American Sanctuary:
Architecture & (in)Justice

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For my parents & Amjad.
Thank you. I love you.
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Abstract:

The United States has a long history of harsh and discriminatory immigration policies, which has often been in tension with those who believe in the nation’s promise to take in the “tired, . . . poor, . . . huddled masses.” This tension has led to a growing Sanctuary Movement across the country, as people have joined together to protect their undocumented neighbors from the increasingly severe deportation tactics of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or ICE. As part of this movement, several states, counties, and cities around the country have declared themselves “sanctuaries” and have limited their cooperation with federal government efforts to enforce immigration law.

Although the notion of sanctuary in the U.S. has centered on immigration policies, it should also be considered as an architectural and spatial phenomenon. The spaces in which ICE raids take place, such as the home, the workplace, and the courthouse, have been complicit in allowing for the transgression of rights during immigration arrests. Thus, there is a need for architectural interventions to resist this injustice.

Through the exploration of multiple narrative outcomes of raids at the home, the workplace, and the courthouse, this thesis aims to demonstrate the capacity of architecture to change a sequence of events, while also recognizing the unpredictability of design decisions. This approach tests the limits of architectural agency in resisting injustice as part of the Sanctuary Movement—not by providing solutions, but rather by speculating on the many ways that Architecture can participate in producing social change by engaging with other disciplines, such as Law.

Thesis supervisor: Azra Akšamija  
Title: Associate Professor of Art, Culture, & Technology
There are so, so many people I would like to thank for their support and guidance throughout this challenging and exciting intellectual pursuit. These are just a few.

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"The history of any country, presented as the history of a family, conceals fierce conflicts of interest (sometimes exploding, most often repressed) between conquerors and conquered, masters and slaves, capitalists and workers, dominators and dominated in race and sex. And in such a world of conflict, a world of victims and executioners, it is the job of thinking people . . . not to be on the side of the executioners."

—Howard Zinn, A People’s History of the United States, p. 9-10
AMERICAN SANCTUARY

Architecture & (in)Justice
Part I

- Introduction & Context
Although it has no precise legal definition, a sanctuary jurisdiction in the U.S. is a city, county, or state that does not voluntarily provide resources to assist federal immigration enforcement. This essentially means that local agencies will limit their interactions with I.C.E.

Sanctuary policies are intended to reduce the fear of deportation and family separation among undocumented immigrants so that they will be more willing to report crimes, use health and social services, and enroll their children in school.

National map of local involvement with ICE at the county level, as of February 2018.¹

The Sanctuary Movement

The history of the United States, presented as the discovery of a new land that would preserve “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” for all, often conceals a much darker past fraught with oppression of “the other” on the basis of race, class, gender, ethnicity, or religion. Yet hidden within that history, one may also find moments of compassion, resistance, and justice. This thesis recognizes the role of Architecture as a political tool in aiding either the oppressor or the resistor, and takes the current Sanctuary Movement in the U.S. as an architectural opportunity for resistance.

The ways that sanctuary has manifested itself in the United States are complex and vaguely defined. The country has a long history of harsh and discriminatory immigration policies, which has often been in tension with those who believe in the nation’s promise to take in the “tired, . . . poor, . . . huddled masses.” This tension has led to a growing Sanctuary Movement across the country, as people have joined together to protect the undocumented members of their communities from the increasingly severe, and arguably unconstitutional, deportation tactics of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or ICE.

As part of this movement, several states, counties, and cities around the country have declared themselves “sanctuaries” and have limited their cooperation with federal government efforts to enforce immigration law. They argue that reducing the fear of deportation and family separation among undocumented immigrants will encourage them to report crimes, use health and social services, and enroll their children in school. Although local jurisdictions have no legal obligation to assist ICE, sanctuary states, counties, and cities, have been threatened with loss of federal funding if they do not provide voluntary assistance.

Although the notion of sanctuary in the U.S. has centered on immigration policies, it should also be considered as an architectural and spatial phenomenon. This thesis investigates the limits of architectural agency in resisting injustice as part of the Sanctuary Movement—not by providing solutions, but rather by speculating on the many ways that Architecture can participate in producing social change by engaging with other disciplines, such as Law.

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Introduction & Context

Architecture & Law

The Architectural & Legal Lines - Simplified
The correspondence between Architecture and Law is most evident in the creation of lines. Law claims to produce a clear demarcation between right and wrong, just and unjust, lawful and unlawful, through the enactment of regulations that establish a line. Architecture similarly claims to produce this demarcation between inside and outside, or above and below, through the establishment of walls, floors, and roofs.
The Architectural & Legal Lines - Complex
In practice, however, both the architectural and the legal lines are much more ambiguous, and, therefore, susceptible to exploitation by entities such as ICE.
The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the People.
The complexity of the legal line already begins to become spatialized through the designation of jurisdictions—federal, state, and municipal. ICE has exploited the ambiguity of the laws, such as the Fourth and Tenth Amendments, to expand their powers in state and municipal jurisdictions through detainer requests and formal contracts with local law enforcement.

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4 A detainer request is a request from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to local law enforcement agencies (LEAs) to notify ICE as early as possible before releasing an undocumented immigrant from custody, and to hold that individual in custody for up to 48 hours after they would typically be released. Several state and federal courts have found that many aspects of this system are unconstitutional, in violation of federal statutes, and in excess of state authority (Immigration Detainers Legal Update: Key Court Decisions on ICE Detainers as of July 2018. Immigrant Legal Resource Center, July 2018, www.ilrc.org/sites/default/files/resources/immig_detainer_legal_update-20180724.pdf). More specifically, many of these courts have found that these requests violate the Fourth Amendment’s protection against unreasonable searches and seizures without a warrant or probable cause. A few examples include Buquer v. Indianapolis (2013), Jimenez-Moreno v. Napolitano (2016), Lopez-Aguilar v. Marion County Sheriff’s Department (2017), and Gonzalez v. ICE (2018). For more on ICE’s detainer system, see “Detainers.” U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 20 Dec. 2018, www.ice.gov/detainers.

5 A 287(g) contract is a formal contract between ICE and a local LEA that grants delegated authority to the LEA for immigration enforcement within their jurisdictions. This essentially means that ICE will train local law enforcement officers to do their federal jobs for them at the local level, including interrogating suspects about their right to remain in the United States, serving warrants for immigration arrests, and detaining and transporting individuals to ICE detention facilities. LEAs in sanctuary jurisdictions who do not voluntarily assist ICE are often threatened with loss of federal funds. However, in 2017, a federal judge ruled that this coercion was in violation of the Tenth Amendment’s separation of powers principle (City and County of San Francisco v. Trump). For more on ICE’s 287(g) program, see “Delegation of Immigration Authority Section 287(g) Immigration and Nationality Act.” U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 10 Aug. 2018, www.ice.gov/287g.
The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.
ICE has similarly exploited the ambiguity of the architectural line to extend their power of arrest to places where it may be limited. For example, in many cases, they will consider a slightly open door as consent to enter a private space, and will then push through to search the entire area.\(^6\)

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Sites of arrests and deportations, by the numbers.  

For total arrests, total deportations, at-large arrests, and in-custody arrests, see Fiscal Year
There is no question that policies, such as ICE detainers, have contributed greatly to funneling undocumented immigrants into the deportation pipeline. 72% of ICE administrative arrests were at prisons and jails as a result of these policies. The remaining 28% of arrests were at-large—primarily in or outside of the home, the workplace, or the courthouse. Both policy and architecture have been complicit in allowing for the transgression of rights during immigration arrests. So, there is a need for both policy and architectural interventions to resist injustice.

While sanctuary policies have largely restricted ICE enforcement activity in jails and prisons, their scope is much more limited at the home, the workplace, and the courthouse. Yet these sites provide a range of potential contexts in which to intervene architecturally, from private to public, suburban to urban, and domestic to institutional.
To demonstrate the capacity of architecture to change a sequence of events, this thesis uses parallel narratives to explore multiple outcomes of ICE raids at the home, the workplace, and the courthouse. Still images are projected onto dioramas to depict various scenes of each narrative. This representational technique is intended to portray the architecture as a constant, though adaptable, setting in which multiple events may take place.

Act 1 of each story tells the narrative of the raid as it has been reported, with the aim of visualizing the transgressions and of implicating the architecture as a passive bystander. Act 2 introduces the architectural intervention, and imagines a successful outcome, in which the architecture performs as an active agent in resisting injustice. And finally, Act 3 imagines an unsuccessful outcome, with the aim of recognizing the unpredictability of design decisions and the limits of architectural agency. Though perhaps seemingly pessimistic, the goal of Act 3 is ultimately a didactic one, serving to emphasize the responsibility of Architecture to engage with other disciplines as a productive means of social engagement.

The home, the workplace, and the courthouse each provide their own realm of engagement. As these spaces range from private to public and domestic to institutional, the transgressions taking place within them also range from clear legal violations, such as coerced consent, to more ambiguous violations of ethics, such as equal access to justice. This thesis, therefore, takes three approaches to the interventions:

1) the most pragmatic at the home,
2) semi-pragmatic/semi-ideological at the workplace, and
3) the most ideological at the courthouse.

These three realms of engagement serve as proxies for the conversations that should be a part of the debate around sanctuary.
Part II

-  

Narrative Interventions
The Home
Axonometric - Existing
Let's begin at the home.

The home carries with it a sense of belonging, identity, and protection. Legally, these notions are reinforced by rights to privacy and property established in the Constitution. Architecturally, they are defined by the walls, roof, and floor that provide enclosure and shelter.

The threshold in particular serves to distinguish the inside from the outside, and the private from the public, while also providing a transition between the two. It establishes both boundary and access, determined almost entirely by the architectural element of the door. However, the legal understanding of the door in allowing consent to enter is arguably narrow. It may be implied by stepping back from the door, but not when a person opens it slightly to see who’s there.

This understanding does not consider the architectural complexity of the element. It is not simply pushed or pulled, opened or closed. It can swing, fold, or revolve. It controls social interactions by allowing or disallowing visual, auditory, or tactile connection. So although it is true that the door has the power to permit, the dimensions of its permission are not fully understood by the courts, who ultimately determine the validity of consent when an ICE officer enters a home to make an arrest.

Now let’s hear from Johana, whose home witnessed the arrest of her niece and her niece’s son in January of 2016.

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8 For more on the power of the door as an architectural element, see Unwin, Simon. Doorway. Routledge c/o Taylor & Francis, 2007.
10 United States v. McCraw, 920 F.2d 224, 228 (4th Cir. 1990).
11 For more on ICE activity at the home, see Antos-Fallon, Marisa. The Fourth Amendment and Immigration Enforcement in the Home: Can ICE Target the Utmost Sphere of Privacy?, 35 Fordham Urb. L.J. 999 (2008). Available at: https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ulj/vol35/iss5/1
Architectural Plan - Existing
Act 1
When Architecture is Complicit

The following story is based on true events.¹²

¹² NOTE: Names, places, events, and incidences of this story are based on the following report, which claims them to be true. However, certain names, details, and quotations have been altered or invented for the purpose of recreating the narrative as an architectural prompt. Families in Fear: The Atlanta Immigration Raids. Southern Poverty Law Center, p. 7-8, https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/splc_families_in_fear_ice_raids_3.pdf.
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Johana

It was really early in the morning. I woke up because someone was ringing the doorbell, but then I heard banging on the door.
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Johana

When I opened it, I saw many officers. They said they were local police looking for a criminal, and showed me a picture of a man I didn’t recognize. They kept saying that I should let them in—that they knew he lived there. When I asked for a warrant, they ignored me. My husband was getting nervous, and said that I should just let them in.
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
So I did, and they all came into the living room. Then they started yelling, saying that they were ICE and everyone in the house should show documentation. My niece and her son had been staying with us since they left Honduras in 2014. They had an order of supervision that allowed them to stay here, but that didn’t matter. ICE deported them anyway.
Transgressions

- ICE entered the private residence without a warrant or probable cause (*violation of law*\(^{13}\))
- ICE obtained consent to enter through coercion (*violation of law*\(^{14}\))
- ICE searched the entire residence, beyond the area within the immediate control of the suspect (*violation of law*\(^{15}\))

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13 U.S. Const. amend. IV.
Now, if we imagine that the threshold of the home is thickened to include three doors, the outcome of this narrative could be different.

These doors create two additional chambers for interaction—a soundproof chamber to prevent coercion and a single arrest chamber to prevent search of the entire residence.
Narrative Interventions

The Home

Axonometric - Modified
Enlarged Axonometric - The Threshold
Architectural Plan - Modified
Enlarged Plan - The Threshold
Architectural Section - Modified
Enlarged Section - The Threshold
So let's go back to Johana asking for a warrant.
Act 2
When Architecture Successfully Intervenes
After they ignored me so many times, I just closed the sliding panel in the door. They were scaring me, and I didn’t want to listen to them anymore. Eventually, they left because they realized that we couldn’t hear them from the soundproof chamber. They might come back, but for now, we feel safe.
Here, the architecture successfully prevented the officers from obtaining consent to enter through coercion.

But this may not necessarily stop them from kicking in the doors and searching the home.
Act 3
When Architecture Attempts to Intervene
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
We didn’t think they could do this, but they did. A few days later, an investigative team came to see the doors. We left them exactly how they were because we thought that maybe they would show people what ICE was doing—breaking into our home. The team took photos and samples of the broken pieces. They told us that it should be enough evidence for our case against ICE, especially since the doors were kicked in the opposite direction of the swing. Even if it doesn’t bring Ana and Danny back, I hope it will stop ICE from doing this to another family.
FORENSIC CONCLUSIONS:
On January 2, 2016, ICE agents used excessive force to break and enter into the private home of Johanna Gutierrez without a warrant.
In this case, the architecture physically failed in denying entry to the private space. As a material construction, it always had the potential of being destroyed. However, simple architectural moves, such as changing the direction of the door swing, could still affect how this failure is viewed. By leaving such a violent material trace, the broken door may influence court rulings on ICE's aggressive deportation tactics and the legal understanding of consent to enter.
The Workplace
Axonometric - Existing
Now let’s take a look at the workplace, and the factory in particular.

Factory buildings have become powerful symbols of industry and capital production in the American landscape. As industries evolved to meet the demands of mass consumption, factories also evolved to become machines of mass production.16

The sprawling brick or concrete boxes were organized along grids meant to control and optimize every element of production, including the workers. The grid pushes the semi-private spaces, such as the employee break room, to the edges of the big box to allow for an open floor plan of public work areas. While this friction between public and private creates a complex setting for ICE agents to operate in, the organization of the modular rooms simplifies the raid and allows for large roundups of workers within the public areas of the building.

In April of 2018, ICE agents raided a meatpacking plant in Tennessee, and arrested several workers. Here, we hear from Raymunda, Juan, and Elisabeth, all of whom were affected by this raid.

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Architectural Plan - Existing
Act 1
When Architecture is Complicit

The following story is based on true events.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{17} NOTE: Names, places, events, and incidences of this story are based on the following report, which claims them to be true. However, certain names, details, and quotations have been altered or invented for the purpose of recreating the narrative as an architectural prompt. Jordan, Miriam. “ICE Came for a Tennessee Town’s Immigrants. The Town Fought Back.” The New York Times, 11 June 2018, www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/06/11/us/tennessee-immigration-trump.html.
Narrative Interventions

The Workplace

Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Raymunda

I was in the cutting line when I heard people shouting “LA MIGRA!” I dropped the butcher knife and ran to the door, but ICE was everywhere. I tried to hide between the cows, but they found me anyway.
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Juan

An officer with an ICE vest grabbed me by my shoulder. He grabbed me and wouldn’t let me go. I told him he was hurting me and he told me to shut up. Basically all the Hispanics because of their color were handcuffed. The white people just stood there. When I told them I am American, they asked me, where are your documents? I said I had them in my car, but it didn’t matter.
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Elisabeth

I was hoping my husband would be freed. Others came out. But my husband never came. They have ruined our family.
ICE arrested all of the Latino workers in the factory, including one American citizen and several others with legal work authorization. Although a workplace warrant allows ICE to detain anyone they suspect may be an “illegal alien,” this “arrest everyone first, ask questions later” approach constitutes racial profiling (violation of ethics).
Workplace warrants are fairly easy to obtain, and often allow ICE to search the entire premises, except for residential dwellings.\textsuperscript{18}

Operating within this loophole, let’s imagine that the factory is renovated to include individual residential dwellings for each worker on the roof. These private rooms are designed along two grids. Each room encloses a space within the original structural grid, while reconfiguring the exterior space to follow a secondary one. The layering of these grids allows for another level of control by providing thickened walls that limit views into the interior of each room.

Exploded Axonometric - Modified
Architectural Plan, Floor 2 - Modified
Enlarged Plan - The Room
Enlarged Oblique Section - The Room
So let's go back to the raid.
Act 2
When Architecture Successfully Intervenes
Narrative Interventions

The Workplace

Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Juan

I hid inside my room, making sure to stay close enough to the low windows so that they couldn’t see my face if they looked inside. The lawyers told us that the agents would need to see enough of the room to know that someone lived there, without seeing the color of our skin. If they did, they could break in and arrest me, and it wouldn’t even matter that I’m a citizen.
This is the ideal outcome, in which the architecture successfully prevents racial profiling.

But there are other power dynamics at play, so this outcome is not guaranteed. The factory manager, for example, has the power to give ICE agents permission to enter private spaces and arrest workers.
Act 3
When Architecture Attempts to Intervene
Elisabeth

They took my husband. They took him and his friends. A few months ago, they were talking about striking for better pay and work conditions. Now, they are the only ones who were arrested...
In this case, the architecture does prevent racial profiling and a large roundup of workers, but places even more control in the hands of the factory manager.

The complexity of the situation cannot be addressed by architecture alone, and requires a restructuring of labor regulations. But by overlapping the programs of living and working, the architecture already begins to suggest an overlapping of Fair Housing Laws with Fair Labor Laws.
The Courthouse
Worm's Eye Axonometric - Existing
Now let’s take a look at the courthouse.

As this building typology developed within the American context, increasing demands for control, efficiency, and security transformed it from a public space of civic engagement to an institutional one of enclosure. Through regulation, segmentation, and centralization, the architecture has produced a complex space of hierarchy at odds with the ideals of equal protection and access to justice.

This complexity is hidden behind an imposing facade of brick and stone, adorned in monumental motifs. In doing so, the courthouse presents an image of institutional legitimacy, while concealing the messy elements of the system, as if to say “Trust us. We know what we’re doing.”

The corridor in particular has allowed for the hierarchical orchestration of public and private circulation paths within the courthouse. The long, wide corridor leading from the main porch entry guides public movement towards public spaces, while the smaller, more covert corridors allow judges, jurors, and other court personnel to privately move between chambers and courtrooms. This isolation of movement clearly serves to control public perception of justice in the courthouse, and provides another opportunity for exploitation by ICE, who often use back doors and private circulation to keep courthouse arrests out of public view.

In March of 2018, Sergio Perez Garcia went to court hoping to gain custody of his three children, but was arrested by ICE agents instead. Here, we hear from his attorney, Bethany McCalister.

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Reflected Ceiling Plan - Existing
Act 1
When Architecture is Complicit

The following story is based on true events.21

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21 NOTE: Names, places, events, and incidences of this story are based on the following report, which claims them to be true. However, certain names, details, and quotations have been altered or invented for the purpose of recreating the narrative as an architectural prompt.
Narrative Interventions

Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Mr. Perez knew he risked deportation by going to court. But he felt he had no other choice, because his wife’s current live-in boyfriend has a long criminal history and can be extremely violent. He worried about the safety of his children living under the same roof.
But Mr. Perez was never given a chance to make his case in court. ICE agents were there to arrest him soon after he was ushered into the courtroom.
Narrative Interventions

The Courthouse

Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
McCalister

We suspect that his ex-wife notified the agents of the court date in an attempt to maintain custody of the children.
Transgressions

- ICE conducted enforcement activity in a part of the courthouse dedicated to non-criminal proceedings, such as family court (violation of stated policy)\textsuperscript{22}
- ICE is intimidating people from accessing justice and are undermining the entire system (violation of ethics)

Although arrests in public places, such as courthouses, are legally permissible, public perception of these arrests can affect ICE’s policies. As reports of courthouse arrests increase every year, more attorneys, prosecutors, and judges argue that ICE’s policies are counterproductive to maintaining lawful communities.

So let’s imagine that all of the complex internal circulation of the courthouse is reconfigured and made visible through the addition of a Public Justice Corridor. Carved out of the monumental stone edifice, this corridor becomes a public destination where all courthouse activities are reflected and projected in multiple directions by a system of mirrors.
Worm's Eye Axonometric - Modified
Enlarged Worm's Eye Axonometric - The Corridor
Reflected Ceiling Plan - Modified
Enlarged Reflected Ceiling Plan - The Corridor
Section Perspective - Modified
Enlarged Section Perspective - The Corridor
Now let's go back to Sergio's arrest.
Act 2
When Architecture Successfully Intervenes
Projection Diorama / Photo by Andy Ryan
Several photos and videos of Mr. Perez’s arrest have been uploaded online, and the amount of support he has received has been incredible. These rallies have been instrumental in his case for an emergency stay of removal. But beyond that, the national spotlight has put a lot of pressure on ICE to limit enforcement activity in courthouses.
Here, the architecture encourages public awareness through the introduction of public space within the courthouse. But this outcome is highly dependent on public interest in engaging with the justice system, which may not be the case.
Act 3
When Architecture Attempts to Intervene
We have tried to rally support for Mr. Perez, but it’s been difficult. No one seems to care, and the only images we have of his arrest are in the backgrounds of selfies. But these arrests have become more visible to the judges, who have been speaking out against ICE activity in courthouses much more than they used to.
ORDER IN THE COURT
JUDGES AGAINST ICE COURTHOUSE ARRESTS DESPITE PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE
SPECIAL REPORT
Design Concept & Ideological Dialogue

Although the public may be indifferent to the issue, the architecture can still prompt a change in dialogue by influencing the way judges and lawyers view the courthouse. The concept of the intervention reinforces the ideal that justice should be transparent and that the courthouse should be a safe place for people to access it. By doing so, it encourages supporters of this ideology to speak out against its disruptors.
Part III

Conclusions
Final Thoughts

By imagining multiple narrative outcomes of one possible architectural intervention, this thesis does not intend to provide solutions to the issues confronted by the Sanctuary Movement. Instead, it aims to illustrate both the capacity and the limits of architectural agency in producing social change, as a means of emphasizing the importance of interdisciplinary engagement.

Architecture alone does not have the power to resist all forms of injustice. Although it is capable of altering a sequence of events, the outcome is not always predictable. It is dependent on other people and other disciplines, such as Law. But beyond its physical and material limits, Architecture also has the power to influence the way other people and disciplines think about space.

That is perhaps its greatest potential.
Discussion with Critics / Photo by Sarah Wagner
Final Presentation & Discussion

12/20/2018

Special thanks to the critics who provided their sharp thoughts and critiques in the final discussion: Amy Kulper, Florian Idenburg, Jennifer Leung, Keith Krumweide, and Nida Sinnokrot.
Conclusions

Final Presentation & Discussion

Presentation of Narrative Interventions / Photos by Sarah Wagner
Presentation Set-Up
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Antos-Fallon, Marisa. The Fourth Amendment and Immigration Enforcement in the Home: Can ICE Target the Utmost Sphere of Privacy?, 35 Fordham Urb. L.J. 999 (2008). Available at: https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ulj/vol35/iss5/1


City and County of San Francisco v. Trump, No. 17-17478 (9th Cir. 2018).


*United States v. McCraw*, 920 F.2d 224, 228 (4th Cir. 1990).


U.S. Const. amend. IV.

U.S. Const. amend. X.

