THE ARCHITECTURAL LEAGUE - (1)

Architecture and Justice



Spatial Information Design Lab

Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation



Million Dollar Blocks: Justice and the City

The United States currently has more than 2 million people locked up in jails and prisons. A disproportionate number of them come from a very few neighborhoods in the country's biggest cities. In many places the concentration is so dense that states are spending in excess of a million dollars a year to incarcerate the residents of single city blocks. When these people are released and reenter their communities, roughly forty percent do not stay more than three years before they are reincarcerated.

Using rarely accessible data from the criminal justice system, the Spatial Information Design Lab and the Justice Mapping Center have created maps of these "million dollar blocks" and of the city-prison-city-prison migration flow for five of the nation's cities. The maps suggest that the criminal justice system has become the predominant government institution in these communities and that public investment in this system has resulted in significant costs to other elements of our civic *infrastructure* – education, housing, health, and family. Prisons and jails form the distant *exostructure* of many American cities today.

Have prisons and jails become the mass housing of our time? How has the war on drugs affected incarceration rates? What are the differences between crime maps and prison admission maps? What are the relationships between prison populations and poor communities? Has incarceration become a response to poverty rather than to crime? What are the relationships between jailed populations and homeless ones?

The relationships implied by these questions become evident when criminal justice data is aggregated geographically and visualized in maps. The focus shifts away from a case-by-case analysis of the crime and punishment of an individual, away from the geographic notation of crime events, and toward a geography of incarceration and return.

The maps pose difficult ethical and political questions for policy makers and designers. When they are linked to other urban, social, and economic indicators of incarceration, they also suggest new strategies for approaching urban design and criminal justice reform together.

Information as Resource, Data and the City

We start with the idea that a city is not simply a collection of people or buildings but rather a network of relationships, a dynamic and often unstable assemblage of interactions and forces. Information about the elements of these networks – people, buildings and infrastructure, environment and landscape, wealth and force and effect – is constantly exchanged and produced within and between them. Information is the oxygen of the networks that make up our cities. All of us, and our surroundings, have been knowingly or unknowingly translated into data. Stored and recirculated and transformed, with and without our consent, information functions

independently of its origins, and its pattern of circulation and use is wide open – for better and worse. Information is a resource, local and global, regardless of whether the decisive factors in its use are its accessibility or its mode of presentation.

You may be a person, but you are not a citizen if you are not recorded in a database. This simple fact has given rise to an enormously complex politics of information access and visibility, closure and opacity. Civic, urban, and global networks today are formed not only of visible but also invisible information resources with concrete effects on our daily lives. Information builds and organizes most of the structures, policies, and landscapes of our cities.

Public
Health

Criminal
Justice

CITY

Housing

Civic
Institutions

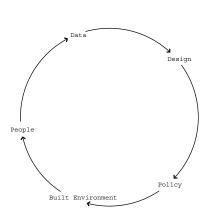
An indeterminate but powerful feedback loop is generated that links data, people, design, policy, and the multitude of spaces that constitute the built environment. As a resource, information can make visible the complex ways in which cities are organized, are built, and grow. But before we can work with data – make arguments with it, generate and resolve conflicts with it – we have to obtain it, which is often difficult, and see it, which requires its translation into visual images.

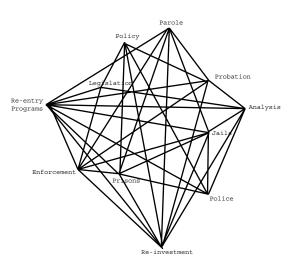
Architecture and Justice

The Spatial Information Design Lab's project on *Architecture and Justice* focuses on the alarming and unprecedented growth of the U.S. criminal justice system over the last three decades.

Growing with it have been vast archives of data; indeed, criminal justice in the U.S. today is a data management and mining enterprise. Criminal justice information is primarily used to regulate and organize the lives of individuals inside its system, playing its part in an institutional self-perpetuation.

Our project refocuses criminal justice information: we start from the inside of the city, rather than trying to leave it behind. Our approach is a spatial one because questions of residence and movement are at the unacknowledged heart of the criminal justice system today – where people live, where they go to prison, and where they return.



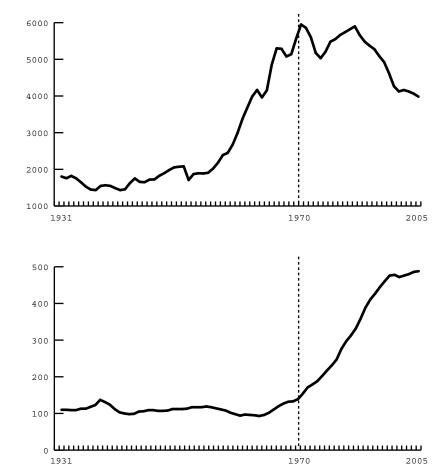


Criminal Justice policy is driven by a complex web of connected services and contingent systems.

Why Are So Many Americans in Jail and Prison?

Since 1970 Americans have been living in an era of what some have called mass incarceration, one of the "greatest social experiments of our time" (Travis 2005.)

The crime rate in America over the course of the last century has moved up and down in a periodic wave. The corresponding rates, at which Americans have been incarcerated, look very different. In contrast to the periodic undulations of the crime rate, the incarceration rate has remained constant for most of the century. From

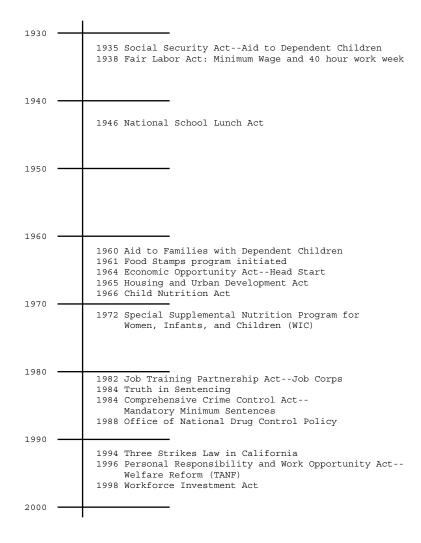


Top: Crime rates form a relatively self-consistent wave of activity.

Bottom: Incarceration rates remain relatively constant until 1970, when a radical upward trend is driven by policy.

the late 1970s, however, it has been climbing rapidly. The result has been a tenfold increase in the standing prison population, from 200,000 in 1970 to 2,000,000 in 2000. How we respond to crime is a matter of values, decisions, and policy, all the way down to the most basic questions defining what counts as a crime. In

the late 1970s and early 1980s, efforts to fight poverty were systematically replaced by the "war on drugs," including the criminalization of most drug offenses – crime became the surrogate for poverty – and incarceration the primary response.



Poverty policy in the United States since 1900, indicated by major shifts.

From Data to Maps

There is no such thing as raw data. Data sets are created and designed even before they are visualized. All data are collected, processed, and presented for specific purposes and perspectives, whether or not we admit or suspect it. Information and data are created relative to claims, values, and arguments, structured by the situation of their designer and the reasons for their collection.

As a result, no data and no maps are neutral, and our project is no less purposeful: we want to interrogate traditional criminal justice data through the geography of the city. What can we do with this data? What images and stories come to light when we reorganize criminal justice data to emphasize urban infrastructures, rather

than give in to the traditional forms in which crime statistics are presented and utilized?

A criminal justice data set is most commonly maintained and presented as a list. It is designed to track people as individual cases. As individuals make their way through the system, information is entered into a database and accumulates: name, crime, length of sentence, home address, and so on. Individually, the information forms a portrait of a case; aggregated, the cases create a statistical portrait of a society.

When maps are made from data like these, they often stop at the very first element: what crimes were committed and where. 'Crime maps' have played a significant role in the public discourse on cities over the last thirty years. These maps have, in fact, become one of the most prominent

instruments through which we understand and interpret our cities.

According to the National Institute of Justice(2005), "mapping crime can help law enforcement protect citizens more effectively in the areas they serve. Simple maps that display the locations where crimes or concentrations of crimes have occurred can be used to help direct patrols to places they are most needed. Policy makers in police departments might use more complex maps to observe trends in criminal activity."

Mapping the data about the location of crimes has prompted successful campaigns to transform urban policing from a reactive, calls-for-service approach to a proactive community-policing strategy focused on so-

called high-crime locations. Crime maps collect individual incidents over time to identify "hot spots," places that can become the focus of intense police — and political — attention. As the N.I.J. report puts it, candidly if rather casually: "using maps that help people visualize the geographic aspects of crime, however, is not limited to law enforcement. Mapping can provide specific information on crime and criminal behavior to politicians, the press, and the general public."







Typical crime map, from www.chicagocrime.org

Criminal events, not people, are mapped to the city.

N 02 KANNELDOOL (NEWS BOSH) ROOM (NEWS 0.0) O 0000 EAST 11 1 1000 KINNELDOOL 1000/DA	NY 20 -60 NI 1001 -1001 -17 0 0 57 008504-67	\$11 NO 18780 ST 1504 NO SS 10 MAGES ST 1974 A PS C 100
0.0 0.0	1	A
Control Cont	10	NOT 1 10 10 20 20 10 10 10 20 20 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M TEL TECHNOL E SENS BART BART MODE T I TELEM RAME S I MODE TO DAR CYTES PRODUK M TEL DELVOTO DESIGNATION OF SENS SENS SENS SENS SENS SENS SENS SEN	HE DO N BOT THEN THE TANK OF THE SHAREN SHEW THE THE TANK OF THE SHAREN SHEW THE SHAREN SHEW THE TANK OF THE SHAREN SHEW THE SHAREN SHEW THE TANK OF THE SHAREN SHEW THE SHARE	MEST S10 10 10 ESS
West Control	HE TO BE HE SHE HOLD TO BE COMMONDED TO	## 150 MS BYMM I THANKS ON THE MINISTER OF WORKSTON FROM THE MINISTER OF THE M
West Control	THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE	
\$M\$ 10, 0000 \text{M\$ 0.000 \t	HE SE TO BE THE SHALL SEED OF DRIVENING HEAPON OF THE STATE OF THE STA	March Marc
M TOR NOTIFICATION OFFICE DATES DESCRIPTION OFFICE S S SERVE DE S SERVE DE S SERVE DE SERVE D	IN SE SE SE SEPT MOSE OF D. O. SES CONSTITUENT OF	RETAIN NOT TO REPORT OF The PORT OF THE PORT OF THE PORT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PORT OF TH
M GEO 20 177 199 199 199 199 199 199 199 199 199	HT 40 D 40 PM, DOM 11 D 0 TH COMPOSITIONS WITH THE TOTAL STATE OF THE	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
A SEA DESCRIPTION TO A 151-01.7 SHOULD SHOULD A SECURE A SECURE A SECURE A SECURE AS A SEC	IN RE 2 SE UPL SON IF SO SV MANATHERION	TOOM NOT THE BEST OF THE PARK OF THE MALTOLE F SIZE TERRORES AND COLORS. NO. 602 MILES IN THE PARK OF THE COLORS OF THE PARK
1	THE NO. DO NOT HAVE SEEN AND ASSOCIATION OF THE CHARGE STREET, THE CONTRACTOR OF THE	1975 1
M TO I COPPORATION TO THE SECOND SECOND SECOND STATE STATE OF STATE AND STATE SECOND S		ANTONE BUT THE TABLES IN THE PARK HE AND THE THEORY TO VENEZULAND AND ANY AND ANY AND ANY AND ANY AND ANY ANY AND ANY
\$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$10.00^{10.000000000000000000000000000000	1	
	THE SECOND SECON	100 100
M NO. SECTION 27 CHIEFE DIAGRA DIAGRA NAMED NO. O CARROL NAMED N.	OF MY NO BE SET AND MY AND SET A O SET OF MY SAME CONTY.	NOT NOT THE TANKS IN THE WORLD BY THE WORLD WITHOUT STREET OF THE STREET STREET, WITHOUT STREE
# TO 1 TO CAMPOON TO COME SHOW DESIGN OF TO 0 CHEST SHOW DISCUSS TO 1 DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL SHOW DISCUSS TO	HE RE D. TO THE SEEN OF BUILDINGS OF THE COMPOSITIONS OF THE COMPO	##7-9F0 T0
Control Cont	NO DE TO SELECT THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF T	Company Comp
## 101 MARKELT 1 10200 DAME DAME DAME 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	10	## 1757 16 17 17 17 17 17 17 1
M 108 DEFORMED THE TRICK'S BRIGHT HERDER CROSS ST \$2.0 CANNO BRANCH ST \$1.1 THANK DEFORMED. THE BRICKLY MAY BE \$1.0 CANNO BRANCH ST \$1.1 THANK DEFORMED. THE BRICKLY MAY BE \$1.0 CANNO BRANCH ST \$1.0	HE DO DO NO DEL TROME OF DO NO ANALYSIS COMMAND	Mile Mile Teller Mile
M F1 (F100) F (F100)	IN AD REL OR HIGH TROOK IN C. O. LA HINDRESSAND	18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18
\$ 7 SERVENTENT THETER BANDS SHOWER COLORS TO 6 ORDERS BANDS 6 TO 6 ORDERS STATEMENT BANDS 10 ORDERS BANDS 10 ORDERS BANDS 10 ORDERS BANDS 10 ORDERS 10 ORDERS BANDS 10 ORDERS 10 ORDERS 10 ORDERS BANDS 10 ORDERS 10 ORDERS 10 ORDER	HE AD NO SEE MENT TOOM OF A O TO HANDS CONTROL.	1057-290 105 105 105 105 105 105 105 105 105 10
M TS CADROPTOR THERE DISCONDERD CHOICE TO COURSE MANY SATE HISTORIES RECOVER MODILE TO MAKE THE PROPERTY AND	W 00 10 75 Deck 100M OF 0 0 4M COMMANDONINA, W 00 0 M 00 DECK 100M OF 0 O	##1500 60 10 A5400 01 There is 0.64 BODFOR 05CATEO Groce 101 IN BODE 13 There is 0.5 TO MARCH 100 TO MARCH 17 FOR THE TO MARCH 100 TO MARCH 17 FOR THE TO MARCH 100 TO MARCH 1
M TOL TOMPOTAL TOMPOT HE DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL TO A CONTROL TO THE TOMPOT TO A CONTROL TOMPOT TOM	THE TO BE BY HERE HERE ST D. I BY PERSONNELLED	10 M COMMON CONTROL TO ACCOUNT, NO. 60 M CONTROL IN CONTROL OF THE
0 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	20 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	## 150 0 10 0 10 0 10 0 10 0 10 0 10 0 1
Wilson Million Milli	IN SO SE SE SPIL SEEDS OF SE OF CHARGES CORRECT THE SE SE SE SPIL SEEDS OF SE OF CHARGES CORRECT THE SE SE SE SE SPIL SEEDS OF SE SE CHARGES CORRECT THE SE	1
M TOR TOCOMPANY TOMORA ENTER DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL STREET BOOKSTATE MODELS AND THE STREET	NY NO 1 40 DIL NOTE THIS I SY POSSIVE OF THE TOTAL STATE OF THE TOTAL	THE RESIDENCE OF THE PART OF THE PARTY OF TH
1 I TANDONE CONTRA DIRECTOR OFFICE 1 0 O SECURE BASIS IN E 1 DATES TANDON BOOKEN	THE RESIDENCE OF STREET STREET AND STREET STREET, STRE	ATT-THE REST OF THE PERSON OF
M GEN	NO SEE N SEE NO. NO. OF STREET, ST.	10 10 1000 0 1 164 10 17 180 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 1
M TOR 10411/1/19 1 TORTO 10411/19 DECEMBER COLORED 1 0 10500 ENTREM 0 0 1 1 TORTO ENTREM ENTRY TORTO ENTREM ENTRY TORTO ENTREM ENTRY TORTO ENTREM ENTRY TORTO ENTR	HT 45 F 45 BH WITH TH C T 57 HOMESTER TO THE BE WAS ASSETTED TO THE	March Marc
# 18 GOMBRADO N 1200A BROOK DROOK 1200D 12 C TABLE BRAN 1 2 C 1800 DROOT 12 C	TO BE SEEN WAS STEEN SWALLFORDERS	NO. THE TATION IN THE RESTOR NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF
March Marc		Wilson W
M 104 CM-CAMPELLEY TORTOL SHART SHARTS CACHES TO 0 00000 TOTAL STATE SET 1 61800 TS-MARKSCHIM MICREAL MICH. M 104 CM-CAMPELLEY TORTOL SHARTS SHARTS CACHES TO 0 00000 TOTAL STATE SET 1 61800 TS-MARKSCHIM MICREAL MIC	HE 40 B 40 BH TROST ST D 6 BY COMPOSITIONER	Followith No. 100 (MANO) of Thermor On All Browner and Tolky, of Service (ROCO) (MANO) to MANO) of Thermor On All Manon (MANO) (
\$ 1 0 VerSf Marque - 1000000 ROBBOO (18000 0 18000 0 1 0 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100 0 10 0 18100	HE TO BE THE REPL SOON OF DO THE CHARGACOUTS. HE TO BE SEEN SOON DESCRIPTION OF DO THE CHARGACOUTS.	METHED NO. 601 CENTER & TRAVERS ON DE MONTAGE AND THEODORIS SERVICES ON THE CONTROL OF AND THEODORIS AND THE
0	HE SO AS DATE THE STATE OF THE COMPANY CONTRACTOR AND THE COMPANY CONTRACTOR COMPANY CONTRACTOR CON	#87579 68 68 08160 6 162490 65 67 GBH166 69 0007GH46174.0E20.000 887390 58 58 58 MAGE 23 186496 68 201 675 AM 10017ER-0174.400.000
M WE S ON CHARGE AND SECURITY SECURITY OFFICE S OF SECURITY SECURI	THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T	MC MC MC MC MC MC MC MC
V 10.1 10.0 to 0.44 10.000 0.000 1.0000 0.000 1.0 0.0 0	W 50 8 80 801 1868 17 0 0 804 (DATOS) WENTON	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
U	THE RESIDENCE THE PROPERTY CHARLES	PROMETER DE DE STATE DE TANTO DE SE SANS DES TRESTANDANS
M 400 4 44 MALTOND D 120/201 (010/00 1040/00 1047/00 1 A 1 01/00 1/01/01 11 2 1 01/00 4/4/M/ (DOSTRET BOODING	## 50 MG 56 MFL 10035 37 E 1 SHT PORTSESS FORESCO. ## 50 MG 58 MFL 10035 37 E 0 0 NH 0 NH AND AND CONTROL ## 10 MG 68 MFL 10085 37 E 1 MFL 0594F025 00HFLS	17.4.6.1.5 25 25 25 25 25 25 25
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	W 10 10 10 10 100 1001 17 0 1 5V R008504-6F	\$\circ{\circ}\circ{\circ}\circ{\circ}\circ}\circ{\circ}\circ{\circ}\circ}\circ\circ}\circ\circ\circ\c
M SER AN PROPERTY Plant Table SE ENGOS SERBAN CAPTER 5 S. GERSON MESSES S 2 1 SERBES SERVICIONET AS SERVICION AS 1 TENTICON AS SERVICE SERVICION SERVICE SERVICION AS SERVICE SERVICION AS SERVICE SER	THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T	100 100
1 TH STOCKER SETTLE DESIGNED STORMS OF THE S O SETTLE STORMS OF THE S O SETTLE STORMS OF THE STORMS	IF B TO B TOTAL THEM OF B TO BY COMPANIES OF B	NO TO SERVE ST THOUGHT BY SE PRESSURE AND THE CONTROL STORMS.
M 100	NY 60 TEL BET TOPI, WORLD ST C C SY RESERVOISO NY 80 TEL SEPA 20039 ST C I SHI CHARLESTERS.	1
W 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M TOR TOWARD AND TOWARD DISCONT TOWARD 1 0 0 HOURS MAKEN U 2 1 HARD SEASON SERVICES SERVICES OF SERVICES AND TOWARD AND TOWARD AND TOWARD AND THE SERVICES AND TOWARD AND THE SERVICES AND THE SE	OF BUILDING STATE OF	ATT-1-1 BT TO TO-10 E The RE SEE SERVICE OF TYPINGET GO OF SEE SERVICE OF THE SERVICE OF
1 10-0-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-	NY 40 1 41 NO, 1000 17 0 1 EV 500045167	AG 400 EDSS50 23 1 there into 100 602 McCOCK/MS-12 STEELEN THE SECOND SE
M TOR TO POSITION OF TERROR DESIGNS ON TO 1 0 DESIGNS DESIGN TO 1 TO SESSED THE POSITION OF TH	THE REST OF THE PERSON AND A PARTY OF THE PERSON AND	\$50 \$50 \$10.000 \$1 \$ \$600 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$10 \$
# 108 T 20 CLC/se	HE 6 T 48 BPL 90R TF D 0 OV MINATORD	10 10 10410 St. Seattle Ct. 25 JETTERON AT TOLANS ACCORDED
# 100 T \$0.00.00 \ 100 M	10	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M TELL OFF A THE TOTAL CONTRACTOR OFF THE TOTAL STATE OF THE TOTAL STA	HE TO SO HE SET THOM IT A SI SHIP COMMON CONTROL	0007 (NO 40) 40 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
West Control	1	1
M 16 1.047	10	60 60 10 10 10 10 10 10
# 00 1 10 20 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T	1
M TOR SMIRTOR T MARKET REGION DEFINER ORDER TO 0 CHARGE DEFINE T 2 FAVES SMIRTOR THREE PRODUCT M DOR STOCKHOPPAN ISMATE BENEZIE DEFINED CARRIED T 0 O CHARGE DEFINE OF 2 FAVES STOCKHOPPAN PRODUCT M DOR STOCKHOPPAN ISMATE DAMAN DAMAN CARRIED T 0 O CHARGE DEFINE OF 3 FAVES STOCKHOPPAN PRODUCT	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	Occur NO REGISTOR 23 Three Park DK 200 CODATOR DESCRIPTION 1007 CM NO NO NO NO DESCRIPTION NO DESCRIPTION 1007 CM NO NO NO NO DESCRIPTION NO DESCRIPTION 1007 CM NO NO NO DESCRIPTION NO DESCRIPTION
M 100 R 13 PC 24 HARPS D SUDDI SODDING GEROOD 1 0 0 GEROOD SCHOOL RD 1 1 DOORS GEROOD IN 100 DATE M 100 E DATE, DATE, DATE M 100 M	10	100 100
M THE CONTINUING MARCH SHOPE SHAPE CANDS 10 0 GARDS 12 1 GARDS 12 1 GARDS SANDERS IN SANDERS S	HE AD S AS SPECIMEN SEC. O AV POSSERVAND.	NOT-SEC NOT THE MARKET IN THE COST OF THE
* 3 TO FREEDRICK THE TOTAL DRICK DRICKS GROWN TO 0 OFFICE TORS 21 5 1 STREET BEFORE MICH. STREET BECAUTE AND THE TOTAL DRICK THE THE TOTAL DRICK THE THE TOTAL DRICK THE TOTAL	THE RE IS NOT THE WAY OF THE PARTY OF THE PA	Fig. 2
W TOL 475 THE ACT TOWNS TOTAL COURSE COURSE IN 1 O COURSE MADE TO 1 TOWNS CONTROL BUT TO THE COURSE OF THE COURSE	THE R. M. S. LEW CO. P. LEWIS CO., LANSING, MICH.	MARTEN AND AND AND RECORD TO ADDRESS OF ANY AND ANY AND ANY AND ANY AND ANY
M TEL 400 WITHOUT TOWN OF THE PRODUCT FOR THE TOWN OF THE PRODUCT FOR THE PROD	W 40 1 40 DY WOR DI C O DY HARMONDO OF ED 1 30 DY GAS O' D O DY HARMONDO	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M TON SOURCE VIEW 1998-00 STAND SOURCE STAND SOURCE STANDARD STANDARD STANDARD STANDARD SOURCE SOURCE STANDARD SOURCE STANDARD SOURCE SOURCE SOURCE SOURCE STANDARD SOURCE STANDARD SOURCE SOURC	10	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M TEL 2011/ACHRISCO 1919HO ENHOS ENHOSE CHIESE 1 0 0 CRISE 1980 TO 1 ENHOSE ESCRIPTION ENTER M 75 07 MACHINICON 1980F7 ENHOSE ENHOSE CRISTON CRISTO 1 0 0 MEGIS 100 VEN D 2 1 MEGIS STRUCKECON ESCRIPTION M TEL 2017/AVENCE AND TELEPROPER ENTOR CRISTON CRI		##1990 RD 00 MARKE 21 18-9 RD 08 250 URGS #LP 120 MEDICAL DOCUMENTS AND THE TOTAL DOCUMENTS AND THE TO
M 403 0054719 19405 0 0000 0000 04005 1 0 0 4000 0140 0 1 1 14000 05 07502 3000 018	H 10 1 H 101 HOR ST D 1 TV 016QUEVENO	Decoration Dec
M 481 DELLOWOODS W. MINRES BOOM BROWN 0,990 4 0 0 04505 ORDER 4 4 1 BROKERS MONERAL M. BOOMS	107 40 8 40 100, 1004 17 0 1 07 0008501-07 107 10 100 1004 1004 1004 1004 1004 1	NO. 40 PERSO 21 TRAVES DE SUS EMEGNET EN CONTRACTOR DE
Control Cont	IN 40 AT 40 ADT AN 10 A CONTROL TO AND THE AND	March Columbia C
WEST 1.4	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	1
S IN THE PRODUCT NAME OF THE PRODUCT OFFICE OF S O STATE THE THE S I DOTTE THE PRODUCT OF THE S I STATE THE PRODUCT OF THE S I STATE THE PRODUCT OF THE S I STATE THE PRODUCT OF THE S I S I DOTTE THE S I DO	NO. TO 1 24 BY THE TREE STATE OF THE CHARGE METERS	THE SECOND STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF SECOND STATE OF THE
0 No PLANCIST NORTH ETERS DESIGN (MADE) 0 0 1879 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 1	1	No.
M B 10 (ACE	IN D O B SP 100 If D O SA CHMAZCOTA	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M TOL JOHNS AND FOR MICE THE DRAWN DAMES ON TO 1 1 COUNTY STAND TO 1 COUNTY STANDARD AND STANDAR	W E E S STATE WEST IN D O DRI OWNERCHED TO BE TO BE TO BE TO THE STATE OF THE STATE	00.000 (1) 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M THE RESIDENCE AND SECURITY TO SECURITY SECURITY TO SECURITY SECURITY SECURITY TO SECURITY SECU	## 10 3 10 50 50 10 10 0 37 MATERIORISTS ## 20 70 80 100 100 11 0 0 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00	TO THE BLOCK IS There is NO TO PRODUCT AND PT. STOCKED STOCKED AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AN
M TO I SECURITIFICATE FARMERY EXPEND DEPOSED GROUND 1 0 O SECURE ASSESS F 2 1 SECURE DEPOSED MEDICAL MODIFICATION OF THE SECURITY DEPOSED OF THE SECURITY OF T	IN THE THE MET THE TOTAL OF A COMMANDORS.	ANTITY ON THE TAXABLE IN TRANSPORT OF THE SECTION OF THE SECOND
	THE RESIDENCE OF THE STATE OF THE CHARACTERS OF THE STATE OF THE CHARACTERS OF THE C	ANTIPO NO NO MARKO DI TENTO DE SE STORADO PARA DES MANTANTES DE SELECTURA DE LA SELECTURA DE L
M DI CRITTERIA DE CONTROLA CON	N	NOT 10 10 NO NO NO NO NO NO NO N
M TO 8 DOES NOT THE STREET DESIGN DECIDE 1 0 0 CHOICE SAMES WITH STORES SECURISH SEC	W 40 1 40 PL TOTE 1 TO ARREST HE BOW	Schemistry 1
M NEED FOR COMMITTING FAMILY DESIGNATED DESIGNATION OF COLUMN TO A COMMITTING FOR A STATE OF COMMITTING FOR THE COMMITTING FOR	1	60 60 80860 21 18mm no 58 69 00760 27 280xC03.848 mm 4011171 50 50 5050 21 18mm no 58 501 9000 80 28 28020 2782 mm
M TES 1 TEST FACE BAS 1 MARTER DESIGNE COMMUNIC NO. 0 0 00 MARTER DESIGNE NO. 0 0 00 MARTER DESIGNE NO. 0 0 00 MARTER DESIGNE NO. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	## ## ## ## ## ### ### ## ## ## ## ## #	Marrier Marr
M NO. INTEGRACES ACCORDED DESIGNAL CHARGES TO CONTROL BROKES TO STREET BEACHTS BOOKERS AND STREET BOOKERS ACCORDED TO CONTROL BROKES TO STREET BOOKERS AND THE	0	
S 2 MOSTIFICATION NOTATI DIGITAL CONTR. CHARGE 7 0 0 MARKE DAND N 0 7 MOST MINITARINA NOTATI DIGITAL CONTR. CHARGE MARKET NA CONTR. CHARGE MARKET NA CHARGE MAR	IN TO BE A SEC AND THE O BE GANDINGS.	100 100
M TOR STOCKET STOLE THE STOCKET STOCKET STOCKET OF STOCKET STO	HE DO TO BE TOPA DOOR OF DO THE CHARGOS COMPLE	10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
M 101 127MLT51AW 100007 (NOTW DOUTS 00000 1 0 0 00000 0000 0 1 0 1 0000 NFMLSS MEN M 10 R 207MRD31AW 100071 DRBHT DRBHT 00700 7 0 0 0000 BRBM 21 2 1 EMBEST 00900 AVE BLTO	NY NO 8 34 301 7030 17 0 0 27 MARSA 9710-10	#1 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
# 5 MOLACTIONICS OF NOTICE BOOKS BOOKS GROUN GROUN CO. 1 MINUTE CAME NO 1 GOOD WILLIAMS BOOKS OF NOTICE BOOKS	W TO BE SEEN OF BY BOTH OF THE CHARGES COMES.	501 500 55.500 0 1 feer not 50 30 1005CB 100 20 1005GB 100 100 1005GB 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 10
N 01 50 ML (5-16 100 20 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10	THE BOOK OF THE WORLD SERVICE STATES OF THE	1
M NEL TRICKETORO TERRET ENGLIS CARRO CONTROL CARRO CONTROL ESCANTE E 2 F ELECTRO PROTECTIVO M NEL TRICKETORO CONTROL ESCANTE CONTROL C	## 80 80 75 pert 4658	TOTAL TO THE BESSE OF The First DATE SAST OF DE SEGNATURE COMME. OF THE SECURITY OF THE SECUR
Control Cont		Common Mil. Gill C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C-C
	THE RESIDENCE OF STREET PARTY CONTRACTOR MANAGEMENT OF STREET STREET, STREET STREET, S	10
With Interest Indian mean them to a time and to it was missing mount	NY DI W N TOTAL DE S T D D TOARS LANDSEN NY DI 20 N 2015 200H IV D D NO CHARLES CONTR.	TOWN NO TO THE THREE S TANK OF THE LEVEL NO. 10 CONTRACT CONTRACT OF THE STREET CONTRACT CONT
M TER THIRDRAND TITLES SHOW SERVE SERVE SERVE SERVE SERVE S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	THE SE THE SECURITY SECURITY OF THE COMMITTEE COMMITTEE.	SECURITY SEC. SEC
M F1 SEMERARD 27 125021 SEAST SHAPE GROWS 1 0 0 SERVE STREET STREET ST. COURS SO MANAGEMENT SECURITY M SEE S. COURSES F STREET SERVES SECURITY SECU	HE NO TO BE THE STORE OF BE OF THE COMMANDOSTRAL	#81990 NO NO NO BRANCE I TRAVERS OF MICHAEL ST 10/#879/ACTOR/GOING
West		No. Control
M TOL MILWHITTEN TERRIFORM SOUTH STITLD TO D STITLE STITLE STILL STILL STILL STITLE STITLE STILL	W NO 0 0 0 00 00 000 00 00 00 40 40040 000 00	162. 162 EVINE 2 Thorsto IX NT TAPE 1965 2002 CREETING ON 162 62 62 62 62 62 62 62 62 62 62 62 62 6
M TOR TOUR PARTY THOUSE DRIVEN CAND IN C. O. CATTER MADE S. S. S. CAND INC. C. C. CAND IN C. C. S. CAND IN C. C. S. CAND IN C. C. CAND IN C. C. S. CAND IN C. C. C. CAND IN C. C. C. CAND IN C. CAND IN C. C. CAND IN C. CAND I		COME BY THE DANKE I THOUGH BY THE PACKE IT DESCRIPTIVE MANUAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PACKET PACKET AND ADDRESS OF THE PACKET PACKE
M 100 TERPECCE CT TERES SPEED TOTAL SPEED TOTAL TERES TE	THE REC. IS NOT THE RES. OF THE PARTY OF THE	
M TOL COTOMORDIC PROTECTS DIRECT COMMENT TO COTOMOR SEED SEED SEED SECTION OF SECURITIES AND COTOMORDIC PROTECTS AND COTOMORDI	## 00 18 0 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19	EDICAGNA NEL DE MESSE EL TANGO EL DE CANTONIO DE LA CANTONIO DEL CANTONIO DE LA CANTONIO DE LA CANTONIO DEL CANTONIO DE LA CANTONIO DEL
M STEE AN INC. DECEMBER AND PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE	00 000 000 1 001 00 0 1 0 0	1975 1975
M 1018 AND RELOCKED AND TRANSPORT DISSIDES OFFICE 1 O O OLD SERVE WEST 1 SHEEK AND DESCRIPTION STOCKED AND DESCRIPTION OFFICE AND DESCRIPTION OFFICE AND DESCRIPTION OFFICE AND DESCRIPTION OFFICE AND DESCRIPTION OFFI AND DESCRIPTION	100 100	ID-COLORE 10
M 10.8 (4) MC_000476 at 17544 b 100025 (100035 C+100 - 0) 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	10 100	IEONO OFF 10 10 IEEE 21 Nov risk 02 27 Nov risk 03 27 Nov risk 03 10 Nov risk 03 10 Nov risk 03 Nov ri
Windows Control Cont	10	TO COLOR 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 1
West Control	1	1
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	1	15
	1	Triangle
0	1	15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15
	1	Technology 1
	1	Transfer
	1	150 150
	1	Control Cont
	1	The control of the
	1	Control Cont
W 10, 128 125 12	1	Company

Now imagine a map visualizing the same data set, but this time shifting the focus from the crime events to the home addresses of the people incarcerated as a result. The transformation reveals a pattern that – unless you live there – is difficult to see: the density or clustering of large numbers of imprisoned residents in very few and very small sections of the city.

With this map, we stop talking about where to deploy police resources or how to track individual prisoners for institutional purposes; instead, we begin to assess the impact of justice on a city, even a city block, and start to evaluate some of the implicit decisions and choices we have been making about our civic institutions.

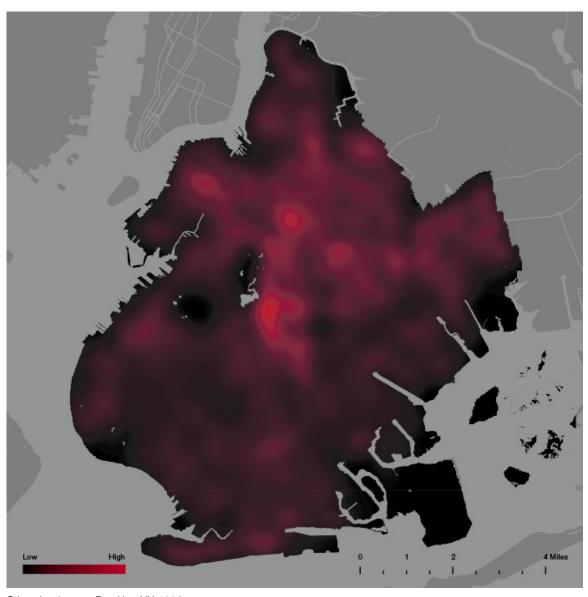


Prison admissions by home address, Brooklyn, NY, 2003.

From Crime Maps to Admissions Maps

If crime maps succeeded dramatically in mobilizing public opinion, redefining the city as a mosaic of safe and unsafe spaces, and forcing the reallocation and targeting of police resources on specific neighborhoods, the gains were shortlived. The resulting crime prevention techniques,

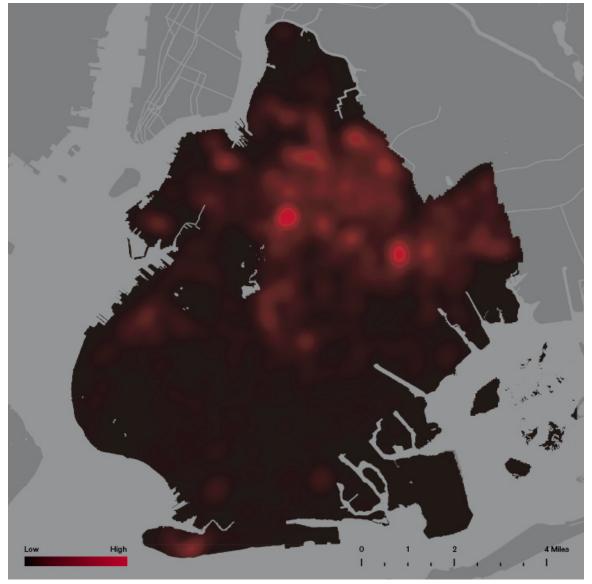
and the community-policing movement in general, soon reached the inevitable limits of any purely tactical approach. The city spaces that were targeted became safer, but too often crime incidents were simply displaced to other locations.



Crime density map, Brooklyn, NY, 1998.

By focusing solely on events, the human underpinnings of crime were left largely unaffected. When we shift the maps' focus from crime events to incarceration events, strikingly different patterns become visible. The geography of prison differs in important ways from the geography of crime.

Crime happens in many different places, diffused and dispersed across the city. But the people who are convicted and imprisoned for urban crimes are often quite densely concentrated geographically.



Prison admissions density map, Brooklyn, NY, 2003.

The crime rates in the most affected precincts are typically four times higher than the lowest. But the highest incarceration rate precincts show activity upwards of ten times higher than those of the lowest incarceration rate precincts. Like poverty, incarceration is spatially concentrated, much more so than crime.

It's as if by imprisoning the residents of these neighborhoods, making them disappear from their city, we were simply mirroring the disappearance of the conversation on poverty.

Prison admissions by census tract, Brooklyn, NY, 2003.

Just as the incarceration rate tracks the eclipse of that debate, the geographical inquiry into criminal justice in the city uncovers the territory of the juxtaposition between crime and poverty. Focusing on where incarcerated people live when they are not in prison and comparing that

with poverty suggests this conjunction rather starkly. Is incarceration policy the new solution to poverty, or a new structural component?



Population living in poverty by census tract, Brooklyn, NY, 2000.

Redefining the Problem: Mass Migration and Reentry

600,000 people return from prison each year in the United States, and millions more come home from jails. About 240,000 of the released prisoners – roughly forty percent – will return to prison within three years. In and out, they come

and go, all too often simply cycling back and forth between the same places.

New maps can help us grasp this extraordinary phenomenon: prison migration and with it highresettlement communities. When crime maps are replaced by incarceration maps, we can finally visualize the geography of a massive migration,

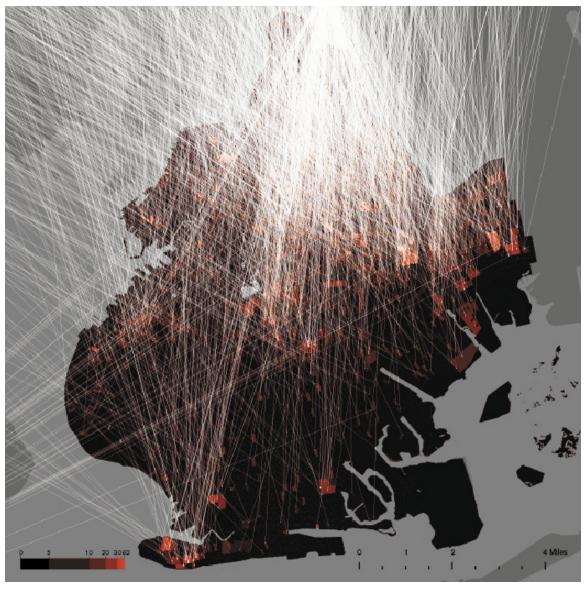


Prisoner migration patterns, Brooklyn to New York State, 2003.

the flow of people in and out of the city. We can ask whether this quiet but pervasive migration crisis isn't creating a growing class of noncitizens, concentrated in very few places in all of our major cities.

The new visualizations reveal what was previously difficult to see – the mass disappearance and reappearance of people

in the city. They focus on the systematic phenomenon of ex-prisoners' reentry and examine new institutions that respond to this structural feature of urban life. What happens to these people when they come home? We often know where they are going and what will happen. What is our responsibility to effectively resettle them, given all that we know?



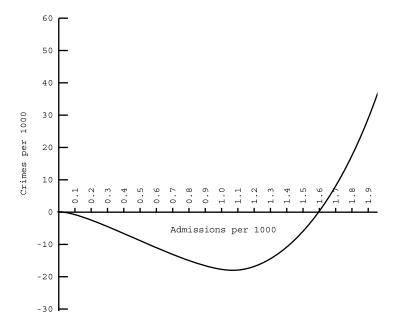
Prisoner migration patterns, Brooklyn, NY, 2003.

The Tipping Point

In this context, Jeremy Travis (2005) poses a critical challenge to designers and advocates alike: "Rather than view these new situations simply as matters of concern to criminal justice experts, [we should] analyze how our incarceration policies affect the work of practitioners, advocates and community leaders in other policy arenas" (84).

The migration cycle, which is something like a permanent or recurring refugee crisis, takes

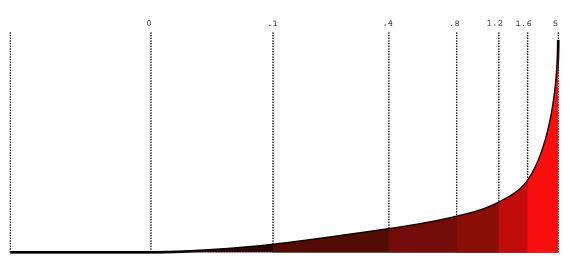
a dramatic toll on the communities where it happens. Todd R. Clear's research (2003) suggests that communities reach a tipping point beyond which increased incarceration begins to undermine local networks and the infrastructure of everyday life. Once past that point, neighborhoods can enter a downward spiral in community viability, which, in turn, can promote an increase in crime and juvenile delinquency, and a decrease in everything from public health to housing values to political participation.



For places where prison has become the predominant government institution and incarceration is no longer a last resort, the criminal justice system ceases to function as the antonym of civil society. Instead, as the recycling of men and women between prison and home becomes an everyday fact, the institutions of everyday life are profoundly transformed. So, a policy response in one sector – incarceration as the answer to crime – has multiplier effects in other sectors: prison migration now implicates urban infrastructures and networks as diverse

as education, family, housing, health, and civic involvement.

Questions of crime become questions of the city. If the maps have exposed otherwise obscure places in the city, then advocates and designers alike are obligated to look further, to investigate the urban networks that are now more obviously implicated in the situation.



Prison Expenditures Expressed in Millions of Dollars

The resulting histogram displays what statisticians call a Power Law distribution – the largest share of the total dollars are represented by a very small share of census blocks.

Money Maps

Measured in dollars, the criminal justice network has frequently become the most important public institution in high-resettlement neighborhoods.

The stakes and impacts of this unacknowledged investment become clearer when we make the incarceration maps slightly more complex by adding information about the actual costs of imprisonment. How much money does it cost to keep people in prison? The figures are available, and when they are correlated with the addresses of the people on whom the money is being spent, a remarkable pattern emerges.

We call them "Million Dollar Blocks," single blocks in inner-city neighborhoods across the country for which upwards of a million dollars are allocated each year to imprison its residents.

The maps now suggest a link between those places and the dollars spent (elsewhere) on their

residents. They ask us to weigh the opportunity costs – for each city block, neighborhood, or wider community – of committing those funds to recycle people through jail and prison, back home, and then (for more than a third of them) back inside again.

This pattern is visible in all too many major American cities: New Haven, New Orleans, New York City, Phoenix, and Wichita.

Money spent on criminal justice is money not spent on other civic institutions, especially in these communities. Guided by the maps of Million Dollar Blocks, urban planners, designers, and policy makers can identify those areas in our cities where, without acknowledging it, we have allowed the criminal justice system to replace and displace a whole host of other public institutions and civic infrastructures. Those neglected sectors are the very ones we have already identified as the collateral damage of the incarceration explosion – education, family,

housing, health, and civic involvement. – Now the investment pattern, and spending priorities that feed this condition become dramatically evident.

The new maps, it turns out, have induced a thought experiment and raised a fundamental question:

What if we sought to undo this shift, to refocus public spending on community infrastructures that are the real foundation of everyday safety, rather than criminal justice institutions of prison migration?



Prison expenditures by census block in Brooklyn, NY, 2003, represented as dollar totals.

Excerpt from a database of New York City prisoners by home address with expenditures added. [Data has been scrambled.]

Criminal Justice as Infrastructure

Data has often been used to inform policy, especially where cities – a veritable paradigm of the large complex organization that requires information if it is to be managed properly – are concerned. The "efficient city" sought to address the poverty question with information and put data to work to clear slums and level urban blight in the 1960s.

Where are we today? Are we proposing something similar? Here information is visualized in a way that exposes policy and makes it accountable to the people who have to live through its effects, the everyday networks of civil society. The maps ask and help us to look closely at each city block, where a small piece of the pattern is located. Can we experiment in the reverse direction, starting from the block and aiming for the city?

Clearly, although the Million Dollar Block is our focus, the maps indicate that we cannot answer this question at the level of the block alone.

We propose to treat prisons and jails as an urban exostructure. No matter how physically removed they are from the neighborhoods of the people they hold, they remain firmly rooted as institutions of the city, as everyday parts of life for people, impacting their homes, social networks and migrations.

An analysis of any Million Dollar Block will demonstrate how the overlapping resources of these networks conflate individuals and infrastructure, the local and the global, the close and the far, the piece and the system. Doing anything here, attempting to restructure the way the criminal justice system works, means working with contingent, dynamic and overlapping systems and collaborations between multiple agencies, tools, and techniques.

What does it mean to design policy, to design multiple policies, around a single place?

The maps are both a picture and a design strategy. The picture is an aggregate situation. The design strategy is start from the block and build, incrementally, new networks which might inform this crippled urban *infra*structure.

In this way, these maps depart radically from the maps and statistical analyses that fueled mid-20th-century urban renewal and policing projects. The map is not a top-down view. And neither is it a bottom-up account. It is both.

Identify an area. Zoom in, and examine the specific conditions. Zoom out, and then, consider both scales at the same time. The resulting image is no longer Hard Data. It is a Soft Map that is infinitely scalable, absolutely contingent, and open to vision and, hence, revision.

Eric Cadora and Laura Kurgan



31 men, two blocks, 4.4 million dollars, Brownsville, Brooklyn, NY, 2003. What would you do?

Notes

- 1. The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem, Morton Grodzins, 1958, University of Pittsburgh Press.
- 2. What is Crime Mapping: Briefing Book. National Institute of Justice, 2005 http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/maps/briefingbook.html
- 3. But They All Come Back; Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry, Jeremy Travis 2005, The Urban Institute Press.
- 4. Todd R. Clear, Dina R. Rose, Elin Waring and Kristen Scully, "Coercive, Mobility and Crime: A Preliminary Examination of Concentrated Incarceration and Social Disorganization", *Justice Quarterly*, 20[1] Spring, 2003, pp.33-64.

Graphical Innovations in Justice Mapping is the first project of the Spatial Information Design Lab which was founded in 2004 as an interdisciplinary research unit in the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation at Columbia University. The project is collaboration between the Justice Mapping Center, the Spatial Information Design Lab and the JFA Institute.

Project Team

Project Directors: Eric Cadora and Laura Kurgan Research Associates: David Reinfurt, Sarah Williams. Research Assistant: Leah Meisterlin With special thanks to Charles Swartz of the Justice N

With special thanks to Charles Swartz of the Justice Mapping Center and to Kirtley Cameron, Eunice Kim, John Liu, Charles Miles, Brian Walker and Wian Wang, GSAPP students who contributed to this project in its initial stages. The Spatial Information Design Lab is a think-and-action-tank at Columbia University specializing in the visual display of spatial information about contemporary cities and events. The lab works with data about space – numeric data combined with narratives and images to design compelling visual presentations about our world today. The projects in the lab focus on linking social data with geography to help researchers and advocates communicate information clearly, responsibly, and provocatively.

Spatial Information Design is a name for new ways of working with the vast quantity of statistical and other data available about the contemporary city. By reorganizing tabular data using unique visualization techniques, and locating it geographically, we try to correlate disparate items of information and picture the patterns and networks they create. Putting data on a map can open new spaces for action, and new options for intervention, as the often unseen shapes and forms of life in the city become visible

Design here is less like a tool and more like a language, a practice that shapes the outcomes and understandings of the things we do. It is not simply an aesthetic prejudice. The ways in which we present ideas and information can sometimes be even more important than the material itself, for better, or more commonly, for worse. The words and pictures we choose make a difference to the way people, including us, imagine their own possibilities of responding to what we say and do.

Spatial Information Design Lab Graduate School of Architecture Planning and Preservation / Columbia University 1172 Amsterdam Avenue 400 Avery Hall New York NY 10027

http://www.arch.columbia.edu/SIDL

September 15-October 28, 2006