Advancing Racial Justice Research In Architecture, Urban Planning, and Allied Fields

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Keywords: anti-racist, racism, decolonial, abolitionist

Architecture, urban studies, planning, and allied fields are rife with extractive, colonial, racist, and otherwise harmful research activities that are complicit in, or actively support, white supremacy. Identifying a positive vision of research that supports racially just outcomes and differentiating it from efforts that simply study racialized difference are important steps for institutions seeking to better support anti-racist research (which may be described using a range of descriptors including e.g., 'abolitionist,' 'emancipatory,' or 'decolonial'). Our research team conducted a mixed-methods study to identify: 1) characteristics and practices common across scholarly research that explicitly aims to advance racial justice, 2) institutional barriers to research that supports racially just outcomes, and 3) best practices to enable and support research practices and projects that advance racial justice. We identify foundational and supporting characteristics of anti-racist research as well as key challenges and supports for academics seeking to develop anti-racist research and pedagogy, resulting in preliminary guidelines for research.

ANTI-RACIST RESEARCH

In 2020, in the midst of the nationwide uprisings following the police killings of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, the Department of Urban Studies and Planning (DUSP) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) made a commitment to anti-racism, which includes ensuring that our research environment advances racial justice. In order to fulfill this commitment several faculty formed a group to research the theory, practice challenges, and support for and challenges of anti-racist research. In this paper, we report the results of a mixed methods research project that incorporated a rigorous field scan of existing research, semi-structured interviews with senior scholars identified in the field scan, and a survey of students, faculty, and staff in our department. We identify foundational and supporting themes that characterize antiracist research and point towards guidelines for research.

METHODS

We began with an extensive review of research and practice in urban studies and planning, architecture, and allied fields (e.g., human geography, social epidemiology) using the following search terms: anti-racist, anti-racism, critical race theory/ critical anti-racist theory, methodology, research approaches, abolitionist, decolonizing, anticolonial, racial justice, and design justice. In addition to published research, we isolated 1) mission and vision statements from long-standing and credible labs, centers, and other institutions engaged in anti-racist and racially just research efforts; and 2) anti-racist or decolonial projects identified as models by these institutions, as well as those identified by members of our research collective. The field scan detailed above was used to identify key informants.

As of this writing, we have conducted fourteen semi-structured interviews with senior scholars and researchers in the field.¹

- We asked interviewees to explain their methods and motivations for anti-racist research efforts;
- We asked interviewees to cross-check the themes we identified in the landscape scan of anti-racist and decolonial research projects;
- We asked about institutional as well as disciplinary challenges and enablers of research with anti-racist/decolonial/ abolitionist/racially just commitments.

In this paper, we share the results of our field scan and the themes and concepts we isolated in this body of work and include material from interviews with architects, landscape architects, and environmental designers that align with these themes.

FIELD SCAN THEMES

Based on our field scan, survey results, and interviews, our research team identified two foundational themes and eight supporting themes. The two foundational themes were present to some extent across all of the projects and definitions reviewed, while the other eight supporting themes were present in some projects. These themes combine key tenets of and insights from a range of disciplines and theories that have long helped advance our understanding and practice of racial justice, including Black studies, ethnic studies, Indigenous studies, postcolonial theory, social epidemiology, critical race theory, Black geographies, public health critical race praxis, feminist theory, queer theory, Black feminist thought, postcolonial theory, and ecosocial theory, among others.

This transdisciplinary approach was supported by many of the academic researchers in the field of architecture and design. One academic researcher in the field of architecture described how their supplemental training and reading in fields outside of architecture enabled them to incorporate more critical approaches to architecture research, education, and practice:

I then started to structure my practice to draw from other fields in order to look at specific issues that were not just about the formal parts of making buildings, it's beyond or further in depth than just that... reading outside of the discipline and interrogating it... just became a way of working for me.²

FOUNDATIONAL THEMES

The following two themes are seen across the literature we read on Critical Race Theory,³ Black Feminist Theory,⁴ Indigenous Studies,⁵ Postcolonial Theory,⁶ Ecosocial Theory,⁷ and Social Epidemiology.⁸

Articulate a theory of change explicitly identifying avenues by which the research advances racial justice.

According to Tuck, a Indigenous studies scholar, "an explicit theory of change helps to operationalize the ethical stance of the project, what are considered data, what constitutes evidence, how a finding is identified, and what is made public and kept private or sacred."⁹ Tuck encourages researchers to envision alternative theories of change that rely on desire and complexity rather than on simply articulating damage to communities.

One example of a group of designers operationalizing this theory of change is Design as Protest. The group, organized by BIPOC designers, describes themselves as "a collective of designers mobilizing a strategy to dismantle the privilege and power structures that use architecture and design as tools of oppression."¹⁰ They go on to say that they "exist to hold our profession accountable in reversing the violence and injustice that architecture, design, and urban planning practices have inflicted upon Black people and communities. Design as Protest champions the radical vision of racial, social, and cultural reparation through the process and

outcomes of design."¹¹ Design as Protest's theory of change is to use design as a way to create new futures in an anit-racist world, a goal for which describing racist outcomes is inadequate.

Design as Protest has ten demands, reproduced below, which help them take action towards their theory of change.

Divest & reallocate police funding.

Cease the implementation of hostile architecture & landscapes.

Abolish carceral spaces.

Restructure design's relationship to power, capital & our labor.

Center community leadership in design & planning processes.

Create, protect & reclaim public space through liberatory planning & policy.

Cultivate anti-racist visions for affordable & just neighborhoods.

Preserve and invest in Black, Brown, Indigenous & Asian cultural spaces.

Create anti-racist models of design education, training & licensing. $^{\rm 12}$

These demands point towards the importance of a clearly articulated theory of change, that centers Black, Brown, Indigenous, and Asian agency even as it works towards abolitionist goals.

Design as Protest has developed something called, The Index, which they describe as "a tool for architects, designers, planners, policy makers, and community activists committed to taking action towards identifying and dismantling systemic racism."¹³ The stated goal of The Index is "to achieve justice and liberation within design institutions by holding them accountable to their anti-racist commitments. It provides a visual way to track accountability and resources for guiding concrete actions."¹⁴

Whether it is an index, manifesto, toolkit, guide, manual, these documents describing guiding principles are common to antiracist design researchers because they help to articulate their theory of change. Using actionable examples from real world projects provides pathways for moving toward an anti-racist future. WAI Think Tank's A Manual of Anti-Racist Architecture Education, for example, is described as a work of "anti-capitalist realism that acknowledges the unsustainable character of a knowledge and material economy made possible via the inhumane occupation of Indigenous land and the brutal materialization of anti-Black racism and its aftermath."¹⁵

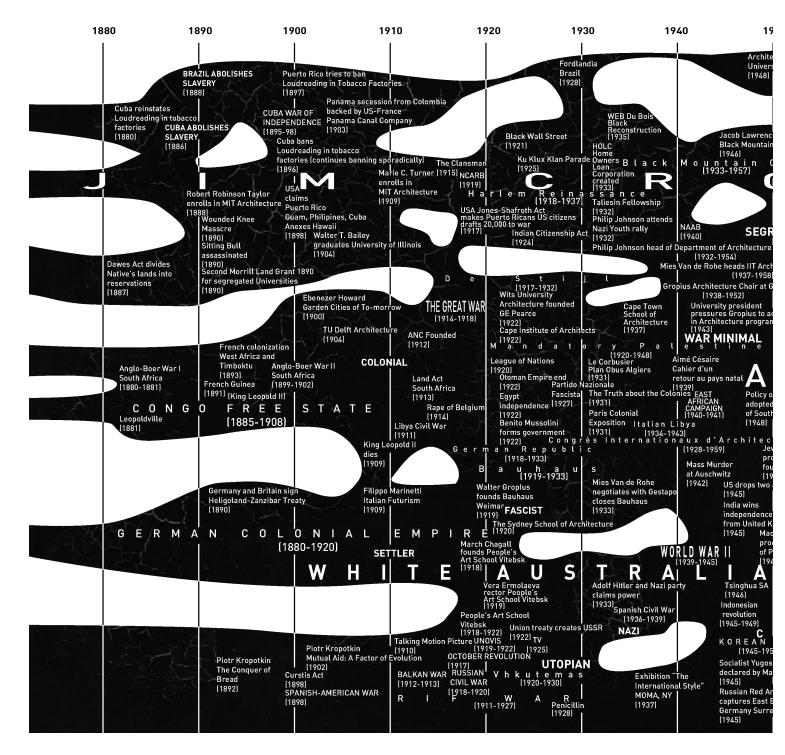
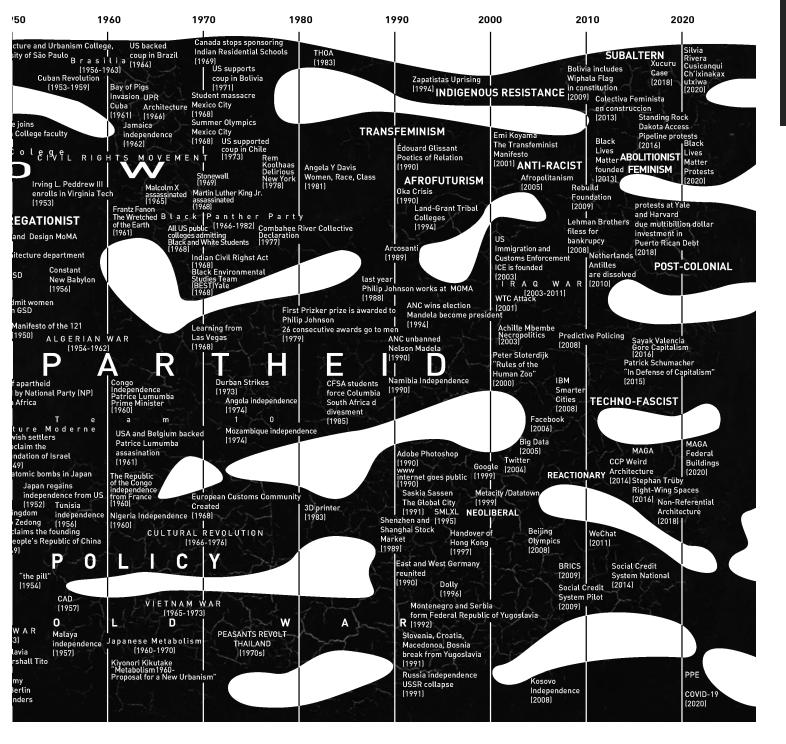


Figure 1. Excerpt from WAI Architecture Think Tank's Manual of Anti-Racist Architectural Education, p. 6-7.

PAPER



WEAVING THEMES

Eight pedagogical themes recur, intersect and animate one another over the course of the fiveweek teach-in. They each show up as both skills and philosophies that are practiced through the course's exercises, lectures, and discussions.

SKILLS

LISTEN: Hear and understand internal bias, silenced knowledge, and collectively expressed beliefs without judgment but in search of both understanding and accountability. Value different ways of knowing.

COLLABORATE: Co-create in real time. In the RJTI we collaborated by using transitional justice as a process for change in which everybody has a role and can participate. The diagram on the next spread summarizes the pedagogical arc of the Racial Justice Teach-In (RJTI) and the ways in which these skills and philosophies were woven to imagine concrete steps toward racial justice and departmental change.

PAUSE: Resist immediate action and reaction to listen deeply, selfreflect, and consider the methods and knowledge needed for ethical and just practice.

DESIGN: Analyze a specific context and history to ideate and create, in an iterative manner, imaginative models for the future. In the RJTI we argued that aesthetic inquiry was a critical faculty for building a more just world.

PHILOSOPHIES

HISTORY MATTERS: Histories of racialized violence/oppression and excluded histories matter to present-day practices. To demystify the past is to understand its hold on the present, and shape its influence on the future.

SEEK COMPLEXITY: Listen for, and learn from, difference. In the context of global social injustice, the RJTI insisted that strength comes from transgressive selves, marginalized experiences, and excluded knowledge. Our collective task is to imagine again what is required for inclusive, thriving, and multiethnic citites. ACKNOWLEDGE RACISH: Directly address the forms that racial regimes (q.v. Cedric Robinson) take to reimagine planning and design. If we do not make racial justice an explicit value and method of our planning curriculum, practices, and research, it will not be an outcome.

RACIAL JUSTICE IS AS MUCH ACTION

AS IDEA: Racial justice is not only a vision for a more equitable society, it is also the presence of concrete efforts to achieve and sustain the equitable distribution of power, resources, and opportunities for people of all races. The speculative work of RJTI participants demonstrated that the necessary and urgent work of racial justice can be concretely integrated into research and practice.

DUSP RACIAL JUSTICE TEACH-IN

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Figure 2. "Weaving Themes" and an image of the 1968 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Exhibition at MIT that opened a conversation about our departmental culture. Both featured in Delia Wendel, Dayna Cunningham, Dasjon Jordan, Géraud Bablon, Catherine D'Ignazio, Kevin Lee, and Taina McField, eds. 2021. A Teach-In for Racial Justice at DUSP. MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning. BlackSpace Urbanist Collective, a group of Black urbanists, created a manifesto that outlines their theory of change for protecting and creating Black spaces, which includes principles such as: "move at the speed of trust"; "center lived experience"; "celebrate, catalyze, and amplify Black joy" and "plan with, design with."¹⁶ According to BlackSpace Urbanist Collective, this manifesto is intended to guide their approach to a range of planning and engagement activities in Black communities. These principles can and should also inform approaches for conducting anti-racist research in planning and design.

Adopt an explanatory theory or framework that understands racialized difference as the product of social, rather than biological or otherwise "natural," causes.

This is seen, for example, in ecosocial theory which calls attention to how social and environmental factors that are shaped by planners and designers, such as inequitable living and working conditions, construct race through the production of disparities. The Design Justice + Designing Spaces (DJDS) toolkit is an example. According to their website "the toolkit was inspired by questions related to whether and how the architecture and design of justice spaces, such as courthouses and correctional facilities, perpetuated the punitive orientation of the current justice system."¹⁷ They ask us all to think "What would justice buildings look like if accountability, healing, and transformation were the goal?"¹⁸ DJDS focuses on the criminal justice system as producing racialized outcomes.

Many of these themes also featured prominently in a 'teach-in' organized by DUSP faculty over the first five weeks of the Fall 2020 semester, including several of the authors of this paper (see Figure 2). This moment of deep pedagogical commitment on the part of students and faculty identified how racial justice must inform planning, "as much action as idea."¹⁹

SUPPORTING THEMES

Work towards reconciliation and reparation.

Develop research products that support those injured by racial injustice in obtaining what they need to heal from and redress the injury (i.e., reparations).

For example, critical race theorists recognize that the law has simultaneously oppressive and reparative potential.²⁰ An academic researcher in the field of landscape architecture described racial justice on a "recognition, reconciliation, reparation spectrum," and described how research projects can help advance these goals:

Reconciliation is a power thing, to use the process as a way of empowering the community either with tools or connections or networks or information that they can use to gain resources to have more power and more voice in changes that are happening in their community. Reparations, we have not gotten to.²¹

Take seriously racist structures of power.

Structural racism in the world drives racialized difference—antiracist research should use reparative practices in order to shift power structures that maintain racialized difference.

Black feminist theory not only emphasizes the social construction of race, class, and gender, but offers an analyses of these as the product of interlocking systems of oppression—challenging additive models of oppression and fostering inclusive thinking about other oppressions. A basic tenet of Black feminist theory is Collins's theorization of the "matrix of domination," which refers to "how... intersecting oppressions, for example issues of race and gender, or of sexuality and nation... are actually organized" and the ways in which "structural, disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression."²²

Be transparent in disclosing how the project's methodological traditions informs the work.

In many cases, this means adopting research or methodological traditions that center lived experience, use decolonial methods and data sources, and use heterodox types of data and ways of knowing.

An academic researcher in the field of architecture emphasized the importance of acknowledging different forms of data and ways of knowing in doing racially just research:

The idea that knowledge is produced in a particular institution or the academy and it's in a book or it's in some paper is really in a sense very biased. It is a biased way of looking at the world. And that's another problem with doing this work, is often the research sources are discounted because they are oral or they are documented in music rather than in something else. It doesn't come in a form in which they consider legitimized and that in and of itself excludes certain perspectives and ways of knowing and seeing the world.²³

Tuhiwai Smith writes about how the term 'research' itself is strongly associated with colonial knowledge traditions, particularly from the perspective of people who experienced colonization. Reclaiming control over Indigenous peoples' ways of knowing is necessary for decolonized knowledge production; this implies methodologies that "approach cultural protocols, values and behaviors as an integral part of methodology.²⁴

Take context and history seriously.

Context and history are core to understandings of differential racialization, a key tenet of CRT. Critical race theorists are antiessentialist, drawing attention to race as historical, produced in relationship to law and political economy.²⁵ This includes describing the limits of researchers' understanding of topic, place, and population as well as understanding context and history as filtered through the positionality of the research team.

Identify agency.

Research centered on marginalized communities uplifts desire, assets, and agency, instead of taking a "damage-based" approach that reduces communities to their problems.²⁶ Indeed, research centered on dominant groups clarifies their agency as well, e.g. in the creation or continuation of racialized difference.²⁷ It is for these reasons as well that postcolonial theorists emphasize the "subaltern" and acts of resistance by those at the margins.²⁸

Protect human subjects of research by enacting the Belmont Report's ethical principles through an equity lens.

In many cases, this may involve introducing additional principles. Developed in 1978, the Belmont report provides ethical standards for human subject research. The standard has three main components:

- Respect for the person, which involves being truthful about the intentions of the work.
- Beneficence ("Do no Harm"), minimizing risk while maximizing benefits of the research.
- Justice, which implies the fair distribution of costs and benefits to subjects.²⁹

However, many contemporary researchers emphasize that the Belmont principles are a bare minimum, rather than an adequate standard, as they don't grant human subjects any agency in shaping research questions or allocating resources.

Take the positionality of marginalized communities seriously.

Where possible, research should center marginalized communities as decision-makers in research and meaning-making processes. This theme of delegating or sharing decision-making with research partners was emphasized by an academic researcher in the field of environmental design:

We had this cooperative model of a research team, with 'one person one vote' and trying to remove hierarchy in all our research processes from research design to communication to data collection, analysis, and publication. I see that cooperative model of research as partly being [racially just] and the members are all BIPOC and oftentimes first-gen student researchers.³⁰

Tuhiwai Smith outlines a standard for emancipatory research such that "when Indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed."³¹ Many Indigenous scholars suggest that settler scholars involve themselves in participatory or collaborative research projects in which Indigenous people define research goals and objectives.

Seek critical feedback and reflect.

Reflexivity should be central throughout the research process, including through community participation and oversight, transparent reporting, and reflective practice, to ensure features that make the project anti-racist are maximally integrated. Postcolonial methods apply and modify existing methods of the social sciences in order to remember who has been silenced, erased, and oppressed within colonial/postcolonial contexts and to rethink the predominant stories in order to promote multiplicity and reflectivity.³²

BARRIERS

Here we summarize the opportunities and challenges identified through the interviews.

The Service Burden

In our interviews, we found that the biggest barrier to anti-racist research was the burden on BIPOC faculty, students, and staff to fill the gap in knowledge, expertise, and lived experience. Because the demands of these research practices are different from traditional efforts, they often require taking on additional leadership roles as well as doing more logistical, relational, and emotional labor to shift and adapt departmental processes (contracts, budgets, IRB review, and oversight).

Underrepresentation

The institutional failures leading to underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minorities in student, faculty, staff, and departmental leadership positions mean that anti-racist research is either conducted by minoritized scholars in the absence of a supportive community or by who lack lived experience. For example, an academic researcher in the field of landscape architecture described the importance of recruiting diverse faculty and students as follows:

I think we have to work on attracting diverse faculty and students because you can have this monolith of people that are doing this kind of research, or you can have a diversity of people doing this kind of research. If this research is about equity and inclusion and racial justice, the institution or people that are doing this should practice that. You can be researching it and not practicing it in your own life.³³

Tension Comes with Anti-Racist Work

Many scholars find a departmental culture that can't hold or manage the tension, conflict, and discomfort that come along with having the difficult conversations and navigating power dynamics needed to address racism.

Lack of Training and Mentorship

The scholars we spoke with mentioned that many staff and faculty do not have the technical knowledge and skill to conduct or teach anti-racist research. The unfunded work of teaching those who lack this capability is often shouldered by faculty/researchers who do, who are often folks of color. They also highlighted a shortage of humility and cultural competency, both of which are necessary to support Black and Brown students and faculty.

What is the "Field" of Field Research?

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SUPPORTS

Meaningful (and Resourced) Commitment

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Promoting The Research

Departments, schools, and colleges/universities should highlight projects that advance racial justice in departmental or school seminars, and promote their leadership. This makes clear that fields of academic knowledge that seek to transform unequal power relations (see above) are valued. Many interviewees expressed that they did not feel supported by their departments or schools to pursue racially just research. An academic researcher in the field of architecture emphasized that:

There needs to be an atmosphere of this being something that is embraced, that folks feel like they can do this and still be recognized for their work and be rewarded for their work, i.e. tenure and promotion and all the other sorts of things. That this is something that won't be, when it gets to the provost or the board and they're considering tenure, that they won't look at this and say 'Oh this is ghettoized work. This is not something we want to tenure.³⁴

Identify Funding that Supports Novel Partnerships

Partnering with community groups, as well as other departments, centers, or programs that ground their research in critical race theory and focus on advancing racially just outcomes is essential. Institutions should identify alternate sources of long-term funding, including support for unconventional project overhead that racially-just projects often induce. This can include charging funders for rent, allocating percentages of headquarters staff, and itemizing other expenses usually covered by indirect costs. More flexible funding would permit the proper compensation of long-term community partners and support costly

relationship-building. Some interviewees emphasized that they often had to go outside of their department or school to receive support for conducting racially just research. An academic researcher in the field of architecture stated that:

I have always gotten more support for my work outside of any institution that I've worked at, than from the institution itself... From like-minded colleagues, but also from publishers, various conferences, various awarding institutions or agencies, from those places rather than the folks that I worked with on a daily basis.³⁵

Include Racially Marginalized People in Leadership

Ensuring that staff, faculty, and departmental leadership includes people from marginalized groups in formal leadership positions creates a sense of institutional support and increases the likelihood that commitments will be meaningfully resourced. An academic researcher in the field of architecture described the expressed lack of support for racially just research from leadership in their department, and expressed skepticism in occasional demonstrations of interest by leadership based on "fads" or events that heighten awareness:

What makes [racially just research] possible is your desire to do it. Until the last year and a half, with the Black Lives Matter movement and other similar events, now Black is the new Black. Prior to that, you just had to do it. There was no institutional support. There were very little avenues for financial support. It just didn't exist. You just had to sort of stay the course and do it. I was told early in my career that you'll never gain tenure doing this, and this was from a dean who told me this.³⁶

Departmental Norms and Positionality

Foster departmental culture and norms that supports communication, hold tension and conflict, and support collaborative contribution, relational resilience, openness, and transparency. This also requires that institutions confront their roles in and contributions to racial inequities and that they work with communities of color to correct them (e.g., recruit students, staff, and faculty from those communities or conduct research that advances their planning and development priorities).

CONCLUSION

Our research team identified pathways for developing and supporting anti-racist research agendas for architects, planners, and designers through our fields scan and interviews. Above, we outlined opportunities for and challenges to anti-racist research developed and believe that these should guide institutions in supporting this work. Research must clearly establish a theory of change and articulate a framework through which it will be advancing racial justice in your context. Such a theory is change is supported by the eight additional pillars identified above. Many existing anti-racist research projects create a guiding principles document or manifesto which often align, broadly, with the supporting themes we identified, suggesting means of acting ethically and challenging power in the world.

Our review of the institutional challenges to and supports for anti-racist research showed that the biggest challenge is the institutional labor---unpaid, emotional, and otherwise---that frequently falls on BIPOC faculty, staff and students. BIPOC faculty, often junior faculty, are frequently responsible for training other community members to conduct anti-racist research ethically, even while defending its necessity and value. They also often become responsible for starting and facilitating dialogue around racism. This additional responsibility and labor should be compensated or recognized as a service to the institution. Fieldwork spaces were identified as a significant challenge because they currently focus on white spaces and, therefore, reinforce a dominant, colonizer narrative of architectural space. We must balance the spaces of practice and study with non-normative geographies to help to counter that narrative. However, this brings us back to the first challenge: BIPOC faculty often have the burden of opening these spaces for investigation or helping their colleagues work in them.

On the other hand, supports involve materially supporting and valuing anti-racist work, including placing importance on of partnerships and positionality. Communication elevates the work, counters dominant narratives, shows it is valuable to the organization and guides others interested in performing antiracist research. University overhead is a problem for researchers who often do this work on a shoestring budget and for partners who lose already-scarce funds to large overhead fees. We must identify novel ways to support to creatively offset the overhead costs associated with long-term partnership.

ENDNOTES

- Our interview protocol was subject to, and approved by, the MIT Institutional Review Board (protocol 2104000349). In selecting key informants, we limited our pool of potential subjects to senior scholars and practitioners. We understood this to be a trade-off; on the one hand, we potentially missed cutting-edge approaches and frameworks, and barriers that are unique to junior scholars and practitioners. However, we also wanted to eliminate any tacit pressure that junior scholars might feel to participate; we also recognized that junior scholars might face higher risks of reprisal.
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