visitors respond to the museum's spaces in ad hoc ways that connect the museum to its broader context as part of the Washington, D.C, tourist

complex that draws diverse and harried crowds. For example, because the museum floats one-story above ground atop four reinforced concrete supports, people are able to walk under the museum, cutting across its outdoor courtyard and past its oscillating fountain. This cut-across attracts people who may not be visiting the museum, but who benefit from the reduced travel times it affords. In addition, this courtyard area is one of the few places on the National Mall that has tables and chairs for picnickers to sit and eat packed lunches. For this reason, people who happen upon the courtyard often stop to eat their lunch or linger in the courtyard's shaded seating area.

Another example of non-Hirshhorn-sanctioned, visitor-unplanned interactions are those occasions in which visitors reach out and touch the museum's outdoor sculptures. Many patrons and employees of the museum view the outdoor sculpture garden as lush and inviting. The outdoor sculptures are also tactile and seem to invite touching, and, in some cases, attract not just touching, but also climbing. In response to these unplanned interactions, the Hirshhorn has reconfigured its security apparatus out of an abundance of caution. Thus, both museum signage and museum staff work to constrain these activities. One sign posted after the museum first opened explained that, "Children cannot be expected to understand unless you instruct them and control their actions in the museum. A museum is a serious place—for study, contemplation, and pleasure. It is not a playground" (Smithsonian Archives, #10-195, Box 2, HMSG Statistics & Museum Signage). This sign clearly regulates types of movements allowed in and through the museum, and implicates children's caretakers as co-regulators of museum spaces. As one staff member explains,

> To people that do what I do—protect the art and care about the art—visitors can be a challenge, because they're not always so careful, they're carrying their

> soda, they're taking flash photography. And … like any good librarian … I like things that are quiet and protected. (3F)

The Hirshhorn's response to visitors' interactions with artworks has resulted in a hypersensitive security landscape within the building. Over time, guests have commented that the museum's motion detecting alarms are too sensitive and thus regulate their ability to view pieces up close, ultimately resulting in being scolded by security guards as soon as the sensitive alarms sound. When these alarms sound, it's as though the building is screaming in response to impending harm, and guests immediately stop what they're doing in response to the building's scream. Subsequently, like nurses checking on a patient whose heart monitor has sounded an alarm, the building's security guards, swoop in to check on their patient, making sure everything is okay and that it was just a false alarm.

Hirshhorn-Sanctioned, Visitor-Unplanned Interactions

In Hirshhorn-sanctioned, visitor-unplanned interactions with the Hirshhorn's built environment, the Hirshhorn organization sanctions specific events which visitors often happen upon, unplanned. A fitting example of this type of interaction was when the museum hosted Doug Aitken's "Song 1" on its exterior façade each evening for two months in the spring of 2012. Throughout Song 1's installation, passersby were attracted by the bright video projection, which appeared on all 360 degrees of the Hirshhorn's exterior, as well as by the rich audio that was broadcast in unison with the video. TripAdvisor reviewer Amesk characterized her experience happening on Song 1,

> It was a really cool surprise on the way back to our hotel after dinner. The sound and video were wonderful, but the best part was watching everyone react to the

> music. That's the bigger part of the art installation… reactions. Kudos to everyone involved. (Amesk)

By attracting visitors to its location on the Mall in the evening time, a time when the Mall is normally devoid of people, the Hirshhorn became a significant node of activity during Song 1's run.

What can be learned from these visitor interactions with the Hirshhorn in terms how the building gains momentum as a living building? In answering this question, I would like to return to Lebbeus Woods' conceptualization of art and life, which opened this chapter: "Art and life flow together, inseparable. Architecture then concerns itself with dynamic structures: tissues, networks, matrices, heterarchies" (Woods 1997, 14). The visitors' interactions with the building described in this section—whether Hirshhorn-sanctioned (or not) or visitor-planned (or not)—illustrate the dynamic flows between life and architecture that take place at the site of the Hirshhorn. Their agency in determining how and when their lives will "flow together" with that of the Hirshhorn demonstrate the dynamic quality of the "tissues, networks, matrices, [and] heterarchies" that connect human and non-human actors.

Signs of Life: Purposeful Crafting

The purposeful crafting of the Hirshhorn's exterior and interior, including installations such as Song 1, represents staff members' attempts to infuse the building with the "lightness of being and less bunker mentality"[44] that Hirshhorn leadership have sought since the museum's opening in 1974. In acknowledging that the building not only has a particular state of being but also a specific mentality, Smithsonian leadership

[44] Per Smithsonian Undersecretary Richard Kurin the Hirshhorn is in search of "a lightness of being and less bunker mentality" (O'Neal Parker 2013).

themselves demonstrate their perception of the building as a living organism. Furthermore, their purposeful crafting is part and parcel of the "intricate dance" (Bennett 2010, 31) that unites human and nonhuman—but nonetheless living—actors. In the case of the Hirshhorn, this dance demonstrates ways the building, in concert with its occupants, operates as a changing, malleable organism in response to its broader contexts.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, buildings connect diverse human and nonhuman actors through their design and construction processes (Yaneva & Heaphy 2012). At the site of the Hirshhorn, these human and nonhuman actors include staff, artists, visitors, construction workers, specialized building materials, and its technological infrastructure, among others. In this section, three short case studies of art-based, architectural interventions are explored, with each representing the Hirshhorn staff's purposeful crafting of the building: Doug Aitken's "Song 1," Barbara Kruger's "Belief+Doubt," and Diller Scofidio + Renfro's "Seasonal Inflatable Structure," better known as "the Bubble."

Crafting "Song 1"

> Doug Aitken first visited the Hirshhorn Museum two years ago, at dusk. 'I arrived in a taxi,' the artist remembers. 'I opened the door. I'd seen the Hirshhorn from afar, but when I saw it up close I had this very immediate reaction.' Looking up, he contemplated the building, 'this concrete cylinder four or five stories high. It has this incredible mass, this incredible weight. I felt that something should happen here'—and already he had an idea of what. (Doug Aitken, artist of "Song 1," quoted in Tucker 2012)

Envisioned as "a turntable of contemporary life" (Brougher, quoted in Kennedy 2012), Doug Aitken's "Song 1" was a technical feat: it transformed the Hirshhorn Museum's

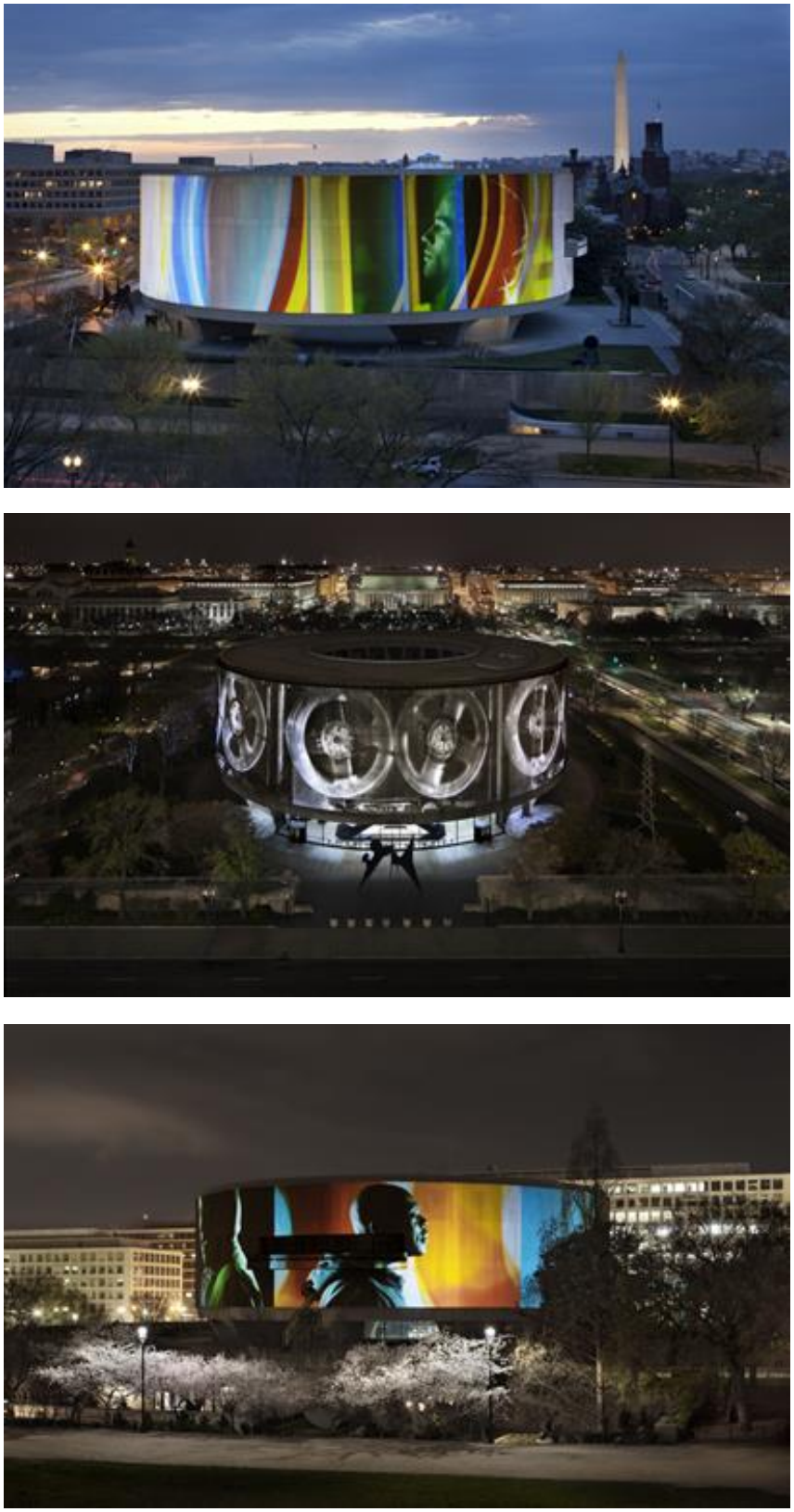


Figure 40. Promotional images of Song 1 (Doug Aitken Workshop 2012).

exterior into a giant, vibrant movie screen (see Fig. 40). To accomplish this transformation, Hirshhorn staff worked tirelessly with Aitken's studio to meet the challenging physical and technological requirements of the project. When it was all said and done, "Song 1" was widely deemed a success. It seamlessly married a series of hypnotic video images projected by eleven, 160-pound digital projectors across the Hirshhorn's exterior, a massive surface that is 82 feet high and 725 feet in circumference (Kramer 2012). To support these projectors, 41,500 feet of fiber-optic cables were threaded from four servers, located in the Hirshhorn's basement, up to the building's perimeter wall, where the projectors were installed (Klimko 2012). Aitken conceptualized its sonic element as "liquid architecture," a combination of music and sound that encourages active listening and which synchronized flawlessly with the video that was projected onto the Hirshhorn's surface (Kramer 2012). For this part, he commissioned varying renditions of the classic doo-wop song "I Only Have Eyes For You," from the artists Beck, No Age, High Places, Lucky Dragons, among others.

Hirshhorn curator Kerry Brougher, who asked Aitken to come to the Hirshhorn to work on the project, described the focus of the exhibit: "It is not just about the revered spaces on the inside, with the sacred objects, but a life on the outside of the building as well" (Tucker 2012). Here, again, is an example of museum staff acknowledging the living qualities of the building. "Song 1" did indeed invigorate life on the outside of the building. During the time "Song 1" ran, the nightly animation of its exterior attracted crowds to the building during what would otherwise be a quiet time on the Mall.[45]

[45] An NPR reporter captured how "Song 1" disrupted the usual evening character of the Mall, as well as his personal experience of the piece: "The National Mall in Washington, D.C. is a lonely place at

Members of the press and public began to notice that people-watching was an important characteristic of "Song 1" (ex., Tyler-Ameen 2012; TA reviewer Amesk). It drew people to a place where people aren't normally seen at that time of day, and visitors enjoyed not only watching the building come alive in response to the artwork, but also watching the people around them watching the building. Here, the building is an active component of a dynamic circle of interdependence. This circle unites staff, visitors, and the built environment in a way that dissolves the hard concrete, physical boundary between the building and the outside world, and it strengthens the sense that the building is a vibrant, living character that can, at times, convey a powerful influence on the National Mall.

Staff also enjoyed watching people interact with "Song 1." One staff member enthusiastically described what made the installation a success by her measure:

> I think it was really fantastic, and people really loved it. It made us feel good because we don't often get to see the fruits of our labor and see people's reactions... and this was one that was very, very tangible. Which was really kind of fantastic. And it was throughout the course of the entire [exhibition]. It didn't dwindle at all. People actually came more and more. It was really great. (11F)

In addition to engaging new audiences, another reason behind the commission of "Song 1" was to infuse the heavy building with the ever-elusive sense of lightness. Staff also regarded this effort to achieve lightness as a success. For example, one staff member commented that,

---

night. The museums and monuments close to the public at dusk; nearby businesses, with no one to serve, follow suit. But if you happened to be walking in the area after dark this spring, you may have heard something striking — a familiar tune, floating above the usual nighttime static of passing cars. …

"No matter which one you saw when you first arrived, you heard the same thing. As one giant vanished and another appeared, that familiar tune remained constant. The businessman, the waitress and the rest — all of them were singing along to the same song. And if you stayed a moment, you might have looked around and seen other people noticing it too" (Tyler-Ameen 2012).

> ["Song 1"] does take what is a pretty heavy structure, albeit one that's lifted up on four massive piers, and it did … succeed in making it into a less material entity at the same time that … it was functioning as a screen. (5M)

Another staff member characterized the success of "Song 1" with even greater enthusiasm: "It was very successful. It dissolved the architecture. It illuminated it. It made you read it in different ways. So it was really successful" (11M).

With "Song 1," the building began to show obvious signs of life, including singing "I Only Have Eyes For You," and while dancing to its own music, bathed in its projectors' bright lights. Like the ultimate street performer, it drew a crowd each night, and put on a show that encouraged people to come and go at their leisure. Meanwhile, the imagery it displayed suggested a sense of the loneliness of urban life—of being one small person in a large crowd of people.[46] The building appeared to commiserate with its human peers, saying, "I'm lonely, too. But at least we're lonely together."

Crafting "Belief+Doubt"

> 'I'd only been in Washington a few times, mainly for antiwar marches and pro-choice rallies,' [Barbara Kruger] said. 'But I'm interested in notions of power and control and love and money and death and pleasure and pain. And Richard [Koshalek, the director of the Hirshhorn] wanted me to exercise candor without trying to be ridiculously...I think I sometimes see things that are provocative for provocations' sake. … So I'm looking forward to bringing up these issues of belief, power and doubt.' (Barbara Kruger describing the concept of "Belief+Doubt" to Rosenbaum 2012)

Whereas Doug Aitken's "Song 1" was a technical feat of digital artistry, Barbara Kruger's "Belief+Doubt" represents a feat of craftsmanship in the form of 6,700 square feet of perfectly laid vinyl panels covering the floor, walls, and escalators of the

[46] As Tyler-Ameen writes, "Music transcends space in *Song 1*, revealing the hidden forces that bind the lives of strangers. The message, again, is that we aren't as alone as we think" (Tyler-Ameen 2012).



Figure 41. Barbara Kruger's "Belief+Doubt" (2012). Top: View descending the escalator (Mindel 2014); Bottom: View with gift shop visible beyond the escalators (Roam 2014).



Hirshhorn's lower level lobby (O'Steen 2012). The purpose of Kruger's high-impact, black, white, and red installation, from the perspective of Hirshhorn leadership, was to activate a formerly sluggish space within the museum. Kruger did so by emblazoning thought-provoking words and phrases on every surface of the space, such as "BELIEVE EVERYTHING," "FORGET EVERYTHING," and "WHOSE BELIEFS?" (see Fig. 41).

As with "Song 1," "Belief+Doubt" demanded a great deal of painstaking work, not only on behalf of Kruger's studio, but also on behalf of Hirshhorn staff. To prepare the surfaces for Kruger's 3M adhesive panels, staff had to work for weeks to skim, sand, and clean all of the surfaces until they were perfectly flat and free of residue. One staff member describes her role in the process of preparing for the installation of "Belief+Doubt":

> I helped make the scale model of this ["Belief+Doubt"], and so I spent [about] a week trying to get the escalators right and making model escalators…. Then, there was a lot of prep that we had to do with the floors and the walls and painting and all the walls had to be skimmed and sanded and to get to this perfect thing. Which just took … weeks and weeks to do. Because … you're open to the public and you could only get to certain parts and, because our restrooms are in the basement, you can never close it off completely. (11F)

This staff member reveals the rigor required to achieve such precise installations, as well as the level of patience and planning required of staff trying to work in spaces that are simultaneously shared with visitors.

Immediately following the installation of the exhibit in the summer of 2012, art critics and curators began to take stock of the installation, including Melissa Ho, assistant curator of the Hirshhorn. Ho, who helped bring "Belief+Doubt" to the museum, described how she felt the piece transformed the space:

> Kruger's command of architectural space and her ability to engage an audience amidst busy, lived experience make her the ideal artist to work with this site. 'Belief+Doubt' takes advantage of the constant movement through the lobby. As visitors descend the escalators, they are surrounded by language that beckons from all sides but only fully reveals itself as they pace and circulate through the entire space (Ho, quoted in Hirshhorn Press Release, June 1, 2012)

In keeping with Ho's positive assessment of the work and its engaging effect on circulation in the space, Kruger's art piece has been decidedly successful, with critics and visitors alike widely praising the piece.

In her critique of the installation for the *Washington Post*, Danielle O'Steen reiterated Ho's sentiment that the interactive component of "Belief+Doubt" was particularly effective, likening its "experiential viewing" to that of "Song 1." O'Steen wrote that,

> Where [Kruger's] installation at the Hirshhorn shines is in its effect on its audience. Viewers are forced to crane their necks to find Kruger's hidden phrases, step back to fully see a monumental question and dance in a sidestep around other visitors. (O'Steen 2012)

O'Steen continued, writing that "It is this type of deliberate wandering and experiential viewing that the Hirshhorn seems to be after these days" (O'Steen 2012). What O'Steen neglects to mention, however, is the popularity of photography in the exhibit and its contribution to the Hirshhorn's social media presence.

To this day, nearly three years after "Belief+Doubt" was installed, it continues to comprise a prominent segment of the Hirshhorn's social media presence, and people often photograph and share images of it on platforms such as Instagram and Twitter, tagging their photographs with #Hirshhorn. So popular is it that one Hirshhorn staff member commented that trying to make her way to the restroom, whose door is located

within the "Belief+Doubt" installation, without having her photograph inadvertently taken can be frustrating.[47]

Of particular importance when planning "Belief+Doubt" was that the piece draw people downstairs to visit the museum's gift shop, which was being relocated from the main-level lobby to a recessed nook on the lower level (1M). Smithsonian Enterprises, which manages the Hirshhorn gift shop, projected that the shop would lose 20 percent of its business by relocating to the lower level. However, after the move, one staff member described that, "Nothing could be further from the truth. We're more than doubling our business" (2M). With the added draw of the Kruger piece helping to pull people downstairs, the relocation of the gift shop was a resounding success. As Kruger emblazons within "Belief+Doubt," "MONEY MAKES MONEY," and Kruger's piece appears to be a good investment for the Hirshhorn.

With Kruger's piece, the building became utterly alive, seeming to yell at its occupants; screaming to wake them from their ignorant, consumerist stupors. By asserting that "BELIEF + DOUBT = SANITY," and asking "WHOSE VALUES?" and "WHOSE BELIEFS?" the building engages in direct dialogue with its audience, begging for consideration and answers of these bold, tough questions. Within this space the building is a dynamic agent that prompts introspection among its occupants and elicits strong emotional and artistic—in this case, photographic—responses.

[47] She describes this phenomenon, "people are always taking pictures of it, and so, when I have to go to the bathroom, I have to walk through, and … when you work here, you're like 'I don't need to take a picture of it anymore, but I also don't want to be in your picture while I'm just trying to go to the ladies room.' You know?" (3F)

Crafting "the Bubble"

> Form and content are together here. The bubble is an anti-monument. The ideals of participatory democracy are represented through suppleness rather than rigidity.
>
> Art and politics occupy an ambiguous site outside the museum walls, but inside of the museum's core, blend its air with the democratic air of the Mall. And the bubble will inflate hopefully for the first time at the end of 2013. (Architect Liz Diller describing the concept of "The Bubble" in her TED Talk, March 2012)

A little over a year after architect Liz Diller, of the firm Diller Scofidio + Renfro, presented her TED Talk titled "A new museum wing … in a giant bubble," plans for the Hirshhorn's Seasonal Inflatable Pavilion, or "Bubble," were cancelled. Whereas "Song 1" and "Belief+Doubt" are both successful cases that illustrate the Hirshhorn's ability to craft its built environment in ways that increase the environment's interactions with visitors, the failure of the "Bubble" provides a valuable case study through which to understand the complexity of this human-building relationship.

The concept for the Bubble was first proposed in 2009, shortly after Hirshhorn Director Richard Koshalek began his tenure at the museum. Koshalek, who was also director during the successful initiatives to bring in Doug Aitken and Barbara Kruger to perform their artistic surgery on the Hirshhorn building, had a plan to execute "10 big things" at the Hirshhorn. Of these 10 big things, Koshalek said, "we're going to land them here at the Hirshhorn like planes at LAX" (Capps 2013). Why reference LAX, the Los Angeles International Airport, and not Washington Dulles, one might ask. The answer lies in the fact that Koshalek is fundamentally a Southern Californian, and he arrived at the Hirshhorn after leading Los Angeles' Museum of Contemporary Art. Throughout his career, Koshalek has had a history of pursing big, architectural interventions that visually and ideologically stun local cityscapes. For example,

Koshalek chaired the committee that selected Frank Gehry to design the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, and he served on the committee that selected Herzog & de Meuron to design the Tate Modern. Both the resulting Disney Concert Hall and the Tate Modern building pushed back against commonly held notions of art institution aesthetics (see Fig. 42).

And so, as soon as he arrived to the Hirshhorn, Koshalek commissioned Diller Scofidio + Renfro to begin work on his first "big thing."[48] Together, Koshalek and Diller Scofidio + Renfro set about transforming the Hirshhorn's interior "donut hole" into a space that brings the civic functions of the National Mall indoors, connecting it up with the Hirshhorn, physically and programmatically.[49] Since its opening, the Hirshhorn has found that it lacks the mixed-use space necessary to host such large special events. Problematically, there is little room on the Hirshhorn's site for it to expand outward, and Bunshaft's perfectly symmetrical circle places particular aesthetic limits on design interventions.

Diller Scofidio + Renfro's design for the seasonal inflatable pavilion, or Bubble, had to address several key programmatic and technical constraints. First, it had to be able to be quickly and cost-effectively set up and put away two times per year. While in place, it had to, as architect Liz Diller said, "touch the building lightly in a way that wouldn't leave a residue," so that, when it was de-installed, no traces of it would be left

[48] Diller, Scofidio + Renfro is a prominent architecture that first became known for its involvement in New York's "High Line" project which repurposed a defunct railroad trestle into a popular public park space (Capps 2013).

[49] One reporter described the "airy" concept underlying the Bubble, and uniting the Hirshhorn and the Mall, "The Mall is a place meant for marches and rallies, but it is physically bound and defined by museums that don't play a role in those civic functions. The Inflatable is an effort to physically bring that air inside the museum. Not the protests, maybe, but the spirit of debate symbolized by Washington's think-tanks, universities, and nonprofits" (Capps 2013).

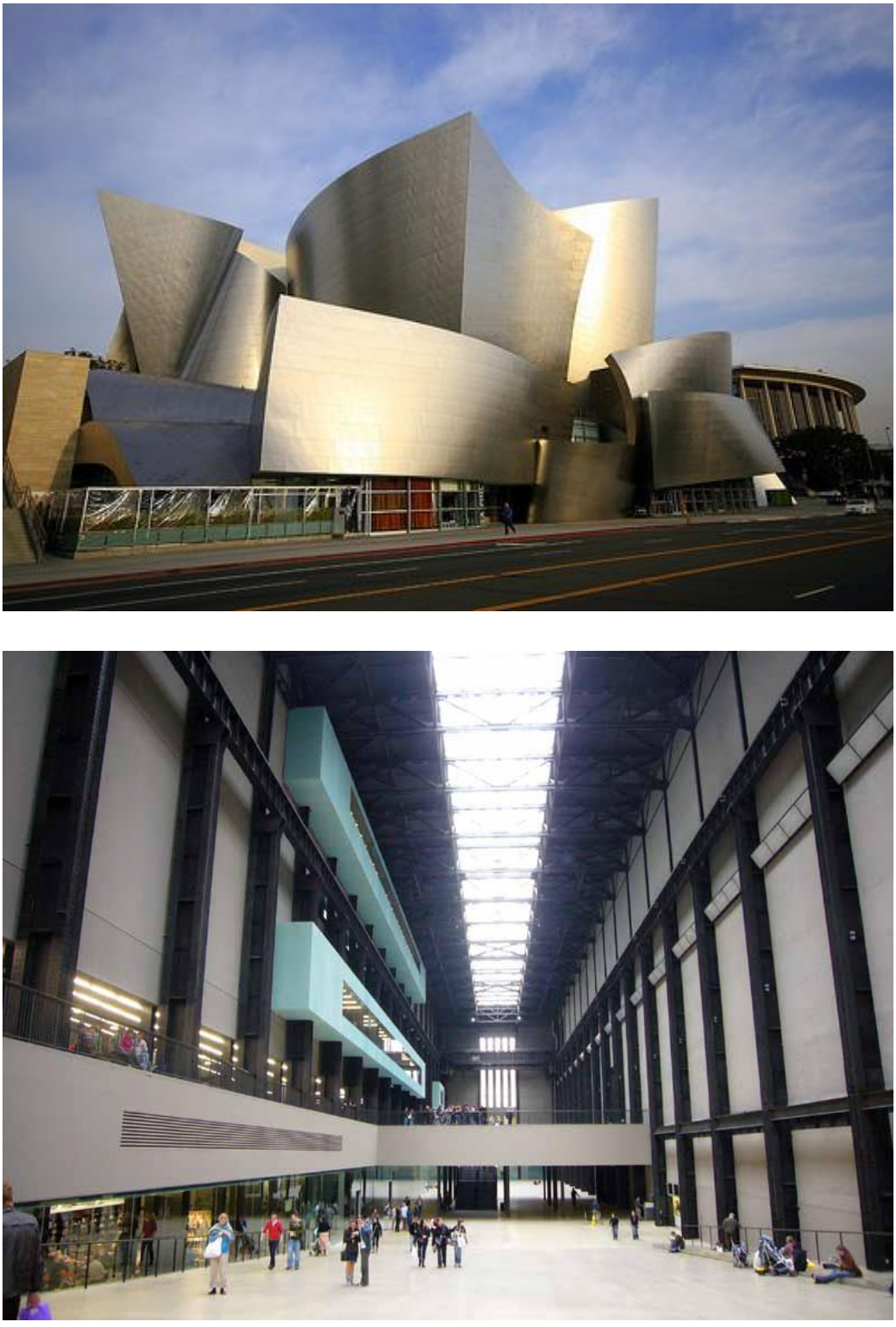


Figure 42. Top: Frank Gehry's Disney Concert Hall (Taymor 2008); Bottom: Herzog & de Meuron's Tate Modern (Lomholt 2014).

behind (Kennicott 2009). In addition, the "cap" of the Bubble that protruded from the center of the Hirshhorn, needed to be sufficiently "dome-like" so that it would be allowed to exceed D.C.-area constraints on building heights.[50] From a technical standpoint, it needed to be stable such that it could stand up to wind gusts (Diller 2012). And, finally, perhaps its biggest challenge: it needed to gain acceptance within the staid Smithsonian community. The solution that Diller Scofidio + Renfro proposed? A 153' tall meeting hall made of blue, silicon-coated glass fiber, which would be inflated at low-pressure and protrude from the side and top of the Hirshhorn building for several months out of each year (see Fig. 43). Here, Diller summarizes their Bubble concept:

> So this is the big idea. It's a giant airbag. The expansion takes the shape of its container and it oozes out wherever it can -- the top and sides. But more poetically, we like to think of the structure as inhaling the democratic air of the Mall, bringing it into itself. (Diller 2012; as demonstrated in Fig. 43, top image.)

With the Bubble, which was by most accounts an imaginative response to the building, Diller Scofidio + Renfro showed the building having fun from an artistic perspective. The Bubble would allow the building to be seen as expressing itself—making something known about its latent energy. Like "Song 1," it could help the Hirshhorn to counteract its identity as an "agent of disinformation" by demonstrating, on the outside, the lightness and playfulness that could be found within.[51]

---

[50] In Diller's TED Talk, she described the interpretative creativity deployed by the design team to skirt the D.C.-area height constraints:

> The Congressional Buildings Act of 1910 limits the height of buildings in D.C. to 130 feet, except for spires, towers, domes and minarets. This pretty much exempts monuments of the church and state. And the bubble is 153 ft. That's the Pantheon next to it. It's about 1.2 million cubic feet of compressed air. And so we argued it on the merits of being a dome. (Diller 2012)

[51] It is important to point out, however, that the vantage points of the publicity photos which depict the Bubble concept convey a degree of playfulness that a pedestrian could not physically see when walking on the Mall (see Fig. 43, middle view, in particular). Nonetheless, this problematic element of the design was ignored by the press and architectural and art critics were widely supportive of the project.

Architectural and art critics were widely supportive of the Bubble's overall effort to "shake up Washington" (Ouroussoff 2009). Even so, the Smithsonian's fears that the project would lose more money than it would bring in, coupled with the resignations of several high-ranking Hirshhorn board members in association with the project, ultimately spelled the demise of both the Bubble and Koshalek's directorship (Capps 2013b).

Whereas staff indicated enthusiastic support for Aitken's "Song 1" and widely supported Kruger's "Belief+Doubt," the Bubble pushed the limits of what they deemed as an acceptable intervention with the Hirshhorn's architecture. In my interviews with staff, some even refused to even discuss the Bubble, presumably out of fear that they may offend Hirshhorn leadership. Others described talking about the Bubble as "emotional" (9F) or "difficult" (11F). Among those who were willing to talk about the Bubble, the comments they provided varied widely, including a lone comment that was effusive, as well as others that were humorous, and some that exhibited ambivalence and even a strong sense of dismay.

The lone staff member who shared only positive comments about the Bubble indeed sounded a bit like he was quoting publicity literature about the project:

> It's the project that I'm working on that has the highest mission-critical value. And that's a really exciting project that we're working on with Diller Scofidio + Renfro. And I'm really hopeful that we get the funding to move forward on that. (6M)

Others were more personal in their assessments of the Bubble, some even humorous. For example, one staff member said, "the way I describe this to people is that it's a giant

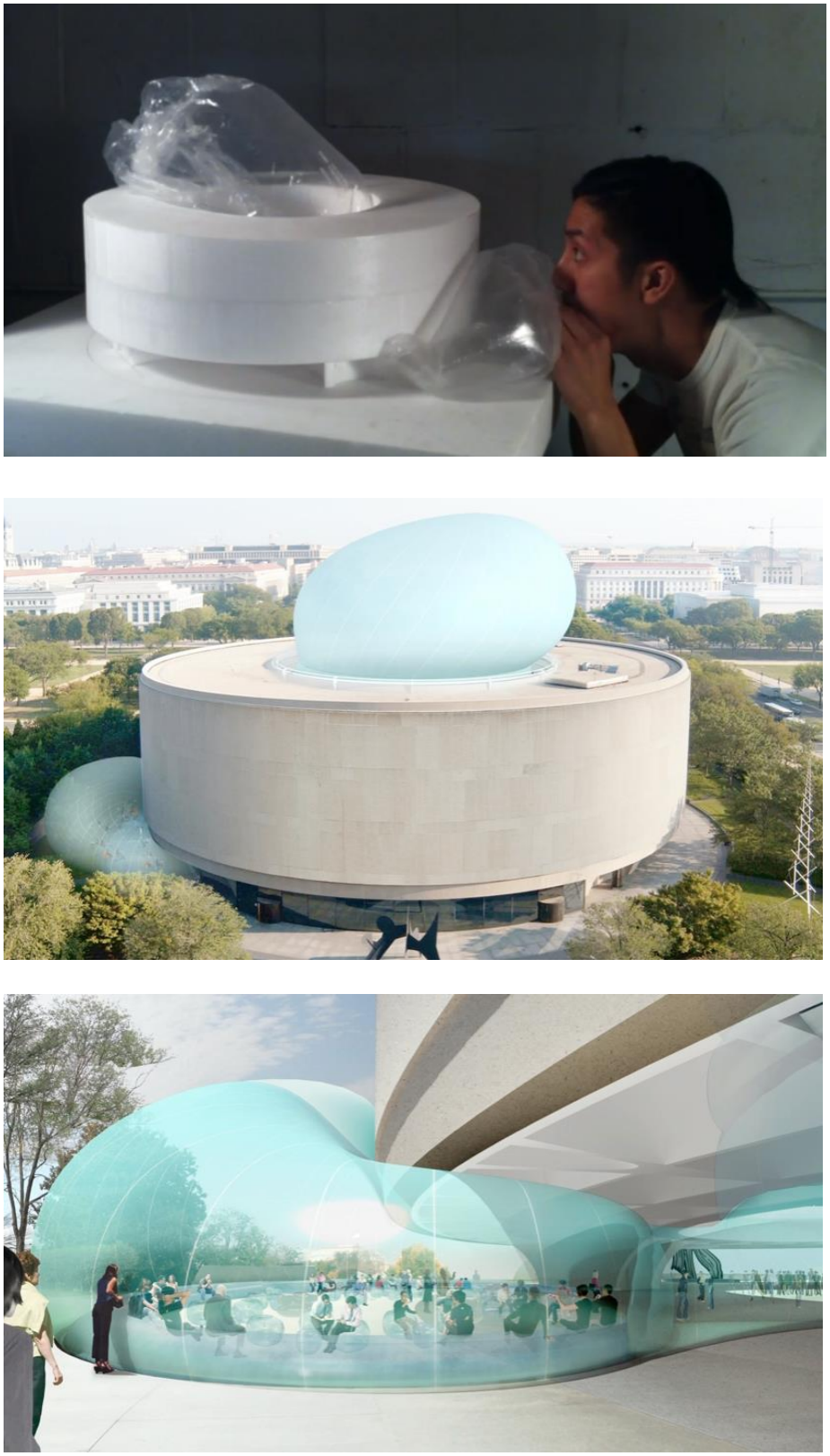


Figure 43. Top: A conceptual model, with a demonstrator inflating the model Bubble; Middle: A top perspective view of the Bubble, looking toward the North; Bottom: A view of the Bubble's lower protrusion (Diller 2012).

hemorrhoid coming out of the top of the building" (10F). Another simply stated that he felt the project was "ridiculously inflated" (13M), pun intended.

A few staff members indicated their ambivalence about the project. One staff member commented that "it had some issues, but it was a very ambitious thought." On the one hand, she felt the Bubble was a good idea, but, on the other hand, she didn't know how well it would have worked in reality (11F). Another wavered back and forth between praise for the concept and concern for how it would function in practice, saying: "it's a fabulous concept. But I think it may have made it kind of dark inside. But I think it would have been really interesting to explore" (12F).

When shown a photograph of the Bubble, other staff members didn't hold back on expressing their dismay with the project. One particularly skeptical staff member commented that, when looking at the Bubble, "I think 'folly.' I think 'boondoggle.' I think 'unnecessary' …It's not about serving the museum, it's about serving the private ego of one individual. Can I leave it at that?" (5M). Meanwhile, a staff member who worked in facilities management, the department that would have been tasked with inflating and deflating the bubble twice per year, was also unimpressed by the project, saying that it was:

> a waste of a lot of money. … To me, I think the Bubble is a horrible idea, just because the cost alone of putting it up and taking it down and storing it is astronomical. Especially when we're having issues with, you know, money… keeping people working… you're going to spend that much money on a Bubble? (8M)

As he points out, the final discussions about the viability of the Bubble project came in mid-2013, just months before Congress, unable to reach a consensus on budget negotiations, forced the federal government to furlough over 800,000 employees for more than two weeks (White House 2013). Yet another staff member stated her

thoughts about the Bubble plainly: “I hope it doesn’t happen. I don’t think it solves any of our problems, and if you want to have a symposium, we have a perfectly decent auditorium. … I should probably not say more than that” (3F). Later on, after the project was cancelled, another staff member indicated that it was “a bit of relief that this is not going to happen,” because it “seemed not to be a very well thought out project” (9F).

Because the Bubble concept entailed inhaling the democratic air from the National Mall and Washington, D.C., at large, and drawing it into the central space of the Hirshhorn, the Hirshhorn became, for a moment, the lungs of the region, meant to inhale existing cultural and political frameworks and exhale cutting edge ideas that would shift thinking in the realms of arts and politics. When the Hirshhorn’s lungs failed to develop fully, instead of withering up and dying, the institution found a new surgeon to keep it alive the form of its new director, Melissa Chiu (Parker 2014).

Crafting Momentum

What can be learned from these three different efforts to purposefully craft the Hirshhorn in terms of how it gains momentum as a living building? In each case, the Hirshhorn is seen establishing itself, architecturally, as a place where the incredible is uniquely possible. Through these projects—including the cancelled Bubble project—the Hirshhorn began to project a sense of playfulness, dynamism, and lightness that had been decidedly lacking in the first 35 years of its life, as if the Hirshhorn had finally matured into its childhood.

With "Song 1," the Hirshhorn was transformed into the largest 360-degree movie screen in the world, and even drew the enthusiastic attention of people who wouldn't normally be attracted to a contemporary art museum. Each night, the building glittered under the light of Aitken's 11 projectors, while serenading people on the Mall with its surround sound system. By showing that the Hirshhorn's normally stolid surface could be richly animated with light and sound, not to mention by the nearby presence of an entranced crowd, "Song 1" built incredible momentum for the Hirshhorn as a living building. The people who saw it in person, as well as those who saw the stunning promotional photographs of the work (such as Fig. 40, above),[52] will never look at the Hirshhorn the same way again. They now know its potential as a dynamic canvas.

"Belief+Doubt" produced a similar effect, but inside of the building. By adhering bold text to every surface, which required people to move around the room to take it all in, the formerly "dead space" of the lower level became both active and playful. One staff member felt that hiring Kruger on for the project represented an overly "populist" approach, and that her time as a cutting-edge artist had come and gone in the 1980s. He may be right about this; the work has been massively appealing to a wide range of visitors, and these visitors often carry camera phones. The photogenic quality of the space—with bold colors and evocative quotes—has prompted many to post images of "Belief+Doubt" to social media, which, in turn, prompted the Hirshhorn

[52] As with the promotional images of the Bubble, it is important to point out that the "Song 1" promotional photos, while striking, do not present views of the artwork that were available to people looking at "Song 1" from the Mall. Most of these professional photographs were taken from the tops of the Air & Space Museum and the Federal Aviation Administration Building, two locations that are not accessible to the general public. Additionally, the publicity images were actually composites of several photographs layered on top of one another to produce more vibrant colors (10F).

to gain momentum in cyberspace, developing its online life. That this artwork was commissioned, in part, to draw people down to the recently relocated gift shop also represented the Hirshhorn putting this underutilized space to work in service of its commerce. In this case, it worked to great effect.

Though unrealized, the Bubble concept nonetheless served to build momentum for the Hirshhorn as a living building. It received widespread publicity, with news outlets all over the country publishing images and analyses of its whimsical, inflatable design. This whimsicalness, as well as its being inflatable, lent itself easily to puckish commentary about the Hirshhorn and its Bubble in the press. For example, one headline for an article about the project read "For U.S. Capital, some useful hot air" (Ouroussoff 2009b); and another, "Blowing up the art world" (Giovannini 2013). The fact that the Bubble so explicitly made use of the Hirshhorn's strangest quirks—its hollow center, as well as its being raised on four piers—highlighted the otherworldliness of its architecture, while adding yet another layer of idiosyncrasy—the Bubble, itself. Whether people loved it or hated it, the Bubble certainly stirred the imagination of the national art and architectural community in ways that it has generally failed to do since Secretary Ripley spelled out its purpose in 1974:

> The purpose of the Hirshhorn is to remind us all that life is more than the usual, that the human mind in its relentless diversity is capable of seeing life subjectively, and being stirred by objects into new and positive way of thought, thus escaping from the numbing penumbra of the ritual known as everyday. (Ripley, Remarks at the Dedication of the Hirshhorn, October 1, 1974)

Even though it only existed in drawings, models, budgets, and media accounts, the Bubble still helped the Hirshhorn inch closer to meeting Ripley's mandate of helping people to "escap[e] from the numbing penumbra of the ritual known as everyday."

Summary

By looking at elements of the Hirshhorn's "meeting the world" and "signs of life," this chapter answers the question: What specific processes allow the Hirshhorn to *gain momentum* as a living building?

Buildings can "gain momentum" through their interactions with the people who strive to inhabit and maintain them, as well as through their interactions with their broader social and material environments (Strebel 2011, 245). The lives of buildings are comprised of complex assemblages of interactions and interpenetrations of people, materials, events, and places. And, while this chapter is not an exhaustive listing of all of the processes that allow the Hirshhorn to gain momentum, it documents some of the most important assemblages that have contributed to the development of its evolving character the National Mall.

Among the important processes that have allowed the Hirshhorn to gain momentum as a living building are lively debates and controversies, grand ceremonies, often lackluster—but sometimes lofty—media coverage, carefully planned—and sometimes unplanned—interactions with people, and the purposeful crafting of its interior and exterior by its dedicated staff and a few prominent artists.

In closing, I would like to return to Tolia-Kelly's thoughts about the relationship between humans and non-humans:

> humans and non-humans alike [are] material configurations, not dividable, separate or separable, but integrated, co-constituted and co-dependent" (Tolia-Kelly 2013, 154).

Perhaps more than anything, the human attachment of bonds to non-human agents, like the Hirshhorn, demonstrates the integration, co-constitution, and co-dependency between people and things. With the Hirshhorn, we observe people attaching bonds to

the building, such that the building itself is perceived as projecting these emotions back out into the world. Through these bonds, the building is, in turn, understood as "deadening" or "playful," for example. Over time, as these characteristics have been transferred to the building, they have also become a part of the Hirshhorn's identity as a changing, malleable organism.

Section 4: Conclusions

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS

In the course of this study, I've found that understanding how the Hirshhorn operates as a living building is not about "delving for deep principles or digging for rock-bottom, ultimate causes." To truly know the Hirshhorn is a much subtler task: it is "is about discovering the options people have as to how to live" (Thrift 1996, 8). Writing in the SCI-Arc journal *Offramp*, an architectural historian recently suggested that a paradigm shift may be in order in the discipline of architecture: that buildings be appreciated for what they "do," rather than what they "are."[53] Geographers have already begun the work of shifting this paradigm through their studies that understand buildings as active participants in their broader contexts (ex. Goss 1993, Lees 2001, Kraftl 2006, Adey 2008). And by undertaking a detailed analysis of a single building, this study uncovers nuanced, yet dynamic relationships between individuals and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden's built environment. While nuanced, these relationships are nonetheless important factors influencing individuals' feel of (affect), feelings in (memories), and feelings about (judgments) the Hirshhorn's built environment, while also influencing the Hirshhorn's own manifestation as a living building. Therefore, this study contributes a museum-specific perspective to the growing body of single-building geographic analyses of "what buildings do" (Gieryn 2002), from which architects, planners, and policymakers can draw as they craft both places and policy.

[53] Specifically, the historian suggested that, "Appreciating [a] building for what it does rather than what it is, for the pleasurable experiences it stages rather than the pleasure of experiencing it, is certainly prompt enough to consider whether contemporary views of architecture's fundamental obligations are worth releasing or preserving" (Keslacy 2015).

Summary of the Dissertation

Through my fieldwork at the Hirshhorn Museum in Washington, D.C., as well as archival research, this study explores the complex relationships between the building, its staff, and its visitors. In this study, I focused on specific ways the building influences affect, memory, and judgments, as well as how people influence the building's embodiment as a living organism. As I began my study, I had a sense that I would find that human factors mattered more than architectural factors in structuring the human-environment relationship at the site of the Hirshhorn. Yet the results of this study demonstrate the power of coproduction—of human-building interpenetrations. These results help to de-center human factors, and reveal the Hirshhorn, itself, as an important actor that codetermines the human-building relationship. It turns out that the Hirshhorn exerts an influence on the social and cultural context of the National Mall that ebbs and flows depending on a range of cultural and political factors.

In Chapter 2, I presented the conceptual framework for this study that is grounded in architectural geography literature, which includes understandings of place, affect, and identity. In Chapter 3, I described my mixed-method, ethnographic approach to this study, including in-depth interviews, photo-elicitation, questionnaires, site observations, Web 2.0 data collection, and archival research. In Chapter 4, I described the study site, including my rationale for identifying the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden as the sole focus of this study. This chapter also situated my own feelings of, in and about the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

The second section of this dissertation explored intersections of Hirshhorn and individual identities over the course of four chapters. Chapter 5 introduced a tripartite

conceptual framework specific to understanding individuals' feelings of, in, and about buildings. In addition, this chapter introduced the two key questions asked in Section 2:

5. What does discourse about the Hirshhorn's architecture reveal about its relationship to people in terms of its social, environmental, and emotional affects?
6. What are the implications of these outcomes for the Hirshhorn museum's own identity?

In answering these questions, the following three chapters attended to the feel of the Hirshhorn, feelings in the Hirshhorn, and feelings about the Hirshhorn.

Chapter 6, "The Feel of the Hirshhorn," used the core affect model to document affect, in the form of moods elicited at the Hirshhorn. This chapter mapped the moods of staff and visitors onto the four quadrants of the model, finding that both staff and visitors experience moods that rest within each quadrant, but to varying degrees (activated-pleasant; pleasant-deactivated; deactivated-unpleasant; unpleasant-activated). The results showed that, in many cases, the Hirshhorn's built environment provides positive feedback, amplifying feelings of those who work in and visit the place.

Chapter 7, "Feelings in the Hirshhorn," demonstrated that memories, both dramatic and mundane, influence feelings in the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment. These memories, which may be formed as a result of interactions with the Hirshhorn, itself, or with other places, differ in the ways they influence feelings in the building for staff and for visitors. For staff, these memories often relate to their daily routines, to memorable art exhibitions that have been installed in the museum, to significant events that occurred in the building, and to their experiences in other museums. For visitors, these memories relate to memories of escaping the bustle of the National Mall, looking at both art and architecture, and experiencing nature.

Chapter 8, "Feelings about the Hirshhorn," drew on the previous discussions of

affect and memory to assemble an understanding of the judgments staff and visitors make in relation to the Hirshhorn's built environment. I found that staff tend to frame the building more negatively than visitors in their discourse about its aesthetic and function. These judgments—for example, labeling the building as "forbidding" or "welcoming," "fun" or "boring"—contribute to the sense of place that people understand to exist inside and outside of the Hirshhorn. Broadly speaking, among both staff and visitors there is a sense that the Hirshhorn is an otherworldly place.

Section 3 described how the Hirshhorn functions as a living building. In Chapter 9, I answered the question: What specific processes allow the Hirshhorn to *gain momentum* as a living building? Specifically, I found that the Hirshhorn has gained momentum through the processes of political debate and controversy, grand ceremonies, intense media coverage, and its dynamic interactions with staff and visitors, especially staff members' careful crafting of its spaces over time. As I traced the Hirshhorn's life, and its growing momentum, I noted that the human attachment of bonds to the building demonstrated the integration, co-constitution, and co-dependency between people and things. Through these bonds, the building's sense of place is read as being "deadening" or "playful," for example. As these characteristics are transferred to the building, they have also become a part of the Hirshhorn's identity as a changing, malleable organism.

This analysis contributes to new ways of understanding how multiple identities—both architectural and human—are mutually constituted over time. The discourse analyzed in this study was collected from participant observation, Web 2.0 sources, and the use of questionnaires and in-depth interviews. This study is also

informed by archival research at the Smithsonian Institution Archives, the National Capital Planning Commission Archives, and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden library, in addition to archives available through the University of Oklahoma library system. By triangulating these accounts, as well as my own observations, this analytical study described and analyzed how individuals, as well as the Hirshhorn Museum organization, have perceived of and related to this architectural place from its founding in the mid-1960s to today.

However, this study also responds to recent calls for geographers to practice "publicly engaged geography" (Brewer 2013) and "being useful" (Taylor 2014). I will share a summary of my findings with the Hirshhorn community as a decision-support resource. In the form of a table, this summary will list specific qualities of the building in conjunction with staff and visitor feelings related to these characteristics. This table can then be referenced by Hirshhorn leadership as they make decisions about how to manage their built environment. The concluding chapter shares "knowledges that are useful in practice" (Mason et al. 2013, 253), by translating study results into specific, actionable suggestions for the Hirshhorn administration to consider. This degree of reciprocity suggests that geographies of architecture have the potential to move in the direction of participatory action research that generates "more tangible benefits" for research participants (Cameron & Gibson 2005, 316; Klocker 2012).

In reflecting on the data collection methods used in his dissertation, including interviews, questionnaires, photo-elicitation, solicited photography and journals, archival research, and Web 2.0 data retrieval, I am pleased with the outcome. Particularly, the interviews, questionnaires, photo-elicitation, and Web 2.0 data yielded

rich information for analysis. However, it is important to point out the failure of my solicited photography and journaling collection efforts, most likely due to the time constraints that the participants were under and, in turn, the lack of time that they had to devote to the efforts. As a result, only one participant was able to return his journal and photographs. In addition, I did not perform the focus group discussions, particularly out of my desire to respect the participants' privacy. While these elements of my study protocol were not successful, I would nonetheless recommend that these methods be considered by future architectural geographers as they work to document participants' unique interactions with and feelings in a range of built environments.

Conclusions

Several conclusions about the Hirshhorn specifically, and about the broader trajectory of architectural geography emerge from this study. One of the goals of this study was to be able to provide Hirshhorn staff with specific, actionable information to guide future strategic planning initiatives. Because affect is responsible for the "motion of emotion" (Thien 2005, 451), and because it influences both memories and judgments about the building, it is especially important for Hirshhorn leadership to understand how affect is engendered in response to the Hirshhorn's physical and social context.

First, at the Hirshhorn, mediating factors that are explicitly architectural in nature can be divided into large- and small-scale factors. Large-scale factors include the museum's unique shape, its large size, its overall materiality, its landscaped grounds, its level of maintenance and its outdoor sculpture garden. Smaller-scaled details that were often mentioned as important influences include the museum's fountain, its entrance, its

lack of signage, its third floor lounge, and its circulation, including the escalators and elevators. Each of these factors were identified by both staff and visitors as bearing consequences for the "feel of" the building.

Second, staff and visitors identified several social factors as broadly affective. For visitors, these social factors were primarily identified as experiences with staff members. Whether these experiences were positive or negative appeared to have a strong bearing on visitors' overall impressions of the "feel of" the Hirshhorn. Visitors also indicated a strong preference for the Hirshhorn's lack of crowds, another social factor associated with positive affect. Work-induced stress, including tensions with other staff, were shown to influence staff members' "feel of" the building, while stressful interactions with visitors, such as when visitors are touching artworks, similarly influenced staff feelings.

Third, personalized factors serve as the lenses through which affective experiences are read by individuals. For example, where some individuals found the third-floor lounge to be a center of delight, one individual found the manner in which it frames his view to be cause for frustration. In many cases, it is difficult to locate the exact reasons underlying such personalized factors. In some cases, the frequency of one's visits to the Hirshhorn appear to be an important factor influencing affect. For example, elements of informal ritual arise when individuals, notably staff, develop a narrative experience with the building over time through repeating particular activities (Browne 1980).

In sum, this research paints a generally positive picture of the "feel of" the Hirshhorn's built environment as articulated by its users. Many staff and visitors

experience positive feelings such as excitement and contentment in the Hirshhorn, feelings that in turn support its mission to "creat[e] meaningful, personal experiences in which art, artists, audiences and ideas converge" (Hirshhorn 2015). For example, by enticing visitors inside through its provocative form, and, in turn, delighting them with its circulation, the Hirshhorn provides an effective backdrop for these meaningful experiences. By and large, staff seem intrinsically motivated, thus deriving little motivation directly from the Hirshhorn's built environment itself. However, some staff members appear to enjoy the challenge inherent to the museum's circular layout as well as the experience of art it affords. Overall, staff indicated that the Hirshhorn's environment is capable of facilitating meaningful experiences.

Yet, there are several critical areas for improvement in the Hirshhorn's built environment. First, the Hirshhorn Museum building has been shown to engender feelings of disappointment and disgust for some individuals at particular points in their interactions with the building. In some cases, these feelings are expressed by those frustrated with its lack of a clear point of entry and, upon entering, by the unusual art forms displayed in its galleries. By defying individuals' expectations for wayfinding devices and for particular aesthetic qualities, the Hirshhorn prompts visitors to uncomfortable spatial and aesthetic interactions. Ultimately, these visitors identify negatively with the Hirshhorn. Although curatorial staff in the facility generally balk at suggestions that additional signage is necessary, adding signs seems to be a small price to pay in order to significantly reduce stress levels among visitors.

Additional training for staff with whom visitors come into contact could also help reduce feelings of negative affect in the museum. Many visitors mentioned being

scolded by staff, observing bored staff, and feeling otherwise unwelcomed, although some staff were lauded for their welcoming or fun demeanors as well. Because so many visitors express limited experience with contemporary art, and because the policy of minimal signage has a significant impact, it appears critical for staff to carefully manage their interactions so visitors feel welcomed. In doing so, the environment as a whole could feel more accessible. If the Hirshhorn is to continue gaining momentum as a living building and as a part of a healthy social ecosystem, these staff and visitor perspectives should be incorporated into the decision-making processes that influence the Hirshhorn's built environment.

The Future of Architectural Geography

This research provides a place-specific framework for qualitatively analyzing built environments that can be adapted for use in a variety of building types. Perhaps the most important question generated from this study is: How can good working relationships between the disciplines of architecture and geography be established so these participatory methods may be used early in architectural planning processes? The answers might result in buildings that better serve as responsible citizens in their communities.

Some of the problems encountered by individuals at the Hirshhorn — perceiving it as foreboding, having difficulty locating its restrooms, etc. — are indicative of the structure of the architectural profession at large, which continues to privilege built form over the creation of nuanced experiential outcomes for people. For example, although architects' designs affect people, it is still uncommon for architects to dedicate

significant time to exploring complex understandings of human bodies and emotions in their work (Kraftl and Adey 2008). This means that the potential for accommodating a diverse range of bodies, with varied genders, preferences, and pre-existing experiences, is often unrealized (Imrie 2003; Franck & Lepori 2007). The result is myriad living buildings that exist as egotistical beings often serving themselves rather than collaborating with their human occupants.

Toward an Empathetic Architecture

I propose that we begin to shift the architectural paradigm toward a more *empathetic architecture*. This is necessary to create buildings that understand and respect the feelings of their occupants and the communities in which they live. The geographic methods and perspectives used in this study have the potential to shift this paradigm. But architectural geography's nascence as a sub-discipline still limits its impact on the profession of architecture. Therefore, it's important to continue to refine architectural geography methods while cultivating greater interest among geographers in the importance of considering our built environments as valid study areas, with implications for supporting both individuals' well-being and the development of resilient socio-material communities.

REFERENCES

Journal Articles

Adey, P. 2008. "Architectural Geographies of the Airport Balcony: Mobility, Sensation and the Theatre of Flight." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90 (1): 29-47.

Anderson, B. 2006. "Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (5): 733-752.

Beauregard, R. 2015. "We Blame the Building! The Architecture of Distributed Responsibility." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (3): 533-549.

———. 2012. "Planning with Things." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 32 (2): 182-190.

Brewer, J. F. 2013. "Toward a Publicly Engaged Geography: Polycentric and Iterated Research." *Southeastern Geographer* 53 (3): 328-347.

Bunnell, T. 1999. "Views From Above and Below: The Petronas Twin Towers And/In Contesting Visions of Development in Contemporary Malaysia." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 20 (1): 1-23.

Cameron, J., and K. Gibson. 2005. "Participatory Action Research in a Poststructuralist Vein." *Geoforum* 36 (3): 315-331.

Curtis, S., W. Gesler, G. Smith, and S. Washburn. 2000. "Approaches To Sampling and Case Selection in Qualitative Research: Examples in the Geography of Health." *Social Science & Medicine* 50 (7): 1001-1014.

Davidson, J., and L. Bondi. 2004. "Spatialising Affect; Affecting Space: An Introduction." *Gender, Place & Culture* 11 (3): 373-374.

Domosh, M. 1989. "A Method for Interpreting Landscape: A Case Study of the New York World Building." *Area* 21 (4): 347-355.

Dovey, K., I. Woodcock, and S. Wood. 2009. "A Test of Character: Regulating Place-Identity in Inner-City Melbourne." *Urban Studies* 46 (12): 2595-2615.

Epstein, D. H., M. Tyburski, I. M. Craig, K. A. Phillips, M. L. Jobes, M. Vahabzadeh, M. Mezghanni, J.L. Lin, C. D. M. Furr-Holden, and K. L. Preston. 2014. "Real-Time Tracking of Neighborhood Surroundings and Mood in Urban Drug Misusers: Application of a New Method to Study Behavior in Its Geographical Context." *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 134: 22-29.

Faulconbridge, James R. 2009. "The Regulation of Design in Global Architecture Firms: Embedding and Emplacing Buildings." *Urban Studies* 46 (12): 2537-2554.

Fusch, R., and L. R. Ford. 1983. "Architecture and the Geography of the American City." the *Geographical Review* 73 (3): 324-340.

Geoghegan, H. 2010. "Museum Geography: Exploring Museums, Collections and Museum Practice in the Uk." *Geography Compass* 4 (10): 1462-76.

Gieryn, T. F. 2002. "What Buildings Do." *Theory and Society: Renewal and Critique in Social Theory* 31 (1): 35-74.

Giraldez-Garcia, C., F. M. Joao, M.E. Prieto-Flores, F. Rojo-Perez, G. Fernandez-Mayoralas, and P. Martinez-Martin. 2013. "Individual's Perspective of Local Community Environment and Health Indicators in Older Adults." *Geriatrics and Gerontology International* 13 (1): 130-138.

Goss, J. 1988. "The Built Environment and Social Theory: Towards an Architectural Geography." the *Professional Geographer* 40 (4): 392-403.

———. 1993. "The 'Magic of the Mall': an Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment." the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83 (1): 18-47.

Griswold, W., G. Mangione, and T. McDonnell. 2013. "Objects, Words, and Bodies in Space: Bringing Materiality into Cultural Analysis." *Qualitative Sociology* 36 (4): 343-364.

Guggenheim, M. 2013. "Unifying and Decomposing Building Types: How to Analyze the Change of Use of Sacred Buildings." *Qualitative Sociology* 36 (4): 445-464.

Hagen, J. 2009. "Historic Preservation in Nazi Germany: Place, Memory, and Nationalism." *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (4): 690-715.

——— and R. Ostergren. 2006. "Spectacle, Architecture and Place at the Nuremberg Party Rallies: Projecting a Nazi Vision of Past, Present and Future." *Cultural Geographies* 13 (2): 157-181.

Haraway, D. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14 (3): 575-599.

Harrison, P. 2000. "Making Sense: Embodiment and the Sensibilities of the Everyday." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 497-517.

Harvey, D. 1978. "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis." *Ijur International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2 (1-4): 101-131.

———. 1979. "Monument and Myth." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (3): 362-381.

Imrie, R. 2003. "Architects' Conceptions of the Human Body." *Environment & Planning D* 21: 47-66.

Jacobs, J. M., S. Cairns, and I. Strebel. 2012. "Doing Building Work: Methods at the Interface of Geography and Architecture." *Geographical Research* 50 (2): 126-140.

Jacobs, J. 2006. "A Geography of Big Things." *Cultural Geographies* 13 (1): 1-27.

Jenkins, L. 2002. "Geography and Architecture: 11, Rue Du Conservatoire and the Permeability of Buildings." *Space and Culture* 5 (3): 222-236.

Jones, P. 2009. "Putting Architecture in Its Social Place: A Cultural Political Economy of Architecture." *Urban Studies* 46 (12): 2519-2536.

Kaups, M. 1983. "Finnish Log Houses in the Upper Middle West: 1890-1920." *Journal of Cultural Geography Journal of Cultural Geography* 3 (2): 2-26.

Keslacy, E. Fall/Winter 2015. "Gray: The Whitney is Hard to See." *Offramp: The Sci-Arc Review of Contemporary Architecture*. Online Journal. Accessed 19 April 2016. Http://Www.Offramp-La.Com/.

Klimko, F. 2012. "Museums Use Audio, Video to Provide 'Wow!' Experience." *Government Video* 23 (10): 10, 12-13.

Klocker, N. 2012. "Doing Participatory Action Research and Doing a Phd: Words of Encouragement for Prospective Students." *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* (1): 149-163.

Kniffen, F, and H. Glassie. 1966. "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective." *Geographical Review* 56 (1): 40-66.

Kraftl, P., and P. Adey. 2008. "Architecture/Affect/Inhabitation: Geographies of Being-In Buildings." *Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr. Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98 (1): 213-231.

Kraftl, P. 2006. "Building an Idea: The Material Construction of an Ideal Childhood." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31 (4): 488-504.

———. 2008. "Environment for Children: Passive Lessons from the Everyday Environment." *Children's Geographies* 6 (1): 109-110.

———. 2009. "Living in an Artwork: The Extraordinary Geographies of the Hundertwasser-Haus, 1 Vienna." *Cultural Geographies* 16 (1): 111-134.

———. 2010. "Architectural Movements, Utopian Moments: (In)Coherent Renderings of the Hundertwasser-Haus, Vienna." *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 92 (4): 327-345.

Kramer, K. 2012. "Fascinating Rhythm." *Afterimage* 40 (1): 21-22.

Lees, L. 2001. "Towards a Critical Geography of Architecture: The Case of an Ersatz Colosseum." *Ecumene* 8 (1): 51-86.

——— and R. Baxter. 2011. "A 'Building Event' of Fear: Thinking Through the Geography of Architecture." *Social & Cultural Geography* 12 (2): 107-122.

Lefebvre, H. 1987. "An Interview with Henri Lefebvre." *Environment & Planning D* 5 (1): 27-38.

Llewellyn, M. 2004. "`Urban Village' or `White House': Envisioned Spaces, Experienced Places, and Everyday Life at Kensal House, London in the 1930s." *Environment and Planning. D, Society & Space* 22 (2): 229-250.

———. 2003. "Polyvocalism and the Public: 'Doing' a Critical Historical Geography of Architecture." *Area* 35 (3): 264-270.

Mason, K., G. Brown, and J. Pickerill. 2013. "Epistemologies of Participation, Or, What Do Critical Human Geographers Know That's of Any Use?" *Antipode* 45 (2): 252-255.

Mastandrea, S., G. Bartoli, and G. Bove. 2007. "Learning Through Ancient Art and Experiencing Emotions with Contemporary Art: Comparing Visits in Two Different Museums." *Empirical Studies of the Arts* 25 (2): 173-191.

McCormack, D.P. 2003. "An Event of Geographical Ethics in Spaces of Affect." *Tran Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 (4): 488-507.

McNeil, D. 2005. "Skyscraper Geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 29 (1): 41-56.

Mímisson, K. 2016. "Building Identities: The Architecture of the Persona." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20 (1): 207-227.

Noy, C. 2008. "Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 11 (4): 327-344.

Paterson, M. 2009. "Haptic Geographies: Ethnography, Haptic Knowledges and Sensuous Dispositions." *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (6): 766-788.

Petrov, J. 2012. "Cross-Purposes: Museum Display and Material Culture (Essay)." *Crosscurrents* 62 (2): 219-233.

Pile, S. 2010. "Emotions and Affect in Recent Human Geography." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (1): 5-20.

Posner, J, J.A. Russell, and B.S. Peterson. 2005. "The Circumplex Model of Affect: an Integrative Approach to Affective Neuroscience, Cognitive Development, and Psychopathology." *Development and Psychopathology* 17 (3): 715-734.

Rose, G., M. Degen, and B. Basdas. 2010. "More on 'Big Things': Building Events and Feelings." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (3): 334-349.

Russell, J.A. 1980. "A Circumplex Model of Affect." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 39 (6): 1161-1178.

———. 2003. "Core Affect and the Psychological Construction of Emotion." *Psychological Review* 110 (1): 145-172.

Schmidt, R., D. Sage, T. Eguchi, and A. Dainty. 2012. "Moving Architecture and Flattening Politics: Examining Adaptability through a Narrative of Design." *Architectural Research Quarterly* 16 (1): 75-84.

Schwanen, T., and D. Wang. 2014. "Well-Being, Context, and Everyday Activities in Space and Time." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104 (4):833-851.

Sime, J. 1986. "Creating Places or Designing Spaces?" *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 6: 49-63.

Strebel, I. 2011. "The Living Building: Towards a Geography of Maintenance Work." *Social & Cultural Geography* 12 (3): 243-262.

Sundberg, J. 2005. "Looking for the Critical Geographer, Or Why Bodies and Geographies Matter To the Emergence of Critical Geographies of Latin America." *Geoforum* 36 (1): 17-28.

Taylor, M. 2014. "'Being Useful' After the Ivory Tower: Combining Research and Activism with the Brixton Pound." *Area* 46 (3): 305-312.

Thien, D. 2005. "After Or Beyond Feeling? A Consideration of Affect and Emotion in Geography." *Area* 37 (4): 450-454.

Thrift, N. J. 1983. "On the Determination of Social Action in Space and Time." *Environment & Planning D* 1: 23-57.

———. 2004. "Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect." *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 86 (1): 57-78.

Tolia-Kelly, D. 2013. "The Geographies of Cultural Geography III: Material Geographies, Vibrant Matters and Risking Surface Geographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (1): 153-160.

Tuan, Y.F. 1978. "Humanistic Geography." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66: 266-276.

Yaneva, A., and L. Heaphy. 2012. "Urban Controversies and the Making of the Social." *Architectural Research Quarterly* 16 (1): 29-36.

Books and Book Chapters

Adams, P.C. 2009. *Geographies of Media and Communication: A Critical Introduction*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Agnew, J. 1987. *The United States in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benaquisto, L. 2008. "Open Coding." In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Edited By L.M. Given. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Bennett, J. 2010. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Blunt, A. 2009. "Geography and the Humanities Tradition." In *Key Concepts in Geography*, Edited By N. Clifford, S. Holloway, S. Rice, and G. Valentine. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P. 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Browne, R.B. 1980. *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press.

Crang, M., and I. Cook. 2007. *Doing Ethnographies*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Cresswell, T. 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Dale, K., and G. Burrell. 2008. *The Spaces of Organisation and the Organisation of Space: Power, Identity and Materiality at Work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Davidson, J., L. Bondi, and M. Smith. 2005. *Emotional Geographies*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Dillard, I. 1952. *The Spirit of Liberty: Papers and Addresses of Learned Hand*. New York: Knopf.

Dunn, K. 2010. "'Doing' Qualitative Research in Human Geography." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Edited By I. Hay. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evans, M. 1988. "Participant Observation: The Researcher as Research Tool." In *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*, Edited By J. Eyles and D.M. Smith. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Falk, J.H. 2009. *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Franck, K.A., and R.B. Lepori. 2007. *Architecture from the Inside Out: From the Body, the Senses, the Site, and the Community*. Edited By R.B. Lepori and K.A. Franck. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Academy.

Fried, M. 1963. "Grieving for a Lost Home." In the *Urban Condition*, Edited By L.J. Duhl. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C. 1973. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Grange, J. 1985. "Place, Body and Situation." In *Dwelling, Place, and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*. Edited By D. Seamon and R. Mugerauer. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Harris, N. 1999. *Building Lives: Constructing Rites and Passages*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hay, I. 2010. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heatherington, K., and R. Munro, Eds. 1997. *Ideas of Difference: Social Spaces and the Labour of Division*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jordan-Bychkov, T.G. 1985. *American Log Buildings: an Old World Heritage*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Katz, J. 1999. *How Emotions Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kearns, R. 2010. "Seeing with Clarity: Undertaking Observational Research." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Edited By I. Hay. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kitchin, R., and J. Kneale. 2001. *Science Fiction or Future Fact? Exploring Imaginative Geographies of the New Millennium.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Koolhaas, R, and B. Mau. 1995. *S, M, L, XL*. Rotterdam: 101 Publishers.

Krinsky, C.H. 1988. *Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Larson, M. 2004. "Grounding the Postmodern: A Story of Empirical Research on Fuzzy Concepts." In *Matters of Culture: Cultural Sociology in Practice*, Edited By Eds. R. Friedland and R. Mohr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Latour, B. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

——— and A. Yaneva. 2008. "Give Me a Gun and I Will Make All Buildings Move." In *Explorations in Architecture: Teaching, Design, Research*, Edited By U. Staub and R. Geiser. Basel: Birkhäuser.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Massey, D.B. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McGuirk, P., and P. O'Neill. 2010. "Using Questionnaires in Qualitative Human Geography." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Edited By I. Hay. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 2002. *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge.

Miles, M.B., and A.M. Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: an Expanded Sourcebook*. Edited By A.M. Huberman. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Newman, O. 1972. *Defensible Space; Crime Prevention through Urban Design*. New York: Macmillan.

Rose, G. 2001. *Visual Methodologies: an Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: Sage.

Staeheli, L.A., E. Kofman, and L. Peake. 2004. *Mapping Women, Mapping Politics: Feminism and Political Geography*. New York: Routledge.

Stevens, G. 1998. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*. London: MIT Press.

Thrift, N. J. 1996. *Spatial Formations*. London: Sage.

Tuan, Y.F. 1974. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wetherell, M. 2012. *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding, New Social Science Understanding*. London: Sage.

Wolf, R.L., and B.L. Tymitz. 1980. *"'When Will the Fourth Floor Be Open?' A Study of Visitor Perceptions of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Smithsonian Institution*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Woods, L. 1997. *Radical Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zeisel, J. 2006. *Inquiry by Design: Environment/Behavior/Neuroscience in Architecture, Interiors, Landscape, and Planning*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Theses and Dissertations

Frieling, J.M. 2012. "The Transformation of the National Mall & America's Architectual Identity: Gordon Bunshaft & His Concrete Doughnut, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1966-1974." Master of Architectural History, Department of Architectural History of the School of Architecture, the University of Virginia.

Stephens, M. 2012. "From Geo-Social to Geo-Local: The Flows and Biases of Volunteered Geographic Information." Doctor of Philosophy – Geography, School of Geography and Development, the University of Arizona.

Watkins, D. 2012. "Digital Facets of Place: Flickr's Mappings of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands." Master of Arts, Department of Geography, University of Oregon.

Interviews[54]

Participant 1 (1M). Male. Interviewed On 15 March 2013.

Participant 2 (2M). Male. Interviewed On 13 March 2013.

Participant 3 (3F). Female. Interviewed On 19 March 2013.

Participant 4 (4M). Male. Interviewed On 18 March 2013.

Participant 5 (5M). Male. Interviewed On 15 April 2013.

Participant 6 (6M). Male. Interviewed On 15 April 2013.

[54] Identifying information including staff positions and tenure at the Smithsonian Institution has been withheld to maintain participants' anonymity.

Participant 7 (7F). Female. Interviewed On 17 April 2013.

Participant 8 (8M). Male. Interviewed On 17 July 2013.

Participant 9 (9F). Female. Interviewed On 22 July 2013.

Participant 10 (10F). Female. Interviewed On 3 July 2013.

Participant 11 (11F). Female. Interviewed On 12 June 2013.

Participant 12 (12F). Female. Interviewed On 12 June 2013.

Participant 13 (13M). Male. Interviewed On 8 July 2013.

Participant 14 (14M). Male. Interviewed On 17 July 2013.

Participant 15 (15M). Male. Interviewed On 17 April 2013.

Web2.0 Data

See *Appendix E: TripAdvisor Reviewer Information.*

Artworks

Aitken, Doug. 2012. "Song 1."

Calder, Alexander. 1965. "Two Discs."

Calder, Alexander. 1974. "The Flamingo."

De Kooning, Willem. 1964. "Woman, Sag Harbor."

Hamilton, Ann, and Kathryn Clark. 1989. "Palimpsest."

Klein, Yves. 2010. "Yves Klein: with the Void, Full Powers." Yves Klein Retrospective at the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

Kruger, Barbara. 2012. "Belief+Doubt".

Noland, Kenneth. 1958. "Beginning."

Rodin, Auguste. 1889. "The Burghers of Calais."

Warhol, Andy. 1978-79. "Shadows."

Weiner, Lawrence. 1970. "REDUCED: Cat. No. 102."

Weiwei, Ai. 2013. “According To What?” Exhibition Organized By the Mori Art Museum, Tokyo and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

Legislation

Department of Interior and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1969. H.R. 17354.

Right to Breastfeed Act, 1999. H.R. 1848.

Archival Sources

Allen, J.B. 1971. "Letter to William Walton, Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts." Washington, D.C., 14 June 1971. Commission of Fine Arts Archives, Hirshhorn Museum Folder. Washington, D.C.

Atherton, C. 1971. "Letter Indicating Commission of Fine Arts' Approval of Revised Design of Hirshhorn Sculpture Garden." Washington, D.C., 19 May 1971. Commission of Fine Arts Archives, Hirshhorn Museum Folder. Washington, D.C.

Clarke, G. 1971. "Letter Requesting that Plans for Sculpture Garden on the National Mall Be Cancelled." Washington, D.C., 28 June 1971. Commission of Fine Arts Archives, Hirshhorn Museum Folder. Washington, D.C.

Commission of Fine Arts Meeting Minutes. 21 April 1971. Commission of Fine Arts Archives, Hirshhorn Museum Folder. Washington, D.C.

Hirshhorn, J.H. 1965. "Letter from Joseph H. Hirshhorn, To President Johnson, Washington, D.C., September 21, 1965." Smithsonian Institution Archives. RU 510, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Office of the Director, Box 3, 21 September 1965.

Lantz, M. 1971. "Letter to James B. Allen, Senator (D., Alabama)." New York, 19 April 1971. Commission of Fine Arts Archives, Hirshhorn Museum Folder. Washington, D.C.

Ripley, S.D. 1969. “Remarks By S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, at Groundbreaking Ceremonies for Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Wednesday, January 8, 1969, Washington, D.C.” Hirshhorn Museum Library Archives.

———. 1974. “Remarks By S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary at the Smithsonian Institution, To Be Delivered at the Dedication of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Tuesday, October 1, 1974, 9:00 PM, Washington, D.C.”

Sanderson, G. 1974a. “Background: Chronology of Significant Events in the Development of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (Press Release).” Hirshhorn Museum Library Archives.

———. 1974b. “Press Release: June 4, 1974.” Hirshhorn Museum Library Archives.

Visitor Comment. #10-195. Box 2. HMSG Statistics & Museum Signage. Smithsonian Institution Archives.

———. #99-006. Box 3. Complaints—1974. Smithsonian Archives

———. #99-006. Box 3. Complaints—July-December 1981. Smithsonian Archives.

Newspaper, Magazine, and Radio Stories

Author Unknown. 16 April 1974. "Museum Change Sought." *The Washington Post*.

———. 20 June 1974. "Futuristic Touch." *The Washington Post*.

———. 14 July 1974. Title Unknown (Hirshhorn Groundbreaking). *The New York Times*.

Capps, K. 8 February 2013(a). "The Hirshhorn's Bubble Bobble." *Washington City Paper*.

———. 31 May 2013(b). "Deflationary Measures." *Washington City Paper*.

Clough, G.W. November 2012. "What does it mean to be Seriously Amazing?" *Smithsonian Magazine*.

Conroy, S.B. 7 May 1971. "Hirshhorn: Okay." *The Washington Post*.

Elliott, K. 17 March 1974. "Face the Experts to Frame Your Radiance." *Washington Star News*.

Forgey, B. 24 February 1971. "Hirshhorn Museum Design has an Ironic Defect." *Washington Star News*.

———. 11 August 1974. “On Acquiring Taste for the Dramatic Doughnut." *Washington Star-News*.

Giovannini, J. May 2013. "Blowing Up the Art World: The Hirshhorn’s Giant Balloon is a Capital Idea--If It Floats." *Smithsonian Magazine*.

Huxtable, A.L. 9 June 1974. “Construction in the Capital." *The New York Times*.

Kennedy, R. 18 March 2012. “The Week Ahead Art.” *The New York Times.*

Kennicott, P. 16 December 2009. "Hirshhorn Balloon Proposal Could Give Washington's Design Landscape a Lift." *The Washington Post*.

Lydon, C. 5 July 1971. "Hirshhorn Museum Taking Shape in Washington." *The New York Times*.

O'Neal Parker, L, and K. Boyle. 16 July 2013. "Bursting Hirshhorn's 'Bubble'." *The Washington Post.*

———. 5 June 2014. "Hirshhorn Museum Selects Melissa Chiu to be New Director." *The Washington Post.*

O'Steen, D. 28 August 2012. "Hirshhorn's Space Saving Challenge." *The Washington Post.*

Ouroussoff, N. 15 December 2009a. "In Washington, a Different Kind of Bubble." *New York Times.*

———. 17 December 2009b. "For U.S. Capital, Some Useful Hot Air: New Hirshhorn Boss Jolts Washington with Project for a Tall Inflatable Hall." *The International Herald Tribune.*

Padget, J. 22 December 2005. "For Snails, the Slimelight is Fleeting." *The Washington Post*.

Richard, P. 17 June 1974. "Is this Any Way to Open an Art Museum?" *The Washington Post*.

Rosenbaum, R. July 2012. "Speaking truth to power: Barbara Kruger has been refashioning our idioms into sharp-edged cultural critiques for three decades--and now she has a very special word for Washington, D.C." *Smithsonian Magazine.*

Seldis, H J. 6 October 1974. *The Los Angeles Times*.

Sweet, L. 18 July 2007. "The Scoop from Washington (Blog)." *Chicago Sun Times*. Accessed 7 February 2016. http://blogs.suntimes.com/sweet/.

Tucker, A. April 2012. "The Light Fantastic: Turning the Hirshhorn into a 360-Degree Movie Screen." *Smithsonian* 43 (1): 84.

Tyler-Ameen, D. 20 May 2012. "Millions of People Go By: Doug Aitken's 'Song 1' Distills City Life." *NPR: The Record*.

White, J.M. 1973. "Museum of the Future." *The Washington Post*, 15 April 1973, Style.

Wiener, A. 25 February 2014. "'The Ugliest Church in D.C.' is now the Ugliest Half-Church in D.C." *Washington City Paper*.

Webpages

Author unknown. "The Army Medical Museum and Library." Accessed 14 April 2016. http://www.adolf-cluss.org/.

Diller, L. 2012. “A New Museum Wing ... in a Giant Bubble.” TED Talk. Accessed 14 April 2016. https://www.ted.com/.

Forbes. 8 March 2013. "Here's Why We Believe TripAdvisor's User Base Will Continue To Climb." Accessed 14 April 2016. www.forbes.com.

Great Buildings. 2016. "East Wing, National Gallery." Accessed 3 February 2016. http://www.greatbuildings.com/buildings/east_wing_national_gallery.html.

Haney, J.C. 2011. "Smithsonian’s Hirshhorn Museum Nurse-In Draws Large Crowd." Accessed 14 April 2016. http://www.mothering.com/articles/smithsonians-hirshhorn-museum-nurse-in-draws-large-crowd/#sthash.wnqyoc3j.dpuf.

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden. n.d. “Artists + Art + Audience.” Accessed 14 April 2016. http://hirshhorn.si.edu.

———. 2011. “Andy Warhol: Shadows.” Accessed 24 August 2015. http://hirshhorn.si.edu/collection/hirshhorn-past-exhibitions/#detail=/bio/andy-warhol-shadows/&collection=hirshhorn-past-exhibitions.

———. 1 June 2012. “Hirshhorn Presents "Barbara Kruger: Belief+Doubt (Press Release Si-262-2012).” Accessed 15 April 2016. http://hirshhorn.si.edu/collection/resource-centre/#detail=/bio/hirshhorn-presents-barbara-kruger-beliefdoubt/

———. 2015. “Hirshhorn Mission, Board, and Senior Staff." Accessed 20 September 2015. http://hirshhorn.si.edu/.

———. 2016. "History of the Hirshhorn." Accessed 14 April 2016. http://hirshhorn.si.edu/collection/history-of-the-hirshhorn/#collection=history-of-the-hirshhorn.

———. 2016. "Artlab+." Accessed 25 January 2016. http://hirshhorn.si.edu/collection/artlab/#collection=artlab&detail=http%3a//hirshhorn.si.edu/bio/about-artlab/&title=artlab%2b.

Lomholt, I. 2014. "Tate Modern - Art Gallery, Photograph by Adrian Welch." Accessed 15 March 2016. http://www.e-architect.co.uk/london/tate-modern.

National Gallery of Art (NGA). 2015. "National Gallery of Art FY 2015 Congressional Budget Request." Accessed 3 February 2016. http://www.nga.gov/.

Smithsonian Institution (SI). 2015a. "About Us." Accessed 25 January 2016. http://www.si.edu/about/mission.

———. 2015b. "Visitor Statistics." Accessed 25 January 2016. http://newsdesk.si.edu/about/stats.

Smithsonian Institution Gardens (SI Gardens). n.d. "Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden." Accessed 11 November 2015. http://www.gardens.si.edu/our-gardens/hirshhorn-sculpture-garden.html.

Taymor, E. 2008. "Walt Disney Concert Hall." Accessed 15 March 2016. http://classes.design.ucla.edu/spring08/161b/projects/emerson/finalproject/testing/venueinfo.php?id=21.

White House. 2013. "Impacts and Costs of the October 2013 Federal Government Shut Down." Accessed 18 April 2016. https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/reports/impacts-and-costs-of-october-2013-federal-government-shutdown-report.pdf.

APPENDIX A: STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Hirshhorn Museum Building Questionnaire

You have received this questionnaire, because you signed the informed consent document and agreed to participate in the study titled, "The effects of architectural place on human experiences: A geographic study of the Hirshhorn Museum building in downtown Washington, D.C."

Please do not complete this questionnaire unless you have signed the informed consent document associated with this study. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study or to withdraw from it at any time. In either case, there is no penalty to you.

The estimated time to complete this survey is 45 minutes.

-

Your participant ID number* is: _____

* *After you signed the informed consent document associated with this study, this participant ID number was assigned to you by the researcher to protect your confidentiality. If you do not know your number, please do not complete this survey until you have obtained it from the researcher.*

Begin survey.

1. Do you spend or have you spent time in the Hirshhorn Museum as part of your current or previous work?

    - o YES (if YES, continue to question 2.A on page 2)
    - o NO (if NO, continue to question 2.B on page 3)

Continue to question 2.A or 2.B, as appropriate.

If you answered YES to question 1, continue with this version of question 2:

2. A. How does (or did) the museum's architecture affect your ability to perform your job? Please limit your response to 3-4 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Continue to page 4, questions 3, 4, and 5.

If you answered NO to question 1, continue to this version of question 2:

2. B. How do you feel the museum's architecture affects your ability to experience the art on display? Please limit your response to 3-4 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Continue to page 4, questions 3, 4, and 5.

Page 4. *Question 3:*

1. How often do you spend time in the Hirshhorn Museum building?
   - □ 1-4 days per week
   - □ 5-7 days per week
   - □ a few times per month
   - □ a few times per year
   - □ other: _____

Question 4:

2. To get to the Hirshhorn Museum building from home, I travel by: _____. Choose all that apply.
   - □ foot
   - □ bicycle
   - □ car
   - □ public transportation – bus
   - □ public transportation – train
   - □ public transportation – Metro
   - □ other: _____

Question 5:

3. When I eat in or near the building, I eat in the following location(s):

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

Continue to page 5, questions 6 and 7.1-7.3.

Page 5. *Question 6:*

4. The exhibition that makes or made the best use of the Hirshhorn's particular architecture is or was _____(answer below)_____. Please provide the title and approximate dates the exhibition ran.

_____

_____

_____

Questions 7.1-7.3:

Describing the exterior

7.1 The first time you saw the exterior of the Hirshhorn building, how would you have described its appearance? How long ago was this? If possible, please include how long ago your initial encounter with the exterior of building occurred. Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

7.2 Today, how would you describe the exterior of the Hirshhorn building? Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

7.3 How would you characterize public opinion of the exterior of the building?

_____

_____

_____

Continue to page 6, questions 8.1-8.3.

Page 6. *Questions 8.1-8.3:*

Describing the interior

8.1 The first time you entered the Hirshhorn building, how would you have described its interior? If possible, please include how long ago your initial encounter with the interior of the building occurred. Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

8.2 Today, how would you describe the interior of the Hirshhorn building (1-2 sentences)? Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

8.3 How would you characterize public opinion of the interior of the building (1-2 sentences)? Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences.

_____

_____

_____

Continue to page 7, questions 9.1-9.4 and 10.

Page 7. *Questions 9.1-9.4:*

Comfort levels: Finding your way, acoustics, temperature, and lighting

9.1 On average, are you comfortable with finding your way in this building?

- ○ yes
- ○ no
- ○ other: _____

9.2 On average, are you comfortable with the acoustics in this building?

- ○ yes
- ○ no
- ○ other: _____

9.3 On average, are you comfortable with the temperatures in this building?

- ○ yes
- ○ no
- ○ other: _____

9.4 On average, are you comfortable with the lighting in this building?

- ○ yes
- ○ no
- ○ other: _____

Question 10:

10 Where in the building do you normally spend time? Choose all that apply.

- □ the lower level,
- □ the first floor (entry level),
- □ the second floor,
- □ the third floor,
- □ the fourth floor.

Continue to page 8, questions 11.1-11.2, 12, and 13.1.

Page 8. *Questions 11.1-11.2:*

Mobility

11.1 Are you able to move easily from floor to floor within the Hirshhorn Museum building?

- ○ yes
- ○ no
- ○ other: _____

11.2 Do you find it easy to move from room to room on the following floors? Choose all that apply.

- □ the lower level,
- □ the first floor (entry level),
- □ the second floor,
- □ the third floor,
- □ the fourth floor.
- □ I cannot move easily from room to room on any of the floors.

Question 12:

12 If you could name one way the building makes your life easier, what would it be? Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences. If not applicable, write N/A.

_____

_____

_____

Questions 13.1-13.2:

13.1 If you could name your favorite place to be in the building, what would it be? Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences. If not applicable, write N/A.

_____

_____

_____

Continue to page 9, question 13.2:

Page 9.

13.2 If you could name your least favorite place to be in the building, what would it be? Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences. If not applicable, write N/A.

_____

_____

_____

Questions 14.1-14.2:

Comments for the architect

Gordon Bunshaft (May 9, 1909 – August 6, 1990) was architect of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

14.1 One compliment you would give the architect, if he were still alive, would be: _____(answer below)_____. Please limit your response to 1-2 sentences. If not applicable, write N/A.

_____

_____

_____

14.2 If you could have given the architect one piece of advice during the design process, it would have been: _____(answer below)_____.

_____

_____

_____

Continue to page 10, questions 15.1-15.2.

Page 10. *Questions 15.1-15.2.*

These are open-ended questions whose responses may relate to any element of your choosing.

15.1 Sometimes, I wish this building had more: (answer below). If not applicable, write N/A.

_____

_____

_____

15.2 Sometimes, I wish this building had fewer: (answer below). If not applicable, write N/A.

_____

_____

_____

End of questionnaire.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

In published reports, there will be no information included that will make it possible to identify you without your permission. Research records will be stored securely and only approved researchers will have access to the records.

If you have concerns or complaints about the research, the Principal Investigator conducting this study, Angela Person, can be contacted at (405) 637-6983 or a@ou.edu. The faculty sponsor, Dr. Robert Rundstrom, can be contacted at (405) 325-8966 or rrundstrom@ou.edu.

Contact the researcher(s) if you have questions, or if you have experienced a research related injury.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, concerns, or complaints about the research and wish to talk to someone other than individuals on the research team or if you cannot reach the research team, you may contact the University of Oklahoma – Norman Campus Institutional Review Board (OU-NC IRB) at 405-325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

APPENDIX B: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

In-Depth Interview Protocol

Length: 60 minutes

Introductory script:
Thank you for giving me the opportunity to talk to you today.

I want to remind you a bit about my research and what my goal is in talking to you. I am holding individual interviews, because I want to hear directly from people who have experienced the Hirshhorn Museum building about how it affects their lives. You have already filled out a questionnaire related to this study, and this in-depth interview allows us the opportunity to build on the information that you provided in your questionnaire responses.

I want to assure you that your identity and all information you provide is strictly confidential, unless you indicated in your informed consent document that your name may be reported with direct quotes. I will not attach your name to any comments you make and will remove identifying details if your information is used in any publications or presentations.

So that I can devote full attention to our discussion, I will be tape-recording this interview. If this is not okay with you, please let me know and I will record our conversation by hand, instead.

My dissertation manuscript will report the results of my research, as well as any hypotheses I have formulated about how people are affected by their experiences in the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment. If you would like a digital copy of this research at the close of this study, please let me know, and I would be happy to share it with you.

Do you have any questions about my research project or about what I have told you so far? (Answer participants' questions.)

I'm going to ask you questions now about your experiences in and perceptions of the Hirshhorn Museum building. My questions will primarily relate to your survey responses. I will also show you some photographs of the Hirshhorn and its surroundings and ask that you describe these photographs.

Questions:

1. Is there anything that has changed about your impression of the Hirshhorn since you completed your online questionnaire?

2. I would like to understand your typical encounter with the Hirshhorn Museum building. Please describe a typical experience in the building, beginning with when you leave home on your way to the building and ending with when you exit the building. (Ask for the participant to describe how he/she moves through the space; what sorts of things he/she sees, hears, smells, and touches; where meals are taken; where social interactions take place; and so on. If there is no "typical" encounter, have him or her describe the most-recent encounter.)

3. Thank you for sharing what your typical experience in the building entails. I would like to ask you some questions related to your questionnaire responses.

<Questions clarifying questionnaire responses will appear here, once questionnaire responses have been collected and analyzed.>

4. We will now spend some time looking at photographs of elements of the Hirshhorn Museum building and its surroundings. Please describe what each photograph reminds you of. If possible, describe a memorable experience you have, related to the element in the photograph.

5. Is there anything else you want to tell me about how the Hirshhorn Museum building?

Closing script:

Thank you for taking the time to talk to me about your experiences with the Hirshhorn Museum building. Please let me know if you are interested in participating in a focus group discussion with others who have experiences in this building. The focus group discussion will address questions and topics similar to those we discussed today.

By sharing your experiences in the Hirshhorn Museum building, you are making a significant contribution to this research project, which will further our understanding of how the built environment affects us each day.

-

Themes to be covered under this protocol:

- **Work management (for participants who work or volunteer in the building):** effect of building on participants' ability to get work done (e.g. installing artwork on curved walls); ways the building makes work easier, if applicable.

- **Comfort levels:** effect of the building on comfort in terms of levels of light, sound, and temperature; favorite and least favorite places in the building; whether the building provides enough privacy when necessary; whether access to restrooms is sufficient; whether access to outdoors and/or fresh air is appropriate.

- **Safety and disaster preparedness**: whether evacuation plans are clearly communicated; whether the participant feels safe in the building; where the participant would go when the building is evacuated; how the participant would exit during a drill; whether the participant has any concerns about his/her safety in the building.

- **The ability of the building to support the Hirshhorn Museum Mission:** "The Smithsonian's Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden is a leading voice for contemporary art and culture and provides a national platform for the art and artists of our time. We seek to share the transformative power of modern and contemporary art with audiences at all levels of awareness and understanding by creating meaningful, personal experiences in which art, artists, audiences and ideas converge. We enhance public understanding and appreciation of contemporary art through acquisition, exhibitions, education and public programs, conservation, and research." Is there sufficient space to accommodate the museum's mission; if not, where is more room needed; are spaces arranged in a manner that accommodates the museum's mission; ability of the building to accommodate exhibitions necessary to meet the mission; ability of the building to accommodate special events.

- **Mobility:** wayfinding in the building, moving from floor to floor in the building, moving from space to space in the building, entering the building, accepting deliveries at the building, arriving to the building, leaving the building.

- **Access to and satisfaction with available services in and near building (E.g. information technology services, food services, public transportation, shopping, etc.):** knowledge of available services in and near the building; use of services; quality of these services, degree of meeting participant's needs, degree to which they meet time management needs.

- **Challenges and rewards:** what are the challenges of working in or being in this building; what are the rewards of working in or being in this building.

APPENDIX C: PHOTO-ELICITATION PROTOCOL

Photo-elicitation Samples
The photographs included in this document are representative of the photographs that will be used during the one-on-one interviews with the participants, as well as during the focus group discussions. Photos used will represent the building and its surroundings, as well as details of its spaces and architectural elements.

Purpose of photo-elicitation in this study: For the purpose of this study, photo-elicitation will be used to learn how participants describe, or reflect on, photographs of particular elements of the Hirshhorn Museum building. Because all interviewed participants will be asked to respond to the same group of photographs, the Principal Investigator will be able to compare participant responses to particular elements and representations of the Hirshhorn Museum building. The ability to compare responses to these particular elements and representations is valuable in building an understanding of how specific parts of the built environment are perceived and related to—similarly and differently—by participants.

When photo-elicitation will be used: Photo-elicitation will be used during the one-on-one interviews with the participants, as well as during the focus groups.

Photo 1:



From: http://www.interiordesign.net/photo/352/352775-The_bubble_for_the_Hirshhorn_Museum_and_Sculpture_Garden_on_Washington_s_National_Mall_.jpg

Photo 2:



Copyright Digital Image Smithsonian Institution, 1998

From: http://siarchives.si.edu/oldsite/history/exhibits/historic/92_1647.gif

Photo 3:



From: http://www.painetworks.com/photos/ft/ft0067.JPG

Photo 4:



From: http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/538870.jpg

Photo 5:



Copyright Digital Image Smithsonian Institution, 1997

From: http://siarchives.si.edu/oldsite/history/exhibits/historic/85_4824.gif

Photo 6:



From: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-rOVTnE2S1jo/UL4XI4K_CPI/AAAAAAAAHKk/l2rU8qLgmlw/s1600/2012.12.WashingtonDCDay2158.jpg

Photo 7:



From: http://www.hirshhorn.si.edu/collection/directions/#detail=/bio/directions-jim-lambie/&collection=directions

Photo 8:



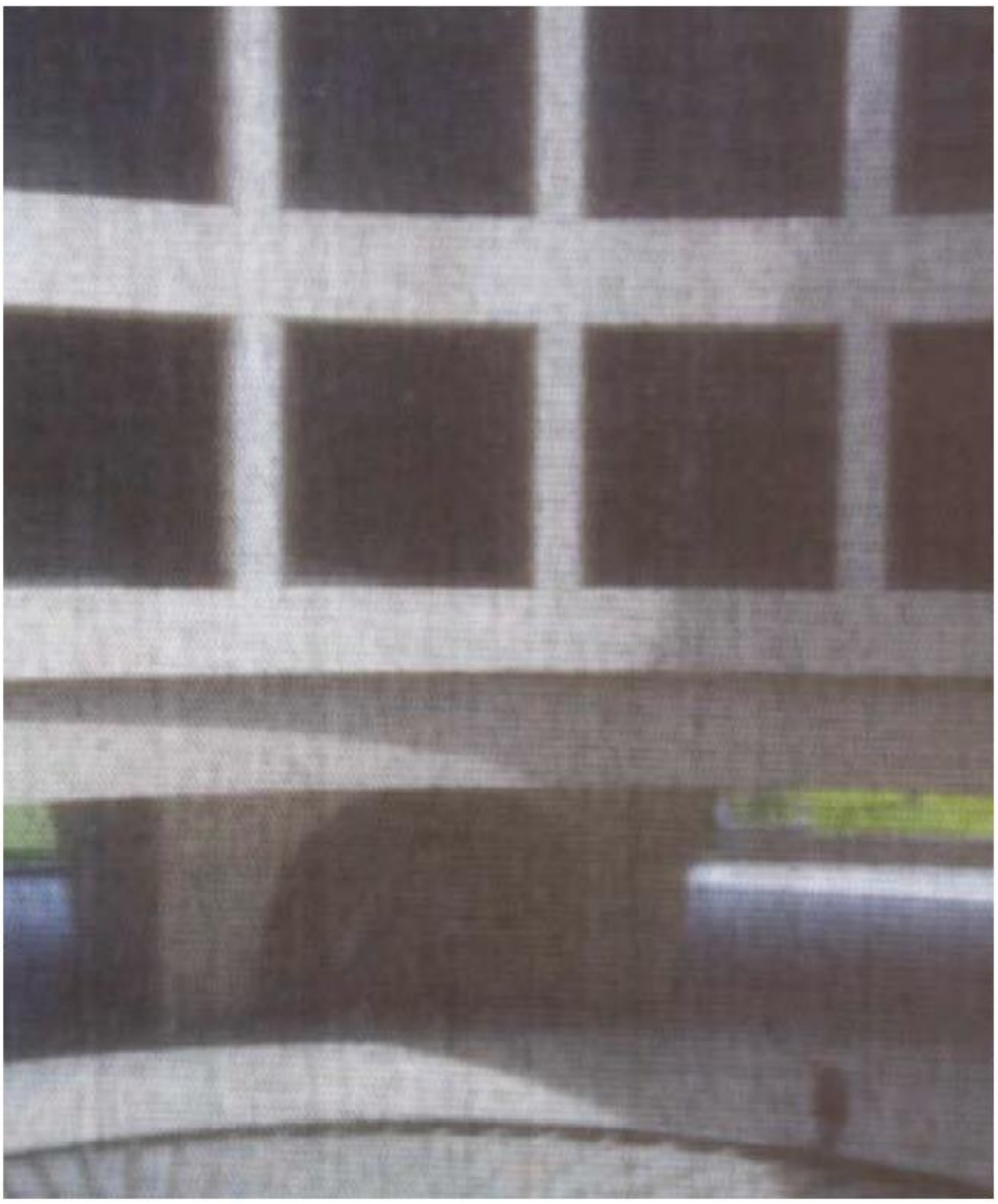
From: http://media-cache-ec4.pinterest.com/upload/131167407867247617_pRtiMgd4_b.jpg

Photo 9:



From:
http://washington.org/sites/washington.org/master/files/styles/tag_page_spotlight/public/hirshhorn_exterior_etrance.jpg

Photo 10:



From: http://www.flickr.com/photos/teresak/2402734162/

Photo 11:



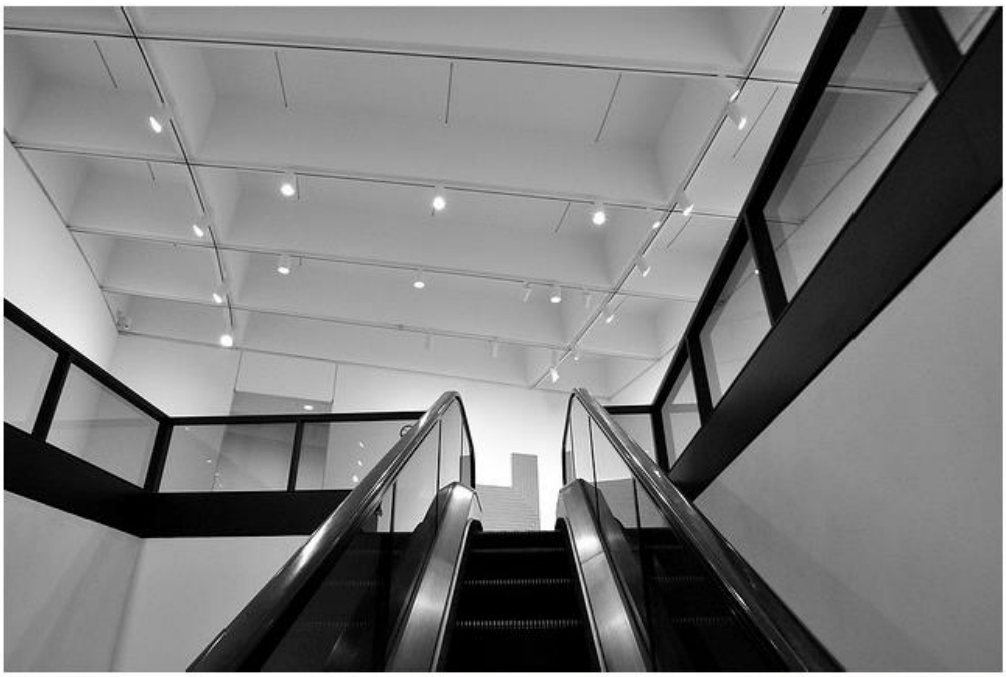
From: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-s36BAXeA1aw/UDTx1bTcJhI/AAAAAAAAAmY/GC2FxW3W5a0/s1600/Barbara-Kruger-Installation-3-retouched.jpg

Photo 12:



From: http://crunchychewymama.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Hirshhorn-nurse-in-6.jpg

Photo 13:



From: http://farm4.staticflickr.com/3494/4020760814_0467792ec0_z.jpg

Photo 14:



From: http://www.glassdoor.com/Photos/FAA-Office-Photos-E13505.htm#Photo-5297

Photo 15:



From: http://farm9.staticflickr.com/8370/8393820212_8db75f8399_z.jpg

Photo 16:



From: http://blogs.smithsonianmag.com/aroundthemall/2010/05/hirshhorn-museum-open-today-after-last-nights-truck-crash/

Photo 17:



From: http://farm5.staticflickr.com/4038/4273127226_0893ce607b_z.jpg

Photo 18:



From: http://www.creativeplanetnetwork.com/the_wire/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Doug-Aitken-SONG-1-FChas_7558r.jpeg

Photo 19:



www.si.edu

APPENDIX D: SOLICITED JOURNAL AND PHOTOGRAPHY PROTOCOL

Solicited Journal and Photography Protocol

Length: Two-week period during which time no more than 120 minutes are to be dedicated to solicited journal and photography activities. After exercise, a 30 minute follow-up interview will be conducted.

Description:
Participants who elect to take part in the solicited writing and photograph component will be provided with a journal and a camera, and asked to document their thoughts about, and their experiences within, the Hirshhorn Museum building during a period of two weeks. Directions will not be more specific than that, to allow participants to independently identify what they feel is important enough to warrant documentation.

Journal:
Within the journal, participants may include writings or drawings that describe their thoughts about, experiences in, and movements through, the building during this two-week period.

Photographs:
Participants will concurrently be provided with a 24 exposure disposable camera and asked to take pictures that depict their thoughts about, and their experiences within, the Hirshhorn Museum building during a period of two weeks. Participants will be asked to provide captions for the photographs where they feel it is appropriate to do so.

At the end of the two-week period, the journal and camera, which will have been coded to protect the identity of the participant, will be collected by the Principal Investigator.

Privacy:
During and after the study, the Principal Investigator will ensure that the journal and photographs, and any data derived therefrom, properly mask the participant's identity in order to achieve the level of privacy requested by each participant in his or her informed consent document.

See following pages for:
- **Instructions to Participants in the Journal and Photography Exercise**
- **Follow-up interview protocol**

Instructions to Participants in the Journal and Photography Exercise

This exercise will take place over a two-week period during which time you are asked to devote no more than 120 minutes to journaling about and photography of the Hirshhorn Museum building.

Journal: Within the journal, please write or draw images that describe your thoughts about, experiences in, and movements through the building over the course of this two-week period. Please note the time of day and date of each journal entry.

*Photographs***:** Please take photographs that depict your thoughts about, experiences in, and movements through the building. Please record the date, time, and a caption (if desired) for each exposure in the chart provided below. Attach additional pages, if necessary, to caption the photograph.

To protect the confidentiality of others, please do not take photographs that make it possible for people within the photographs to be identified. Photographs of persons whom are easily identifiable will be altered to protect the persons' identities.

Exposure	Date	Time	Caption
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			
21			
22			
23			
24			

Follow-up interview protocol

Following collection of each participant's journal and photographs, a thirty-minute follow-up interview will be scheduled with the Principal Investigator in order to clarify each participant's journal entries and photograph captions, and to discuss themes that arose in the journal and photographs.

Follow-up interview introductory script:
Thank you for completing the journal and photography exercise and for taking the time to talk to me about it today.

I want to assure you that your identity and all information you provide is strictly confidential, unless you indicated in your informed consent document that your name may be reported with direct quotes. I will not attach your name to any comments you make and will remove identifying details if your information is used in any publications or presentations.

So that I can devote full attention to our discussion, I will be tape-recording this interview. If this is not okay with you, please let me know and I will record our conversation by hand, instead.

My dissertation manuscript will report the results of my research, as well as any hypotheses I have formulated about how people are affected by their experiences in the Hirshhorn Museum's built environment. If you would like a digital copy of this research at the close of this study, please let me know, and I would be happy to share it with you.

Do you have any questions about my research project or about what I have told you so far? (Answer participants' questions.)

I'm going to ask you questions now to clarify elements in your journal about and photography of the Hirshhorn Museum building.

Questions:

1. Is there anything that has changed about your impression of the Hirshhorn since you completed this journaling and photography exercise?

2. Thank you so much for sharing your thoughts about the building in your journal and photographs. I would like to ask you some questions related to your journal entries and photographs.

    <Questions clarifying content of journal entries and photographs will appear here, once entries and photographs responses have been collected and analyzed.>

3. Is there anything else you want to tell me about how the Hirshhorn Museum building?

Closing script:
Thank you for taking the time to document and share your experiences with the Hirshhorn Museum building. By sharing your experiences in the Hirshhorn Museum building, you are making a significant contribution to this research project, which will further our understanding of how the built environment affects us each day.

APPENDIX E: TRIPADVISOR REVIEWER INFORMATION

Table 2: Trip Advisor Reviewer Data

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
18rusty			USA	DC	Washington	4	2/18/13	8/2012
A D			USA	SC	Beaufort	2	9/15/14	9/2014
acgardiner	65+	M	Canada	British Columbia	Vancouver	5	1/4/15	1/2015
Addnomore	18-24	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	6/21/12	6/2012
admit_it	25-34	M				5	4/15/15	4/2015
Africancrab	35-49	F	USA	AZ	Tucson	4	7/9/12	7/2012
Alexander A						5	5/25/15	
AliaMerida						5	1/17/13	12/2012
AllisonN18			USA	VA	Arlington	1	8/17/14	7/2014
Americansportswr[…]			USA	DC	Washington	4	1/17/11	11/2010
Amesk		F	USA	PA	Carlisle	5	4/7/12	2/2012
andymae13			USA	IL	Chicago	3	12/18/14	12/2014
Angie R	35-49	F	USA			2	7/6/14	7/2014
Anisha A		F	USA	VA	Arlington	5	5/28/14	5/2014
Ann P			USA	VA	Richmond	4	9/4/12	8/2012
Ann S			USA	CT	Waterford	4	1/20/14	1/2014
AnnArborMiBob			USA	MI	Ann Arbor	5	4/24/12	3/2012
apdemas	25-34	M	USA	VA	Herndon	4	10/6/14	9/2014
areview28	50-64	M	USA	MD	Silver Spring	5	8/14/12	7/2012
asandova			USA	Puerto Rico		5	6/28/12	6/2012
Aster143	25-34	F	USA	PA	Gettysburg	5	5/19/12	5/2012
AussieManinMauritius		M	Mauritius			3	7/23/14	7/2014

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
Awesome_Coral	25-34	F	Iran			3	2/16/13	1/2013
awspilke	35-49	M	USA	ID	Coeur d'Alene	5	5/16/12	
babalu3	35-49	M	USA	MA	Boston	5	6/7/12	5/2012
Barbara S			USA	CO	Steamboat Springs	5	1/9/13	12/2012
Barry S	65+	M	USA	MD	Silver Spring	5	10/15/12	
bdjtbenson	50-64	M	USA	VA	Gainesville	4	2/7/12	
BeaverIslander	50-64	M	USA	FL	Key West	5	11/16/11	11/2011
BenNic02			USA	IL	Springfield	3	4/8/13	6/2012
big_bro_1_usa	35-49		USA	IL	Chicago	4	4/23/13	4/2013
bknn			USA	NY	New York City	4	7/30/13	7/2013
bonbot062	50-64	F	Canada		Halifax	4	8/26/13	
Bouffie			USA	IN	North Manchester	5	10/30/14	10/2014
BournemouthFan	35-49	M	United Kingdom		Bournemouth	5	9/16/11	8/2011
BradJill	35-49	M	China		Hong Kong	5	1/22/15	12/2014
Bram B						5	4/11/12	
Brandi N	18-24	F	USA	MI	Grand Rapids	3	11/15/11	8/2011
Brendan S	35-49	M	USA	VA	Arlington	3	1/25/14	1/2014
Brian F			USA	FL	Jacksonville	4	8/24/13	8/2013
Bryan N	35-49	M	USA	MO	Saint Louis	3	9/10/14	9/2014
BuffCrone	50-64	F	USA	AZ		5	4/23/12	4/2012
bwco	35-49	M	USA	NJ	Morris County	3	4/1/13	3/2013
byrddawg			Canada	Ottawa		4	5/12/15	
C H			USA	MN	Minneapolis	1	10/17/14	10/2014
c7ed			USA	NY	New York City	5	11/5/12	11/2012
cakedeco			USA	OH	Cleveland	5	9/2/14	8/2014

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
Carol0910			USA	MD	Gaithersburg	5	7/12/12	5/2012
carole c			USA	CT	Groton	4	12/9/14	12/2014
carole_mist	35-49	F	Canada		Montreal	5	4/24/14	4/2014
Caroline H			United Kingdom		Bristol	4	1/8/12	
Cathe M			USA	NJ	Rutherford	1	5/13/13	5/2013
cathy h			USA	LA	Mandeville	5	7/24/12	7/2012
Cathy_and_Phil	35-49	F	USA	MD		4	3/26/12	3/2012
CF Atlanta						4	7/13/14	7/2014
Charles G	25-34	M	Australia	Tasmania	Hobart	5	9/4/12	7/2012
Charlotte G	50-64	F	USA	VA	Warrenton	5	5/20/13	12/2012
chloesmomNJ	35-49	F	USA	VA	Charlottesville	4	11/25/13	6/2013
Cho-san	65+	M	Japan		Kawasaki	4	3/4/13	6/2012
chris317			USA	NV	Henderson	1	8/6/08	
ChrisDCarlson	50-64	M	USA	NJ	Fords	4	12/29/13	7/2013
ChuckOldBoy	50-64	M	USA	CO	Denver	5	3/29/12	3/2012
circustiger	18-24	M	USA	PA	Philadelphia	5	11/13/12	6/2012
classicalmusictravel			USA	NY		5	1/27/13	
ClassyJetSetter	35-49	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	4/5/12	2/2012
Clemsun						5	6/24/12	6/2012
comingandgoingout			USA	VA	Virginia Beach	3	8/22/14	8/2014
crackcritic			USA	CA	Beverly Hills	2	12/8/13	12/2013
Cris66Jesi_Italia	35-49	F	Italy		Jesi	2	8/26/11	
Cuppa C	35-49	F	Canada	Ontario		3	5/7/14	5/2014
Dale L			USA	CO	Fort Collins	5	3/22/15	3/2015
DaveGarrett	35-49	M	USA	VA	Sterling	5	9/3/13	8/2013
davli4						5	4/12/12	

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
DC-drivin			USA	DC	Washington	5	2/2/12	
DeanMurphy2020	50-64	M	USA	FL	Orlando	4	9/14/14	5/2014
Debra_Shalom			Barbados		Bridgetown	5	7/31/12	7/2012
Deezee59		F	USA	NY	New York City	5	6/19/15	6/2015
denisetheartist	50-64	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	5/16/15	
Dgtl1	50-64	M	USA	NC	Durham	4	6/22/14	5/2014
diggadoo	65+		Kosovo		Pristina	5	10/18/12	10/2012
Dimitri S	50-64	M	Belgium		Brussels	5	4/4/15	4/2015
DocZ03	35-49	M	USA	NE	Omaha	4	7/12/12	3/2012
Donna M	50-64	F	USA	NY	New Windsor	4	4/6/15	4/2015
Doug B			USA	MD	Bel Air	4	1/22/14	3/2013
dpjp88		F	USA	TX	Dallas	4	10/29/12	10/2012
duffa101		M	United Kingdom		Oxford	5	7/30/13	7/2013
duke_katie	25-34	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	2/15/15	1/2015
eatprayloveall			USA	GA	Atlanta	5	1/2/13	12/2012
EBfromDC						5	9/6/12	8/2012
Edgar T	65+	M	Colombia		Fusagasuga	4	11/22/12	11/2012
Edmundo80	25-34	M	Argentina		Buenos Aires	5	5/5/15	5/2015
Elaine B						5	3/25/15	3/2015
ElaineAndGreg (1st review)	50-64	M	USA	OH	Chesterland	4	6/1/13	5/2013
ElaineAndGreg (2nd review)	50-64	M	USA	OH	Chesterland	4	6/23/15	6/2015
Elchape	25-34	M	Argentina		Buenos Aires	4	4/25/12	4/2012
Ellie B						3	7/12/14	7/2014
ElusiveJ	35-49	M	USA	DC	Washington	5	1/15/13	1/2013
eric j			USA	WI	Kenosha	2	4/24/14	

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
Erica_Lauteri	25-34	F	Italy		Rimini	3	9/16/13	9/2013
EspacioArte			Argentina		Cordoba	5	3/21/09	
ewilkens		F	USA	MO	St. Louis		5/2/12	2/2012
FamilyFunDC	35-49		Israel		Tel Aviv	4	7/31/12	7/2012
Feenixwest						3	7/1/14	7/14
Fjtf	35-49	M	Brazil	Santa Catarina	Chapeco	5	11/30/13	11/2013
Flawanderingwo(…)			USA	FL	Ponte Vedra	5	12/22/12	
Francie L			USA	DC	Washington	2	2/18/13	9/2012
Fraser5150			United Kingdom		Edinburgh	5	11/23/14	11/2014
gaby n			Israel		Gan Yavne	1	6/23/15	6/2015
Gail S			USA	PA	Dingmans Ferry	4	10/15/14	10/2014
G-anneS			USA	NC	Durham	5	11/25/12	11/2012
GB4ever	50-64	F	USA	MA	Great Barrington	5	12/4/13	11/2013
gclites			USA	DC	Washington	4	5/27/13	9/2012
Giac0min0	50-64	M	USA	DC	Washington	5	4/15/13	4/2013
Ginbudjim		M	USA	FL	Marco Island	1	5/19/14	4/2014
Glenn D	50-64	M	USA	VA	Alexandria	5	3/17/12	
GlennM56	50-64	M	USA	NY		5	7/18/12	7/2012
GMBelle						5	4/2/13	1/2013
goldenrosy	35-49	F	USA	PA	Lock Haven	4	7/31/13	7/2013
gpsme	50-64	F	USA	MD	Silver Spring	4	8/16/12	5/2012
g-raterr						3	6/20/13	6/2013
HansFamily			USA	TX		5	8/2/12	7/2012
hask74	50-64	M	France		Annemasse	5	2/23/15	2/2015
HeidrunH	35-49	F	Iceland		Kopavogur	5	8/10/13	8/2013
helamen						1	12/29/12	

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
HelenaGuerra	35-49	F	USA	DC	Washington	4	8/5/12	8/2012
Hendersongal	35-49	F	USA	NV	Henderson	5	6/8/12	5/2012
HighlandMaryland	50-64	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	5/23/12	9/2011
hiltonpeople2		M	USA	OH	Parma	5	7/27/09	
hipyogachic	50-64	F	USA	SC	Hilton Head Island	4	6/28/13	6/2013
Hodges4422			USA	WI	Greenfield	5	5/29/13	5/2013
Hosakin	35-49	M	Japan		Fukuoka	2	7/22/11	7/2011
Hsphoser36			USA	TX	El Paso	4	9/7/14	
inHim555			USA	MD	Montgomery Village	5	10/31/12	
Ipo1		F	USA	NY	New York City	5	12/1/12	11/2012
ispeakfoodtooblogger	25-34	F	USA			5	7/26/13	7/2013
J0yLady			USA	IA	Des Moines	3	4/20/14	4/2014
jabberwockies	35-49		USA	LA	Mandeville	5	7/9/12	
Jack Yuken	50-64	M				5	11/1/11	10/2011
James R			USA	VA	Centreville	5	3/10/13	
Jan_from_Atlanta	65+	M	USA	GA	Atlanta	4	11/6/12	
JasKalBrn			USA	DC	Washington	4	12/12/12	12/2012
jax848			USA	FL	Jacksonville Beach	5	12/2/12	12/2012
Jean G			Turkey		Istanbul	5	1/27/13	
Jean L			USA	NJ	Newton	5	3/19/15	3/2015
JeffS_Toronto	35-49	M	Canada		Mississauga	5	8/4/13	
jegnm	50-64	M	USA	NM	Corrales	5	4/14/13	4/2013
jehenson81						4	1/18/13	6/2012
jenabaindelhi						5	11/19/12	6/2012
Jennifer S			USA	MD	Chevy Chase	4	11/12/12	

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
JenniferJ			USA	NY	Rochester	3	6/4/15	5/2015
JeriTx			USA	TX	Dallas	4	9/22/11	9/2011
Jim L		M	USA	CA	Costa Mesa	2	5/20/14	4/2014
Jlew_Jersey	35-49	F	USA	NJ	South Jersey	5	4/11/13	4/2013
JoBoLasher			Canada	Alberta	Edmonton	5	1/23/13	10/2012
Joesad13	50-64	M	USA	NJ	Wallington	5	5/26/15	
Joestuffsda	65+	M	USA	TX	McKinney	5	4/8/13	1/2013
John P			USA	MI	Detroit	5	3/16/14	3/2014
johnhey			South Africa		Cape Town	5	5/26/15	
johnwGA	50-64	M	USA	GA		4	3/28/13	3/2013
Jos V			Belgium		Antwerp	4	9/17/12	9/2012
Joseph O	50-64	M	USA	PA	Tyrone	2	9/10/12	12/2011
JoshIndy	35-49	M	USA	IN	Indianapolis	5	2/9/12	
Judith D		F	USA	DC	Washington	5	7/29/13	
Julieth Z						5	12/30/13	12/2013
kasejason	25-34	M	USA	IL	Chicago	4	10/28/12	10/2012
kasey1945			USA	IL	Glenview	4	5/31/14	5/2014
Kathy_R-Philly	35-49	F	USA	NJ		5	7/10/13	7/2013
Ken_N_SF		M	USA	CA	San Francisco	5	7/24/12	7/2012
KeukaLover		M	USA	NC	Charlotte	4	5/23/13	5/2013
KevinB						5	5/28/15	
KGB777			Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	5	6/5/15	5/2015
KNDC3		F	USA	DC	Washington	2	3/1/12	
kt1952			USA	NJ		4	5/28/12	4/2012
L J M	25-34	F	USA	FL	Miami Beach	5	6/2/14	4/2014
LaBanane926	25-34	F	USA	OH		5	10/2/11	5/2011

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
LadyWestminster			USA	VA	Norfolk	4	6/4/12	10/2011
LCD425			USA	CA	San Mateo	2	4/27/14	
LCP640						3	4/18/15	4/2015
legalbeagle1						5	11/16/12	
Leo M			USA	NY	New York City	5	5/28/13	5/2013
Leonore1005		F	USA	DC	Washington	5	4/15/14	4/2014
LeslieRMH	50-64	F	USA	MA	Northborough	5	6/13/12	6/2012
Linda C			USA	MI	Royal Oak	5	2/20/13	2/2013
litprom	65+	M	Germany		Frankfurt	5	1/28/14	1/2014
LolaGo1		F	USA	DC	Washington	3	7/9/14	7/2014
LolaVonZeplin		F	USA	NY	Brooklyn	4	6/29/14	6/2014
LorenaMP	25-34	F	USA	DC	Washington	4	2/3/12	
Lwombat			USA	MD	Glenn Dale	5	7/6/12	
lynnita30			USA	NY	New York City	5	3/27/12	
M B			USA	DE	Newark	2	1/20/12	1/2012
M D		M	USA	OH	Cleveland	5	10/1/11	12/2010
M H	50-64	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	10/31/14	10/2014
MadEater						5	7/24/14	4/2014
malarkeyjane			USA	TN	Nashville	4	6/15/15	8/2014
Marchu50	35-49	F	Argentina		Buenos Aires	4	10/26/13	9/2013
MarkWorld		M	USA	MD	Laurel	5	12/10/11	11/2011
marQ_Qram						3	3/24/15	3/2015
Martin H	50-64	M	Switzerland		Bern	5	10/16/12	
Martin V			United Kingdom		London	3	8/2/14	6/2014
mathildac237		F	USA	MD	Rockville	5	2/6/13	1/2013
Melissa H	25-34	F	USA	IN	Indianapolis	4	4/12/13	

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
MenglembuMag			USA	NY		2	8/30/12	8/2012
Mesa9	35-49	F	USA	NM	Albuquerque	5	5/21/15	
Mfred			USA	DC	Washington	5	6/3/15	
Michael M	65+	M	USA	NM	Taos	5	3/19/15	3/2015
MichelleC10			USA	GA	Atlanta	4	3/20/13	5/2012
middle_aged_mo[…]		M	USA	MO	Kansas City	5	7/14/12	7/2012
ML0101			USA	CT	Suffield	4	6/15/15	6/2015
mlh273	25-34	M	USA	VA	Arlington	4	8/4/11	8/2011
MoJo T			USA	MO	Wildwood	2	3/24/13	3/2013
MollyToast			Canada	Ottawa		5	3/26/14	3/2014
Moment-of-truth		F	Australia		Melbourne	3	4/11/12	4/2012
moynihana						4	4/15/13	4/2013
MrM1001			USA	DC	Washington	4	8/24/12	
mspups	50-64	F	USA	CA	San Diego	5	9/13/14	7/2014
Mwiz			USA	VT	Montpelier	5	10/25/12	10/2012
NAFTAflyer	35-49		USA	DC	Washington	5	1/1/12	
Nathaniel C			Canada	British Columbia	Victoria	5	8/25/12	
Nikki S			USA	IL	Chicago	4	5/12/15	
NittanyLion70			USA	NJ	Somers Point	5	6/14/15	6/15
NJB1165		F	USA	NY	Brooklyn	4	11/20/12	11/2012
njgaInva			USA	VA	Manassas	5	2/4/13	
nlatkinson			USA	MD	Takoma Park	5	3/27/12	
nolik			Israel		Nahariya	5	4/25/13	4/2013
nonamesforme		F	USA	MN	Minneapolis	5	4/22/12	4/2012
NoOneSpecial12						3	2/19/13	2/2013
Nora K		F	USA	CA	Shingle Springs	3	6/19/14	5/2014
npolachek	25-34	M	USA	NY	New York City	5	1/2/13	1/2013

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
Nsnishi			Brazil		Rio de Janeiro	5	6/29/13	6/2013
Nursely	50-64	F	USA	MD		5	12/24/11	
NVDesertRat						4	1/3/13	6/2012
Nwlivin	35-49	F	USA	OR	Portland	2	12/12/13	12/2013
nyusual	35-49	M	USA	MA	Boston	4	12/23/11	11/2011
Oliver S			USA	NY	New York City	3	4/28/15	4/2015
Openfj0re						2	1/4/15	
P1313	65+	M	USA	CO	Boulder	4	2/3/15	12/2014
PADELIFE	25-34	F	Japan		Tokyo	5	9/29/13	9/2013
panster			USA	PA	Carlisle	3	10/8/14	9/2024
Patricebill1	35-49	F	USA	FL	St. Petersburg	5	5/21/13	5/2013
Pau R	25-34	F	Argentina		Buenos Aires	5	7/26/13	7/2013
Pdonatyandkids			USA	MA	Westborough	5	7/30/13	7/2013
PedroDC			USA	DC	Washington	4	5/16/14	4/2014
Pemblin	50-64	M	Thailand		Bangkok	5	6/8/12	6/2012
perennialtravel			USA	NY	Brooklyn	5	1/4/12	12/2011
Pericles Adonis M			Brazil	Santa Catarina	Blumenau	5	5/12/14	6/2013
PeterMR			USA	MA	Boston	5	5/26/13	5/2013
Phil D			USA	MD	Frederick	5	10/3/12	10/2012
Philip_Herring	35-49	M	USA	DC	Washington	4	10/24/12	5/2012
Philippos26						2	3/25/13	3/2013
Phykos	25-34	F	USA	NJ	Atlantic City	5	12/14/11	1/2011
PIL-1			USA	NJ	Cherry Hill	5	12/29/12	12/2012
Pixelpanderer		M	USA	IL	Chicago	5	3/3/15	3/2015
planktonrules	35-49	M	USA	FL	Bradenton	4	12/5/08	
Pnemiller	65+	M	USA	PA	Kutztown	5	8/27/13	8/2013
PriusGirlVA	35-49	F	USA	VA	Arlington	5	11/22/13	11/2013

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
punkiepam			USA	DC	Washington	5	6/7/15	7/2014
Qlever			USA	VA	Arlington	5	3/18/13	
R B			USA	HI	Honolulu	5	1/3/14	8/2013
R M			USA	DC	Washington	5	11/2/12	11/2012
raiderone	50-64	M	USA	NV	Las Vegas	5	10/15/09	
Ralph W			Canada		Toronto	3	3/4/13	3/2013
RatherBSkiin	50-64	M	USA	MA	Boston	5	6/21/12	6/2012
rdd02b						5	4/7/14	
rforte0531	25-34	F	USA	CT	Shelton	5	2/6/14	2/2014
rjfmkt	50-64	M	USA	NY	Rochester	3	6/27/13	6/2013
rlaneberg	25-34	M	USA	MS	Vicksburg	5	4/29/11	12/2010
Robin P			USA	MD	Elkridge	1	7/1/14	6/2014
RossOntario	35-49	F	Canada		Toronto	5	1/3/13	12/2012
rugby007	50-64	M	USA	VA	Alexandria	5	1/30/12	
ruthandvern	65+	F	USA	CA	Wilton	4	4/24/14	4/2014
SafirAlbastru	50-64	F	Romania		Iasi	4	10/15/12	11/2011
Sagiraffe	35-49	M	Canada	Alberta	Calgary	5	11/20/12	11/2012
sailingboat	50-64	F	USA	DC	Washington	4	1/12/14	6/2013
sandradinbigD						3	6/15/15	6/2015
Sara S						4	6/8/15	5/15
SCDad	50-64	M	USA	SC		4	7/13/12	6/2012
sciencesensei			USA	HI	Honolulu	5	9/14/14	7/2014
Scouternurse S	50-64	F	USA	NY	Rochester	3	7/19/12	4/2012
SeatOfMyPantsTra[…]	35-49	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	1/29/12	
shanebarnes1978	25-34	F	USA	FL	Milton	5	5/9/12	3/2012
sheshe2u			USA	VA	Richmond	5	7/8/12	7/2012
Shoshana H						5	3/10/15	3/2015

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
Shutterbug35	50-64	M	USA	VA	Fairfax	5	2/21/12	
Sigma1994	35-49	F	USA	VA		5	8/12/14	7/2014
Silasroy			USA	NY	Long Island	4	11/15/11	11/2011
silverliningtoday						3	7/8/13	7/2013
skgbos	35-49					1	12/28/13	12/2013
Somewhereelse	18-24	M	Germany		Frankfurt	5	8/1/12	8/2012
Stadiaguy	25-34	M	USA	VA	Charlottesville	4	12/20/11	12/2011
Stargatebabe	50-64	F	USA	VA		5	12/22/11	
Stefan S	50-64	M	Austria		Nueziders	4	4/8/14	4/2014
steve b			USA	MN	Saint Paul	4	10/2/12	9/2012
SteveDELIWEAR			USA	DE	Newark	5	12/23/12	12/2012
Stevio_1	35-49	M	USA	CA	Los Angeles	4	6/22/13	6/2013
stmandula	18-24	M	USA	FL	St. Petersburg	4	8/26/13	8/2013
StrayPup			USA	MD		4	6/22/12	10/2011
Suganthi M		F	India		Mumbai	5	6/18/15	5/2015
Superlegalbabe	25-34	F	USA	DC	Washington	4	1/13/13	12/2012
Susan S			USA	AZ	Paradise Valley	5	3/27/12	2/2012
SusannaRunner	35-49	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	6/3/12	5/2012
SusanWellington			New Zealand		Wellington	5	11/17/14	11/2014
svegor		F	Russia		St. Petersburg	4	2/8/12	10/2011
TacyL	35-49	F	USA	TX	Dayton	3	7/16/14	
TardisTraveler8						3	3/15/15	
TexasInd	50-64	M	USA	OH	Columbus	3	7/30/13	6/2013
texas-molly	65+	F	USA	TX	Nacogdoches	5	9/3/13	8/2013
The_Nath_Family	25-34	M	USA	GA	Atlanta	3	9/10/12	8/2012
Timothy R			USA	MO	Wentzville	4	4/7/15	4/2015

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
ting w	25-34	F	USA	FL	Miami	4	9/12/12	9/2012
ToddWebb	35-49	M	USA	MD	Rockville	3	4/19/12	10/2011
TolerantTraveler	50-64	F	USA	DC	Washington	5	6/1/13	8/2012
TonyK300	50-64	M	USA	NJ	Berkeley Heights	3	5/24/15	5/2014
TooPink			USA	MI	Kalamazoo	5	1/31/13	
travelak518						5	4/17/12	5/2011
travelchickconcierge	50-64	F	USA	VA	Winchester	5	7/26/12	6/2012
Traveler10531558			USA	FL	Jacksonville	4	5/29/14	5/2014
traveljules10	35-49	F	United Kingdom		Edinburgh	5	9/6/13	
TravelKBklyn			USA	NY	Brooklyn	4	7/8/13	7/2013
travellight47	65+	M	USA	OH		5	11/26/12	11/2012
Travelspirit			USA	FL		4	11/30/11	11/2011
Travis R	25-34	M	Canada	Alberta	Calgary	5	11/20/12	11/2012
travlintoots	50-64	F	USA			4	4/23/12	4/2012
trebor9			USA	RI		5	7/5/12	7/2012
trinigirlmd	35-49	F	USA	MD	Gaithersburg	4	12/23/11	
txtravellerwfamily			USA	TX	Austin	1	8/15/13	8/2013
uncaco			USA	TX	Houston	5	2/11/13	2/2013
Unique100	35-49	M	Japan		Tokyo	5	11/6/12	7/2012
イタリアかぶれ	35-49	F	Japan		Saitama	5	12/2/10	
まるん	35-49	F	Japan		Osaka	4	5/9/15	11/2014
Анастасия У	25-34	F	Russia		Gatchina	5	11/3/14	10/2014
Ursula_C_P			USA	DC	Washington	5	5/21/12	2/2012
USCanTraveller			Canada	Ontario	London	3	3/26/13	3/2013
vanilla g	25-34	F	USA	DC	Washington	4	10/10/13	8/2013
VATraveler2008			USA	VA		5	6/23/08	

Reviewer	Age	Gender	Country	State	City	Rating	Review Date	Date Visited
VelhoSorriso			USA	MI	Ann Arbor	5	11/6/12	
Viajerocnbueng[…]	25-34	F	USA	DC	Washington		3/17/13	3/2013
Vidhi S	25-34	F	USA	VA	Falls Church	4	6/23/15	2/2015
Vince C			USA	WA	Bellevue	3	9/13/13	
VirginiaSnoweater			USA	VA		3	6/30/11	6/2011
VovanD	50-64	M	Russia		Moscow	4	3/29/15	3/2015
VTJedi	25-34	M	USA	VA		4	6/3/14	6/2014
WashingtonDCM[…]	65+	F	USA	DC	Washington	3	7/24/12	8/2011
WhirldWind	50-64	M	USA			4	9/22/13	9/2013
WhiskyWizard	50-64	M	Canada		Kawartha Lakes	3	4/12/14	4/2014
WhitO5214	25-34	F	USA	DC	Washington	2	5/19/15	
WorkFamilyFun	50-64	M	USA	VA	Ashburn	5	6/19/12	
Zaknafein	25-34	M	USA	PA	Philadelphia	2	3/7/10	

Table 3. TripAdvisor Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by U.S. State, District, or Territory of Residence

State/District/Territory*	Number of Reviews	Average Rating (Scale from 1-5)	Population Ranking (U.S. Census Bureau 2013)
Alabama	0	n/a	23
Alaska	0	n/a	48
Arizona	3	4.7	15
Arkansas	0	n/a	32
California	8	3.4	1
Colorado	4	4.8	22
Connecticut	4	4.3	29
Delaware	2	3.5	45
District of Columbia	37	4.3	n/a
Florida	14	4.2	3
Georgia	5	4	8
Hawaii	2	5	40
Idaho	1	5	39
Illinois	7	3.9	5
Indiana	3	4.7	16
Iowa	1	3	30
Kansas	0	n/a	34
Kentucky	0	n/a	26
Louisiana	2	5	25
Maine	0	n/a	41
Maryland	18	4.3	19
Massachusetts	7	4.9	14
Michigan	6	4.7	10
Minnesota	3	3.3	21
Mississippi	1	5	31
Missouri	5	3.5	18
Montana	0	n/a	44
Nebraska	1	4	37
Nevada	3	3.7	35
New Hampshire	0	n/a	42
New Jersey	12	4.2	11
New Mexico	3	5	36
New York	20	4.2	4
North Carolina	3	4.3	9
North Dakota	0	n/a	47

TripAdvisor Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by U.S. State, District, or Territory of Residence, *continued*

State/District/Territory*	Number of Reviews	Average Rating (Scale from 1-5)	Population Ranking (U.S. Census Bureau 2013)
Ohio	8	4.5	7
Oklahoma	0	n/a	28
Oregon	1	2	27
Pennsylvania	9	3.9	6
Puerto Rico	1	5	n/a
Rhode Island	1	5	43
South Carolina	3	3.3	24
South Dakota	0	n/a	46
Tennessee	1	4	17
Texas	9	4	2
Utah	0	n/a	33
Vermont	1	5	49
Virginia	29	4.3	12
Washington	1	3	13
West Virginia	0	n/a	38
Wisconsin	2	3.5	20
Wyoming	0	n/a	50

Source: Author's analysis of TripAdvisor data.
* Not all reviewers provided state/district/territory of residence data.

Table 4. TripAdvisor Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by Country of Residence

Country*	Number of Reviews	Average Rating (1-5)
United States	247	4.2
Canada	15	4.3
United Kingdom	6	4.5
Japan	6	4.2
Argentina	5	4.6
Brazil	3	5
Russia	3	4.3
Israel	3	3.3
Germany	2	5
Belgium	2	4.5
Australia	2	4
Italy	2	2.5
Barbados	1	5
China	1	5
France	1	5
Iceland	1	5
India	1	5
Kosovo	1	5
New Zealand	1	5
Singapore	1	5
South Africa	1	5
Switzerland	1	5
Thailand	1	5
Turkey	1	5
Austria	1	4
Colombia	1	4
Romania	1	4
Iran	1	3
Mauritius	1	3

Source: Author's analysis of TripAdvisor data.
* Not all reviewers provided country of residence data.

Table 5. TripAdvisor Reviews/Ratings of the Hirshhorn by Age and Gender

Age and Gender*	Number of Reviews	Average Rating (Scale from 1-5)
65+	14	4.5
male	11	4.6
female	3	4
50-64	54	4.4
male	34	4.4
female	20	4.6
35-49	54	4.2
male	21	4.2
female	28	4.3
25-34	35	4.3
male	14	4.2
female	21	4.4
18-24	5	4.4
male	3	4.7
female	2	4
Males, any age	94	4.3
Females, any age	92	4.3
Any gender, any age	348	4.2

Source: Author's analysis of TripAdvisor data.
* Not all reviewers provided gender and/or age data.

APPENDEX F: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT CODE BOOK

Codes Applied to Interview Transcript Data

access
acoustics
administrative building
aggressive
Air and Space
Aitken, Doug – "Song 1"
ambulatory
American history
anthropomorphic
approach - exterior
art - experience
art handling
beautiful/cool
Bourgeois, Louise - Spider
branding
brutalism
bubble
capital projects
castle
circulation
circulation - challenging
circulation - confusing
coffers
collection
communication
construction
creative use of building
crowds
curators
Dia:Beacon
dining
donut
drama
Donald W. Reynolds Center
dynamic
education
elegant
engagement
entry - frustrating/confusing
exhibitions
experience (unique)
Federal Aviation Administration - lights
floating
fun
functional/rational
gathering place
gender
gift shop
grandeur
great view
Guggenheim
heavy structure
heightens/changes mood
human scale
impersonal
inside-outside relationship
institutional knowledge
inviting
Kruger, Barbara - "Belief + Hope"
L'Enfant Plaza
limitations
local
location
maintenance
materiality
mission
modernism
monumental architecture
"my Hirshhorn"
mysterious
national mall
NGA
normal daily life
Office of Facilities, Engineering, and Operations (OFEO)
peaceful
penitentiary/fortress
playful
pleasant
polarizing

potential
prestige (for architect)
privacy
public buildings
public/private divide
quiet/peaceful
race/class
random visitors
regulation of space
renovation
restrooms
sacred/religious
safety
sculpturally exciting
seating
security
SI museums
sight lines
size - manageable
smell
social spaces
space
space - lacking
spatial division of staff
special (not)
special (potential)
special events
staff
staff interaction
staff/visitor experience
stark
storage
strange
stress
surprise/unexpected
technology/efficiency
temperature
transportation
treasure
ugly
uninviting
unique
uplifting
UPS truck
walking
wayfinding/signage
weather/seasonality
welcoming (not)
wildlife
work

Code Categories[55]

Feelings of (affects in) the Hirshhorn
Feelings in (embodiment in) the Hirshhorn
Feelings about (place identity of/comparisons to) the Hirshhorn
Relating the Hirshhorn to other buildings/places/people
Staff making the Hirshhorn building "work"
Hirshhorn's architecture as it relates to the museum's mission
Specific art/architectural installations

[55] Coded items were often placed into more than one of the listed categories.

APPENDEX G: TRIPADVISOR CODE BOOK

Codes Applied to TripAdvisor Review Data

Aitken, Doug – "Song 1"
architecture – description of
art – display of
art information – difficult to locate
café
circulation – poor
circulation – positive/neutral
coat room
comparison – other Mall museums
entrance
floorplan – misunderstood
fountain – Plaza
free of charge – glad
gift shop
Guggenheim – comparison
kids – good for
kids – not recommended for
Kruger, Barbara – "Belief + Hope"
Lerner Room
lighting
location – access
maintenance – good
maintenance – poor
National Gallery – compared to
National Gallery – confused with
overall impressions
pacing
people watching
photography – in the museum
ratio – space to art – approve
ratio – space to art – disapprove
regulation of space – security
renovations – gallery closures
restrooms
sculpture garden – description
sculpture garden – photography in
sculpture garden – prefer over museum
sculpture garden – seating
sculpture garden – weather/seasonality
seating – indoors
skip/don't visit – recommendation
staff – negative perception of
staff – positive perception of
tax dollars – sequestration
unexpected/hidden/overlooked
website
work – place to do

APPENDIX H: SELECTED INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT EXCERPTS

Introduction

These transcript excerpts are provided to document portions of conversations related to staff members' experiences of the Hirshhorn's built environment. These excerpts are too long to be embedded in the text of this study but are nonetheless important examples of the ways people conceptualize their relationships to the building. For all transcripts, Angela Person is the interviewer.

Participant 1M, Excerpt

Interviewer: You mentioned two exhibits that you felt were particularly effective in the Hirshhorn space. Can you tell me a little bit about why you feel they worked well?

Participant 1M: What did I say? Yves Klein and Warhol? Yeah. You're familiar with the Hirshhorn galleries, obviously. A few years ago, the spaces, I mean, I can show you, on [reaches for diagram] as, you know, the building is designed with just the only structural walls are on these four cores, and any other wall, here, you see these [indecipherable] walls. Technically our exhibition space does not require any walls other than the walls that surround these stairwells and elevator shaft, so the exhibition spaces are just wedges, wall-less wedges, and for both Yves Klein and Warhol, we actually eliminated most, if not all, you know a lot of exhibitions need temporary walls just to divide the space. For these exhibitions, we needed less of that. We also had some work a few years ago, where we had there are these little spur walls that were added sometime in the late '70s or '80s or maybe later, but they were removed and there were these little headers over these sort of what we call these core galleries. These small galleries, you know, behind the stairwell. We lifted the ceiling up to the height of the main gallery, so we cleared out the space. Yves Klein might have [indecipherable] been the first gallery after that renovation where you could really see these sight lines and where you really could experience these cores as part of the larger architectural space. So, having these big open spaces and, you know, Yves Klein's work, I don't know if you're familiar with it, is just these big, blue paintings, monochrome paintings. We had one work that was just a, sort of a sand trap of blue powder on the floor that we curved for maybe a third or a fourth of the length of this whole entire wedge gallery. So, you would just have these gigantic, you know, I can send you installation shots if you want, we had these great views of these very visually powerful, modernist works in this kind of, you know, iconic modernist space. [Indecipherable] and Yves Klein is all about space and his blue comes from the color of the sky and he's all about leaping into space, and you know, sort of elemental vision, and so that working in these kind of open spaces and this sort of, almost you know mysterious space,

too. It curves and you're not quite sure where you're going, you know, and that worked out well. Same kind of thing for Warhol Shadows. All that installation was a display of, I think it's, I forget the exact number, it might be 120, 100-and-something almost identical paintings by Andy Warhol. That they, they all just vary in, it's the same abstract shape, but the color and the shading just changes and he did 120-say-you know variations of the same shape. you know, each painting was 3-4 feet wide, and we just lined them up edge-to-edge abutting each other from the time you walked in the first gallery, again, these walls were gone [pointing to diagram], this wall was gone, these walls were gone, all you saw was a wedge-shaped gallery. All the way, it went ¾ of the way around and it was just a perfect, you know, a perfect display for our space. Those works are normally shown at the Dia Art Center in a square room where they sort of just go in a sort square "U," but you know in some ways Andy Warhol was thinking of these very serially, almost sort of cinematic, experience, right, you know, and so to not have that rectangle defining it, to have this more kind of organic curved shape, you know, I think the play of that unfolding of the artwork worked well with the space.

Interviewer: And then it would slowly reveal itself as you…

Participant 1M: And when it started it wasn't until you got to [pointing to diagram] since it ended about here, it wasn't until you got to about here, that you could actually see the end. So it was sort of this alternate, you know, space.

Interviewer: That's pretty amazing.

Participant 1M: We've had a lot of shows like that. We had a Hiroshi Sugimoto show actually before I started, and I can't remember the exact installation, but I remember being blown away by it. That was before I worked here so I don't have a good memory of that. But we have some works in our permanent collection that also, you know work very well in just these, in these spaces, we, uh, it's, it's one of the considerations we have when we actually acquire art is how, how it will look. I mean, it's not our primary consideration, of course, but it's something we always think about. "Wow, would this piece, does this piece need corners?" We don't really--It's hard for us to have corners. "Would this piece fill a big, unusually wedge-shaped gall-" Also, when we take traveling exhibitions, you know, "Will this exhibition work well in our space which is so idiosyncratic?" in terms of, you know, most museums have rectangular spaces.

Interviewer: Ok. What do you feel makes the Hirshhorn the "epitome of modern"?

Participant 1M: The fact that it's so, you know, an unadorned geometric, Brutalist building with no ornament. It's just exposed concrete. You know, its structure is self-evident. All of the, just the simplicity of it, that the inner hallway is here, the galleries are around there, there's one escalator, the building is defined by its courtyard. When you're in the galleries, you know where the courtyard is. That

sort of, you know, the rationalism. And what could be more modernist? <laughter> Right?

Interviewer: Yeah, I can see what you're saying. And you also mentioned that you would describe it as being "sculpturally interesting, but emotionally deadening" which I thought, I thought it was a really unique way to describe it. Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

Participant 1M: It's, I mean, it's an exciting building, you know, it all depends on if you're aesthetic is a Modernist one or not. For people who like Modernism, or, for people who just like architecture as architecture, I think it's an exciting building. I think the fact that you, you know, can walk under these sort of tunnels into space is, you know, it's like coming into the Pantheon in Rome. It's, you know, it's the first time you do it, which I can't remember for me, but I know, you know, it's a surprise. You know, obviously, it's an unusual space, this ring of round courtyard with no doors, just these dramatic, darks and lights and, the space between the columns. It's an interesting space. I find it particularly interesting under, not in the courtyard, but just sort of under the rim, you know when you walk on the lower, on the ground floor, through these piers, you know they've got the kind of almost, you know, anthropomorphic kind of body-like, you know, shape. They are these kind of gentle curves that to me lessen the severity of the building, because of these kind of graceful curves and these graceful coffers. And it's always, it's interesting, even in the summer, it's always cool under those spaces. It's shady, and the fountain's there, you know, so it's just a fun space with interesting views. You know, that said, you know, it's interesting we're right next to where the Arts and Industries Building, which is this, you know, Victorian jewel of colored bricks and they have a little garden with all kinds of flowers and a wrought iron fountain and, you know, so if you're more in the mood or have the taste for a more kind of conventional, you know, liveliness or—or—human—there's, this [the Hirshhorn] is, kind of sublime, but there's not a lot of warmth to it. Obviously, it's just concrete aggregate and glass, it works—it works both ways, if you're in kind of optimistic, expansive mood this building is enlightening. If you're stressed, or if you're in a bad mood, or if you're depressed, I don't think this building is going to offer any kind of human comfort in the way that, you know, the Arts and Industries building might. Or something like that.

Participant 5M, Excerpt

Interviewer: You mentioned that the building's compact circular design makes it easy for you to consult the artwork directly. How do you think that this would compare to a more rectilinear design?

Participant 5M: I have a terrible sense of direction, and I get lost in a lot of museums. I notice whenever I'm in, particularly, the East Building of the National Gallery, right across the Mall, I'll always want to walk all the way through an exhibition, really quickly, just to sort of get a scale for how big it is. And I always feel like I never know when I'm at the Hirshhorn on the second level, if I'm going to see a big show, I know that it will take up all or almost all of the second level. And I know roughly how big that is. I may still go through to see how things are placed […]. Now, I'm seeing, like just this morning, [redacted], who is the curator, [indecipherable] and I walked through twice just really quickly to pick out a place for a press preview. And, in a rectilinear space, I always feel like I don't know where a show is going to end. I don't know how long it is going to take. And the—the space is just I'm not like a lot of people in that I just don't have a very strong visual memory. I have a very strong visual response and I can articulate it very well. But my wife, for example, could probably draw you maps of museums that she hasn't been in in 25 years. I—I completely lack that ability. And I find rectilinear spaces more disorienting. Which is sort of strange, since they are the norm.

Interviewer: That's really fascinating.

Participant 5M: and then, also you know sometimes in the National Gallery, they have those angled spaces. You know, in the IM Pei building. And they never feel quite right to me. And here, I feel like in my office—my office isn't really big enough that I have a profound awareness of the circularity of the building. I mean, you can tell even in rooms as small as the men's restroom that, you know, there's a certain wedging going on. One wall is longer than the other. It's not a square room. It's almost more like a section of a cone, but with curved walls. And I find a lot of rectilinear spaces really maze-like. I feel like say if I'm in the West building of the National Gallery, I can get back in there and just not know, you know, where I'm gonna run out of space and it'll be blocked off. Or where it opens onto another place. And stuff like that.

Interviewer: Yeah, to this day, I don't know if I've made it through all of the Gallery, because I just can't picture, like—

Participant 5M: I'm pretty sure I have, and I can't tell you how many times I've been—

Interviewer: [laughs, indecipherable] … so I sympathize.

Participant 5M: I find the Hirshhorn's circularity and scale to be incredibly rational. To me. I I—I know that there's an outside ring we call the core galleries, there's an inside ring called the ambulatories, and if I see both of those, and see everything that's in there, then I've 'seen it.' Or, I know deliberately, you know, if I'm just seeing things in the core galleries and the ambulatory is not part of the main exhibition I'm seeing, that I haven't seen that. And then the lower level is small enough that I—even though that is all rectilinear on the lower level galleries— it's easy to know where you've been and that you haven't missed anything. I'll also admit that working here has probably—and actually learning the galleries, knowing their numbers, understanding the layout, you know that each on the second level and the third level you have, like the number 5 gallery is north-facing and big. And then, you have, on the west side, the 3, and on the east size, the 7. And then, the little ones in between are even numbered. Uh, just sort of having all of that in my head, it makes me comfortable. I like knowing that. I even have a little map of the third-level galleries all numbered up on my bulletin board. I just like knowing. I mean, stop me if I'm rambling too much, because I have a tendency to—

Interviewer: No—

Participant 5M: […] I like looking and re-looking and backtracking and comparing and going back and forth. And I like to think of the Hirshhorn as a laboratory for looking. You know, a lot of people don't like the sterility of the environment. I love it. a lot of people like house museums like the Phillips, because it is intimate. I like the laboratory for looking approach. That's where I feel at home and comfortable and able to do what I like to do when I look at art. And someone once made the comment […], but she was saying—I cannot remember the writer, sorry—but she was saying that one thing that was really nice about the curved galleries is that you never felt daunted by the prospect of everything that was laid out in front of you. You know, you get into some museums, and you just have like a straight shot right down, you know, doorway, doorway, doorway, and just like, "Oh, my God, there are that many rooms." And here, because the curve just puts sort of end points on—it's like this field of vision that moves with you. You can only look back so far, you can only look ahead so far, and then within that, you know, they may put up temporary walls that cause you to focus even more.

Interviewer: Yeah, that makes a lot of sense to me—

Participant 5M: Yeah it just seems to be right sized for paying close attention. which I really like. I'm—I'm someone who, if I rarely go to shows with other people, because I'm a really slow looker. And, where someone might spend like an hour to an hour and a half on a show, I may spend anywhere from 3 to 5 hours seeing the same amount of stuff. And I would rather see less stuff in depth than just sort of glance at everything, and the Hirshhorn is also a great place to see less stuff in depth. We don't try to do everything. But when we do the right things I think just there is an intimacy of scale to a show that fills up the second level that it—

it can seem both comprehensive and yet not sprawling. And there is a narrative of circularity that suggests that you can find your own way through it. And you can also cut cords across it, like if you decide you want to leave from, like, 203 and cut to 205, you know, through the ambulatory or something. Although I find that I like to remain in the world of the exhibition as I move through, so I would rarely do that. I would most likely go, you know, all the way around.