



PERSPECTA 50

URBAN DIVIDES

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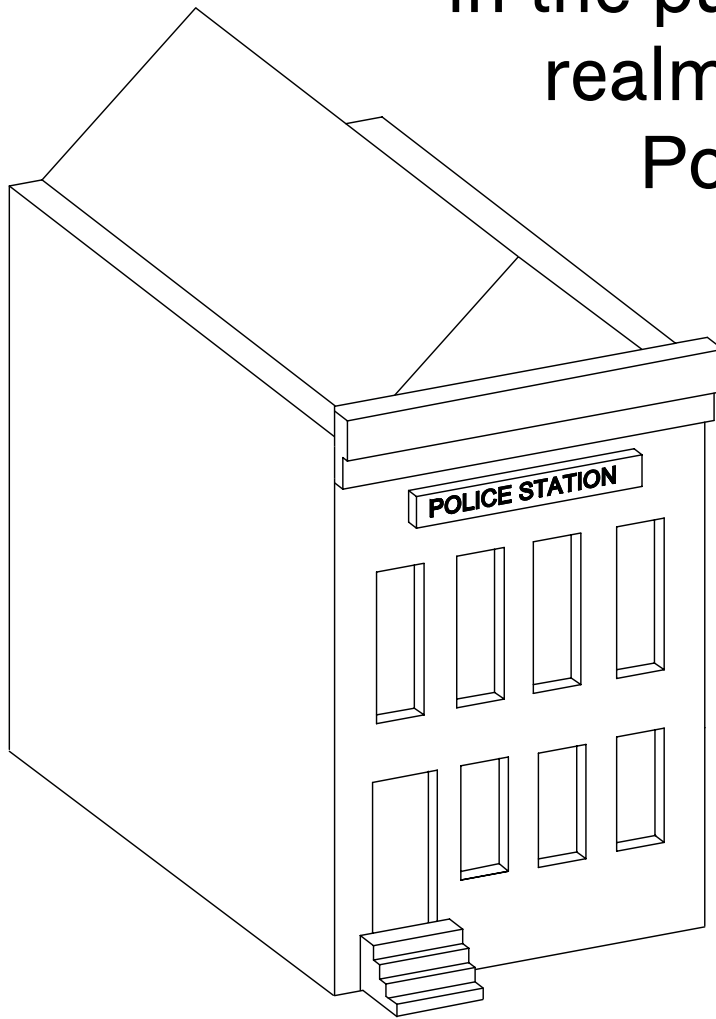
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THE STAKES

A growing body of research demonstrates that the more we interact with people who are different from us, the more innovative and engaged we become, making better decisions and developing successful solutions to complex problems that fuel social and economic progress. Cities are key sites where diverse people come together and conceive these ideas that move the world forward.¹ So what might this mean for the United States, where our urban environments are trending toward fragmentation?

Economic segregation is increasing, with one-third of American families in major metropolitan areas now living in either high- or low-income neighborhoods—a division that is greater than double that of 1970.² Further, concentration of poverty is increasing, with the number of high-poverty urban neighborhoods having tripled, and the number of poor people living in them having doubled over that same forty-plus year period.³

Multiple overlapping forces are behind these trends; most notably, rising income inequality across the nation and public policies at various levels of government that make it difficult for lower-income families to move into middle- and higher-income neighborhoods.⁴ Combined, they are producing toxic conditions for individuals, families, and communities. Researchers are accumulating evidence about how the negative effects associated with poverty are amplified when a large fraction of a poor person's neighbors are also poor—including worse mental and physical health, higher crime, and obstructed economic mobility. Further, as 75 percent of residents in high-poverty US neighborhoods are African American or Latino, these effects disproportionately burden the lives of people of color.⁵

Seeing this growing divide embedded in the shifting fabric of urban America, how can architects and designers proceed? Will we mirror it by sorting ourselves into architects of the rich and architects of the poor? To be sure, there are those who have adapted their practices to the typologies serving

first-world luxury lifestyles, focusing their design energy on formal innovation, while others have centered their work on addressing social conditions by building for those in need of the basics. The dominant perception within the discipline is that the former is architecture with a capital “A,” whose creative success hinges on its formal qualities, while the latter’s contribution is socially beneficial but not held to the same creative standard, or sometimes not considered design at all.

But this divergence of design practice and its assumed value is not a forgone conclusion. In the fertile space between assumed polarities lie many ways forward in which architects can synthesize formal technique and social questions. Historically, we can find this synthesis in modernism. Born in a time of upheaval and great divergence in wealth, the architects of the Modern Movement engaged major social issues with high design. In doing so they realized revolutionary formal ideas in projects that continue to impact people from all walks of life. Le Corbusier himself did his most innovative work in the social realm, synthesizing design and human needs in projects for urban growth, low-cost housing, and shelter for the homeless (*Cité de Refuge*, 1929–33).

Today, as the challenges in many US urban cores and inner ring suburbs resonate with those of post-war reconstruction and the Great Depression, it is time for architects to explore how current social science and movements for social justice can inform a renewed design avant-garde propelled by public interest. Recognizing that rising income inequality and the concentration of poverty are intertwined crises that ultimately harm everyone, architects can—rather than mirroring society’s widening rifts—discover new possibilities for the discipline and beyond.

THE APPROACH

Essential for this work is exploring the role that US cities’ civic fabric can play in empowering communities. The places that have historically made up the American public realm—from parks, schools, and libraries to transit and recreation centers—have been key sites where people access opportunities and form relationships across demographic boundaries. These networks of relationships are what social scientists refer to as “social capital,” the bonds and shared commitments that enable societies to function and progress.⁶ Today, however, we can see that social capital is decreasing in America, a trend that appears to be related to a weakening public realm. Whether demonstrated in declining levels of trust, time

The current police station prototype in use in Chicago’s 6th, 7th, 8th, and 10th police districts.



Fig 1. 6th District



Fig 2. 10th District



Fig 3. 7th District



Fig 4. 8th District

spent socializing with neighbors, use of public transportation, or a number of other metrics, it appears that disinvestment and disengagement from the public realm has damaged cities’ ability to support the diverse human connections that make them flourish and that make our nation capable of addressing larger-scale issues such as inequality and climate change.⁷

Our practice is developing an approach to urban intervention that aims to help reactivate the American public realm and rebuild diverse social relationships. It is informed by ecology, the field that arose in the mid-twentieth century as scientists moved away from studying individual species and toward understanding the web of relationships between species and their greater environment. Though certain notions of ecology have been used in recent years within the theory and practice of architecture, urban design, and landscape design, we are now using it to conceptualize the organization of cities’ public realms and imagine new possibilities at the scale of architecture.

Drawing insight from an expanded, human-scaled sense of ecology, our urban approach diverges from those popular in the past in a few key ways. First, instead of focusing design energy on conceiving totally new structures, it “starts with what’s there”—the publicly-owned spaces that already exist in cities, including civic buildings, streets, parks, vacant land, and bodies of water. This is in part a pragmatic move, which recognizes the ubiquity and inherent potential of the scale of what the urban public holds in common: thirty to fifty percent of the land in US cities.⁸ It is also a sustainable move informed by natural ecologies, as we see in nature that using the least energy possible is the preferred mode and key to survival. Finally, it is a socially strategic, democratic move, which understands the reduced yet still significant role of public places and institutions in the lives and daily experiences of Americans, and focuses directly on enhancing these existing relationships to make an inclusive and robust human impact.

Second, in contrast to the top-down approach of urban renewal, which often imposed sweeping and destructive changes on neighborhoods in service of grand, city-wide visions, this updated approach defers to neighborhood communities and designs at their scale. It allows city-wide change to happen in a grassroots way, spreading outward from many different nodes that develop into a strong, distributed network as individual neighborhoods activate their public realms. The role of the architect or designer here is not to single-handedly imagine and delineate the future they presume will

be most successful. Instead it is to lead a collective process imagining and shaping multiple shared futures, whose success is predicated on the aspirations and engagement of the people who will make them possible. This work entails building a multifaceted understanding of a neighborhood and its public assets through research, community engagement, and analysis (including first-person observation, data analytics, and conversations with residents, community leaders, policy-makers, and other key actors) to identify specific possibilities and develop design ideas that bridge between present conditions and collective goals. The methodology and overarching aim are consistent, but the results are always as unique as the communities from which they emerge.

instead they continue to separate the people with the most at stake (neighborhood residents) from the power to make change, thereby greatly limiting their impact. The architectural scale sits at a sweet spot in its ability to be imagined, practically realized, and measurably impactful. Communicated with an accessible narrative and images, architecture can create common ground



Fig 5. Watch box, New York City, ca. 1810.



Fig 7. West Town Police Station, Chicago, Illinois, 1917.

Finally, this urban design approach is grounded in the scale of architecture—that is, it mines the possibilities that come from working at the scale between long-range master planning and one-off, tactical urbanism interventions. Typical urban plans are important visionary and practical tools for city authorities, but the future that they describe is often difficult for a general audience to understand and too abstract to inspire personal investment. On the other end of the spectrum, tactical urbanism projects tend to be isolated interventions with a limited scope and duration of engagement with their community. Often “parachute pop-ups” made by individuals or organizations from outside a neighborhood, these projects do not share or transfer agency;



Fig 8. Police Call Box, Washington, DC, 1912.

that engages diverse stakeholders in the design process and fosters their active ownership of the projects that result. Ideally, these projects are actionable investments at multiple scales that can unfold over time as community preferences evolve and successful projects accumulate, with their demonstrable positive effects attracting additional social and economic investment.

THE POLICE STATION

This urban approach has thus far been tested most thoroughly in Polis Station, an ongoing project exploring how one type of civic building—the police station—can be reimaged through an inclusive design process to better serve neighborhood communities and the urban environment as a whole. Police stations are a sensitive piece of the American public realm. They are publicly-funded institutions with a civic mandate. They are also often charged spaces, both in everyday experience and in the public imagination. Recent acts of violence by and against police officers across the nation have



Fig 6. 2nd Street Police House, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1856.

further laden them with complex and controversial meanings. These tragedies and resulting protest have spotlighted systemic inequities connected with policing, and calls for policing reform have led to updated recommendations for policy and training. Many Americans are seizing this moment to identify and leverage resources that can help make change. Our practice has posited that police stations—both in spite of and because of the tensions surrounding them—are one such possible resource.

Polis Station draws on the classical idea of the polis, the urban body politic, to reframe stations as part of their surrounding community fabric rather than nodes in spaces of patrol like police precincts or districts. Recognizing that stations are civic buildings located in so many neighborhoods throughout the US, the project addresses them as well-positioned local tools that communities can use to implement short- and long-term changes they want to see. Given that station buildings are publicly owned and all citizens have a stake and should have a say in how they operate, Polis Station asks the question, What do we want our police stations to be?

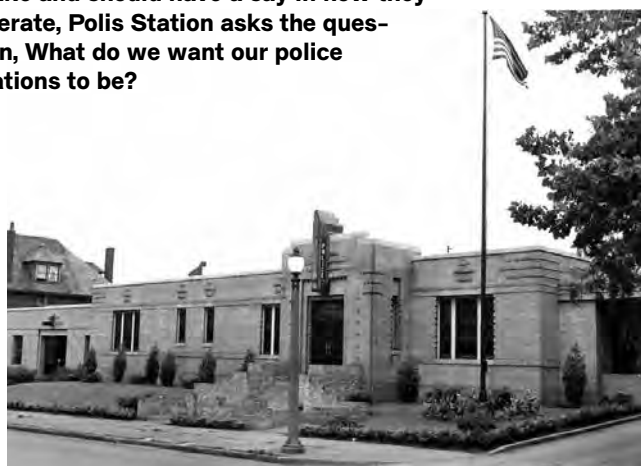


Fig 9. 9th District Police Station, St. Louis, Missouri, 1936.

The project approaches the police station from two angles: the station building and the neighborhood. It targets the core role of stations by exploring how altering their programming and physical spaces could support healthier police-community relationships—above all, toward establishing common goals and greater trust. It also explores how police stations can expand their capabilities as public assets by imagining them as part of larger civic networks that include parks, schools, libraries, and other important places. Working

Fig 10. 69th Precinct Station House, Brooklyn, New York, ca. 1968.



Fig 11. 24th District Police Station, Chicago, Illinois, 1977.

simultaneously at the scale of the station and the scale of the neighborhood, the project provides a challenging test of architects' and designers' abilities to bring diverse stakeholders together to envision a better shared future.

Leading this process calls for a wide range of methods and tools, from historical research, to Geographic Information Systems (GIS), to community engagement workshops. It begins with the question: what is a police station? Unlike federal buildings, such as courthouses, that symbolize American democracy and equality under the law with an established Classical architectural language, stations lack a consistent style. They are local buildings born largely out of practical concerns. But this doesn't mean they're devoid of embedded biases and cultural attitudes about what policing means. American policing arose for different reasons in different regions (in the West, for example, to combat "lawlessness," and in the South to reinforce slavery), which led to considerable architectural variation. The geographic scope of our Polis Station project was therefore narrowed to police stations in the north and northeast. In these regions several architectural and urban trends can be traced from the colonial period to the present day that illustrate



Fig 12. 22nd District Police Station, Chicago, Illinois, 2005.

the changing civic role of police stations in cities and society. The first police stations in the US were not buildings but "watch boxes"—networks of small shelters in colonial towns where watchmen (volunteers who patrolled their own neighborhoods on foot) would check in and log their observations at predetermined times.⁹ These small wooden constructions operated as resting stations that provided watchmen with the necessities to conduct their work. As towns grew, police departments were created as municipal governance expanded and formalized during the first decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Police shared space in buildings with other civic workers such as firemen. Around the mid-nineteenth century, police departments began to establish their own station buildings. Stations were the central hub from which officers kept watch over regularized patrol areas—an innovation in policing practice borrowed from London.¹¹ With this

change, constructing a station came to imply creating a zone of public safety, and these buildings became important pieces of neighborhood infrastructure that often seeded residential and commercial development. By 1890, population growth and urban densification necessitated smaller stations embedded in the city fabric, and “row house stations” became popular.¹² They were supplemented by growing networks of call boxes, which increased policing efficiency by allowing officers to call for backup or report crimes without physically returning to the station.¹³ During this turn-of-the-century era of industrialization and immigration, police had close ties with local politicians. This led them both to perpetuate corruption (carrying out election fraud and bribery,

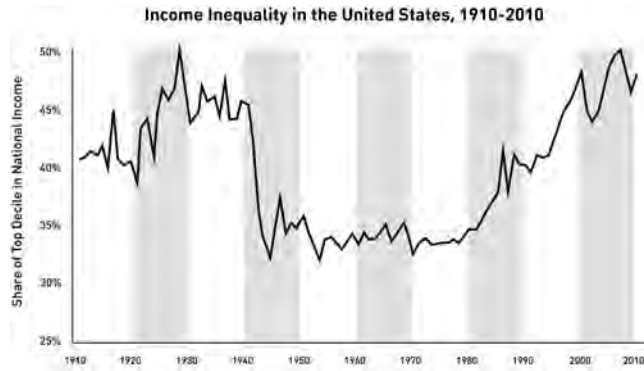


Fig 14. Economist Thomas Piketty's chart illustrating income inequality provides key context for understanding trends in the built environment of US cities in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Fig 13. Shooting hoops at the 10th District half court.



for example) and to provide a variety of social services, including running soup lines, helping people find work, and providing temporary housing for new immigrants inside row house stations.¹⁴

The rise of the automobile led to a dramatic shift in policing space in the early twentieth century. Stations expanded in size to accommodate garages and became more widely distributed in the urban fabric as police cars enabled patrol areas to expand. As the decades passed, police departments became large hierarchical institutions with complex protocols. Police monitored large urban areas primarily by car, which by the 1930s were equipped with two-way radios. As suburbanization increased, many officers (who were mostly white) came to live far from the more racially diverse communities that they patrolled. Simultaneously, redlining¹⁵ and other discriminatory private and public policies destabilized and directed investment away from low-income neighborhoods, where a majority of residents were people of color.¹⁶ By the 1960s “fortress stations” began to appear. In Chicago, these were very large buildings that housed multiple specialized units and administrative staff, and included office space, file storage, and interrogation rooms. Urbanistically, fortress stations were islands isolated from residential and commercial fabric by large parking lots, with their public entrances often facing major roads rather than neighborhood streets. These moves, which reflect the scalar approach then popular for urban renewal projects, further reduced everyday interactions between police and residents, widening the social separations effected by suburbanization and disinvestment.

During the 1970s and '80s social questions came to the fore in criminal justice theory and the philosophy of community policing began to influence policing practice. Aimed at proactive crime reduction, it emphasized the work of building trust between officers and communities by increasing opportunities to openly communicate and interact in

non-enforcement situations. A major component of this practice was encouraging officers to patrol regular, smaller beats on foot. Architectural strategies became part of municipal efforts to soften public perception of police. Stations scaled down slightly and design decisions involving fenestration and materiality, for example, were guided by the goal of creating less imposing exterior expressions. Public plazas were also added to provide space for officers and residents to interact on an everyday basis.

Despite the proven success of many community policing initiatives, their implementation varied widely based on municipal authorities' preferences and budgetary allotments and continues to remain in flux in many cities.¹⁷ In today's Chicago, police districts are larger than ever—Chicago's 10th District alone spans five neighborhoods—and most officers patrol multi-neighborhood areas by car.

Station buildings are also larger than ever. The city's current police station prototype is 44,000 square feet and includes expansive parking lots. Sited on major thoroughfares, these stations remain oriented away from their neighborhood communities and are often difficult and imposing to enter. Furthermore, their programming offers little to draw community residents into the station. Without available activities or services that people want, residents have little incentive to spend time in the space of the station, let alone spend time getting to know officers and developing familiarity that could lead to trust.



Fig 15. Talking and sketching with local high school students gave the design team valuable information about how their neighborhood's police station could adapt to better serve the community's interests.

THE POTENTIAL

This morphology indicates that American police stations in the north and northeast have changed relatively little following their most dramatic evolutionary jump: the proliferation of the fortress station in the 1960s. Since then, their main architectural and urban response to the community-oriented shift in policing has been to project a more open and welcoming *image* of police to community members; for example, by increasing the amount of glazing on their main façade or by adding an adjacent plaza. Unfortunately, this cosmetic treatment of the station type makes these gestures mostly symbolic. Ignoring the central principle of community policing—to combat crime by fostering better relationships through everyday, personal interactions—today’s stations keep police marooned in huge buildings that face away from neighborhood residents, adrift in seas of parking lots. Inside stations, though there has been an effort to include community rooms for neighborhood beat meetings and other outreach activities, the programmatic combination of corporate office plus jail that emerged in the '60s continues to dominate.

What this morphology also reveals, however, is that stations *have* played expanded civic roles in their neighborhoods and cities throughout history. More importantly, it suggests that giving serious design consideration to local police stations today can unlock civic potential that may have been unimaginable in the past.

The Polis Station project stems from the need to explore this potential in light of current American challenges—from police brutality, to widening inequality, to climate resiliency. Rather than adjusting police stations’ form in response to



Fig 16. A Community Café workshop brought together local officers and residents of Chicago’s 10th District to learn how the police station could offer them more activities and amenities.

external developments such as advancing technologies (as historically seen with the telephone, radio, and automobile), it is time to deliberately reshape stations in response to critical advances in our understanding of how public institutions and spaces can help foster safer communities. These advances include community policing theory but also extend beyond it, including issues such as mental health and returning citizen programs, universal education, and collective efficacy. (To return to our ecological framework, understanding that public safety arises from a web of related conditions echoes biological mutualism—the symbiotic, mutually beneficial relationships that add up to thriving ecosystems.)

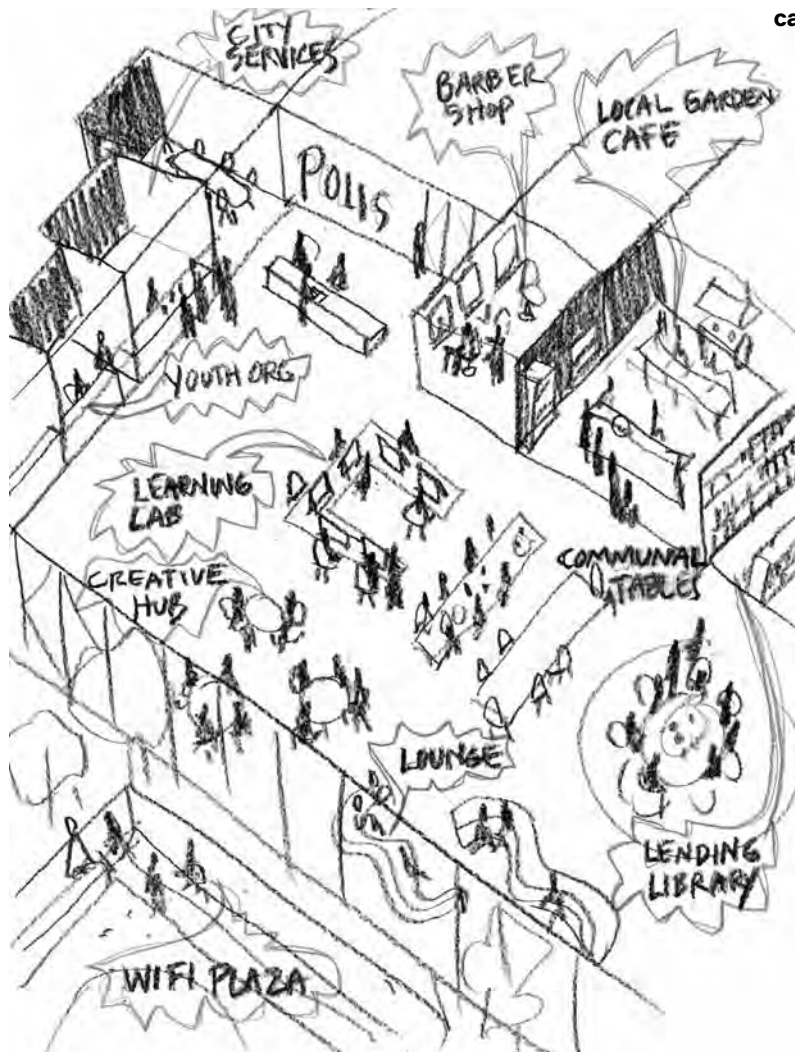
Polis Station therefore rejects the now-common “prototype” practice in which identical police stations are set down in neighborhoods. Instead it stakes the claim that, like other pieces of the public realm, stations should be the result of a community-driven process that recognizes the significance of physical spaces in community-building and activates the full public potential of these civic buildings.

THE PROPOSAL

The project proposes a set of six design principles relevant to any community for re-tuning their own local police station. Included below, these principles suggest key ways that physical space and programming can foster stronger relationships and neighborhoods. These principles incorporate recommendations from the 2015 *Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. Developed by an interdisciplinary, federally-commissioned panel through a public engagement process conducted in cities across the US, the recommendations are structured under six thematic “pillars”: Building Trust and Legitimacy, Policy and Oversight, Technology and Social Media, Community Policing and Crime Reduction, Training and Education, and Officer Wellness and Safety.¹⁸ Nationally applicable and informed by local input, the report’s recommendations are the most comprehensive set of policing reform ideas to emerge in the post-Ferguson era. They do not, however, address the spatial aspects of policing. This oversight prompted our work of translating their policy goals into architecture and urban design principles that can be helpful for any community.

The Polis Station proposal for Chicago’s 10th District police station in the North Lawndale neighborhood—an initial case study site—uses these design principles to explore how the site’s

Fig 17. A sketch made during the Community Café workshop illustrating how community members’ and officers’ program ideas could be incorporated into the 10th District Station’s lobby.



built environment can support the particular goals and suggestions of local community members and officers. Their input was gathered through a variety of community engagement formats to ensure a broad spectrum of perspectives. These included one-on-one conversations with community leaders, community café workshops bringing together police officers and residents, and roundtable sketching sessions with local youth and officers. Specific questions and prompts were prepared for each session to focus the discussion and to help assess the total community input across various engagement formats and stakeholder groups.

The proposal's design vision illustrates how the spaces of the existing 10th District station could be reconfigured. This vision accommodates new programming informed by the *President's Task Force Report* and local stakeholders' suggestions, including athletic and play facilities, a barbershop, and computer stations. It also envisions how these opportunities can expand throughout the neighborhood, forming a network of recreational, educational, entrepreneurial, and green spaces that tie into the community's existing assets and strengthen them with new investment. Importantly, these new programs and spaces appeal to and serve both residents and police officers. This overlap provides them with multiple new opportunities to interact with each other in non-enforcement situations—the everyday encounters and exchanges that can lead to more trusting relationships. In addition, it provides both groups with access to services, activities, and spaces that underpin safer, healthier, and stronger communities.

One of the strongest wishes that emerged from conversations with community members and officers in North Lawndale was for more safe spaces for youth to play—basketball, especially. Police expressed a desire to coach youth sports teams, but they currently had to do so on their own time and at courts that were not within walking distance of the station. Community members also noted that neighborhood basketball courts had previously existed near the station and had been used by well-known athletes, such as local hero and NBA Hall of Famer, Isiah Thomas. Seizing this information of a shared aspiration, the project's design team worked closely with police and community leaders and the local alderman to design and build a half court on a little-used portion of the station's parking lot. As of this writing, the court has become so popular among local youth that community leaders and officers have asked the design team to expand it into a public park, extending the half court into a full court and adding more green space and amenities.

It is difficult to argue that realizing a standard basketball court is, in itself, design. But as part of a larger, self-initiated project, it demonstrates how designers can expand how we practice in order to work toward social change in our cities. We can design a process or point to a solution as part of our design practice—and this is precisely what the project in North Lawndale succeeds in doing. By providing safe, outdoor recreation space on police property, this simple intervention is supporting everyday overlap between the worlds of police officers and neighbors—beginning to turn one station's empty parking lot into an active, inviting place where people come together through play. This small investment in the neighborhood is leading to more interventions through a strong, ongoing dialogue between designers and users.

SIX DESIGN PRINCIPLES FOR “POLIS STATIONS”

1. Expand Programming within the Station (*Task Force Report* pillar: Community Policing and Crime Reduction)

Transforming police stations into full-service community centers can improve public safety and enhance the neighborhood's social capital and economic strength. Police stations are strategically located in neighborhoods and therefore poised to offer crucial services. Simple interventions into existing stations could, depending on the specific community's vision, include collocating social services, job training, health and nutritional counseling, and a small lending library, for example. With overlapping functions and flexible spaces, opportunities abound for collaborative partnerships between law enforcement and local community institutions.

2. Create Common Ground Around the Station (*Task Force Report* pillar: Policy and Oversight)

Extending beyond the station, a variety of indoor and outdoor spaces can provide many opportunities for local residents and police officers to spend time together informally, as well as for community organizations to host events and gatherings. Accessible and inviting, these spaces can range from athletic courts, to open markets, to urban nurseries. The design emphasis should be on creating places that serve multiple functions; for example, a public park with paths for recreation, a pond that filters stormwater, quiet restorative spots for resting, and signage that facilitates educational visits.

3. Open Access to Information (*Task Force Report* pillar: Technology and Social Media)

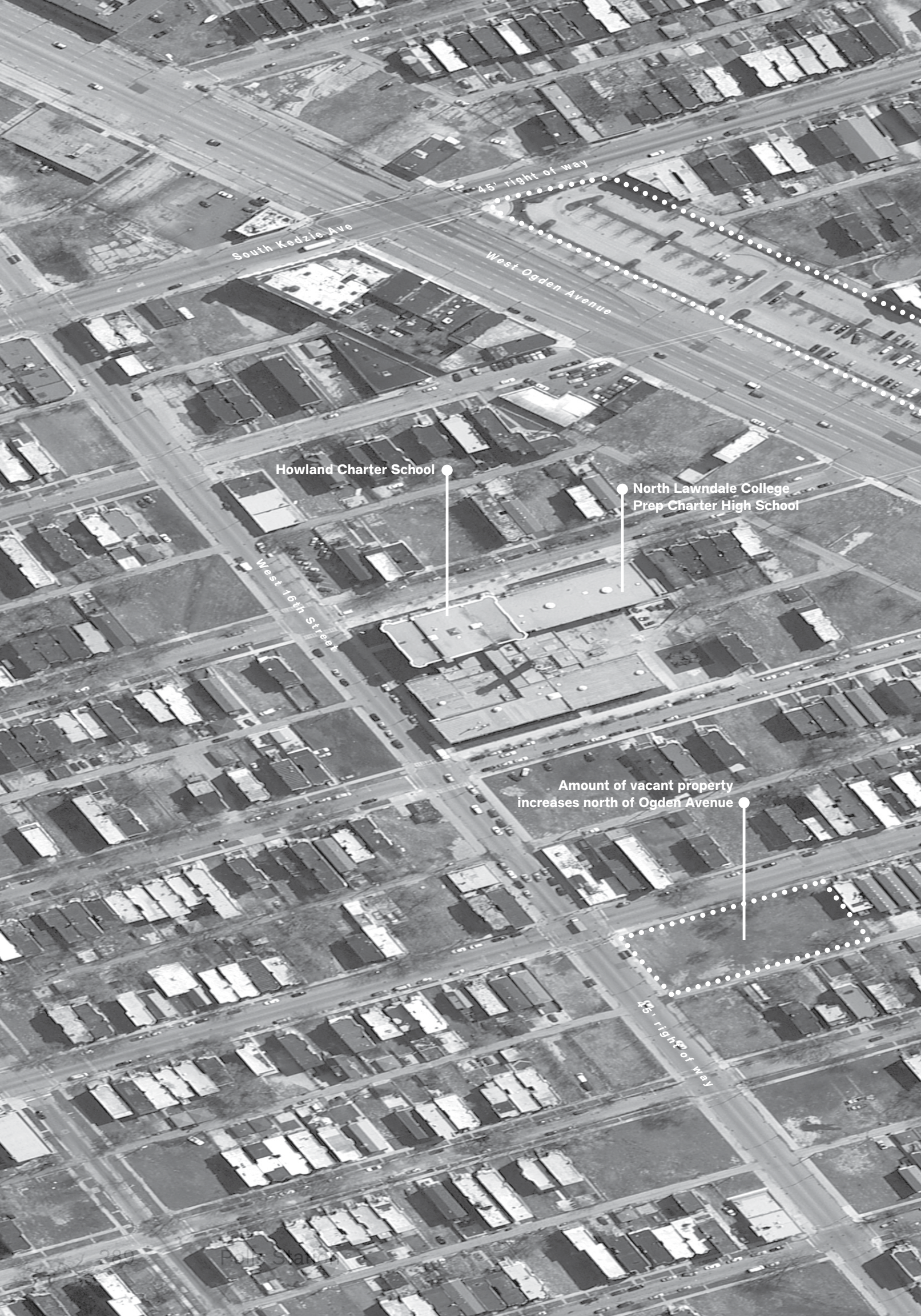
Much like a public library, offering access to a free, secure internet connection and other information technology creates a welcoming space for the community. Building on the types of inquiries that officers regularly receive from the community, stations can become places where locally relevant information is shared in real time. An interior announcement board, for example, could show upcoming community events and highlight when and where neighborhood services are available. Large-scale visible information could incorporate the police department's social media networks, serving as platforms for police and residents to openly engage in conversation and exchange information.

4. Extend Learning Opportunities into a Neighborhood Campus (*Task Force Report* pillar: Training and Education)

Partnering with local schools, universities, police academies, and other organizations can provide more comprehensive officer training and a range of educational opportunities for neighbors of all ages. Trade schools and workshops, innovation labs, and community gardens can serve as accessible, therapeutic, and transformational learning spaces for both police and community members, including returning citizens. By locating a satellite police academy near the Polis Station, the police will have a stronger, more integrated civic presence in the community they serve. This will also support police recruitment from the community by sharing access to educational opportunities.

5. Establish a Shared Wellness Network (*Task Force Report* pillar: Officer Wellness and Safety)

Incorporating new amenities throughout the neighborhood that support mental, emotional, and physical well-being, can both enrich and provide respite from daily life for police and local residents. Restorative gardens and green spaces support psychological wellness and healing. Flexible social spaces



South Kedzie Ave

45' right of way

West Ogden Avenue

Howland Charter School

North Lawndale College
Prep Charter High School

West 16th Street

Amount of vacant property
increases north of Ogden Avenue

45' right of way



1850s
FIRST STATIONS
 Multiple U.S. Cities
 (1800 ft²)

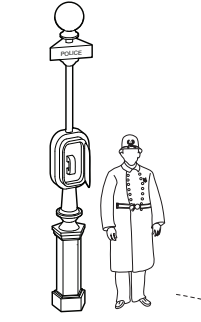
After decades of using spare space within other civic institutions, police departments establish their own station buildings.

1890s
ROW HOUSE STATION
 Multiple U.S. Cities
 (1000 ft²)

Stations are embedded in the rapidly densifying urban fabric.

CALL BOX
 Multiple U.S. Cities
 (1 ft²)

Call boxes appear on the streets shortly after the invention of the telephone. Police and trusted members of the community have access to make calls to the police station.



1930s
STATION FOR THE AUTO AGE
 Early Prototype, Chicago
 (4000 ft²)

The automobile changes the physical requirements of police stations and enlarges the area of patrol.

1960s
FORTRESS STATION
 2nd District Station, Chicago
 (45,000 ft²)

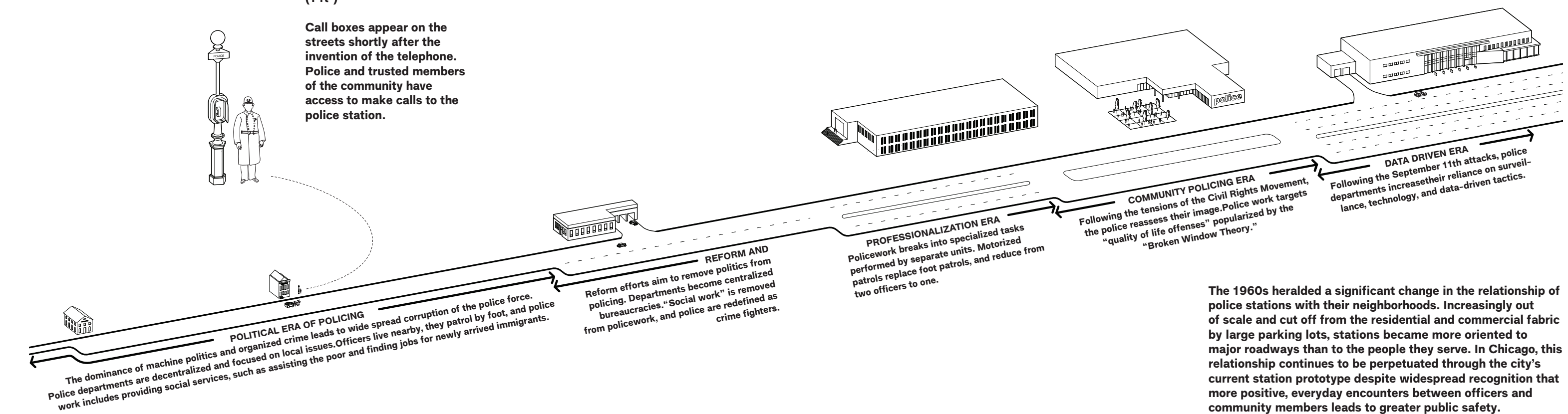
Now large hierarchical institutions, police stations grow to house multiple specialized units and administrative staff.

1980s
CIVIC STATION
 24th District Station, Chicago
 (35,000 ft²)

In an effort to soften the perception of the police, stations become less imposing and include public plazas.

2000s
TODAY'S STATION
 10th District Station, Chicago
 (48,000 ft²)

Today, Chicago's station prototype is sited on a major thoroughfare, flanked by expansive parking lots.



The 1960s heralded a significant change in the relationship of police stations with their neighborhoods. Increasingly out of scale and cut off from the residential and commercial fabric by large parking lots, stations became more oriented to major roadways than to the people they serve. In Chicago, this relationship continues to be perpetuated through the city's current station prototype despite widespread recognition that more positive, everyday encounters between officers and community members leads to greater public safety.



1930s
STATION FOR THE AUTO AGE
 Old 13th District Station,
 West Town, Chicago



1960s
FORTRESS STATION
 Area 1 Station,
 Bronzeville, Chicago
 (near Robert Taylor Homes housing development)



1980s
CIVIC STATION
 24th District Station,
 Rogers Park, Chicago



2010s
TODAY'S STATION
 10th District Station,
 North Lawndale, Chicago



2-acre parking lot

10th District Police Department

1.5-acre parking lot

130' wide right of way

allow officers to spend time together outside of patrols, office work, and meetings. Athletic facilities allow the police and public to converge, facilitating physical fitness, teamwork, and mentoring relationships through play.

6. Encourage Public Service Workers to Live Nearby
(*Task Force Report* pillar: Building Trust and Legitimacy)

Encouraging police officers and other key public service workers—including firefighters, nurses, teachers, and social workers—to live within the communities where they work enhances the social potential of the first five principles and brings new economic investment. Residency incentive programs, as proposed in the *Task Force Report*, can offer financial support to help service workers renovate, rebuild, and move into abandoned homes. Filling in gaps within the urban fabric with new residences contributes to more complete urban blocks. In addition to strengthening the urban fabric, a workforce more reflective of community demographics can emerge. Beyond their roles as civil servants, service workers can be positive civic role models and help to connect their neighbors with good jobs and job training.

THE DESIGN CHALLENGE

Polis Station illustrates how intervening in existing police stations holds social promise—and it also raises questions about how the full potential of design can come into play when architects engage the public realm. How can designers' aesthetic understanding and invention come to fruition when embroiled in the everyday world of neighborhoods, communities, and government buildings? How can a design philosophy of “starting with what’s there” and the spirit of ecological systems invite formal creativity? What of geometry, technical innovation, and form?

What is clear is that we cannot allow conventional disciplinary boundaries or social divides to prevent us from testing architecture’s mettle against the shared challenges we face today in American cities and globally. To make progress toward a better future we will need to gather intelligence, innovation, and technique that is currently being used across the spectrum of architecture and bring it to our communities, where together we can imagine and realize new possibilities for our public realm.

1. For a quick gloss on social diversity’s productive effects, see Katherine W. Phillips, “How Diversity Makes Us Smarter,” *Scientific American*, October 1, 2014, available online at <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-diversity-makes-us-smarter>. For a more in-depth exploration of the role of cities, see Ed Glaeser’s *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012).

2. The proportion of American families in major metropolitan areas who live in either rich or poor neighborhoods (34 percent in 2012) is in fact now nearing that who live in middle-income neighborhoods (40 percent in 2012); in 1970 those percentages were 15 and 65, respectively. See Sean F. Reardon and Kendra Bischoff, *The Continuing Increase in Income Segregation, 2007–2012* (Stanford Center for Education Policy Analysis, March 2016), 5, <http://cepa.stanford.edu/content/continuing-increase-income-segregation-2007-2012>.

3. High-poverty neighborhoods are those where 30 percent or more of the population live below the poverty line. See Joe Cortright and Dillon Mahmoudi, *City Report: Lost in Place* (City Observatory, Dec 2014), 2, http://cityobservatory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/LostinPlace_12.4.pdf.

4. These two causes are further discussed by Cortright and Mahmoudi in *City Report: Lost in Place*, 8–9, in which they provide examples of these public policies, including local land use restrictions and terms attached to federal housing assistance. Reardon and Bischoff’s report provides a specific measurement of inequality in the US: in 2014 the top 10% of earners accrued 50% of all income. This statistic is drawn from Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez’s 2015 updated table and figures of their 2003 report “Income Inequality in the United States, 1913–1998,” <http://eml.berkeley.edu/~saez/TabFig2014prel.xls>.

5. Cortright and Mahmoudi, *City Report: Lost in Place*, 8.

6. David Halpern’s book *Social Capital* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2005) provides a comprehensive introduction to this concept, including discussing its varying definitions and considering its policy implications.

7. For an overview and analysis of a wide range of these measures, see Joe Cortright, *City Report: Less in Common* (City Observatory, June 2015), http://cityobservatory.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CityObservatory_Less_In_Common.pdf.

8. This is a widely known statistic in discourse on cities and public space. For a focus on how streets factor in, see Janette Sadik-Khan and Seth Solomonow, *Street Fight: Handbook for an Urban Revolution* (New York: Viking, 2016) and Gregory Scruggs, “How Much Public Space Does a City Need?,” *Next City*, January 7, 2015, <https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/how-much-public-space-does-a-city-need-UN-Habitat-joan-clos-50-percent>.

9. A detailed description of watch boxes in colonial Philadelphia is found in volume three of J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott’s *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1884), 1778.

10. Criminal justice scholar Gary Potter defines police departments in part one of his article “The History of Policing in the United States,” <http://plsonline.eku.edu/insidelook/history-policing-united-states-part-1>: “These ‘modern police’ organizations shared similar characteristics: (1) they were publicly supported and bureaucratic in form; (2) police officers were full-time employees, not community volunteers or case-by-case fee retainers; (3) departments had permanent and fixed rules and procedures, and employment as a police officers was continuous; (4) police departments were accountable to a central governmental authority.” He cites Robert J. Lundman, *Police and Policing: An Introduction* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980).

11. For more on the relationship of American and British policing reforms in the nineteenth century, see Kenneth J. Peak, *Policing America: Challenges and Best Practices*, Sixth Edition (Upple Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2009), 18–26.

12. Examples of row house stations in Chicago are included in Jacob Kaplan’s article “Disused Police Stations” on *Forgotten Chicago*, <http://forgottenchicago.com/articles/disused-police-stations>.

13. In some cities, select private citizens were also given access to call boxes to report different types of crimes or public emergencies. See Gary Potter, “The History of Policing in the United States: Part 3,” <http://plsonline.eku.edu/insidelook/history-policing-united-states-part-3>.

14. George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore, “The Evolving Strategy of Policing,” *Perspectives on Policing*, no. 4 (November 1988): 3.

15. Redlining is the practice in which financial institutions arbitrarily deny or limit extending loans and other financial services to people from specific neighborhoods, largely because their residents are poor or people of color. For more on redlining’s history in Chicago, see D. Bradford Hunt’s entry “Redlining” in the *Newberry Library’s Encyclopedia of Chicago*, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1050.html>.

16. Mindy Thompson Fullilove, Molly Rose Kaufman, and Aubrey Murdock discuss these and other polices as a related set of “Serial Forced Displacements” in their article “The Aesthetics of Equity: A Magic Strategy for the Healthy City,” included in *By the People: Designing a Better America* (New York: Cooper Hewitt, 2016), 36–43.

17. For an overview focused on Chicago’s history, see Nissa Rhee, Manny Ramos, and Andrea Salcedo, “The rise and fall of community policing in Chicago,” *Chicago Reader*, September 22, 2016, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/caps-cpd-community-policing-analysis/Content?oid=23635982>.

18. The *Task Force’s Final Report* was published by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and is available online at https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf.

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