

The Meaning of Place, House, and Community as an Appearance of a Tent Village in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington, Indiana

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Abstract

1990年8月2日イラク軍、クウェート侵攻が事実上開始され、1991年2月28日、アメリカ軍を中心とする多国籍軍とイラク軍の戦闘停止が宣言された。戦争それ事態の進行は終結し、この期間は「湾岸戦争」と一般に呼ばれている。アメリカ合衆国は軍事行動をほぼイラク軍側の動きに並行して開始し、事実上戦闘に入ったのは、1991年1月17日であった。

この論文は湾岸戦争それ自体を論じたものではなく、国家レベルの軍事行動が自国の一般大衆の生活にかかわる重大な出来事である際に、一般の人々が民衆レベルで反応し、その民衆の住む町の景観さえもいかに変貌させうるかを实地にフィールドワークしたものである。場所はアメリカ合衆国、インディアナ州、ブルーミングトン市で、このごちんまりとした町でアメリカの直接の軍事行動とほぼ呼応しながら、町の景観が変わっていったのである。具体的には、ブルーミングトン市のインディアナ通りと7番通りの一角にあるインディアナ大学の敷地内で、“Dunn Meadow” と呼ばれる空間に突如テント村が現れ（1991年1月9日）反戦運動の拠点となり同年3月8日に消滅したのである。緯度は38度にあり、日本の秋田県あたりに相当し内陸性の気候で、事実寒い冬であった。

調査はほぼ事件と同時進行的に進め、フィールドワーク並びにテント村に関わった人々とのインタビューを通してその共同体の起こりからその解体までを記録している。これを基に共同体の意味について、またこの新たに起こった新共同体とそれを取り囲むいわば旧共同体、及びそれぞれの共同体に関わった人々との関係について多角的に考察を試みた。他の町でも似たような動きがあったのであるが、ここブルーミングトン市の場合は成功した例であり、失敗した例は、同様のテント村が戦争支持派グループによって壊滅されている。それ故にこそ、この新共同体の起源、発展、解体のダイナミズムを「場所と人々と共同体」との関係に注目しつつ、その意味を「空間と場所」に力点を置きながら論じている。

[1] The visual image of the tent village in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington, Indiana

Dunn Meadow which is located at the corner of 7th street and Indiana Avenue is in a sense a mysterious place in Bloomington, Indiana, the United States. It is literally a meadow with a brook. When the weather is fine, people play about, even dogs run, and various kinds of events are opened, such as music concerts, meetings, festivals and so forth. Town and gown get together at that time. Dunn Meadow is a kind of good playground for people and animals. Usually it is an empty place. People just walk through this meadow. Although Dunn Meadow has a path through this place, it is not a busy one on campus. Let us look at a map (Appendix 1) which is a map of Bloomington, Indiana. Though it is difficult to find the location of Dunn Meadow, you will understand that of Indiana University in Bloomington. Appendix 2 is a map of Indiana University in which you can see the location of Dunn Meadow at the corner of Indiana Avenue and 7th Street as well. Dunn Meadow is located exactly between IU campus and downtown Bloomington, though Dunn Meadow in fact belongs to the side of IU campus. When you look at the map, one of the interesting areas might be the nine blocks among 10th street, 7th street, Indiana Avenue, and Woodlawn. On the one hand, other places on campus indicate strange contours of IU buildings and paths, on the other hand, only this area of the nine blocks shows a regular 'grid' in spite of which most buildings over there belong to Indiana University. This regularity of 'grid' indicates the characteristic of downtown and the rest of old Bloomington. In other words, these areas are supposed to have been part of downtown.

It would be still difficult to construct a concrete image of that place in your mind. Let us look at the third map (Appendix 3) which was made by Indiana Gas Company, Inc. on February 21, 1970 and is an aerial map. It has been reduced from the original size and cut off for conveniences' sake. It is clear that these nine blocks were part of downtown. Therefore, though at present Dunn Meadow belongs to Indiana University and Dunn Meadow, filling the role of people's place, abruptly appears to penetrate into the IU campus, Dunn Meadow would have been originally located between Indiana University and downtown as if it were a kind of buffer zone. Therefore, it has a potentiality to become a political place to bridge between Indiana University and downtown through various events. That is to say, Dunn Meadow has an accessibility for both the people related to Indiana University and the people in Bloomington. Hence, it is no wonder that there exists 'Genius Loci' (the Spirit of Place) which is introduced by Norberg-Schulz: "Genius Loci is a Roman concept. According to ancient Roman belief every *independent* being has its genius, its guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence." (Norberg-Schulz 1979: 18)

In such a peaceful place, a tent village suddenly appeared on January 9, 1991 and continued existing until March 8, 1991 and disappeared. It is unusual and moreover unique, probably even among other cities in the United States. Lewis says that all human landscape has cultural meaning, no matter how ordinary that landscape may be. And he mentions an interesting thing: "People will not change that landscape unless they are under very heavy pressure to do so. If there is a really major change in the look of the cultural landscape, then there is very likely a major change occurring in our national cultural one at the same time." (Lewis 1979: 12-15) What Lewis mentions happened exactly in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington. That is to say, there exists a definite co-relationship between the appearance

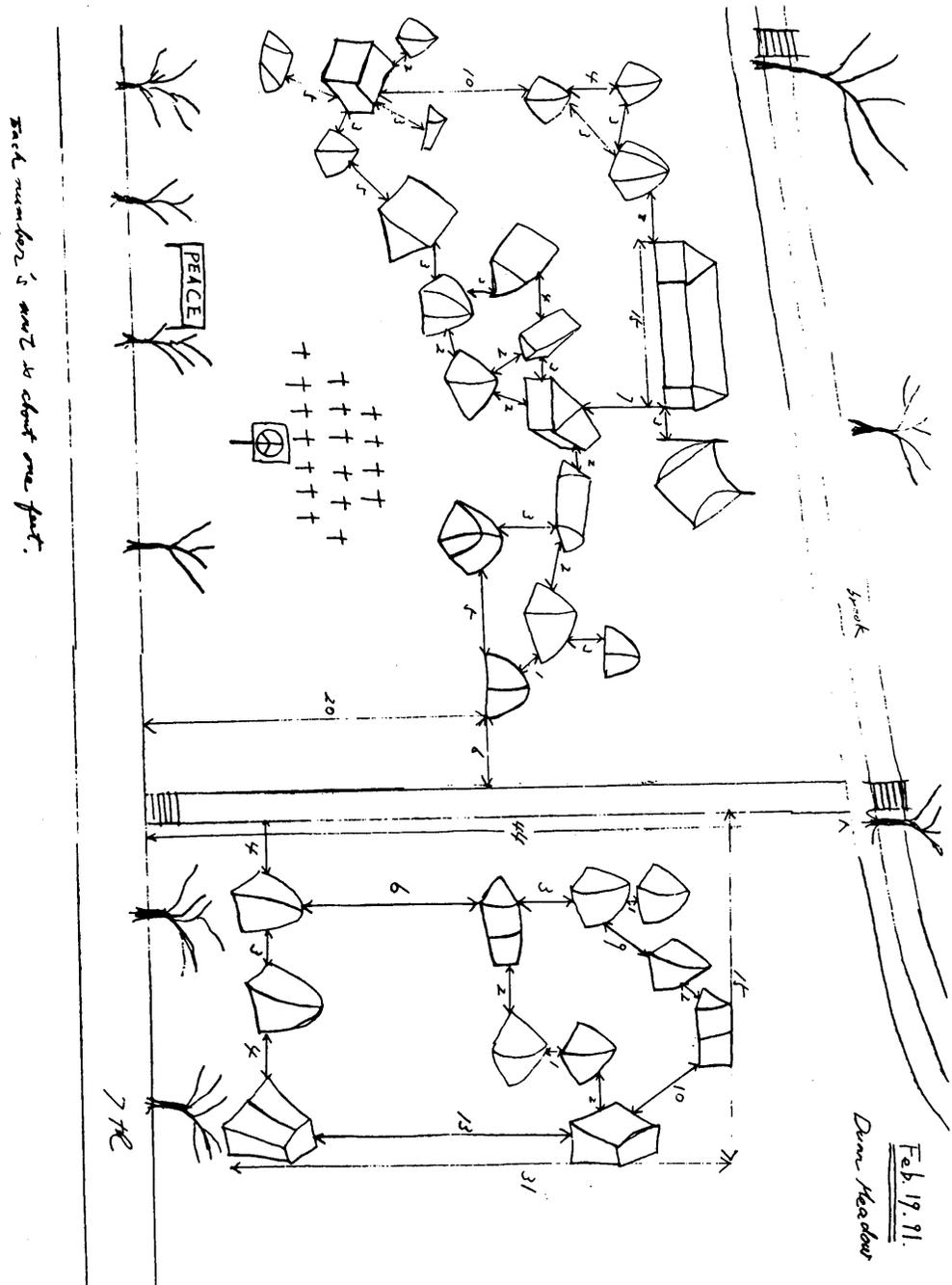


Figure 1.

of the tent village and the war between Iraq and the United States (from January 16, 1991 to March 7, 1991, although the war itself did not technically ceased, the military advancement stopped).

In this section I try to introduce the visual image of Dunn Meadow during that period. It is very difficult to transfer the visual image to other people by means of description. Therefore, I introduce various kinds of pictures which I took. But it is worth noting that the tent village had always been changing. In other words the tent village as a kind of building for dwelling was not stable but fluctuating in terms of the number of tents and their location, which is one of its most different aspects from ordinary houses. Anyway, people lived in the tents for about two months. Moreover, it was in winter.

First, I show a kind of visual map of the tents' village in Dunn Meadow on February 19, 1991 (Figure 1). I made this map by means of sketching and measuring during my fieldwork. The number of tents was 32 on that day. When you look at the aerial map (Appendix 3), you would get the more concrete location of the tents, that is to say, there existed the tent village almost at the middle of Dunn Meadow, but a little at the eastside of Dunn Meadow. The space which the tent village occupied is about two-fifths the size of one block in downtown. It is worth remembering that about four ordinary sized houses are supposed to be built in that space. The fourth map (Figure 1) indicates well their crowdedness. The function of the tents is mainly for sleeping, except the largest tent among them. The largest tent, people called it 'the main tent' played a role of an information center and a kind of guest house. Furthermore, only the main tent could serve a meal and had heating. Therefore, the people in the village tended to gather there, especially when the weather was bad, and also many kinds of people mainly and easily stopped by here, because it was open for 24 hours. According to my experience, you could meet at least several people over there at any time. Although each tent has the minimum function for dwelling in Dunn Meadow, the most important thing seems to be the visibleness as wholeness to the people in Bloomington. For it is a 'Peace Camp.' In fact the tent village was very visible in the city because of its crowdedness, unusual shape, smallness of the size of tents, strangeness of their color, different material as buildings in contrast with ordinary American buildings. It is true that they had vulnerabilities. In other words they had openness and little privacy.

Let us look at the pictures of the 'Peace Camp.' Figure 2 and Figure 3 show a certain image of the togetherness and its strangeness in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington. It is difficult to present the whole



Figure 2.
The image of the 'Peace Camp' and Dunn Meadow on Jan. 31, 1991.



Figure 3.
The image of the tent village in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington on Jan. 31, 1991.

scenery of Dunn Meadow, but these two pictures seem to convey to us a good image of its wholeness.

Figure 4 shows a concrete image of the tents in those days. There are various colors but their size is almost the size of human body only for sleeping. A large tent is not for one person but for two or three persons. The size is a big difference in contrast with other ordinary buildings in Bloomington. Another difference is the contour of the tents; the common contour is 'round.' That of ordinary buildings is 'square.' The contrast between them is clear. Though the tents have many kinds of colors, the brightness of the colors is characteristic in contrast with the colors of other buildings which are generally white.



Figure 4.
The characteristics of the tents: 'round,' 'size,' 'colors,' 'brightness,' and so on.



Figure 5.
The contrast between the tents and ordinary American houses.

The picture of Figure 5 especially presents striking contrast to the ordinary American houses in Bloomington. If you get used to the ordinary American houses as a place where a person dwells, these types of houses might give a kind of shock or might appear to play a joke on a person. Although the Peace Camp had disappeared after two months, the people who dwelt there indeed did not know when the war would stop. It is essentially different from an ordinary camping in a park or a mountain. For ordinary camping people have already planned how long to stay there. In the meaning of this point of view the tents' village was essentially strange and even unique.

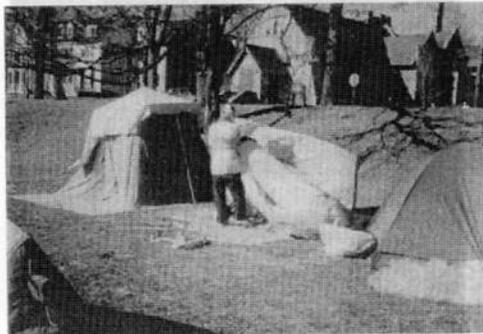


Figure 6.



Figure 7.

But the number of tents in Dunn Meadow always fluctuated. The two pictures of Figure 6 and Figure 7 show those kinds of sceneries. There was no regulation in the tent village. It was free whether

to build a new tent or to close a tent. But I noticed there existed a few kinds of regulations concerning dwelling there: no violence, no drugs, and no alcohol. It seemed to be a sort of consensus among the dwellers in Dunn Meadow.

I have introduced six pictures which were those of the landscape in Dunn Meadow without people except the last two. But the dwellers' activities were powerful enough to attract people who had never visited there. You could see their activities both outside of their tents and inside of especially the main tent, almost everyday. Figure 8 and Figure 9 show part of their activities.



Figure 8.
A close shot of the 'main tent' where people are gathering and playing music. (on Feb. 4, 1991)



Figure 9.
Phenix Eric Myers who is playing the drum in the center is the founder of the tent village. (on Feb. 4, 1991)

Everybody could use any kind of music instrument if he/she wanted to play. You did not need to be a good player. The very simple sound of percussion was their community's sound. By the way, the picture of Figure 9 indicates a man who has long hair with a purple T-shirt in the center of this picture. He is the first person who



Figure 10.
Making a banner for a rally and the tent village on a road in Dunn Meadow.



Figure 11.
A scenery of Dunn Meadow where town and gown get together before going out to a rally downtown.

appeared in Dunn Meadow with a kind of tent (not exactly a tent but a sort of vinyl sheet) on January 9, 1991. His name is Phenix Eric Myers. As I often visited there, I naturally got acquainted with him.

There were at least twice (sometimes once) a week a kind of public activity, that was, a rally, usually from Dunn Meadow to the Court House. Dunn Meadow became a festival place where people gathered. They were not only students but also various kinds of people from Bloomington, and even other cities. Kids also came over there. Though I attended several times, I had never heard the people yelling. Their activities were indeed peaceful and cheerful. The pictures of Figure 10 and Figure 11 show part of their official day.

At that time the dwellers also went out to the city with the people of the city. But even in other ordinary days the tent village offered a special place where people could enjoy and even become conscious about the meaning of the war. The pictures of Figure 12 and Figure 13 are that kind of thing, in which children suddenly appeared, walked around the tent village, took pictures and videos, and started to show an anti-war posture to the public.



Figure 12.
Children also get together in Dunn Meadow. White crosses stand behind the children.



Figure 13.
Children are taking a posture for peace to drivers and people walking on the 7th Street.

March 8, 1991 was the last day when the tent village was closed. I actually visited there twice both in the morning and in the afternoon. In the morning there were not many people, rather quiet as usual in Dunn Meadow. Although half of the tents had already disappeared, the whole landscape did not seem to be so much different as before. I was surprised that at that time I had had a certain fixed image of Dunn Meadow. In the afternoon, March 8, my fixed image of Dunn Meadow was broken in front of me. First of all I was really surprised at the number of the people who gathered to look at or attend the final kind of ceremony of Dunn Meadow. The last tent was the so-called 'main tent.' After people closed all of tents except the 'main tent,' people (about 50) played music, danced, chattered, and hung about in Dunn Meadow. The ceremony started in the main tent at about 3 : 30. Everybody made a circle holding hands and shoulders. Several people read their own poems about Dunn Meadow, the tent village and peace. Some people started to cry. Then, we sang several songs (although I did not know any songs at all, each song must have been popular among people because everybody sang nicely). Finally everybody helped to close the main tent. (Figure 14 and Figure 15)



Figure 14.

The last scenery of the 'main tent' just before closing the tent on March 9, 1991.



Figure 15.

Two people are holding up the closed tent, while other people are watching it around the place of the 'main tent.'

People began to play music and dance again, some people lay on the used blankets of which there existed many, as if they were a small hill, and chattered until dusk. I asked quite a few people about what they felt now. Many people gave me a very similar answer, that was, the feeling which is "happiness" and "sadness" mixed together. The last pictures will convey a special atmospheres to us, especially when we contrast the pictures of Figure 16 and Figure 17 with other pictures.



Figure 16.

A completely packed tent after the last ceremony, which was used as the 'main tent.'



Figure 17.

The site of the tent village in Dunn Meadow on March 9, 1991.

The contrast between dry grass and green grass recalls to me the image of Gestalt between 'figure' and 'ground.' The site of the tent village will not remain at all, as would ordinary houses which might have a possibility to become a kind of archaeological site in the future. But Dunn Meadow itself should remember the tent village because Dunn Meadow itself should remember the tent village because Dunn Meadow ought to have 'Genius Loci.'

[2] The voice of the people who dwelt in Dunn Meadow

The Genesis of the tent village

In this section I introduce the voice of the people who dwelt in Dunn Meadow. In fact I interviewed

several people in their tent village. I think it is better to listen to the first person who started to dwell in Dunn Meadow. His name is Phoenix Eric Myers. He was 24 years old at that time. On February 19, 1991, when he got up around 10 a.m. in the main tent, by chance I visited there and interviewed him. We had already known each other because I had visited there again and again, and I also had asked him to have an interview with him. It was a fine day, so that several dwellers opened up the main tent. I could sit on a blanket and started to listen to Phoenix. I asked him "Why did you come here?"

Phoenix began to respond to my question. "I started because Bloomington had been my home off and on for the last seven years." "I know a lot of good people here in town and I just couldn't believe the blatant lies, manipulation that the American government was doing in the situation and it being not too hard to find in the media if you just looked around a little bit, that people weren't more upset than what they were. It didn't bother them any more than that." "And my reaction was I felt like I had to do something, you know." "And I'm not a violent person, so I don't think blowing up a building would be the right idea and I felt like if there's this many good people in town who believe the war, is time to ask some questions and hopefully wake them up, get them to start thinking, and those who I didn't know about to start thinking and at least, I was hoping to spark the people's minds in town, so I came out here with a few banners, not saying a blatant position or some left-wing position, but leaving it pretty centralized, asking questions, thoughts to ponder on and kind of come up with what they meant for each person, where they stood." "That was my hope and it worked pretty well."

Takashi: "When did you come here?"

Phoenix answered me soon. "January 9th."

Takashi: "Why did you choose here?"

Phoenix said to me. "Because like it or not, in America you don't have free expression, we don't have the ability to express ourselves anywhere and, . . . and universities are one of the few places left in the United States where you have some semblance of free expression available to you and your right to do that is protected and Dunn Meadow was set aside back in the 1970s or late 60s, for that purpose, as a place for students to express themselves, their views fully, whatever they may be, so I took advantage of that fact since I am a student to set up down here and also you know to have the protection of the police which is a good thing to have."

Then, he started to talk about protesting the Vietnam War in Dunn Meadow for while. I asked him, "Did you experience that?" Phoenix said, "No, I didn't experience that one and, and in no way am I trying to make some reminiscence of the 60s." "I think the 60s had their place and it was definitely a wonderful first stepping stone with movement and for the evolution of people into a better race, a better species, standing up and saying "No," fighting is stupid, and I think that was the first stepping stone and I'll say the same to George Bush." "It would be another Vietnam anti-war protest . . ."

As I had especially missed the situation of the first stage of the tent village in Dunn Meadow, I asked about it to Phoenix. "Since you came here, what's happened?" Phoenix responded rather quickly. "Well, I came here expecting to, really I had in mind that I would be sitting here for two weeks by myself." "And Jesse, my . . . he showed up in about the first couple of hours and he joined me." "From there it just kind of . . ." "The first night we had two people, me and Jesse sleeping on a piece of 4x4 plywood in the rain and the second night it was four people, the third night it was eight. The fourth night it was seventeen. The fifth night it was 37, I believe, . . . 34. And it just kept going

taking off from there.” “I mean people, it was nice to see that maybe I was the spark that allowed people to come out and say “Yeah,” this is how I feel, that we’re not as helpless as we feel.” “That was the important thing that I think everybody in this community felt very helpless, felt like this was just too big of a monster to even go up against and we still run into that but at least we are trying to make some attempt at it, saying we won’t go along with your plan . . .”

S. Elizabeth Michnay was in Dunn Meadow on February 20. We sat together on a small bench. She was 19 years old. She talked to me about a scene of the Genesis of the tent village.

Takashi: “How did you find him (Phoenix)?”

Elizabeth: “Well, actually I was just wandering around campus and I saw his little shelter and I came over and just talked to him and said “Hey, this is pretty cool.”

Takashi: “What was he doing here when you found him?”

Elizabeth: “He was freezing in the rain. And he was out here with one other person, I think it was Jesse, but I’m not sure. And it was raining, and he was just talking to people and he said that there was going to be a dinner tonight and you should come out if you’d like, so I did. And Here I remained.”

It is clear that Dunn Meadow was the place where people expressed their views during the civil right movement in the 1960s, and protested the Vietnam War in the 1970s. Phoenix remembered them clearly and noticed the meaning of the place of Dunn Meadow when the war occurred between Iraq and the United States in 1991. Phoenix acutely resonated with the place of Dunn Meadow, that was, the Genius Loci of Dunn Meadow. Being resonating with the Genius Loci, people who were inspired by Phoenix started to get together around him in Dunn Meadow. Then, a tent village was created by the people. The appearance of the tent village was a new phenomenon which had never happened. I happened to be there as a graduate student and happened to get an assignment to do a fieldwork in a class exactly at that time. There was a sort of coincidence here. Otherwise, I would not have left any record about the tent village at all. I was rather naturally involved in that event in Dunn Meadow. It was a cold winter. But I decided to start the fieldwork by myself.

A vigil: a characteristic of the tent village

Kevin Williams, who was one of the longest dwellers in Dunn Meadow, was 25 years old at that time. I interviewed him in his tent on February 19.

Kevin: “It was the Saturday before the 15th. Something like that. I can’t remember.”

Takashi: “Then did you build a tent?”

Kevin: “Yeah. I did. Like the next day.”

Takashi: “How many people were there in this place? Do you remember?”

Kevin: “It seems like maybe ten, or fifteen, something like that? And everybody was in one big tarp tent, big huge thing.”

Takashi: “What did you do . . . organized well?”

Kevin: “Pretty much it was as a vigil. Just to be.”

Takashi: “At that time, what did you do?”

Kevin: “You mean, what did I do when I came here?”

Takashi: "Yes."

Kevin: "Just existed with the other people who were here. It was at night. There was nothing to do besides like music, or listen to music, stay out."

Jack W. Hackler who came to Dunn Meadow on January 23 is not a student but a citizen from the west side of Bloomington (N. Adams). By the way, he had known me before I introduced myself to him. Jack told me, "I remember you because I read that newspaper before." He is 21 years old. I met him in the main tent on February 22 in the midnight (After 12 p.m.). In fact at that night I came back to my room around 2 a.m.. During my interview three other men remained outside. Jack and I talked more than one hour. About one hour later, those people returned to the main tent because it was cold outside. The tent became noisy again, so that we stopped talking.

Jack: "Basically what I do here is to get restaurant jobs and as many those who work here have jobs, are college kids. I basically fill in between those hours so there's at least somebody here taking care of the camp, meeting people who come in asking questions and everything, so I'm mainly here almost the whole day."

Takashi: "Almost?"

Jack: "Every once in a while, when there's enough people here, I go to the Library or something for just a little rest and relaxation, but mainly I just fill in for basically during the daytime when everybody's in school or at their job."

Takashi: "After midnight, how long are you going to stay tonight? Are you going to sleep here?"

Jack: "Specific tonight?"

Takashi "Yes, . . . I mean, . . . everyday."

Jack: ". . . I'm basically gonna stay here as long as possible. I also try to keep the torch vigil going, because a lot of people are going home to take care of their jobs, their school classes and a few people are left here to take care of the torch vigil and also keep watching after the camp."

A remained person: "But you pretty much stay in the nighttime too here."

Jack: "I'm pretty much here at least the majority of the time."

Takashi: "How many people like you are working here? Except for students?"

Jack: "Except the students and those who had jobs, there's at least maybe four to five people who fill in between those people who take shift turns. We have what we call burn out. We just constantly in camp. Because get away every once in a while as we can. That way we just don't get burn out."

The people gathered here

Phoenix: "Well, as people today going by say we're all hippies and you know, that's the same rhetoric they got from the sixties. They remember those pictures of back then, which they, I think they remember wrong. Hippies were the group that stood up for us but it was collaboration of all sorts of people back then and it's the same now. You have everything from punks to sorority people, you know, jocks to long hairs. And in my opinion you're truly free if you understand the meaning of being free. You don't look at people's hair, you don't look at their dress to decide who they are and in my point of view it's just showing right where they are. They're still racist bigots when they turn around and look at somebody and say you are a hippie, you know. You know, are oriental and you know,

there's just no need for all the people . . . look a little deeper than that. That's what I hope they will do. If they start looking deeper, maybe they'll realize the war is stupid. Self destructive."

Let us listen to Jack because it better to listen to different people.

Jack: "We've had people from different countries come down here at three or four o'clock in the morning to talk and we was more than willing to talk not matter what they had to say. We have people from different parts of the world come down. We even had a couple from Hungary come down and they was willing to talk, but I think the reason it went from very few people to the point that it has is because we're more willing to talk to people . . . certain category, because people immediately associated the camp with hippies, but what they really don't know is some of these aren't hippies, a lot of the college kids who are willing to give up their college careers just to prove a point and it's not easy calling your parents to tell them you give up college just to camp out because you may be giving up your life if your parents get hold of you. Because that's a lot of money down the drain. I mean, dancers, actors, singers, doctors, musicians, I mean it's all walks of life that come through here. It is. Different countries, different walks of life, I mean, it's amazing sometimes but the hecklers that come by . . . associated with hippies and communism but because . . . given both sides of the story because the media kind of downgrades our side in saying we burned flags and everything, but if the media would actually come down here and do a legitimate interview with everyone, then the public would really know what our side is."

Dwelling in Dunn Meadow

Elizabeth: "Well, usually I go to bed pretty late so I get up about 11 : 30 or 12 : 00, depending on if someone comes and wakes me up or not, because I tend to sleep through anything, but sometimes I'll stay up and go home and sleep or whatever and you get up and you just sort of hang out and talk to people, usually in the afternoon I'll go home and study and eat lunch and do those sort of fun things, like take showers and then in the everything, after my classes are done and go to whatever meetings we have to go to or rallies or whatever, I'll just end up back here talking to people and, but when I leave here, I don't stop talking to people. At the bus stop waiting for a bus, I'll say how do you feel about the war? And strike up those kind of conversations just to bring a little of Dunn Meadow I guess with me and try and talk to people about it and see how they feel and tell them how I feel and maybe start them thinking hopefully, but it's really like a 24 hours thing. Even when I'm not here, I'm kind of acting like I was. If they don't come to me, I'll go to them sort of thing."

Takashi: "The weather is so serious and cold. What did you think about that when you're freezing?" Elizabeth: "What am I doing?" "I've never ever gone camping before, never slept outside and for the beginning time when we started the shelter set up, that's where I would sleep when I slept, in the tent. It's a lot warmer in a tent than it is in a shelter, pretty breezy in there, the snow would fall on me when I was asleep and it was pretty crazy, but you know, it's like the people in Saudi Arabia, they're suffering for maybe something they don't believe in. And I thought the meadow was a good idea and I think it's a good place and I'm very thankful that Phoenix set it up and that he started it. And I think it's worth suffering for to stay here."

Takashi: "To share a suffering experience is like . . . a sense of a community in this meadow?"

Elizabeth: "Yeah, cause when you do go to sleep, like you're really close to people all the time, like there's people who come and put blankets over you when you're asleep, like it really is a community here. People just caring for each other. People just taking care of each other . . . pretty much make you go home so that you can like . . . rest up and get better but it's really wonderful."

Takashi: "What is the main difference between living in that kind of ordinary house and to live in this kind of camp or tent?"

Elizabeth: ". . . Spending a lot of time in there. Oh, my gosh!!" "Well, It's like when you're in your house, you're so much separate from everything and when you're down in the community like this in the Meadow, where there's people all around you most of the time, it's like you escaped. It's like out there, when you're in your own little dorm room or in your own little house or something, you know it's easy not to flip on the TV or not to see any signs of war. Down here you're constantly thinking about it and you're constantly surrounded by people and I like this much better. Even though I do think about the war a lot, I love to be around the people. I don't know if I can even explain it. I guess it is a community. maybe I've never been a part of a community before, and that's why I'm so fascinating with this one."

Kevin: "We sleep together, we eat together. We're like a small community within the larger community that is Bloomington. There are other communities that lots of people stay here and have jobs . . . places have smaller communities, other smaller communities among friends outside of here and any situation where people are together daily has to be thought of as a community and since many of us are here together everyday."

Takashi: "What is the most important activity to keep close relationship of community?"

Kevin: "I think it's work. Some other people would differ with me. To keep this place in good order, there's a certain amount of work that has to be done. Things as simple as dishes and firewood to put in the fire."

Takashi: "When the weather is cold, sometimes rainy and windy, is living here . . . comfortable?"

Kevin: "Yeah, but the weather is a part of the life, in that respect. It's just like rolling over in bed, it makes it colder. That's a good thing. We've somehow gotten the idea that they've separate from what they call nature. It's not the case. They're in nature. We are nature."

Takashi: "I think that's true."

Kevin: "So we need to learn to enjoy nature, the weather, whatever, instead of learning to overcome it or compete with it. So the cold is a good thing. I don't know if you're ever climbed out of a tent on a cold morning and stretched and taken a deep breath but it's really a good feeling. It's a form of bonding and each of us wakes up cold every morning so we share that in common."

Takashi: "Common experience."

Kevin: "Like yesterday all of us woke up wet. We shared that in common."

Amber Y. Pichett is 21 years old. I met her in Dunn Meadow on February 20. Though she had stayed in Dunn Meadow for two weeks, she often visited the tent village. She also talked about the cold weather when she was in Dunn Meadow.

Amber: "It's very cold down here. When you're sleeping down here in the cold, your body is tensed

up, you're tensed up emotionally. Your body doesn't have the ability to move, you know, your blood crystallizes and your muscle tissue. You get crampy, it's cold. You know, we have, there's plenty of food here. There's a lot of stress because of what's happening. When you go home, you're warm, you're comfortable, you can stretch, you can take a bath, you can, you know, relieve yourself, you can do whatever you want. Here, you know, if you're got to use the restroom, it's not always convenient to go walk a good distance to get to a restroom, that you can use and you know, it comes down to convenience sake. You know. If you're sitting out here, it's not easy to write politicians. I mean, because the conditions aren't as good. You don't have the organization that you have at home. There's a lot of things that people are sacrificing to come down here and those who stay and do something, I just have so much admiration for because it's not easy to live down here, especially in this weather."

Jack mentioned their dwelling in Dunn Meadow from his different point of view. "Well, the main activity besides basic collage classes is that we try to get community togetherness thing where twice a week we invite the community to come down and share their views, have food, have like a cookout, and just music, fun, games, just have a good old time, just like a family reunion, and otherwise we just basically keep the camp clean and do any kind of work that needs to be done, like we fix the tents, or patching holes in the roofs, or like that. But we mainly also keep watch after the tents to make sure none of them blows away in strong winds and people don't vandalize anything. Because we've had tents to start blowing away in the winds and we have people come down and just steal things right off the tents so we try to keep watch as much as possible but main activity-wise, we just try to get the community to come down and actually see the camp for itself and talk to the people and find out what they're actually like, instead of stereotyping them and the camp."

The hecklers

The appearance of the tent village in Dunn Meadow seemed to give a kind of image: "strangeness" to people in Bloomington. Moreover, the characteristic of the tent village is a peace camp which means the anti-war community. Therefore, my respondents (all of them) often referred to the hecklers.

Phoenix: "The administration has been pretty good communication, I think, you know, not that they're so for what we're doing. They're just scared of taking the position against. Because once they've done that, they've put themselves in a condition where they're taking a bias and that's very hard for them to do. And I also think that they understand that there's a lot of emotion here and if they can keep up somewhat calmed down by giving us our place in the meadow, you know, without us attacking university facilities and so forth, then they're fine."

Phoenix: "Attacking from pro-war side is very definite. We feel that every hour. It's been pretty mellow. I'm surprised that we haven't heard any obscenities so far."

Takashi: "What kind?"

Phoenix: "Oh, the usual. The most prevalent word is "Fuck." "Fuck our ass." "Fuck you." "Fuck off and die." You know. And that's about the level of communication they're on. Just about the level of mentality, too. So, you know, they're just about in tune with our government, as far as intelligence goes."

Takashi: "What do you do?"

Phoenix: "Well, our stance is non-violence and peaceful protest so we don't hate them. If they want to hate us that's their prerogative, so we'll turn around and wave to them and say peace. And to them, that's more frustrating than anything. You know, a person can deal with, if a guy hits someone in the face, he can deal with hitting them back. He knows how to respond to that. If you hit someone in the face, they turn around and go peace, man, they are confused. They don't know how to deal with that. It makes them confused. They have to start thinking. That's what we're doing."

Elizabeth vividly talked of her experience. "One . . . gave that was about the most depressing thing I think I've ever seen. We just stood hand in hand around the camp and I just cried because they were yelling the national anthem at us and they were yelling sort of patriotic things at us and they weren't understanding what they were saying. They weren't thinking and it was just incredibly sad to see that many people who'd rather sit there and shoot bottle rockets at us and throw things at us than actually come and talk to us and be real people, that they were completely unable to do that and they were completely unable to think for themselves. That was really upsetting."

Jack mentioned his analytical point of view about the hecklers. "I can't really say exactly from the heckler's side. I can just give my opinion of it. But basically it's the verbal abuse . . . the community that we're trying to get to, like what age group of the community we've trying to get to. Because at least 85-90% of the hecklers have been college kids and that's what we're trying to get to first off is the college kids themselves, because this is why we haven't had too many problems . . ."

Kevin also referred to the hecklers. "There are those who oppose the war but think that some violent revolution of the state or the economy is the solution of the problem." ". . . I think that the people who believe in a non-violent kind of revolution have to show that that can work, at least locally. By having non-violent demonstrations and by not yelling at people who yell at us. An example would be people who are pro-violence."

It was interesting for me that the male dwellers in Dunn Meadow tend to rather talk rationally about their experiences. On the other hand the female dwellers tended to much more talk vividly about their experiences, though they were calm. Amber started to dwell in Dunn Meadow having experience encountering the pro-war supporters. "I started the night before January 15th. Would have been January 14th, was here when we had the big confrontation, if you can call it a confrontation, when the pro-war supporters came down here, was here that night. I was really scared to death. I really thought that they were going to just charge the camp and really hurt some people. We were lucky that it didn't happen."

The supporters

Although the tent village in Dunn Meadow looks strange and even isolated in Bloomington, the fact that the tent village continued in Dunn Meadow from the beginning of the war between Iraq and the United States until the end of the war indicates that there existed supporters of the tent village. Let us listen to the voice of the dwellers in Dunn Meadow.

Phoenix: "I suppose it would be to . . . be the core of the community here which would be about 50 people which are very involved in this. Then outside of that there's a larger community with us and the committee we've got. It's more loose. We're more into the spiritual side. But we are very interested in the organizational side. We see that it's very important so we're a bigger community. Then, we have the Bloomington community. We get a lot of support from people out in the community who give us food and so forth and so that's even a larger community and you know, we're hoping it will just all kind of, all keep growing."

As I am studying Bloomington, from when I began to study the tent village I was interested in the relationship between the people in Bloomington and the existence of the tent village. Jack explained it in terms of this point.

Jack: "I think we've come a long way since the 60s period because back in the 60s we had people stop in here and say they could not even do this back then because they would be arrested and everything. I believe we have come a long way and the community support we've got is surprising really. A lot of them are from the 60s era and they just come here and say we're doing a good job and they wish they were able to do the same thing that we did in the 60s. And we're had a lot of support and of course we're had the hecklers, too, but that just comes with the territory but a lot of the hecklers are many people who go out just shoot for sport, just to shoot something. But we've invited a lot of people down to the camp to talk to them and a lot of people have come down."

Jack: "Well, the tent community itself is basic family community and the people here get along with each other in the tent, respect each other. We try to help everybody else out in any way we can . . . There have been people who donated huge portions of what you see around you. I mean, we have firewood donated and a lot of the food's been donated . . . praised us for being able to do this, for having the courage to do it. And from people from the 60's who say, well, they couldn't do it then and we've doing it now so they're just giving us their support. And there's also many family members who are glad we're doing this to show that we do support their kids and we want to see them back home because they'll just get killed for just oil."

Jack continued his talking which was worth listening to him.

Jack: "A lot of citizens from Bloomington itself have come here. Some have been for and some against but overall they do have a sense of admiration for us because we're out here willing to get sick and everything just to prove a point and a lot of people are surprised that we're still here, because a couple people have come up to me and asked me, wasn't the deadline last week or something? And I say, well, we got extended and they was quite surprised at that."

Jack mentioned another support.

Jack: "Coming from the University standpoint, but the University itself is like between a rock and a hard place, too, because we also got the support of several representatives and senators and stuff. So the University wants to try to do what they can not make any kind of confrontation."

[3] The meaning of the tent village in Dunn Meadow

A tent which is an independent dwelling place in Dunn Meadow is essentially different from an ordinary house in the modern American society. Though Bachelard is French, he considers 'the house' as the center of relaxation, comfort, and coziness. That is to say, Bachelard recognizes the main function of 'the house' as protection from the world outside. (Bachelard 1958) But as we have already looked at the situation of the tent village in Dunn Meadow, a tent does not have that kind of function at all. It is indeed fragile as a building for living and easily influenced by both nature and society. In other words, a tent has a vulnerability. Practically speaking, tent is used for the purpose of staying in a short time. Moreover, it is usual that staying in a tent should be well planned, especially in terms of the length of stay. Although the tent village disappeared after two months, the people in the village did not have any idea when the war would cease. It can be said that the people in the tent village did not stay. They dwelt in Dunn Meadow, though some people might have planned the length of their stay over there. In fact the number of tents in Dunn Meadow was always changing. But I think the fact that the tent village continued until the end of the war is important.

The scantiness of the function of protection of a tent means lack of privacy. Therefore, the people in Dunn Meadow naturally seem to have organized as a group. I think it is better to consider it not as 'a tent' but as 'tents,' that is, the tent village in Dunn Meadow.

In the tent village group cohesiveness appears to be a characteristic because of it having a vulnerability and a scantiness of function of protection. Privacy disappears and group cohesiveness appears. This must have been a fresh experience to the dwellers in the tent village. In fact the American houses usually are well protected and the concept of privacy is explicitly reflected to the buildings. Furthermore, a common ideology of America is individualism. As Jack says, ". . . the tent community itself is basic family community and the people here get along with each other in the tent, respect each other. We try to help everybody else out in any way we can . . ." What Jack describes as the characteristic of the tent village is similar to what Tuan says, ". . . the cooperation necessary to survival becomes a good in itself, a desirable way of life. Units of mutual help achieve strong identities that can persist long after the urgencies that called them into existence have passed." (Tuan 1982: 19) Elizabeth's statement helps to understand the difference between living in an ordinary house and living in the tent village. "Well, it's like when you're in your house, you're so much separate from everything and when you're down in the community like this in the Meadow, where there's people all around you most of the time, it's like you escaped." "Down here you're constantly thinking about it (war) and you're constantly surrounded by people and I like this much better." "I guess it is a community. Maybe I've never been a part of a community before, and that's why I'm so fascinated with this one." Elizabeth describes differently the characteristic of the tent village. "There are some people, when I have questions, that I would go to, like I would go to Phoenix or Jesse. They basically started it and they know a lot more than I do and they are sort of my teachers." "In order for me to help other people and get them thinking, I need to learn a lot myself. Basically you can go to anyone in this camp and you know, you know what's going on and they'll know." "And so there's really basically not one main leader. It's sort of like a group. Yeah, everybody's sort of equal down here. And it's great."

This inside characteristic in the tent village, that is, group cohesiveness appears to the outside as its

landscape in Dunn Meadow. Walmsley presents three criteria of landscape: (1) *unity* which refers to the quality of wholeness, (2) *vividness*: the quality which gives landscape distinction and makes it striking, and (3) *variety*: visual complexity vs. simplicity, chaos vs. order, ambiguity vs. clarity, etc. (Walmsley 1988: 72-73) When you recall the section one of this paper, in spite of the new phenomenon not only in Dunn Meadow but also in Bloomington, the tent village has clear composition as landscape in terms of unity, vividness and variety. This landscape indeed forms striking contrast to the ordinary landscape in Bloomington. This contrast itself seems to be exactly what the dwellers wanted because the people in Bloomington cannot help starting to think the meaning of the tent village. Norberg-Schulz says, "In general, identification means to experience a *total* environment as meaningful." "Within such a totality, however, certain things necessarily stand forth as particularly significant, or, in Gestalt terms, as *figures* on a less structured ground." (Norberg-Schulz 1984: 15) Gestalt terms; *figures* on a less structured ground can apply to the contrast between the landscape of Dunn Meadow and that of Bloomington. In fact this contrast seems to have a double structure in terms of the relationship between *figures* vs. *ground*. The first structure consists of 'the tents' as *figures* and Dunn Meadow as *ground*. The second structure consists of 'the dwellers, the tents, and Dunn Meadow as *figures* and 'Bloomington' as *ground*. These double structures make the contrast much more intensified.

The invisible landscape also existed in Dunn Meadow. That is to say, the sound in and from Dunn Meadow consisted of a certain kind of landscape as a soundscape which was in fact characteristic. The existence of the soundscape especially became clear and vivid at night. When you walked around Dunn Meadow, you definitely could catch a certain sound from the tent village, which was the sound of drums. Tuan refers to the meaning of sound in terms of the relationship between sound and space. According to Tuan, sound enlarges one's spatial awareness and furthermore sound dramatizes spatial experience. (Tuan 1977: 16) The sound from and in the tent village was not accidental or only for pleasure but very intentional. Let us recall the characteristic of the tent village. It was a *vigil*. Sound is not efficient enough in the daytime. The present American society always produces various kinds of sounds, which we call 'noise.' But at night the level of noise clearly goes down and at the same time the level of visible landscape also fades away. What the dwellers in the tent village did was intentionally to produce sound for the purpose of making the tent village *foreground* especially at night. Then, the meaning of a vigil became much more intensified. Phoenix says as follows: "Music is very important, I think. I think that, one, it unifies the group, not listening to music, but playing music, getting everybody involved in a musical thing with the drums." "We had a comment made . . . about two days ago how this war was a stimulus or allowed us to get into primitive amusement, that's all it was for it." "He couldn't understand, you know, that he thought we were just a bunch of jokers, that we weren't serious about stopping this war, that all we wanted to do was go out and have some fun with drums. And act like a bunch of kids." "And he didn't understand that, but people involved, it's very powerful and unifying factor and it also draws some people in." "People come up to hear the music and are curious. They see an instrument they can try playing, you know. And once they try, they're breaking down walls whether they know it or not." "Once they get the music . . . Now all the sudden they're caught with questions . . . that they didn't want to face, that they walk away thinking." "So I think that's very important." So, the soundscape of Dunn Meadow was working efficiently both

inside and outside simultaneously.

[4] Conclusion

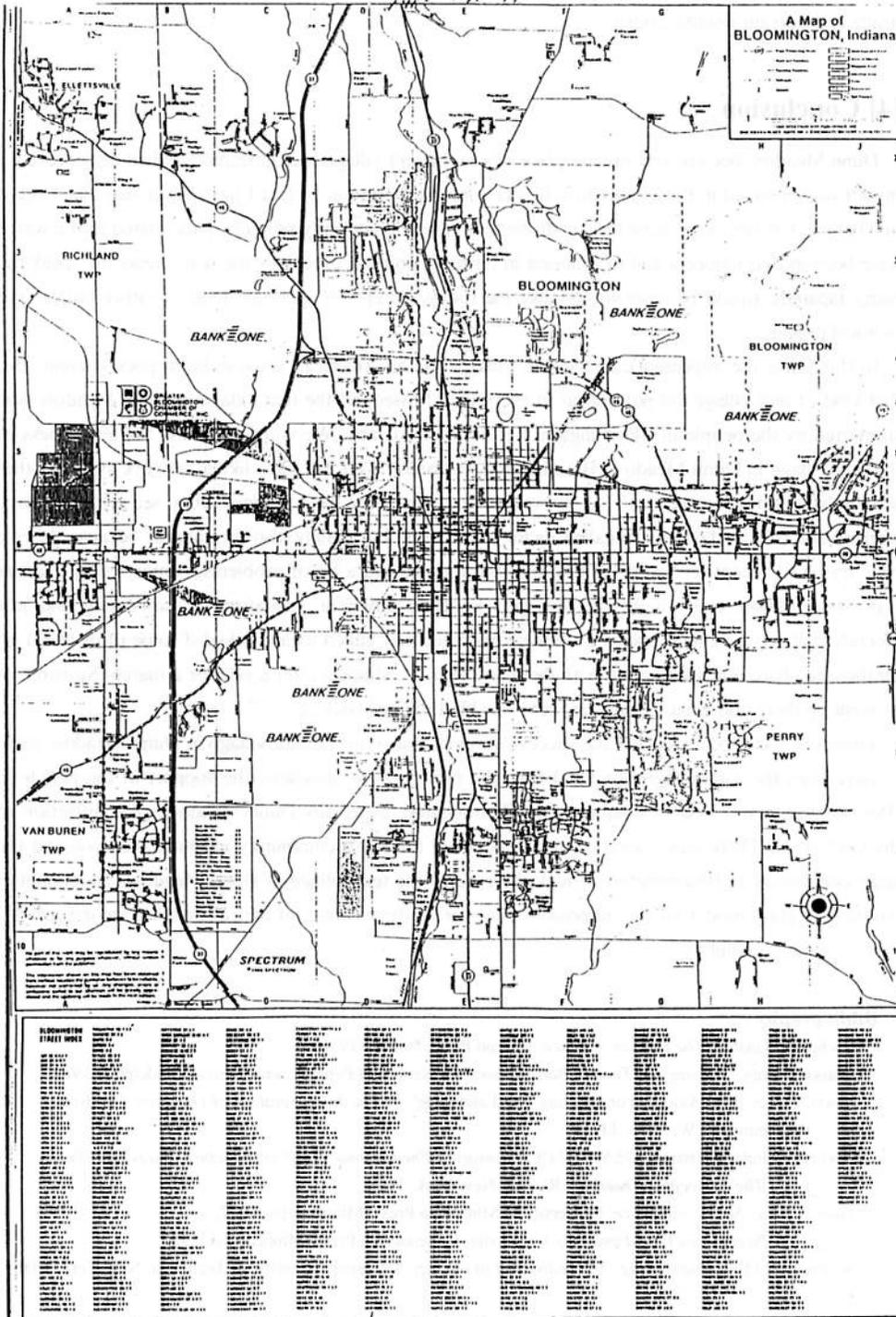
Dunn Meadow became reminiscent place where the tent village had appeared and had disappeared. I myself was involved in those activities. It was a fresh experience. In fact I have never had that kind of one before. For the main characteristic of the tent village was clearly political, plus related to the war. I have been indeed innocent and/or ignorant in terms of politics, especially the war. Generally speaking, many Japanese would be more or less like me today, except for a certain kind of rather radical and political people.

In this sense the appearance of the tent village was an American socio-cultural phenomenon. But that kind of tent village did not appear in every city. Moreover, the tent village in Dunn Meadow was supported by the people in Bloomington. Let us listen to Jack. We will understand the uniqueness of the tent village in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington, Indiana. "Well, we have like a network system, other schools and states, so we can . . . so we can see what they have planned, they see what we have planned and other schools have called us for information but mainly also for support because they've been trying to accept tent communities, too, but they've had a lot of problems. Almost every night at Ball State, almost every night the tent gets knocked down or vandalized or something and just recently, not too long ago, maybe a week or two ago, they called us and asked if some of us could go up there to share our information with them and also . . . support after a rally or a march. So some of us went up there and what we saw up there was kind of like shocking . . ."

Therefore the appearance and the success of maintenance of the tent village in Dunn Meadow seem to have been the total integration of at least the efforts of the dwellers, the support of the people in Bloomington, and a kind of uniqueness of Bloomington, especially Dunn Meadow, plus reflection of the Gulf crisis. There was a kind of unison between the small community in Dunn Meadow and the large community in Bloomington. I think the case of the tent village in Dunn Meadow, Bloomington would be a good model for the purpose of considering the meaning of the relationship among 'place,' 'house,' and 'community.'

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Appendix 1



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Map of IUB Libraries

