A PRACTICAL UTOPIA:
SOCIOLOGY, SOCIAL PRACTICE, AND THE METROPOLIS

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At the turn of the twentieth century, a Chicago-based architect named Dwight Perkins designed a prescient metropolitan plan for the American city that reimagined the polis as a terrain for sociological investigation and political activism. Perkins collaborated with social scientists affiliated with the University of Chicago to leverage design as a vehicle for social change. He argued that strategically placed, small-scale interventions – recreation centers, public schools, nature preserves – would ameliorate the devastating impact that unplanned growth had on the urban poor and advance democratic social ideals in a city disproportionately inhabited by immigrants and highly segregated by race, ethnicity, and wealth.[1]

Not only did Perkins pioneer in understanding the city as a heterogeneous collection of cultural groups, but the manner in which he visualized the city – its architectural representation – was itself mediated through the lens of the social sciences. He abandoned illusionistic rendering techniques and illustrated the city as a series of sociological data-maps that combined statistical facts on population density, disease transmission, mortality rates, and criminal activity with geographic projections of Chicago. Rationalizing the city in this way helped him to convince city officials to spend tax money on designing public spaces and amenities that would benefit all classes of society. To realize his ambitions, he tirelessly galvanized public support, lobbied politicians, served on municipal park and school boards, helped draft legislation, and even filed legal suits. Working for decades through public and private channels, Perkins slowly succeeded in realizing, at least to some degree, most of his environmental reforms.

Overlooked by histories of urban planning, Perkins's nascent social practice deserves attention precisely because it contributes to a critical reappraisal of the meanings and functions of cities. Mediating the city through sociology challenged traditional ''bricks and mortar'' urbanism that viewed the metropolis primarily as a physical entity because it took into consideration the social space of cities. His modest proposals, grass-roots activism, and diagrammatic renderings also challenged utopian visions that advanced provocative yet impractical urban transformations. Refusing to flatten the complexity of modern cities into either empirical facts or fictive ideals, Perkins opened up an actionable middle ground, a "practical utopia" that in its feasibility had transformative potential. Ultimately, his example helps us explore questions relevant to contemporary urbanism, such as the efficacy of research-based practices, the ambitions and limitations of community engagement, and the meanings of public space and democracy in cities today.

SHADOW URBANISMS: CHICAGO'S "OTHER" PLANS

Chicago was in a veritable state of emergency when Perkins published his metropolitan plan in 1905. Years of unprecedented and unplanned expansion had produced tremendous growth and profits, but also intractable class conflict, violent labor disputes, unspeakable living conditions, and political corruption. Little more than a frontier outpost in 1840, Chicago ruled an economic empire by 1890 that stretched

from the Ohio Valley to the Rocky Mountains, connecting the agricultural and ranching industries of the west with the commercial and manufacturing centers of the east. It dominated the nation's meat slaughtering and packing industries. A population explosion accompanied such extraordinary economic growth, as people poured into the city looking for jobs. The population in 1840 had been 4,500 people; by 1900 it was 1.7 million.[2] Compounding these challenges was a disproportionately high immigrant population. Foreign-born individuals or children of immigrants made up 77% of the population in 1900. Most were uneducated, unskilled laborers who worked primarily in industrial occupations.[3] By the turn of the century, Chicago was congested with industrial facilities spewing forth pollution and products alike and manned by an increasingly disgruntled labor force that together with widespread environmental degradation threatened democratic self-government in the eyes of many community organizers. Jane Addams, a pioneering social scientist and founder of Hull House settlement, spoke for many when she concluded that "the idea underlying our self-government breaks down" under such circumstances.[4]

Alarmed by the mounting social and environmental crisis and hoping to galvanize city officials into action, Perkins appropriated new statistical analysis techniques pioneered by social scientists at the University of Chicago to present compelling and irrefutable evidence of modern social calamities in his metropolitan plan. Superimposing data on population densities, rates of mortality, diphtheria, typhoid, and crime over Chicago's street grid, he created five oversized data-maps that served as his principle illustrations (Figures 1-3).[5] Combining demographic data with geographic projections allowed Perkins to demonstrate that crowded, poor communities lacking in schools, parks, and public space were also the most dangerous and unhealthy in the city. Data mapping enabled Perkins to prove a correlation between the built environment and social problems. His environmental determinism challenged nineteenth-century beliefs attributing poverty to individual failure and personal shortcomings.[6] It had a profound impact on modern architecture and urbanism because it suggested that improving the built environment could help resolve social problems.
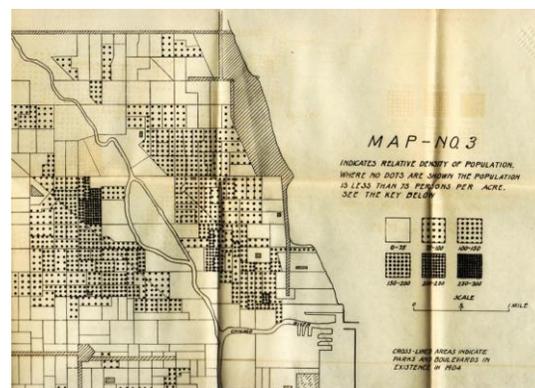

Figure 1: Dwight Perkins, data-map - population densities superimposed over transportation lines, street grid, and rivers.
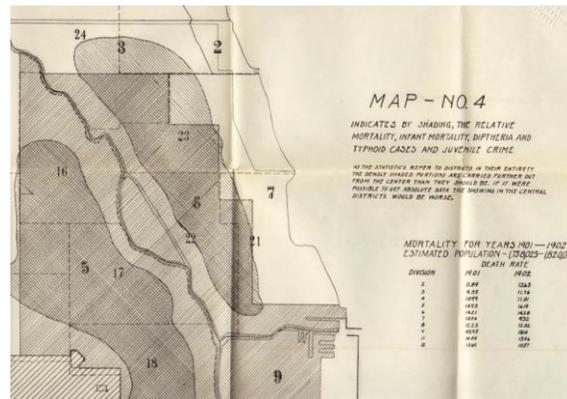
Figure 2: Dwight Perkins, data-map – combines projections of Chicago's street grid and existing park system with statistics on the relative rates of mortality, infant mortality, diphtheria, typhoid, and juvenile crime (indicated by hatching). It illustrates that the highest rates of disease, death, and delinquency occur in the crowded, industrial neighborhoods, which are also furthest from any parks.
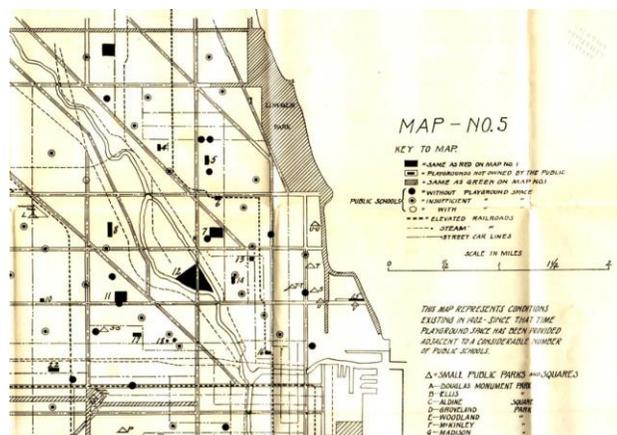

Figure 3: Dwight Perkins, data-map - overlays a map of public school playgrounds overtop Chicago's existing street grid, rail lines, and park system and then rates the playgrounds according to quality, ranging from non-existent to acceptable. Most schools lacked playgrounds and were distant from existing municipal parks. Train lines did not go to Lincoln Park, the nearest park to the manufacturing neighborhoods illustrated here.

The solution Perkins proposed was to gradually construct a network of modest community centers – recreation facilities, public schools, even a nature preserve – that together would improve public health, educate visitors, and facilitate social exchange, as well as safeguard natural environs as the metropolis expanded (Figure 4).[7] Dividing the city into four zones, he outlined specific steps for realizing his ambitions. For example, Perkins proposed to expand several existing parks and to conserve an outlying native prairie forest so visitors could hike trails, ride bicycles, picnic, and otherwise enjoy the outdoors. He suggested transforming vacant lots into playgrounds and clearing slums to construct community centers.[8] These facilities would contain a host of public spaces and services, such as libraries, gymnasiums, showers, meeting rooms, clean-milk dispensing stations, and organized athletics.[9] Their convenient neighborhood locations and onsite staff, together with evening and weekend hours, made it

easy for families, school children, and working adults alike to use the facilities. These centers would join with improved schools to create a geographically widespread network of neighborhood centers capable of advancing social democracy.[10]
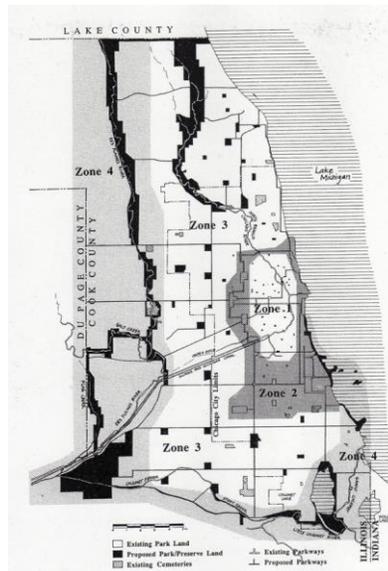

Figure 4: Dwight Perkins, Metropolitan System (1905) – sundry parks, playgrounds, and community centers created a network of public spaces to organize Chicago.

Two pioneering sociologists and political activists, Addams together with another named Charles Zueblin, had experimented with data mapping prior to Perkins, and they strongly informed his methodology and social politics. Perkins worked closely with both reformers through their mutual involvement in Chicago's settlement movement.[11] Social settlements were privately funded organizations that offered sundry assistance programs to underprivileged people, such as public lectures, continuing education classes, vocational training, legal counsel, childcare, athletic programs, and so on. They were not charities, however. Chicago settlements evolved in close connection with the new discipline of sociology then emerging at the University of Chicago. Sociologists considered them "a window into the sociology department" because they provided a base of operations from which to interact with the urban poor, investigate socio-urban phenomena, collect data, and experiment with solutions to social problems.[12] Settlements were, in some ways, sociological laboratories.

Social democracy was the ideological engine behind the movement. As the modern market economy evolved into a complex web of mutually dependent relationships, progressives came to understand that social relations were likewise reciprocal.[13] As Addams wrote, in a democratic country, no higher political or civic life can be achieved except through the masses of people, and so "the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain…until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into common life."[14] Driving these democratic ambitions were theories of social psychology espoused by John Dewey, also a professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago during these years. Social psychology conceptualized individuals as inherently social beings whose values were shaped by their environments. Challenging the liberal ideology that individuals were atomistic and purely self-interested, Dewey argued that men were inextricably grounded in social communities and therefore mutually

dependent.[15] Perkins matter-of-factly summarized such theories when he described his conception of community centers as based on the premise that "what is good for the whole is good for the individual, and vice versa."[16]

Addams spearheaded the first sociological investigation of a modern American city in collaboration with fellow activist Florence Kelley, which they published in 1895 as *Hull-House Maps and Papers*.[17] A collection of essays supplemented with factual census schedules and two multicolored maps depicting demographic data on the nineteenth ward in Chicago, the document was a bellwether of the increasing influence that sociology had on urbanism and politics. Hired by the United States Department of Labor in 1893 as Special Agent Expert in charge of Chicago, Kelley spent years collecting statistical data on the ward's national and ethnic composition, wages, occupations, and housing conditions, which she then combined with a street map of the district to draw conclusions about the relationships between ethnicity, environment, and poverty (Figure 5).[18] The introduction to *Maps and Papers* emphasizes the objectivity of the report. Kelley painstakingly surveyed every house, tenement, and room in the ward and then corroborated the data obtained by cross-referencing responses. For example, statements made by different workers in the same trade confirmed the accuracy of wages, unemployed seasons, and so forth. Described as a "photographic reproduction" of Chicago's slums, the authors insisted *Maps and Papers* simply presented actual conditions versus advancing theories, that their method of research was scientific and verifiable.[19] Complimenting the quantitative maps were qualitative essays, including one written by Zueblin, examining the cultural conditions of poverty in Chicago, such as sweat labor, slavish factory conditions, government corruption, and ethnic segregation.[20] Together the essays and maps were one of the first definitive statements of environmental determinism, holding the physical and cultural environment responsible for the poverty, degradation, isolation, and disease that plagued the underprivileged in Chicago. Today it is considered a pioneering sociological tract.
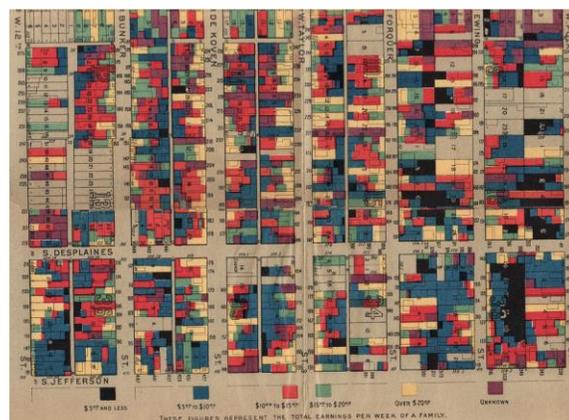

Figure 5: Florence Kelley and Jane Addams, Wage Map – example of data mapping from Hull-House Maps and Papers, 1895

Zueblin, more than Addams, advocated specific spatial solutions to the social predicaments described in *Maps and Papers*. In addition to teaching sociology at the University of Chicago and establishing a

settlement house there and at Northwestern University, both of which Perkins designed, Zueblin also was president of the American League for Civic Improvement, author of several books on city-beautiful planning, and cofounder of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Cities, for Zueblin, were preeminently democratic because they were collectives. To this end, he tirelessly lobbied for cities to build squares, parks, schools, and other civic centers – spaces where social democracy could be practiced. The public awareness and sense of mutual responsibility that characterized metropolitan life would foster a new civic spirit based on cooperation that, he believed, could ameliorate many of the injustices of the market revolution.[21] He advocated for small, neighborhood playgrounds more than any other civic space. In 1898 he published research in the *American Journal of Sociology* detailing statistics on public park access in Chicago that Perkins later reproduced verbatim in his metropolitan plan. Zueblin's analysis of population densities and park acreage proved that overcrowded, working-class neighborhoods suffered disproportionately from a lack of green space: 4,720 people to each acre of park space compared to 234 people per acre in affluent wards. A map of Chicago combining data on the locations of playgrounds and parks, population density, and railroads proved his point (Figure 6).[22]
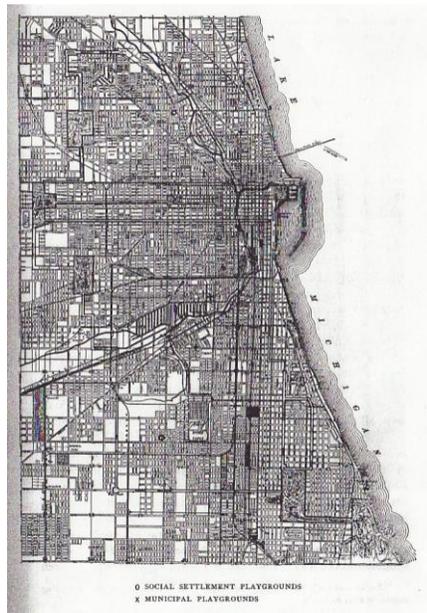

Figure 6: Charles Zueblin, 1898 Map of Chicago overlaying street grid, manufacturing zones,
transportation routes, and existing parks and playgrounds.

Centered on the seeming banalities of census data, statistical analysis, and quotidian spaces, what was radical about the urbanism advanced by Addams, Zueblin, and Perkins was their willingness to accept the existing conditions of the city and to advocate for local, piecemeal improvements over dramatic and total reorganizations. When Perkins mediated the metropolis through the social sciences, he challenged modernist planning paradigms based on comprehensive, tabula rasa approaches. In this context, a comparison to Chicago's most celebrated urban renewal scheme, Daniel Burnham's *1909 Plan of Chicago*, is instructive, because Burnham's approach is indicative of many modernist planners in that he envisioned a wholesale recreation of Chicago, which he illustrated in ways that aestheticized the metropolis more than grappled with its existing complexities.[23]

Burnham's ambitious project married grandiose neoclassical monuments with spacious, axial boulevards that recalled Baron Haussmann's reinvention of Paris four decades earlier. The lynchpin of Burnham's plan was a towering, domed civic center rising over forty stories, which he illustrated with an oversized folio drawing that unfolded to convey its imposing scale relative to its surroundings. Burnham spared no expense hiring seven gifted artists to design the illustrations for his plan. He even volunteered $10,000 of his personal money towards the color-printing expenses. The final product was impressive. The images plied viewers with fantasies of a unified, neoclassical cityscape punctuated by uncluttered, axial thoroughfares, grand civic centers, and formal gardens and plazas. Many of them are drawn from an aerial perspective so elevated that strolling pedestrians look more like swarming ants than men, traffic all but disappears, and the curvature of the earth is even visible (Figures 7-8).[24]
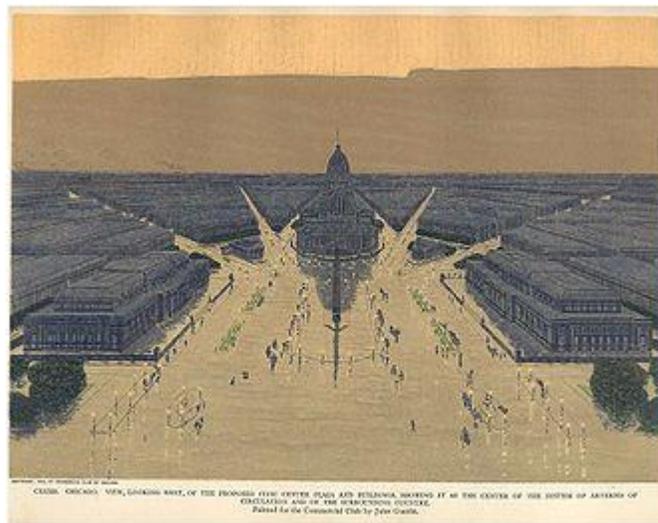

Figure 7: Daniel Burnham, 1909 Plan of Chicago - bird's eye view showing axial boulevards cutting through Chicago's downtown urban fabric, neoclassical backdrop of buildings, and a grand civic center ordering the plaza.

Figure 8: Daniel Burnham, 1909 Plan of Chicago -bird's eye view of proposed spacious boulevard

Perkins, on the other hand, visualized the city in purely diagrammatic terms – there are no images of architecture in his proposal. Juxtaposing the forms of representation used by the two architects to illustrate their plans reveals about their inimical strategies towards environmental reform. Burnham's illustrations, while stunning, are more suggestive than definitive. One of the most incongruous aspects of his architectural renderings was that they entirely ignored the modern commercial architecture pioneered in Chicago, such as skyscrapers and warehouses. Burnham flattened the actual variegated cityscape into an imaginary and uniform fabric that served mainly as a backdrop to grand neoclassical gestures. People are mostly missing from the illustrations, reduced to undifferentiated specks decorating an impersonal, vast cityscape. The approach is top-down, transforming Chicago into a tabula rasa for Burnham's creative imagination. The illustrations operate autonomously as art objects first and planning documents second, a characterization born out by the fact that each published copy of his plan was individually numbered as part of a "deluxe limited edition" akin to a fine art publication.[25]

When Perkins employed data-mapping techniques, which relied on scientifically obtained facts rather than imaginative drawings, he shifted the focus of his plan to the social realities of poverty, overcrowding, crime, social inequality, and disease that constituted the lived experience of the city for many people. Data-mapping had an additional advantage over picturesque rendering in that it allowed Perkins to translate subjective human suffering into a calculable science, which meant, at least in theory, that such misery could be ameliorated using rational means. Diagramming rather than drawing also meant that Perkins relinquished creative control over design specifics. Understanding that other architects would build his proposed neighborhood centers and that communities should have input into their design, Perkins's proposal was a framework rather than a blueprint. When he discussed the architecture of community centers in other contexts, he focused exclusively on their plans, not their exterior aesthetics, because it was their programming that was most important, not their style.[26] His networked system of redundant community centers lacked the drama of centrally located, monumentally conceived civic buildings. However, Perkins championed modest interventions over radical, visionary changes because they were feasible and encouraged broad participation by engaging local communities and ordinary people. His system was also flexible. A network organized around multiple, dispersed centers rather than a few centralized headquarters, his plan could accommodate future population growth. It could also be constructed in phases, one neighborhood center at a time. Such practical solutions together with the scientific character of his illustrations imparted an objective, rational quality to his project that helped him convince skeptical City Council members to act on his proposals. In short, Perkins's metropolitan plan read as empirical facts and actionable suggestions, not utopian dreams.

A PRACTICAL UTOPIA: TOWARDS A CONTEMPORARY URBANISM

The emergence in the 1980s of a neoliberal state predicated on free-market economic policies, deregulation, and excessive privatization of resources has created alarming levels of income inequality, social disparity, and xenophobia that recall the laissez faire conditions under which Perkins worked. The spatial manifestations of our contemporary cultural crisis would probably look familiar to him as well: the proliferation of spontaneous communities in developing countries, environmental destruction, and the atrophy of the public sphere, just to name a few. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is symmetry between the architectural and political strategies advanced today by designers such as Teddy Cruz, Elemental, and

Urban-Think Tank and Perkins's nascent social practice. All center on local community engagement, political activism, and discreet architectural interventions, working in the gap between moribund cultural institutions and the public to create a new civic imagination capable of not just making things, but of making things happen.[27] Though Perkins never executed the entirety of his metropolitan vision, he did realize significant portions of it. His strategies for doing so might offer poignant and replicable examples for how contemporary designers can realize social change.

Perkins advanced his cause by collecting data, working with nonprofits, organizing interest groups, lobbying government officials, and publishing pamphlets in ways that prefigure contemporary research-based practices and grass-roots activism. For example, in 1897 he collaborated with Zueblin to establish the Municipal Science Club, a civic organization that sponsored events, conducted environmental surveys, distributed leaflets, and generally pressured the Chicago City Council on issues related to environmental reform. He worked closely with Alderman William S. Jackson to convince city officials to establish a municipal department charged with constructing and maintaining playgrounds around the city. For several years he held official appointments designing schools for the Board of Education and recreation centers for the Lincoln Park District. He was also a nascent environmentalist, campaigning for years to preserve native prairie landscapes around Chicago as co-founder of the Prairie Club, president of the Northwest Park District, and chairman of the Forest Preserve Commission.[28] Acting through these civic entities over the course of twenty years, Perkins slowly succeeded in realizing many of the public spaces he had envisioned in 1905.

Perkins believed in the power of ordinary, private citizens to realize palpable changes to the status quo, to "do something" about the challenges confronting modern society. He advanced small-scale, piecemeal interventions because they were feasible, affordable, and less disruptive to communities. At the same time, he recognized the limitations of private philanthropy, arguing that truly public, tax-supported initiatives avoided the paternalistic nature of charity because they "derive their support and authority…from the people themselves."[29] So he lobbied politicians, drafted legislation, and otherwise worked to institutionalize progressive reforms at the state level, to make social change permanent. He understood that public spaces were the backbone of democratic society, and dedicated his architectural practice to creating them for all classes of people. Considering the reactionary postures prevalent today regarding security and surveillance, manifested in the proliferation of "privately owned public spaces" and gated communities, Perkins's trust in others and his optimism about the democratic process suggests a certain faith in public life that seems forgotten today.

This is not to say that his practice was an uncomplicated exercise in community building. Public protests, labor disputes, and insufficient funding delayed or impeded many of his projects. For example, local residents frequently opposed clearing slums to make way for parks or schools because it destroyed their homes and businesses, even if for a good cause.[30] Land speculators looking to maximize profits drove up real-estate prices when the city tried to purchase vacant lots for playgrounds or acquire undeveloped woodlands for public parks. But these struggles could also be read as the contentious, disputatious - one could say democratic - process of compromise that comes with an architectural process dedicated to social practice.

Perkins, in short, understood cities as contested social and political spaces as much as architectural ones. In doing so, he arguably sacrificed vision for contingent progress, but the sociological basis of his practice opened up an actionable middle ground, a "practical utopia" that in its feasibility had transformative potential. His omission from histories of modern urbanism could, perhaps, be regarded as a sign of his success – schools, playgrounds, and community centers are today considered so fundamental to modern cities that we take their existence for granted.

ENDNOTES

[1] Dwight Heald Perkins, *Report of the Special Park Commission to the City Council of Chicago on the Subject of a Metropolitan Park System*, Chicago Historical Society (compiled 1904, printed 1905).

[2] John Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1985), 2.

[3] Ibid, 2-3; David Nasaw, *Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 93. Unlike earlier waves of immigrants from Germany and Northern Europe, the majority of immigrants settling in Chicago after 1880 were from southern, eastern, and central Europe, dramatically altering the ethnic composition of the city and contributing to a perceived threat on the part of native-born Americans. These immigrants held 50% of jobs in the meatpacking, quarrying, woolen textiles, coal mining, and blast furnace industries and almost 70% of jobs in in copper mining, iron mining, and suit, cloak, and coat production.

[4] Jane Addams, "Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort Towards Social Democracy," Chicago Historical Society [1900?], n.p.

[5] The association of juvenile crime with biological disease should be noted, the implication being that Perkins and other progressives considered delinquency a sort of moral pathology that could be cured through physical intervention.

[6] Allen B. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlement and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1924* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press 1967; reprinted 1984), 16.

[7] Perkins, *Metropolitan Park System*, 54-55; Dwight H. Perkins and Howell Taylor, "The Functions and Plan-Types of Community Buildings," *The Architectural Record* 56, n.4 (October 1924): 289-302; see also Fiske Kimball, "The Social Center, Part III: Civic Enterprises," *The Architectural Record* (July 1919): 29-46.

[8] Perkins, *Metropolitan Park System*, 32; 64-71.

[9] Perkins and Taylor, "The Functions and Plan-Types of Community Buildings," 289-302; Kimball, "The Social Center, Part III: Civic Enterprises," 29-46.

[10] Public schools eventually eclipsed other types of community centers, such as playgrounds and settlements, as the preferred instrument for advancing progressive social politics, in part because attendance was mandatory. See Perkins, "The Purpose of School Buildings," draft of a speech read before the National Education Association, probably January 24, 1910, Perkins Papers, Box II, Folder 2; also Dwight Perkins, "School Buildings," Typescript, Chicago Historical Society.

[11] The Perkins family had established two settlement houses, one of which Perkins was a lifelong board member. He regularly attended lectures at Hull House, Chicago's first settlement founded by Addams, and the two corresponded for decades, with preserved letters ranging from 1897-1932. Perkins and Zueblin collaborated frequently on architectural and social projects, and Perkins designed the two settlement houses founded by Zueblin at the University of Chicago and Northwestern Settlement. They remained close friends their entire lives. See Eleanor Ellis Perkins, *Perkins of Chicago* (Evanston, Illinois: Self-published, 1966), 52-3, 89-90; Dwight H. Perkins, Architectural and Personal Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Box IV, Folders 6 and 11; *Jane Addams Papers*, Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago; and Typescript of Origins of Municipal Science Club, Perkins Papers, Box III, Folder 2.

[12] Albion Small, quoted in Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1988), 34-35; David, *Spearheads for Reform*, 79, 113. Albion Small was on the faculty of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. His interpretation of settlements as sociological laboratories was shared by many prominent social scientists and settlement leaders, including Graham Taylor, Robert Park, and Robert Woods.

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[13] Addams, "Effort Towards Social Democracy," 226.

[14] Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), 116.

[15] For an excellent account of the relationship between John Dewey's theories on social psychology, pragmatism, and progressive social politics, see James Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[16] Perkins and Taylor, 290.

[17] Residents of Hull House, eds. *Hull-House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing out of the Social Conditions* (Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1895).

[18] Deegan, 56, 58.

[19] Agnes Sinclaire Holbrook, "Map Notes and Comments," in *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, 11-14. The invocation of photography as a type of objective, data-recording method is significant because it reveals early attitudes towards the new medium, namely that photographs were scientific and objective because they were made with machines (cameras) and their prints were reproducible. In this way, photography seemed to have more in common with industry and mass production, operating beyond the subjective, artistic influence of the photographer in a way not possible in the fine arts of painting and sculpture. Muckraking photojournalists such as Jacob Riis seized upon the political potential of photography to document urban poverty in an effort to galvanize social change.

[20] For example, see: Charles Zueblin, " The Chicago Ghetto," Florence Kelley, "The Sweating System," Ellen Gates Starr, "Art and Labor," and Julia Lathrop, "The Cook County Charities," all in *Hull-House Maps and Papers*.

[21] Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 23-24, 27.

[22] Charles Zueblin, "Municipal Playgrounds in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology* 4, no.2 (September 1898): 145-158. Zueblin and Perkins were both part of a broad "play movement" that aimed to advance democratic social politics through neighborhood playgrounds, athletic competitions, and games that fostered a sense of cooperation among diverse children. See Henry S. Curtis, *The Play Movement and Its Significance* (Washington DC: McGrath Publishing Company with the National Recreation and Park Association, 1917); Luther H. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920); Joseph Lee, *Play in Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923); Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); and Benjamin McArthur, "The Chicago Playground Movement: A Neglected Feature of Social Justice," *Social Service Review* (September 1975): 376-393.

[23] Perkins certainly was aware of Burnham's urban-planning strategies. He worked for Burnham from 1888-1894 and managed Burnham's Chicago office while the latter was engaged coordinating the 1893 World's Fair. Though the aesthetics of Burnham's urbanism cohered around a nascent city beautiful movement predicated on neoclassical architecture and Beaux-Art planning ideals, his broad strategy – top-down, tabula rasa planning - was shared by many modern planners, such as Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright.

[24] Carl Smith, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 74, 90-91.

[25] Ibid., 85, 94.

[26] See Perkins and Taylor, "The Functions and Plan-Types of Community Buildings," 290.

[27] Teddy Cruz, "Democratizing Urbanization and The Search for a New Civic Imagination," in *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991-2011*, ed. Nato Thompson (New York and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Creative Time and MIT Press, 2012), p. 58. A growing contingent of architects has embraced design philosophies centered on "social practice" or "social consciousness" during the past decade as a response to the successful expansion of neoliberal politics. Their overlapping strategies encompass participation, community engagement, nonprofits, and local interventions. An outstanding example is the effort by Estudio Teddy Cruz to ameliorate the difficulties faced by Latino populations in San Diego and Tijuana, such as his Maquiladora project and work in San Ysidro, California. Recently activism has entered the museum, as institutions such as The Museum of Modern Art and the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum organize exhibitions focused on social praxis and even commission designers to advance new solutions for problems related to climate change, inadequate housing, and unplanned growth. See Nato Thompson, ed., *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991-2001*; Bryan Bell and Katie Wakeford, *Expanding Architecture: Design as Activism* (New York: Bellerophon Publications, 2008); *Small Scale, Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010); Barry Bergdoll and Reinhold Martin, eds., *Foreclosed: Rehousing the American Dream* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012); *Rising Currents: Projects for New York's Waterfront* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2011); Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, *Design for the Other 90%* (New York: The Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, 2007).

[28] Perkins was intimately involved with the creation of the Cook County Forest Preserve, spending years lobbying politicians and drafting legislation. See Jennifer Gray, "An Everyday Wilderness: Dwight Perkins and the Cook County Forest Preserve," *Future Anterior* 10.1 (Winter 2014); and Rebecca Retzlaff, "The Illinois Forest Preserve District Act

of 1913 and the emergence of metropolitan park planning in the USA," *Planning Perspectives* 25, no. 4 (October 2010): 433-455.
[29] Perkins and Taylor, "Functions and Plan-Types," 290.
[30] *1908 Annual Report of the Lincoln Park Commissioners*, 10; *Official Proceedings of the Lincoln Park Commissioners*, v. 7, August 1907-December 1910, 94 and 114.