

# PAPRIKA!

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## WRITING TO: TEDDY CRUZ AND FONNA FORMAN

### Just Architecture or Just architecture?

Two opposing architectural agendas have evolved in the last decades, shaping a debate about the role of architecture in constructing the contemporary city. The first position conceives architecture as a self-referential language, articulating the city as a collection of discrete buildings existing above a neutral, undifferentiated, and speculative platform, shaped by market forces. The latter sees architecture as an infrastructure in which social flows, economic resources, and environmental dynamics are managed coherently to mobilize specific interfaces between private and public interests and contingencies of everyday life.

Our work has always been drawn to this second approach—a more infrastructural and political dimension of architecture—as we become more disappointed with the political neutrality of the field, in the context of a neoliberal political economy and its role in widening the gap not only between wealth and poverty, but also between artistic experimentation and social responsibility.

### Is there value to disciplinary autonomy, and is it meaningful to the people you work with and design for?

Our position has always been that the design fields are uniquely positioned to advocate for more experiential dimensions of beauty, based less on visual quality and more on social vibrancy, of encountering and co-existing with others—an aesthetic quality that embraces contradictions and risk and emerges out of inclusiveness. This means engaging actors other than private developers to co-produce the city, imagining other forms of ownership, resource management, and other financial arrangements to assure social and economic inclusion, and implementing other mechanisms of institutional accountability. At the bottom, we need to reclaim the public. The emerging unprecedented urban inequality in the last three decades is all the evidence we need: the “free market” will never assure social and economic justice.

### Who are these other actors and how do you engage with them through your work?

Our practice is an unconventional partnership between a political theorist and an architect, investigating “informal” urban dynamics and emergent collective practices—social, moral, economic, political, spatial. Our research has always been motivated by the positive impact of immigrants on the city. Their ingenious adaptation strategies and survival in conditions of scarcity have inspired our urban vision; we believe they generate more inclusive imaginaries of urban development.

The neighborhoods we engage at the US-Mexico border are sites of amazing informal resilience and creativity. But this ingenuity is typically off the radar of formal institutions with power and resources—hidden behind an undifferentiated screen of poverty and criminality and all the biases people associate with these conditions. We believe these informal practices need documentation and translation. The “official city” can learn from these urban processes. Peripheral communities are not passive victims of poverty. They are intensely active urban agents capable of challenging the dominant models of growth that have excluded them and denied their rights to the city. This creative knowledge needs to trickle up and inspire policymakers and planners to rethink their approaches to the city.

What is needed then is a more critical role for design to encroach into fragmented and discriminatory urban policies and economics, new models to facilitate interfaces between the top-down and the bottom-up. We very much see ourselves as curators of knowledge, urban translators, and facilitators of bottom-up intelligence to cultivate new communities of practice. Every project we do is a process of curating participation across sectors, convening the knowledge and resources necessary to conceive, design, fund, permit, build and program an intervention and sustain it in the long term.

### Can architecture be used to address social and environmental issues today?

We have always maintained that architects can apply themselves not only to “solving” immediate spatial problems, but also to critically investigating and countering the vectors of power that are creating so much social disparity and injustice across the world. Every site of intervention can be seen as a local manifestation of these broader inequalities and injustices.

From its foundation, our practice has embedded itself in the Tijuana-San Diego border region, as a sort of global laboratory for engaging the central challenges of urbanization today: nationalism and border-building, deepening social and economic inequality, dramatic migration, urban informality, climate change, really every imaginable challenge facing vulnerable people across the globe. In this sense, our work focuses on global conflicts as they manifest in a particular physical territory, as they hit the ground and impact real lives. These conflicts have been the detonator of design in our practice.

### Do you have an example you found successful to achieve that?

These commitments over many years have manifested in a project called the UCSD Community Stations, a network of field hubs located in four underserved border neighborhoods, two in San Diego, two in Tijuana, where university researchers and students partner with community organizations on civic, educational and cultural and urban agendas and projects. The Community Stations enable a two-way flow that brings the knowledge of communities into the university to enrich research and education, and brings the knowledge of the university into communities to increase their capacity for political and environmental action. The Community Stations are sites for cultural production, collaborative research, youth mentorship and urban pedagogy. Together we develop urban pedagogies that increase public knowledge, cultivate community agency and capacity, and ultimately advocate for more equitable policies and practices in the city.

### How can students and young architects engage with both?

When we encounter students and young architects and designers eager to advance urban justice, we encourage them to engage domains that are absent from the conversation, or peripheral to what we conventionally understand as design. Architects can do more than design buildings and physical systems. They can also design protocols for accessibility in terms of economy, civic participation, advocacy and shared governance. We are advocating for expanded modes of practice, through which architects can imagine counter spatial procedures, political, and economic structures that can produce new modes of sociability and encounter. We maintain that exposing and altering the exclusionary policies that have produced our current public crises can be the first act in producing a more experimental architecture, and new programmatic, formal, and aesthetic categories that problematize the relationship between the social, the institutional, and the spatial.

## ARCHITECTURE AND ABOLITION

Ben Derlan, Merrell Hambleton

Following the murder of George Floyd, a group of artists, activists, designers, and organizers collectivized under the moniker Design as Protest and quickly assembled a list of nine “Design Justice Demands.” Among them was a striking call: to “cease support of the carceral state through the design of prisons, jails, and police stations.” The suggestion that a refusal to design something—refusing to give an idea physical and spatial form—might support the abolition of that thing demonstrates the power that we currently place on architecture and design thinking. But what power do architects truly have to make or unmake the criminal justice system?

Proposals to challenge the carceral state by refusing to build new prisons go back decades. In 1976, activists published a booklet titled “Instead of Prisons: A Handbook for Abolitionists” which included among its three main goals a moratorium on all new prison buildings. In 2014, the San Francisco-based Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR) filed a petition with the American Institute of Architects (AIA) calling on the organization to censure member architects who design solitary-confinement cells and death chambers. The AIA finally adopted the demand in 2020: “And yet prison construction continues apace. A quick scan of articles tagged under “prison construction” by The Marshall Project” reveals numerous prisons slated for new construction in Los Angeles, Alabama, Kansas, Nebraska. The rise of for-profit prisons has contributed to this spate of new building.

The field has, sometimes cautiously, supported alternatives. In 2017, Frank Gehry led a studio at the Yale School of Architecture which asked students to propose projects that would “house three hundred men convicted of serious, primarily violent offenses, serving sentences between five

and 15 years” (a standard that imagined the US was in step with incarceration rates in other developed nations). For abolitionists like CUNY Graduate Center geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore, simply reducing prison populations is incompatible with abolition: “Instead of asking whether anyone should be locked up or go free, why don’t we think about why we solve problems by repeating the kind of behavior that brought us the problem in the first place?”

By 2019, in collaboration with the same nonprofit partner, Impact Justice, Yale hosted a studio re-examining the criminal justice system altogether, this time through the lens of restorative justice. Restorative justice, which involves the direct interaction of victim and offender, is an inherently spatial practice: “the circle”—a simple ring of chairs—is the central site of encounter, of healing, of sentencing. And yet the “circle process” is often carried out, in the words of Justin Carbonella, Coordinator at the Middletown Youth Services Bureau and participant in Yale’s 2019 studio, “in spaces designed for other purposes”—schools, church basements, conference rooms: “Just as the refusal to design prisons might, eventually, mean the end of prisons, opting to envision dedicated spaces for restorative justice might help us institutionalize the practice—first through potent imaginaries and eventually in built form.

Might restorative justice offer an alternative model for architecture in return? The Centre for Justice and Reconciliation, one practitioner of the process, offers this framework: “If restorative justice were a building, it would have four corner posts: 1) Inclusion of all parties, 2) Encountering the other side, 3) Making amends for the harm, 4) Reintegration of the parties into their communities.” What would an architecture of inclusion, encounter, and healing look like? It requires refusal, yes. But also the active disruption of the systems that feed the carceral state.

Alongside Design as Protest’s call to end the design of prisons and police stations was a demand to end “all efforts to implement defensible space and Crime Prevention

Through Environmental Design (CPTED) tactics.” CPTED—exemplified by “defensive” tactics like spikes to deter sleeping and sitting, trimming tree canopies to support site lines and surveillance, and aggressive use of light and sound—is known to disproportionately criminalize people of color. Their continued use, like that of prisons, is justified by the perception that they offer more “safety.” Many state powers still see CPTED practices, as they do prisons, as effective and indispensable. In fact, numerous national crime prevention groups offer online certification courses for designers. A restorative justice framework might offer a new approach to shared spaces—one emphasizing coexistence over criminalization.

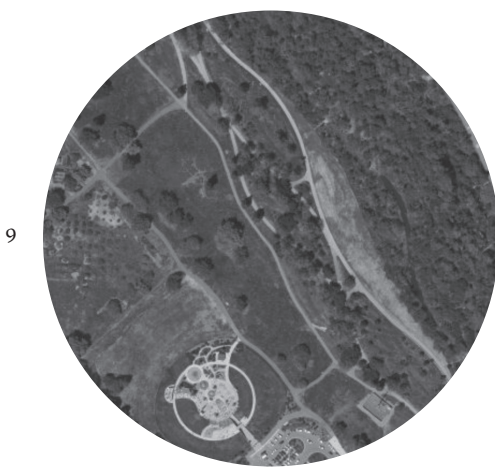
The Bay Area nonprofit public policy organization SPUR undertook a project in 2019 to understand the current conditions and challenges of San Jose’s Guadalupe River Park. By far the most-cited concern of surveyed park-goers was the presence of unhoused people in the park. In step with rising housing costs, the city’s population experiencing homelessness had risen from 1,747 in 2017 to 6,097 in 2019, 38% of this group live in public spaces, and like homelessness nationwide, are disproportionately people of color.<sup>1</sup> Rather than propose common CPTED interventions like removing park benches and public restrooms, SPUR embarked on a process rooted in research and dialogue with all park users. They also cited numerous case studies: a shared public “living room” in Seattle designed to foster encounter and empathy between housed and unhoused park-goers; in Copenhagen, a park designed with zoned lighting to accommodate those who might need to sleep there overnight; in Atlanta, a social worker hired by Woodruff Park to support positive interactions between housed and unhoused populations.

One can imagine further interventions: public spaces for safe drug use, free storage lockers for the unhoused, anti-surveillance zones in parks. The nine Design Justice Demands begin with refusal—“divest,” “discontinue,” “cease”—but eventually move toward action—“reimagine,” “advocate,” “center.” The architecture of abolition must first refuse, then reimagine and radically intervene.

### SOURCES

- 1 Design as Protest, “Demands,” Design As Protest, accessed March 22, 2021, <https://www.dapcollective.com/demands>
- 2 Mabel O. Wilson, “Carceral Architectures,” e-flux, accessed March 22, 2021, <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/superhumanity/68676/carceral-architectures/>
- 3 “Prison Construction: The Record,” The Marshall Project, accessed March 22, 2021, <https://www.themarshallproject.org/records/2165-prison-construction>.
- 4 Rachel Kushner, “Is Prison Necessary? Ruth Wilson Gilmore Might Change Your Mind,” *The New York Times* (The New York Times, April 17, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/magazine/prison-abolition-ruth-wilson-gilmore.html>
- 5 Emily Abruzzo et al., *Space for Restorative Justice* (United States: Published by Impact Justice and Yale School of Architecture, 2019) <https://impactjustice.org/>

SATELLITE IMAGE LOCATIONS
1. South Texas Family Residential Center, Dilley, TX, USA, 28° 39' 25.52" N 99° 12' 07.61" W
2. Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, 3° 09' 08.52" N 35° 35' 39.14" E
3. Brick Oven Pizza, New Haven, CT, USA, 41° 48' 43.77" N 72° 57' 36.61" W
4. Patachho Cafe, New Haven, CT, USA, 41° 19' 38.52" N 72° 57' 36.61" W
5. Damascus City Center, Damascus, Syria, 33° 31' 16.46" N 36° 17' 47.72" E
6. Yale School of Architecture, New Haven, CT, USA, 41° 48' 31.46" N 72° 57' 36.61" W
7. Karma Royal Boat Lagoon Resort, Phuket, Thailand, 7° 56' 06.44" N 98° 24' 30.91" E
8. Hudson Yards, New York, NY, USA, 40° 45' 13.49" N 74° 00' 07.91" W
9. Guadalupe River Park, San Jose, CA, USA, 37° 20' 31.41" N 122° 54' 17.88" W



space-for-restorative-justice-book/  
1 “About Restorative Justice,” Restorative Justice, accessed March 22, 2021, <http://restorativejustice.org/restorative-justice/about-restorative-justice/#sthash.CQM4GP3E.dpbs>

2 “Coexistence in Public Space,” SPUR, January 27, 2021, <https://www.spur.org/publications/spur-report/2021-01-25/coexistence-public-space>.

JUST ARCHITECTURE implies an attempt to define the scope of architecture: just what is architecture, exactly? Implicit in the title is a twofold answer. On the one hand, it is an independent discipline, operating on its own terms of form, theory, representation, and typology. Just Architecture—that’s all. On the other hand, it is a dependent one, inexorably tied to broader issues of politics, social context, and environmental justice. An architecture that recognizes such ties aims to be just, ethical, truthful.

By collapsing these multiple meanings into one phrase, we aimed to distance our driving question from what is typically seen as a dichotomy. What if there is no dichotomy between “form” and “politics”? What if it’s all just architecture?

Hannah Mayer Baydoun deconstructs this dichotomy and suggests that design justice interventions occur between, not within, disciplinary silos. The “unconventional partnership” of Teddy Cruz and Fonna Forman is one model; the pair advocates for a practice that takes on global conflicts through their manifestation at the urban and architectural scale. Dominiq Oti looks with new eyes at this “in-betweenness” within urban landscapes, considering ideas of reciprocity, care, and maintenance. Ben Derlan and Merrell Hambleton speculate on how such values of care might be applied to the architecture of abolition, beginning with the refusal to design prisons and culminating in radical activism.

Turning towards architectural education, Mohamad Hafez and Alex Kim challenge the assumptions that undergird architectural pedagogy; Hafez pushes back against exploitative practices that have their roots in academia, while Kim urges us to reconsider what’s “real” about the “real world” outside of it. Meanwhile, Esther Da Costa Meyer urges us to “keep one foot in the academy”—in her opinion, students do effect real change from within the university.

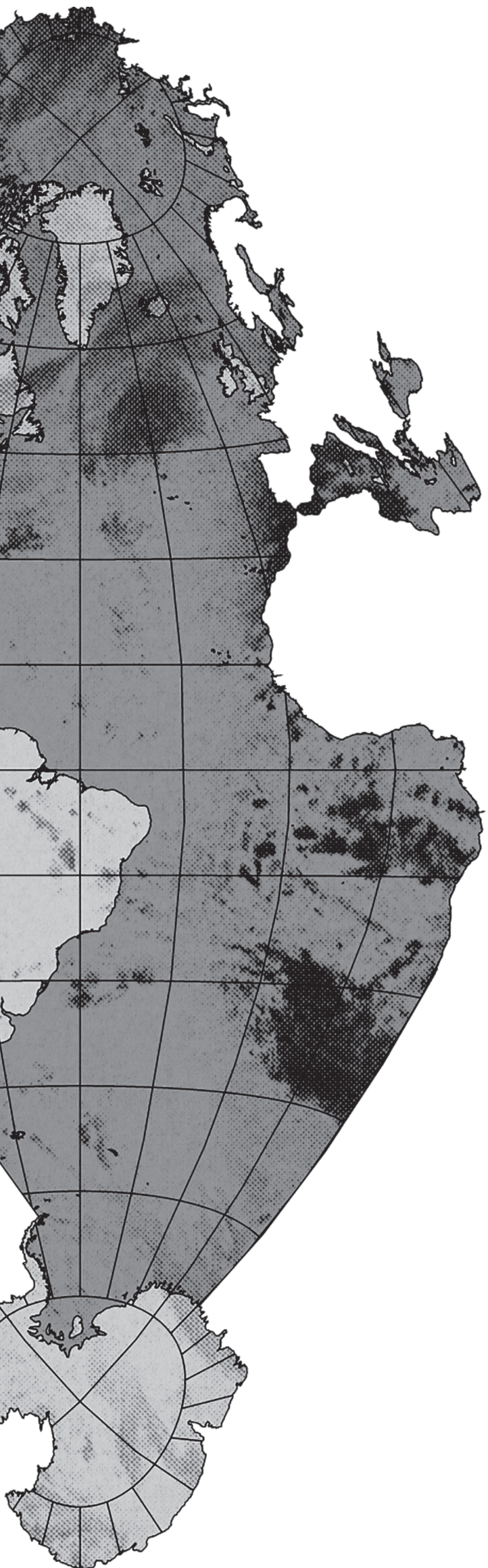
As current students and future practitioners, we are contending with the scope, definition, and motivation of our architectural work. These authors challenge us to question the limits of architecture and to dismantle disciplinary silos in favor of radical reciprocity.

It might seem speculative. But don’t worry, it’s just architecture.

## IN CONVERSATION: ESTHER DA COSTA MEYER

*Esther da Costa Meyer is a visiting professor at YSOA teaching ARCH 3207: From Shigeru Ban to IKEA: Designing Refugee Camps this Spring*

From the point of view of the Anthropocene, architecture cannot be an independent discipline. In rich nations, high-carbon lifestyles, which include the building sector, are one of the drivers of greenhouse gas emissions. Long after a building has been destroyed, the emissions released to build, maintain, and demolish it, will remain in the atmosphere and affect the earth system as a whole. Carbon knows no national boundaries. Wealthy nations produce the greatest amounts of greenhouse gas emissions, and while the effects are felt everywhere, poor nations with a minimal carbon footprint and fewer resources are having to shoulder a disproportionate amount of the consequences. Which is to say that climate change reenacts forms of colonialism by engendering major inequalities across the globe.



# JUST ARCHITECTURE

There is also a causal relationship between the Anthropocene and refugee camps, the other topic I work on. As the planet continues to warm, the growing number of migrants now includes a rapidly escalating group of climate refugees, a term that has yet to be acknowledged by international law. The forms of globalization taken by late capitalism, or neoliberalism, are producing new peripheries. Wealthy nations of the world refuse to absorb vast populations displaced by war, hunger, or drought, preferring to keep them at arms’ length in camps, detention centers, prisons. Excluded from the social compact, migrants do not have access to the social goods we take for granted nor to human rights in general. They exemplify the biopolitical power over life wielded by rich nations which manage them from a distance.

Nor can architectural History/Theory be said to be independent when in most places the discipline is still largely dominated by Western paradigms, Western examples, and Western scholarship. Several institutions, our own included, have made commendable efforts to add to the curriculum so that it reflects this broader geocultural reach. Furthermore, History/Theory need not be only retrospective. It can and should also deal with those contemporary issues in which architecture is deeply involved such as the Anthropocene, refugee camps, detention camps, slums, and all enclaves of exception. A pluralist History/Theory should also aim at greater activism. We need to face the challenge posed by neocolonial forms of climate injustice imposed around the world including disadvantaged sectors of the Global North. Focusing on contemporary worldwide problems allows us to harness the experience of our diverse student body and their concern for social and environmental equality.

In every country there are architects who try to help alleviate the situation, and we have examples in our own School. But in every country there are also architects who are complicit: not only the small numbers who design detention centers for migrants or for-profit prisons aimed at mass incarceration, but those far larger contingents that prefer to close their eyes to the discipline’s collusion and implication in what Derek Gregory calls “the colonial present.”

