SPATIAL INFORMATION DESIGN LAB

Scenario Planning Workshop

Some Possible Futures:
Scenario Planning and Justice Reinvestment

The United States is in the midst of a decades-long experiment in mass incarceration. The costs — in lives and money — are enormous. Two million people are in jail, and hundreds of millions of dollars are at stake in dozens of our largest cities.

Approaching these facts as a matter of cities — rather than as a matter of crime or prisons — and visualizing urban phenomena by the translation of data into maps, has opened new sites of accountability and new pathways to opportunity. With good data and geographic information system software, a new set of maps, "million dollar block" maps have started to shift the traditional conversation on justice from one about crime and punishment to one about the built environment and its invisible territories. Instead of mapping crime events, these maps refocus attention on the places where people who are imprisoned lived, and will return to live, each year. The wildly disproportionate concentrations in particular parts of the city revealed create new sites of accountability. These maps reconnect the obligations of the justice system to the well being of the populations for which it operates. In some cities, public funding is consumed at the rate of a million or more dollars each year to incarcerate people from single city blocks.

Today, these million dollar blocks and the identification of the attendant urban areas where so many people are recycled between prison and home, have led experts in criminal justice policy to question the opportunity costs of the way criminal justice dollars are spent and to commit to reinvesting in the civil infrastructure of those communities. The new thinking, "Justice Reinvestment," is a notion that the justice system, including its investments and other resources, must become accountable to the places from which it removes so many residents each year, and to which they will return.[1] It suggests that strategies should be developed for investing in

the city, or future cities, in order to enable people to make a better transition from prison to the city, and to interrupt cycles of migration between community and prison.[2] Justice reinvestment means providing ways of re-imagining urban *infra*structure, after so many years of building its *exo*structure — the prisons which are so far away, and yet, have become the most important social institution to many city blocks.

Creating mapping strategies to portray million dollar blocks and pose the challenge of justice reinvestment has been the aim of a two-year research project at the Spatial Information Design Lab of Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. Generated by prison admissions data, the maps highlight concentrated parts of our cities in shades of red as an invitation to policymakers, community groups, architects, planners and activists alike to pay attention, recognize and respond to what is nothing less than an internal refugee crisis right here in the United States.[3]

Like the crime maps they aim to displace, these maps and diagrams have significant public policy implications. But to go further and begin to answer the question that these maps have provoked — how reinvest? — the Spatial Information Design Lab organized a Justice Reinvestment Scenario Planning Workshop, hosted at the Architectural League of New York in September 2006. Facilitated by the Global Business Network, it brought together local government agency leaders, technical assistance specialists, community developers, architects, and urban planners to debate the possibilities of policy and design in a single neighborhood. The workshop took place over the course of one day. It was structured around the presentation of a variety of data — criminal justice, homelessness, health and human services, society and the economy, landuse, and architecture — which workshop participants used to explore possible scenarios for a particular series of million dollar blocks.

The scenario planning workshop focused on Brownsville, Brooklyn, which has one of the largest prison and jail migration populations in New York City. It is the focus of current efforts by local housing developers Common Ground and the justice reform group Family Justice. Brownsville is also part of a three-year "Jail Discharge Planning Initiative" jointly undertaken by New York City's Department of Corrections and Department of Homeless Services. These groups are all engaged in planning and testing new ways of resettling homeless and reentering people, and were active participants in the workshop.

The workshop began from the premise that million dollar blocks are not an accident or inevitable. They are the direct results of thirty years of criminal justice policy intersecting with urban design. They are, in particular, an effect of the ways in which information — data and statistics — has been interpreted and used to formulate policy interventions that shape urban space. From the data-driven construction and demolition of public housing projects to the proliferation of crime maps and rapid-response policing, Brownsville has been built and rebuilt with information.

Urban historian Wendell Prichett has noted that, "unlike other neighborhoods in New York and elsewhere that opposed public housing, Brownsville, long a center of progressive politics, actively lobbied for it."[4] Today, Brownsville is largely identified by the public housing projects built by the New York City Housing Authority and the City Planning Commission under Robert Moses in the 1960s. Their construction involved the demolition of hundreds of tenements and the displacement of thousands of residents.[5] In 2000, Brownsville had 8,906 units of public housing with 21,503 residents — 25.3% of the area's population. In fact, although Brownsville is home to only 1% of New York

City's residents, it houses over 5% of its public housing residents.[6]

The public housing projects so actively sought by the community's leadership brought none of the desired effects, instead reinforcing the area's systemic poverty. Most of the problems around which the Brownsville residents originally organized, and for which public housing construction seemed to offer an answer, still trouble the neighborhood. The residential towers and blocks brought neither affordable middle-income housing nor an economically and racially diverse neighborhood, but rather solidified the perception (and underlying reality) of poverty and blight against which its residents have struggled for decades.[7]

Statistics about crime, public health, and education were all invoked by Robert Moses in persuading city officials to "clear the slums," and hence displace their poor black and Latino/a residents.[8] Similar statistics were used to justify Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's "quality of life" campaign in the early 1990s, targeting crime "hotspots" and facilitating their gentrification.[9] With few exceptions, urban and design professionals have watched these cycles of urban regeneration — data driving development and policy — without thinking much about how and why they are produced.

Our own project willfully travels down a similar data-oriented path, but differently: reformatting the data about people in prison into a picture of urban poverty. We have used statistics to redraw the geography of incarceration. We believe that it is possible to utilize data in this reverse direction, as it were, to imagine and create a space for action. The reversal implies an interrogation of the ways in which information about cities is created and insists that we make better use of it to initiate regenerative, even if incremental, forms of urban change.
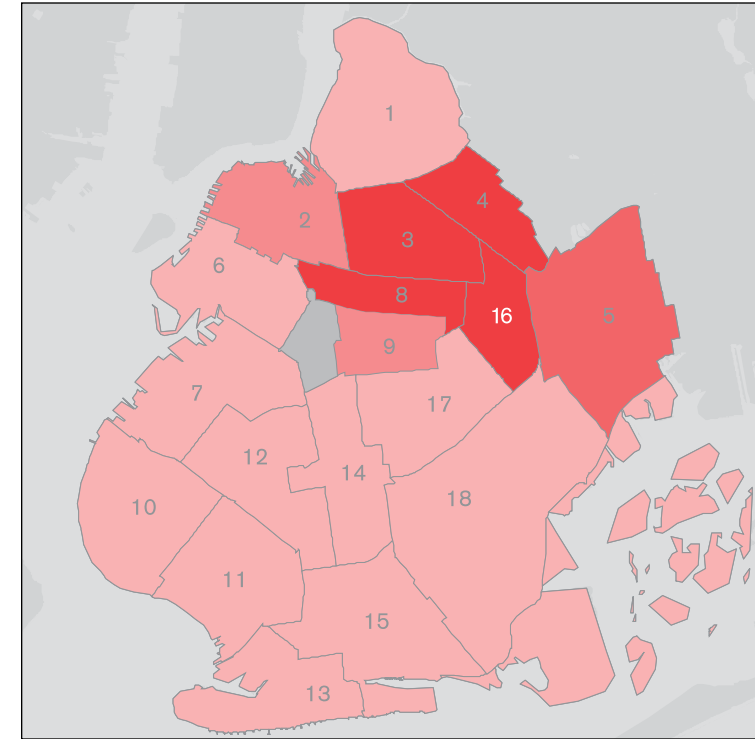
COMMUNITY DISTRICT	% POPULATION	% POVERTY	% ADMISSIONS
CD 1	6.51 %	9.08 %	5.37 %
CD 2	4.03 %	3.58 %	4.64 %
CD 3	5.83 %	8.10 %	16.51 %
CD 4	4.24 %	6.34 %	9.34 %
CD 5	7.04 %	9.30 %	14.45 %
CD 6	4.23 %	2.60 %	3.08 %
CD 7	5.02 %	5.03 %	3.82 %
CD 8	3.78 %	4.15 %	9.46 %
CD 9	4.26 %	4.14 %	4.43 %
CD 10	4.96 %	2.79 %	0.91 %
CD 11	7.05 %	5.54 %	1.35 %
CD 12	7.39 %	8.54 %	1.32 %
CD 13	4.23 %	4.94 %	3.41%
CD 14	6.76 %	6.22 %	3.79 %
CD 15	6.48 %	4.42 %	1.20 %
CD 16	3.48 %	5.92 %	8.43 %
CD 17	6.75 %	5.40 %	5.29 %
CD 18	7.96 %	3.91 %	3.20 %
BOROUGH TOTAL	100.00 %	100.00 %	100.00 %

Percent prison admissions by community district for Brooklyn, New York 2003, highlighting CD16, Brownsville

The Workshop

To frame the workshop, we created maps that expose an invisible geography of the city, a spatial phenomenon of staggering proportions which otherwise passes almost unnoticed, except to those who live it.

Behind the policy implications, which are significant, we also wanted to highlight the ways in which the built environment, in combination with a series of governing agencies, influences social interactions. Likewise, we wanted to highlight how this combination influences the structure of the city and its communities down to a very fine grain: the lives of people indoors and out. Instead of rejecting the premises which both built and, in some cases, unbuilt and rebuilt Brownsville, we asked our participants to remember the utopian ideas which inspired it.[10] Residents believed Brownsville would become a model of the future city — an exemplar of urban renewal in the postwar era, a genuinely new world beyond slum clearance and all its complexities — tied to the desire for racial integration.

In its current configuration, Brownsville bears witness to the replacement of that new world of centralized planning by a network that links its infrastructure and community life to a host of faraway places, agents and prisons.

We asked our participants to reimagine a future city based on the transformation of these existing networks in all sorts of ways — from data analysis and collection, to policy and program design, and not negligibly, to new constructions.

The workshop took place in the exhibition space at the Architectural League of New York, facilitated by Andrew Blau of the Global Business Network, a San Francisco-based consulting firm which has popularized the use of scenario planning in a variety of situations, including with not-for-profit and non-governmental organizations. The participants

were surrounded by evidence, exhibited in the form of maps, as the starting point of a design project for reinvesting in the city, its infrastructure, and its networks. They were organized into four small working groups, each around their own table which displayed a large-format print of a map of Brownsville.
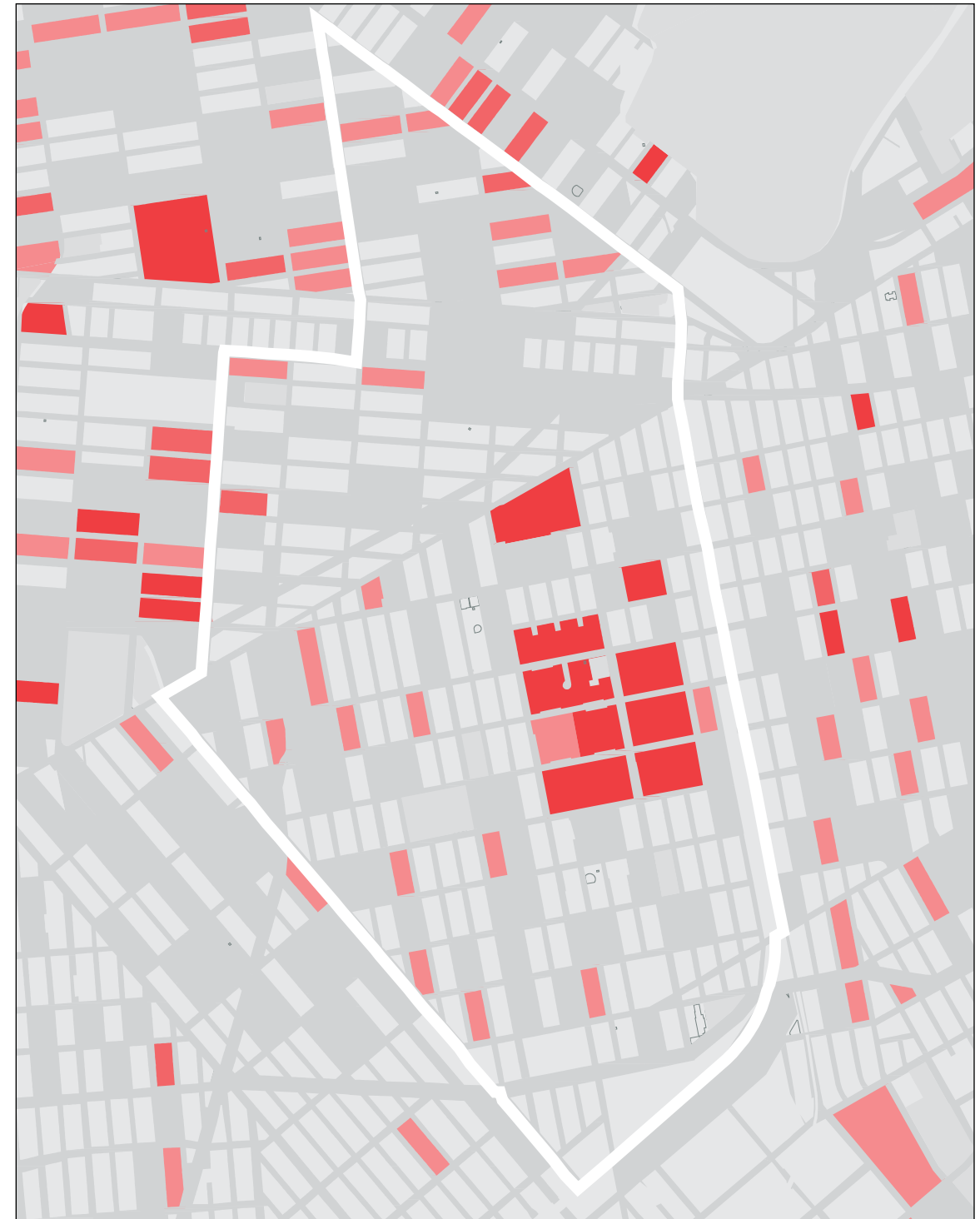
Prison expenditures by census block, Community District 16, Brownsville, Brooklyn and surrounding area

Scenario Planning Workshop at the Architectural League
New York, September 29, 2006

Workshop Participants

Table 1 (Quadrant 1)

Diana Balmori, Balmori Associates
Richard Cho, Corporation for Supportive
  Housing, New York City
Yolande Daniels, GSAPP, Columbia University
Lisa Falcocchio, Common Ground Community
Brad Gunton, New Visions For Public Schools
Daniel Karpowitz, Bard Prison Initiative,
  Bard College
Glenn Martin, National Hire Network
Mary Rowe, Blue Moon Fund
Don Shillingburg, Peter Walker and Partners
Kendall Thomas, School of Law,
  Columbia University

Table 2 (Quadrant 2)

Alphonzo Albright, New York City Department
  of Corrections
Anna D'entremont, New Visions For Public
  Schools
Natosha Huggins-Cupid, Common Ground
  Community
Claire Kaplan, New York City Department
  of Homeless Services
David Kennedy, Center for Crime Prevention
  Studies, John Jay College
Adina Lopatin, The Architectural League of
  New York
Karla Rothstein, GSAPP, Columbia University
Carol Shaprio, Family Justice
Stacey Sutton, GSAPP, Columbia University
Sarah Williams, GSAPP, Columbia University
Andrew White, Center for New York City Affairs,
  The New School

Table 3 (Quadrant 3)

Donnel Baird, Common Ground Community
Michael Bell, GSAPP, Columbia University
Caissa Douwes, New Visions For Public Schools
Rosalie Genevro, The Architectural League of
  New York
Ray Hodges, New York City Planning
  Commission
Max Kenner, Bard Prison Initiative, Bard College
David Reinfurt, O-R-G
Anthony Thompson, School of Law, Brennan
  Center, New York University
Susan Tucker, The After Prison Initiative, Open
  Society Institute
Justice Walton, City University of New York

Table 4 (Quadrant 4)

Jennifer Batterton, Family Justice
Viren Brahmbhatt, New York City Housing
  Authority
Todd Clear, Criminal Justice, John Jay College
Vaughn Crandall, New York City Department
  of Corrections
Leslie Gill, Leslie Gill Architecture
Rosanne Haggerty, Common Ground
  Community
Janette Kim, GSAPP, Columbia University
Anthony Ng, United Neighborhood Houses
  of New York
Adam Rubin, New Visions For Public Schools,
Shari Spiegel, SIPA, Columbia University

Workshop Staff

Andrew Blau, Global Business Network
Eric Cadora, Justice Mapping Center
Laura Kurgan, GSAPP, Columbia University
Charles Swartz, Justice Mapping Center

Table 2 at the Scenario Planning Workshop,
detail of work in progress

What is Scenario Planning?

"Scenario Planning is the methodical thinking of the unthinkable. It searches for wisdom in unusual places. It assumes that there will never be enough information on which to base a decision, if that decision requires certainty about the future. Therefore, it is important to prepare a wide range of possible decisions based on an entire range of possible futures. Never being wrong about the future is better than occasionally being exactly right." — Joel Garreau[11]

Scenario planning workshops are designed around telling stories about how the future might unfold for organizations, businesses, government agencies, or civil society groups.[12] They can also be structured around concepts which are shaping politics, local or global. They are efforts to turn insufficient or excessive information into narratives and pictures of possible outcomes, to face the unpredictability of the future not with predictions, nor with certainties, but with possibilities.

Why scenario planning for justice reinvestment?

After thirty years of massive investment in prisons — most of them located far from the cities whose population they house — there is clearly no singular way to reimagine the criminal justice system as a reinvestment in the city. But there are a lot of ways to think about it.

We defined the problem as one of urban *exo*-structure. We wanted to think about prisons as parts of the city, parts which have increasingly come to take the place of other parts, but which are not incidentally situated at great distances from the cities to which they belong. Spending on prisons constitutes, then, a kind of inside-out investment in the city.

We selected a group of people usually kept apart by the bureaucratic borderlines of state and city: urban planners, architects, residents, activists,

developers, academics, community organizers and not-for-proft leaders, and officials from the State Departments of Corrections and Homeless Services.

But they were not at the workshop simply to contribute the "perspective" of their office or discipline. We asked everyone to take advantage of the unusual situation and to start working with strategies, concepts, and visions from the others in the room, to think outside their usual range. We wanted the criminal justice experts to think about the city, rather than just about prisons. We wanted architects and planners to focus on patterns of incarceration and re-entry, rather than just on physical space. It was a way of encouraging everyone to take responsibility for the enormity of the problem, to challenge their own habits of mind, and to reconstitute the terms of a discussion which has become all too predictable and defensive.

Table 3 at the Scenario Planning Workshop, detail of map surface at the end of the day

The Process

Although we began with a rather typical scenario — imagining futures for Community District 16 in Brooklyn, commonly known as Brownsville — our project introduced some new elements into the scenario planning process: maps, spatial representations of the community rich in data, diagrams, and stories rendered with data.

Million dollar block maps visualize an invisible geography which structures most major American cities. Every map is a navigation device, and these were too, except that they didn't tell us how to travel. Rather, how to navigate complex social and political problems through a strategic confluence of policy and design.[13]

The maps we created for the workshop focused on this part of the city — chosen for its high concentration of residents in prison or jail or without any home at all — and set its million-dollar blocks in the context of the other significant institutions in the community. Our task was to make sure that every stakeholder in the process, and every person around the table, had a point of entry into the printed map. For this reason, the map included obvious orientation devices like street names, building footprints coded by their land use, names of significant institutions in the areas (churches, schools, shelters, social service locations, parks, hospitals), and everything else that we thought might be useful for characterizing the built environment.

That environment was framed in terms of barriers or openings for people returning to the community from prison. What is there for them, and what is missing as they return?

Representations of the physical environment, though, however useful they are as a navigation device for urban space, do not expose the larger social and economic and political structures in which what is built is embedded. They remain largely invisible, unless you live there.

To compensate, we prepared a set of cards for each table which overlaid data about the area's residents onto the city grid. The data was divided into three categories: census demographics (race, age, educational achievement), social services (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, food stamps, homelessness), and criminal justice (prison and jail admissions, parole, and probation). Over the course of the day, the participants shifted their attention between the large map and the cards, and between the physical environment and the barely-visible environment latent in the data.

We were looking, as it turns out, at the effects of governance on social space.

Project Data Sources

1. Criminal Justice Data
Prison Admissions, 2003
(New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services)
Jail Admissions, 6/2002–7/2003
(New York City Department of Correctional Services)
Probationers, November 2002
(New York City Department of Probation)
Paroles, November 2002 (New York State Division of Parole)
Juvenile Custody Admissions, 1995–1999
(New York City Department of Juvenile Justice)
Violent Crime Incidents, 6/1997–7/1998
(New York City Police Department)
Property Crime Incidents, 6/1997–7/1998
(New York City Police Department)

2. Social Service Data
Foster Care Placements, 2003
(New York State Office of Children and Family Services)
Homeless Shelter Applicants, 5/2005–1/2006
(New York City Department of Homeless Services)
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, 2003
(New York State Office of Temporary Disability Assistance)
Food Stamp Recipients, 2003
(New York State Office of Temporary Disability Assistance)

3. 2000 Census Data
% People of Color (U.S. Census Bureau)
% Population in Poverty (U.S. Census Bureau)
% Population Unemployed (U.S. Census Bureau)
% Population No High School Degree (U.S. Census Bureau)
% Population Foreign Born (U.S. Census Bureau)
% Population Moved Since 1995 (U.S. Census Bureau)
% Single Parent Homes (U.S. Census Bureau)

Table 4 at the Scenario Planning Workshop, work in process
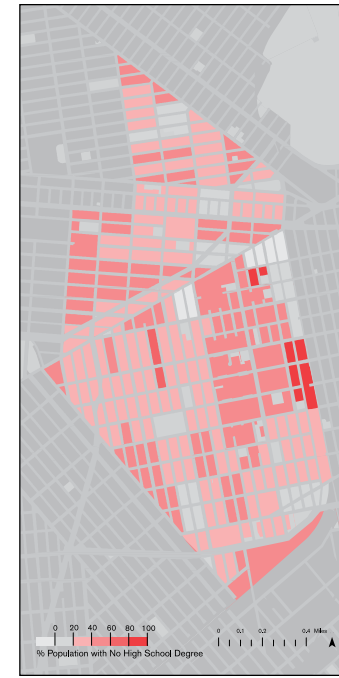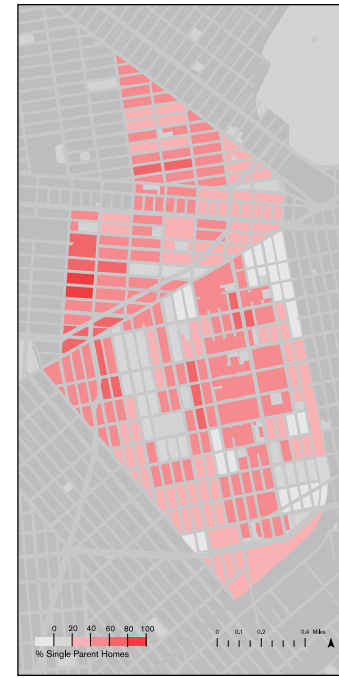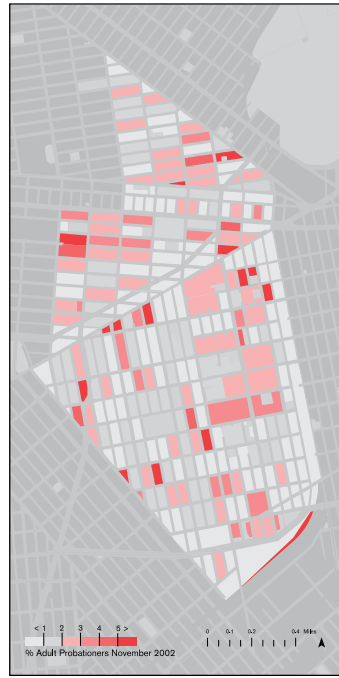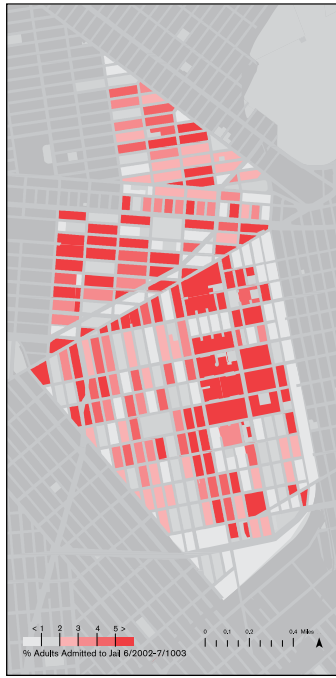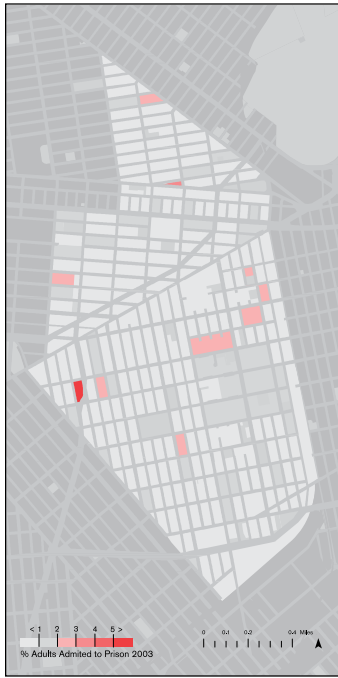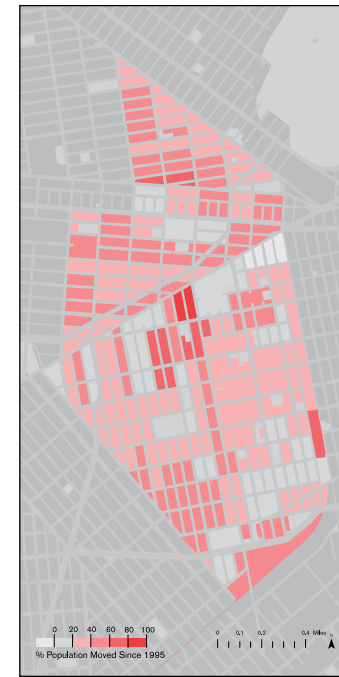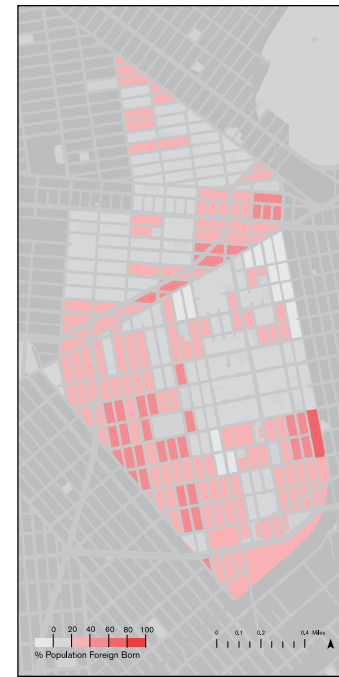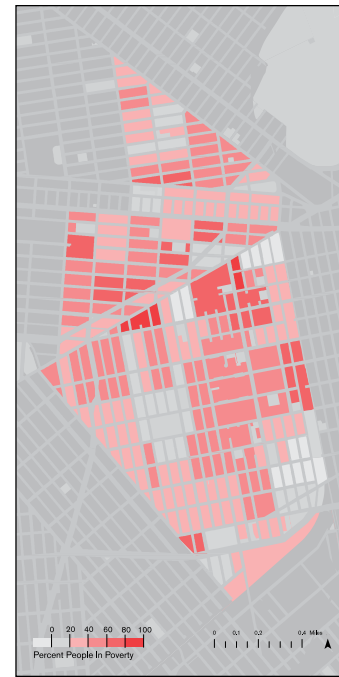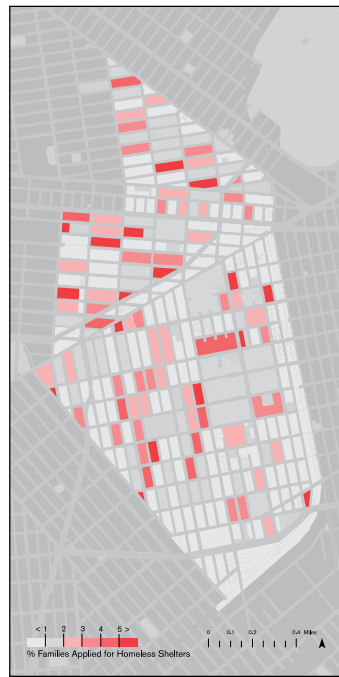
% Prison admissions [1]

% Jail admissions [1]

% Adult probationers [1]

% Foster care [2]

% TANF recipients [2]

% Homeless per family [2]

% People of color [3]

% Single parent homes [3]

% High school degree [3]

% People in poverty [3]

% Population foreign born [3]

% Population moved since 1995 [3]

Selected maps from cards used at each table
in Scenario Planning Workshop

This data was collected by the Justice Mapping Center from multiple agencies for purposes other than presented here. The agencies are not responsible for any of the information or conclusions presented in this document. Data sources are listed in brackets and are coded to Project Data Sources on previous spread.

Detail from map on each table with land use,
Community District 16, Brownsville, Brooklyn

The Matrix

The task of the workshop was to envision ways in which the design of the built environment (the places where we live, work, play, and suffer) could interact with governance (expressions of our collective public obligations to each other) to produce different possible futures for Brownsville.

Scenario planning is formulaic. It works best when problems are intractable, and no single solution emerges easily as an answer to a complex matrix of conditions.

Scenario planning is organized around two opposing and independent axes that define future possibility or uncertainty, i.e., representing the factors most likely to change in unpredictable ways. For our work imagining scenarios for justice reinvestment in Brownsville, the axes fell easily into place:

Axis 1 — Policy, Governance and Decision Making: from centralized and autonomous to localized and interdependent.

Axis 2 — Design and Institutional Structure: from closed institutions and total communities to open institutions and flexible communities.

The resulting matrix provided a discursive structure and form in which a debate could take place. Its four quadrants offered a series of alternatives between community design and centralized planning. Each quadrant implied a very different approach to the question of how to catalyze change in the city.
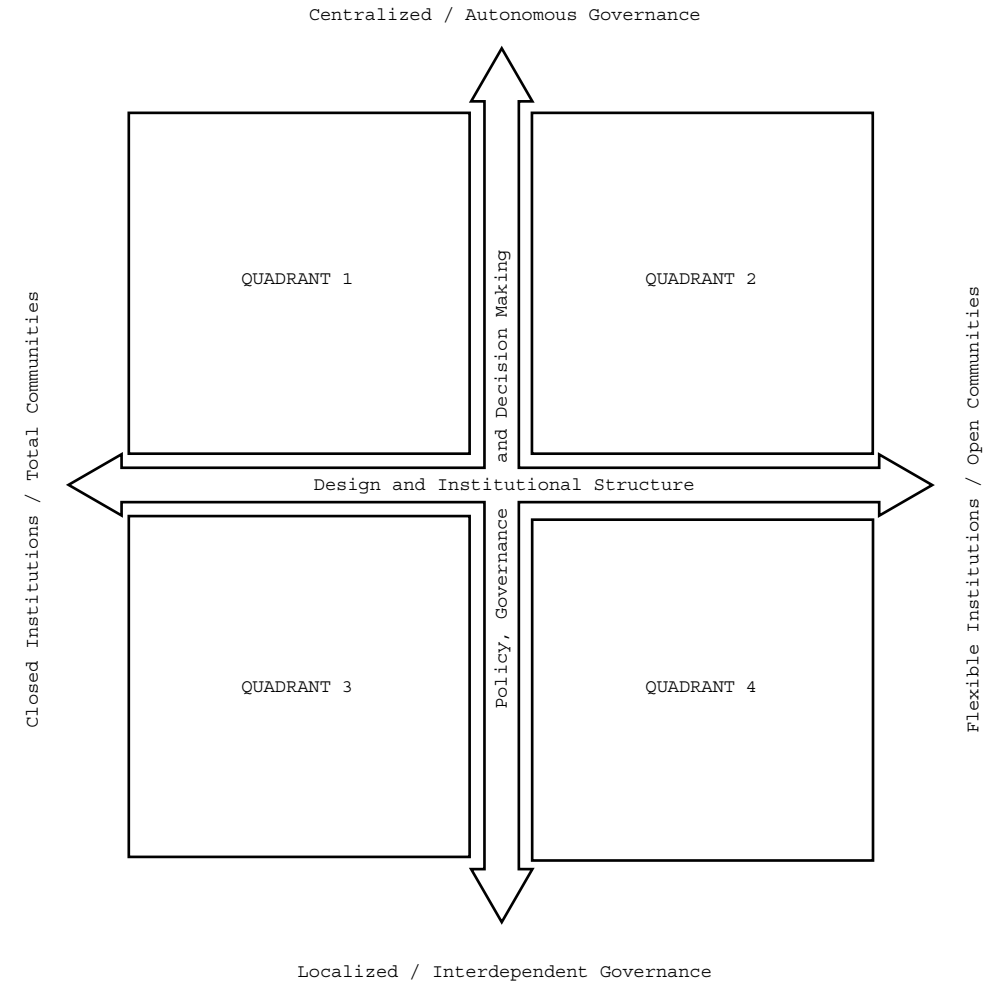
Each table around which participants were grouped was assigned a quadrant of the matrix. Their project for the day's work was to name the quadrant and invent a scenario for it: a vision of a future which represented the interaction of policy and governance with institutional design.

We provided actual data and projections to enable a visual correlation between each quadrant of the matrix, and to provoke questions about justice reinvestment. Our intention was to tease out the possibilities for future scenarios inscribed by this neighborhood and its resources.

Starting with the governance axis, we asked workshop participants to imagine what governance and urban design might look like if authority were devolved and resources pooled around the mission of resettlement. How would government operate? How would neighborhoods look? How would its institutions function?

For the design axis, we proposed some analogies. If we consider a prison as a total and closed institution — where people live, work, learn, and sleep — can we compare it to a gated community? And on the other side, if we define a community as a place which incorporates open or flexible institutions, what can be done reduce its dependence on prisons?

We found ourselves questioning "community." What is it, and what do its members have in common? Zooming in on a piece of the city, especially a neighborhood or community district, often implies privileging some idea, too often unthought, of "community" in design. Bottom-up planning, participation, and representation are the watchwords of this form of design. But who and what can be called "community" here? If, as we are proposing, any one of these city blocks invokes an *exo*structure — including a prison, arguably its most important institution, physically located many miles from its streets — then community is not as homogenous and place-based as we might like to believe.

Centralized / Autonomous Governance

QUADRANT 1   QUADRANT 2

Closed Institutions / Total Communities

Policy, Governance and Decision Making

Design and Institutional Structure

Flexible Institutions / Open Communities

QUADRANT 3   QUADRANT 4

Localized / Interdependent Governance

Matrix developed for Scenario Planning Workshop
This graphic structured the day's work.

Centralized / Autonomous Governance with
Closed Institutions / Total Communities

This is a world in which governance is driven by incentives to minimize individual risk, both of citizens and of government agencies. This logic emphasizes total confinement punishment, centralized and narrowly defined measures of performance accountability, and formalized models of political participation like candidate voting. The built environment is structured around protecting populations from one another. Prisons keep people in, gated communities keep people out. Present-day examples include — most obviously — prisons and shelters, but also gated communities and mega-churches.

Future typologies might include learning prisons, mega individual-confinement prisons, or regional drop-out schools.[14]

For example, Buckminister Fuller's *Dome For Manhattan*, 1964 (shown opposite) depicts the largest gated community ever imagined.

Fuller's speculative project for Manhattan — to create a dome two miles in diameter over Midtown's skyscrapers — was an attempt to create a micro-climate within a metropolis. Inside the air conditioned dome, individual climate control yielded to one total system, automobile traffic was eliminated and circulation contained. Necessarily centrally administered, autonomous and closed, the dome was intended as an optimistic exercise in thinking about whole systems and realizing a more efficient distribution of limited resources.
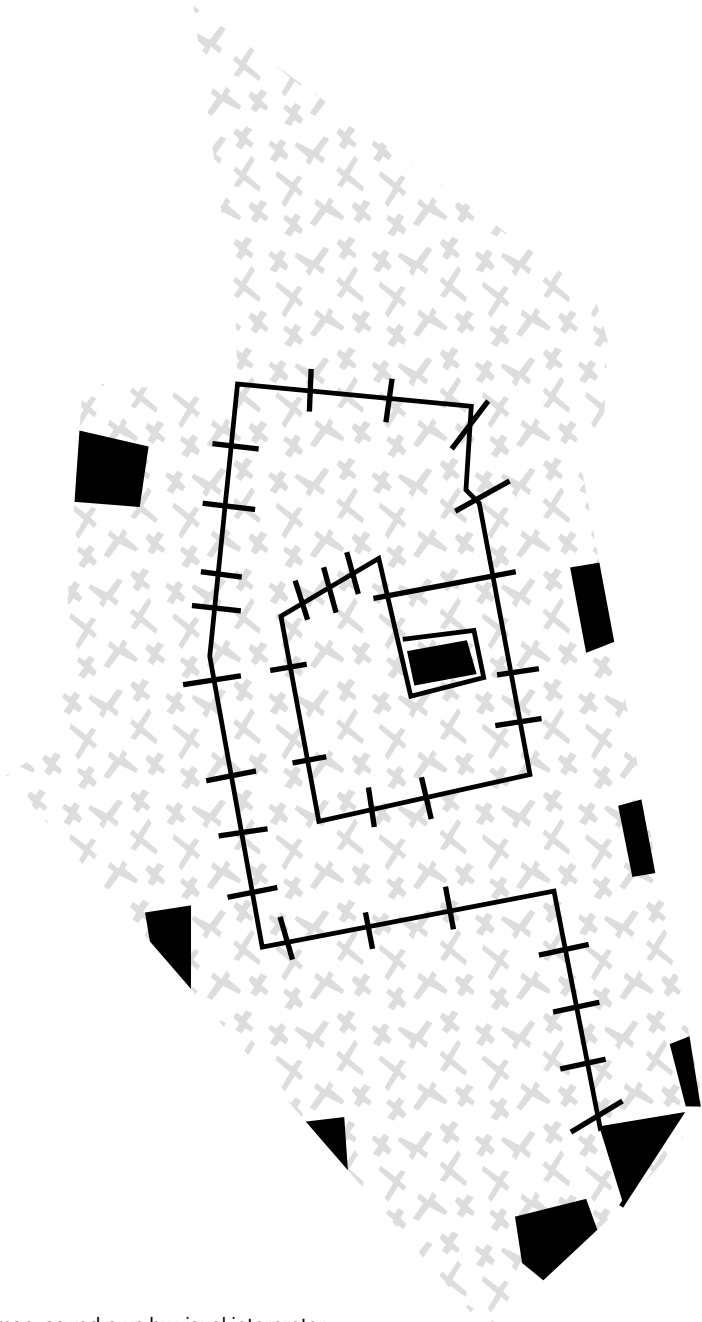

Buckminster Fuller, *Dome for Manhattan*,
photo-montage, 1964
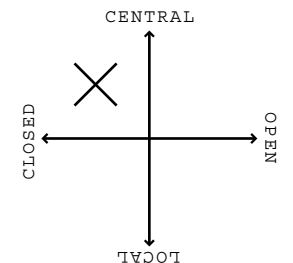
Centralized / Autonomous Governance with
Closed Institutions / Total Communities

Quadrant 1 — Final map, as redrawn by visual interpreter

The Island, or the Mega-Church

Can justice reinvestment be imagined as a centralized model? The group's analysis found two initial analogies for this quadrant. It looked first at total bureaucratic institutions based on the model of centralized governmental authorities like the New York City Housing Authority or even the New York Police Department. Since governmental models were part of the problem, i.e., the starting point for transformation and change, it proved difficult for this model to suggest a positive engine of change.

The second analogy, the mega-church, helped to reframe the possible futures. The mega-church centralizes its authority by way of a charismatic leader such as a pastor who exercises a kind of ubiquitous authority which appears to emanate from — and is based upon — the beliefs of its individual members.

This model imagines an expansion of Brownsville's housing projects, along with the social services necessary for their maintenance and survival, into a sort of gated community of radical egalitarianism and centrally-imposed ideology.
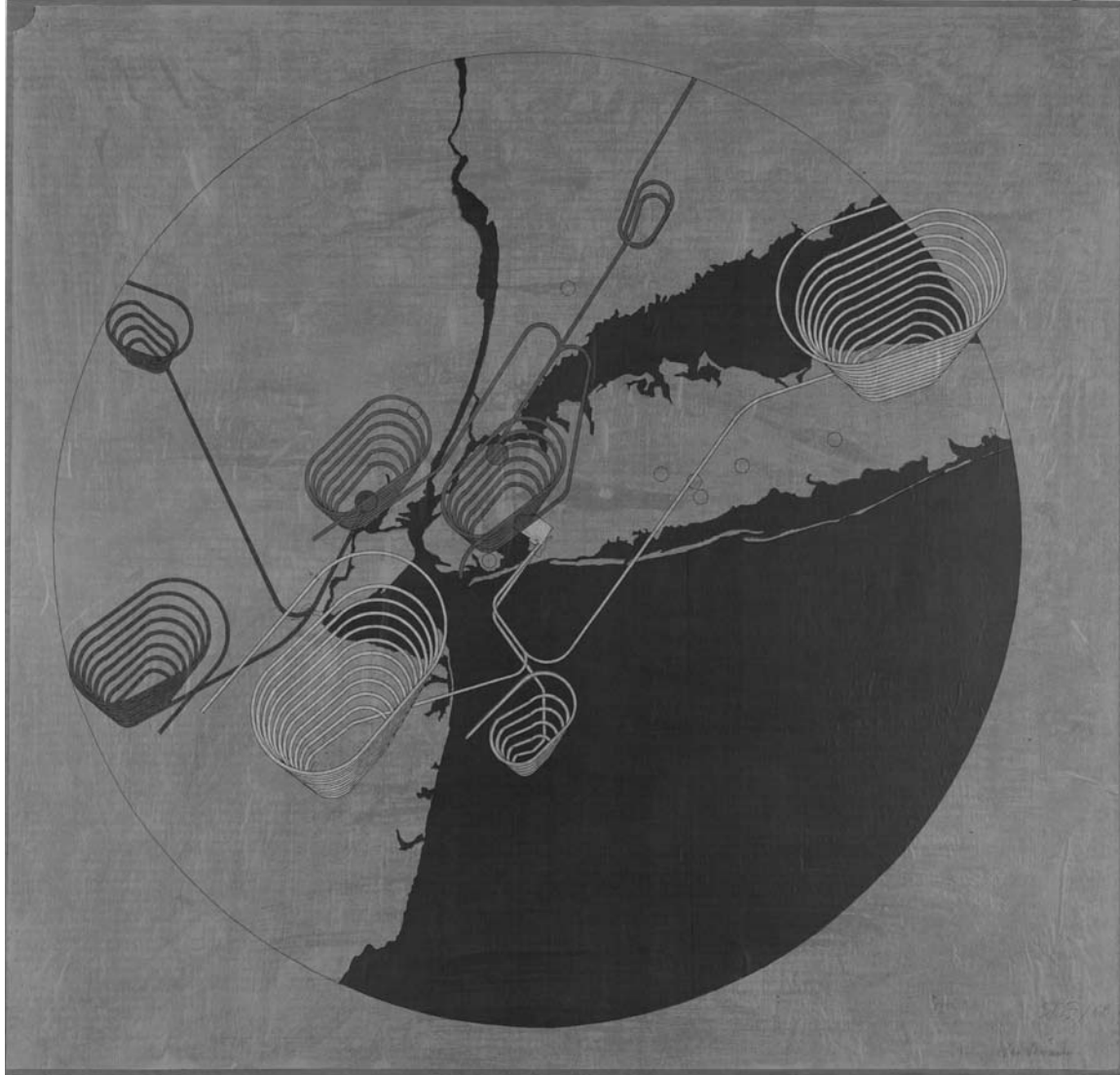
The result is a utopia, a singular moral vision which is administered though the mutual policing of a common set of values. In this scenario, citizens of Brownsville would together form a coherent, large-scale totality with their own, semi-local, centralized decision-making. The notion was that Brownsville might secede from New York City and form its own local governing entity, as the beginning of a total renovation of the community.
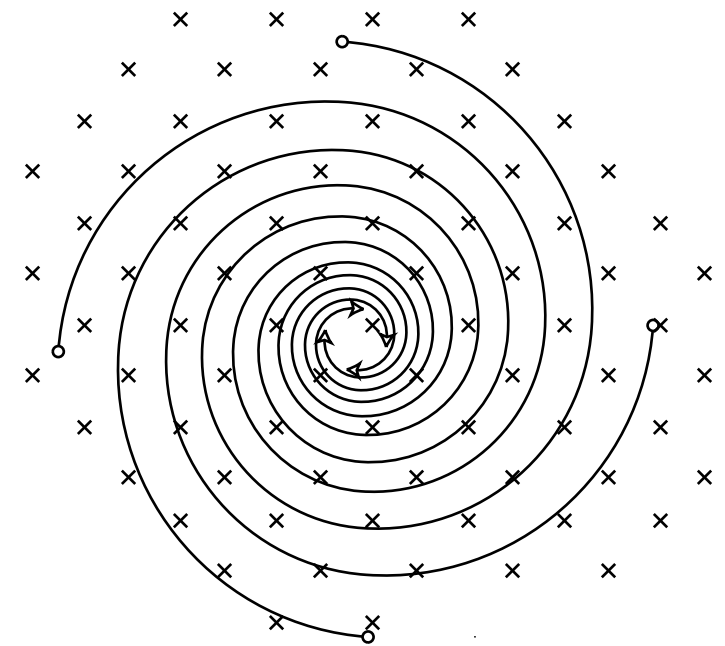
Quadrant 1 — Resulting diagram

Centralized / Autonomous Governance with
Flexible Institutions / Open Communities

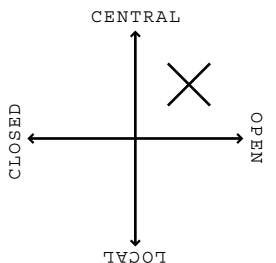This is a world in which governance is driven by incentives to minimize individual risks. This logic emphasizes discretely supervised custodial punishments, behavioral accountability, and formal political participation like referendum voting. The built environment is structured around isolating behaviors from one another, and institutions are placed tactically to address local problems. In certain instances, citizens might participate in and even select local institutions.

Present day examples include drug courts, outpatient clinics, and Section 8 housing. Future models might include community prisons, neighborhood parole, and resettlement parks.

For example, in the *New York Birdcage*, Imaginary Architecture Project, 1968 by Friedrich St. Florian (shown opposite), maximum flexibility is combined with centralized administration.

Friedrich St. Florian's Imaginary Architecture project proposed alternate spaces as a layer that maps onto existing sites. In this drawing, as with his more developed project for the Vertical City of Rome, St. Florian imagines towering structures as frameworks or cages sprouting up around the New York metropolitan area. These were to be connected physically and administered centrally, allowing flexible communities and diverse uses to inhabit the spaces for future development.

Freidrich St. Florian, *New York Birdcage*,
Imaginary Architecture Project, 1968

CENTRAL

CLOSED · OPEN

LOCAL

Centralized / Autonomous Governance with
Flexible Institutions / Open Communities
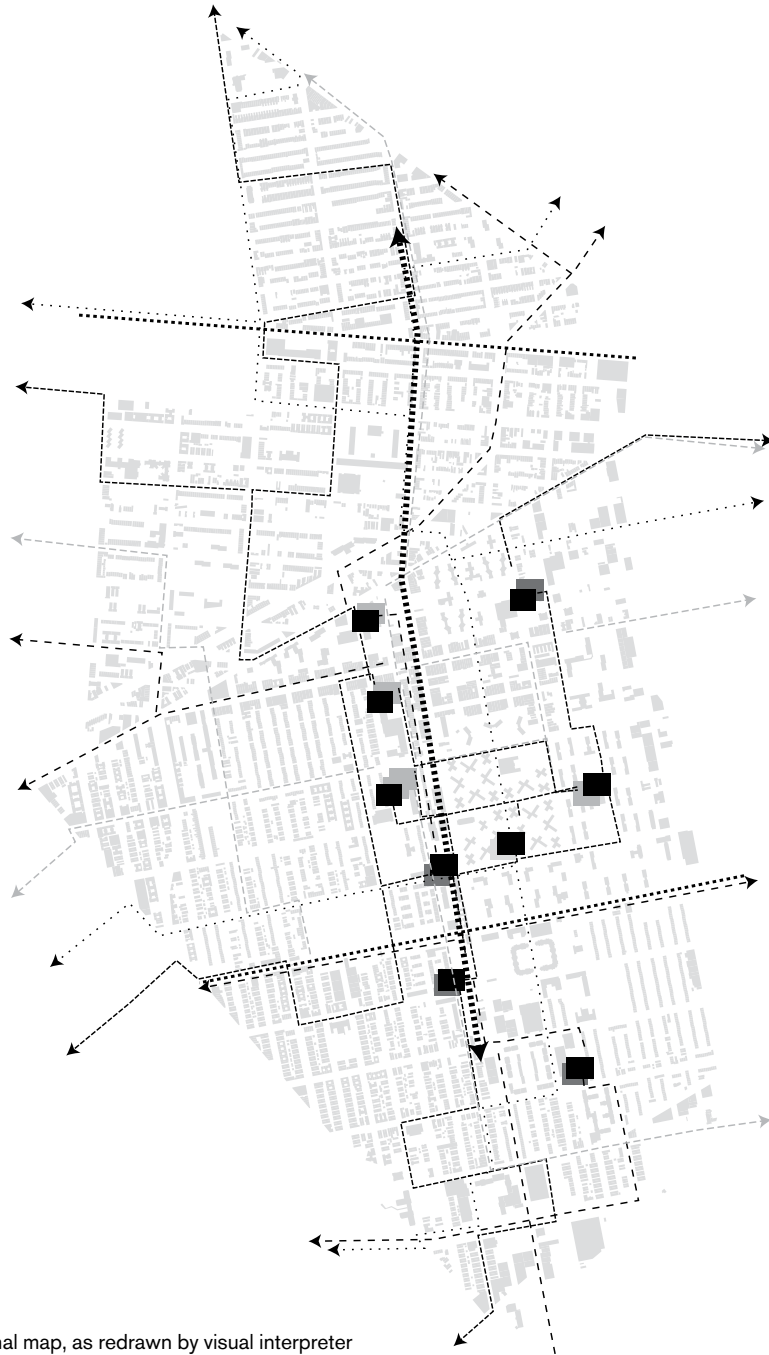
Quadrant 2 — Final map, as redrawn by visual interpreter

Dynamic Franchise Web

The group's analysis found this quadrant to be a version of the status quo. While many examples of these criminal justice institutions do exist and might be improved, the justice reinvestment model provided a new way of thinking about existing models. To this end, one of the mixed-use streets stood out on the map which, according to the residents and community developers at the table, provided a successful model of what might be expanded in Brownsville.

The group extended the mixed-use corridor vertically through Brownsville, and suggested a series of hybrid service combinations. The result is a web of services spreading itself throughout the area with some very creative juxtapositions: workforce training with economic development; domestic violence shelter with a liquor store; political representation with public housing; markets with legal aid defenders; children and family services with education and counseling; child care with work release programs; high school with medical and child care services; small business development with bail bonds.

This is a scenario in which treatment is considered as positive development and everyday business in the community. Rather than approaching these services as aberrations in the community, and hence associating service delivery with punishment, the hybrids encourage residents to use social services by associating them with their day-to-day lives and ordinary social interactions.
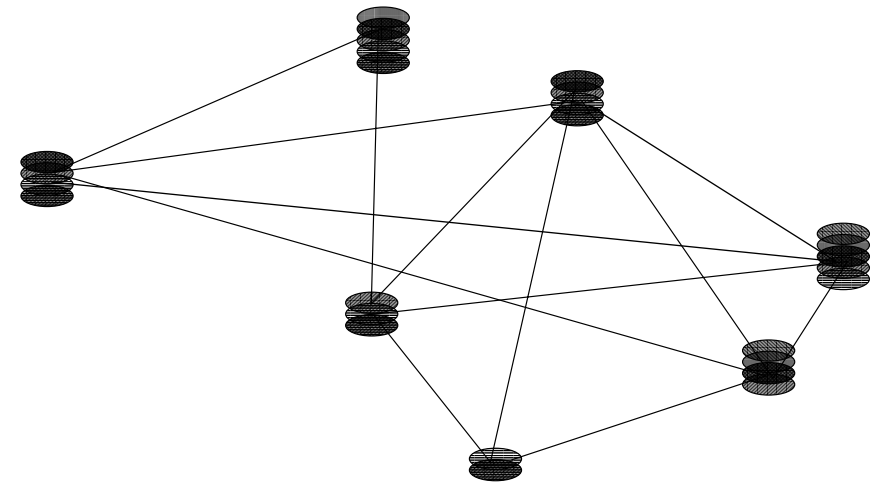
Quadrant 2 — Resulting diagram

Local / Interdependent Governance with Closed Institutions / Total Communities
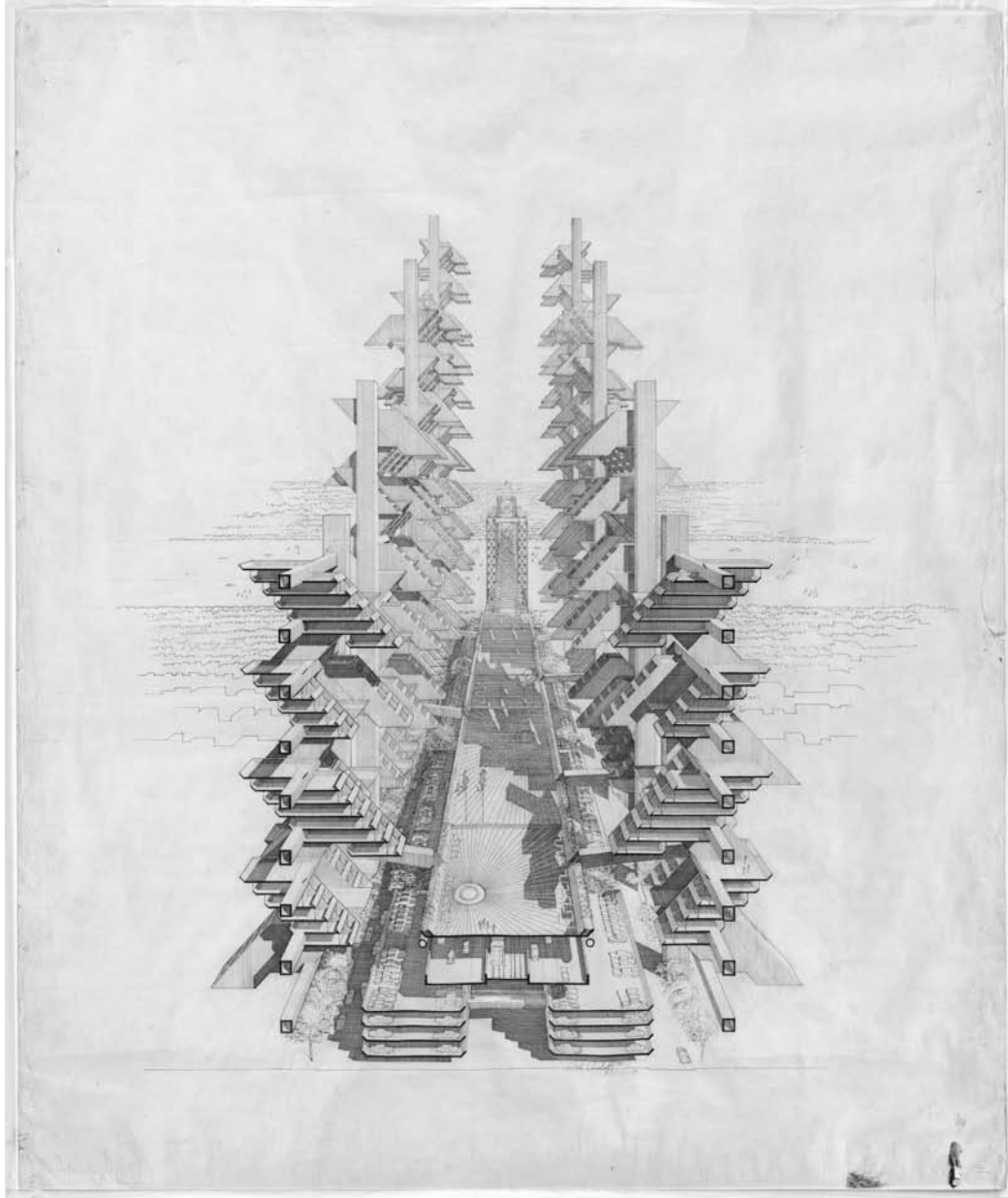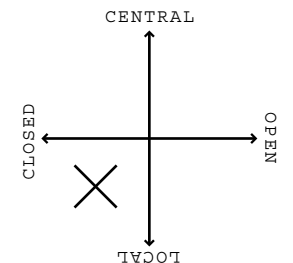

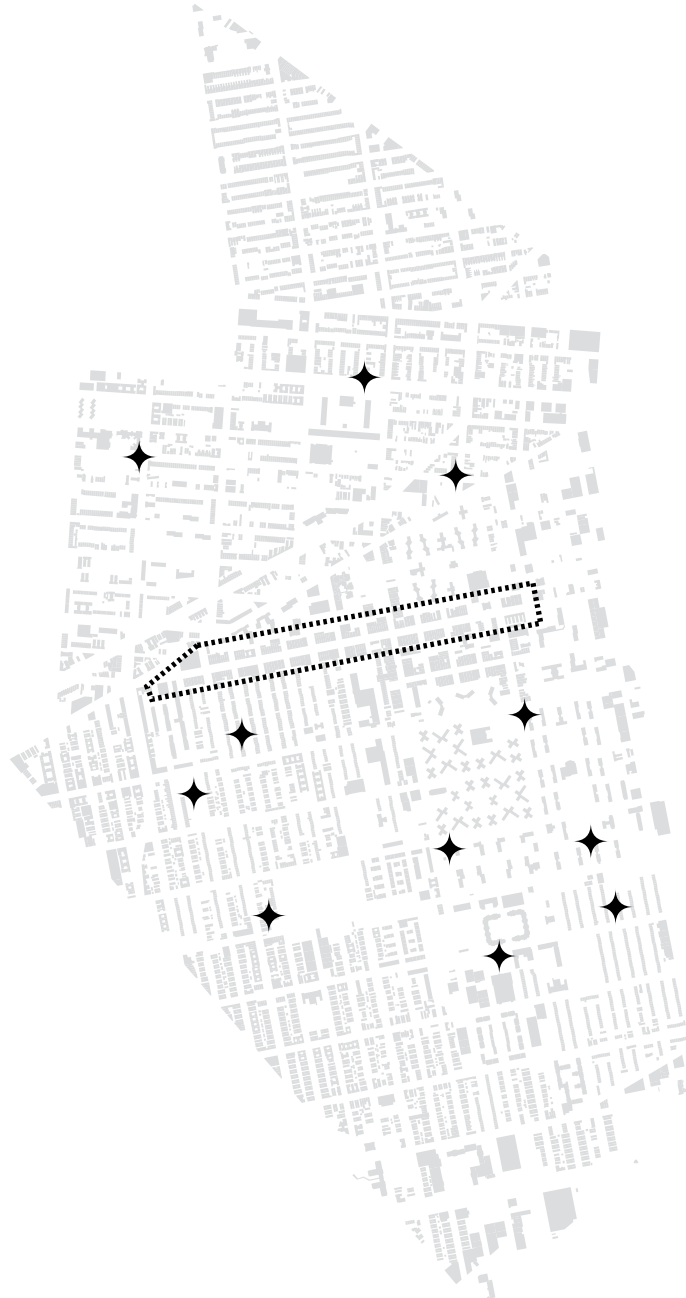Paul Rudolph, *Lower Manhattan Expressway Project*, perspective to the east, 1972

This is a world in which governance is driven by incentives which maximize collective well-being. This logic shares risks among various stakeholders, subordinating individual responsibility to collective institutional goals. Political participation is fostered among local non-governmental service providers. The built environment is structured around multi-sector collaborations and population quarantines.

Present-day examples include residential treatment centers, community schools, gated communities, and malls. Future models might include therapeutic community blocks and New Urbanism.

An historical example of this kind of thinking is provided by Paul Rudolph's *Lower Manhattan Expressway Project* from1972 (shown opposite).

The design for an expressway corridor, developed between 1967 and 1972, would link the Holland Tunnel to Brooklyn and Queens via Canal Street. In one integrated megastructure, shopping, transportation, residences and pedestrian plazas are mixed together and stacked on multiple levels. In one place, local and independent stores, parks and residences are integrated into a total closed structure, resulting in density and simultaneity of mixed uses.

CENTRAL

CLOSED — OPEN

LOCAL

Local / Interdependent Governance with Closed Institutions / Total Communities

The Good Mall

This table debated the possible results of physical versus immaterial forms of urban change. What needs to change? Economic conditions, social relationships, and access to information? Or environmental and big physical factors, like the location or creation of buildings and parks?

No consensus emerged, and all options were integrated into "The Good Mall" as an engine of change for Brownsville that would include wireless networks and "zip"-style computer timeshares for an economic setting where access to computers or computing skills cannot be presumed.

In the context of "big box" development in other parts of Brooklyn, what sorts of large retail projects could facilitate change in this community and offer it more than mere responses to "market desires" and shopping opportunities?[15] What about "good" commerce? In this scenario, a good mall can provide other, less typical, services and commodities like job training, healthy food, employment, resource centers, employment, business incubation, i.e., ownership.

This mall might act to organize associations, link with government agencies, provide exclusive safe environments, be connected to transportation, and foster upward mobility. For residents of Brownsville, the mall might function as a social collector — the by-product of a successful mall – for consuming much more than the typical consumer products. The possibilities here are limitless — from health care to education to community development.
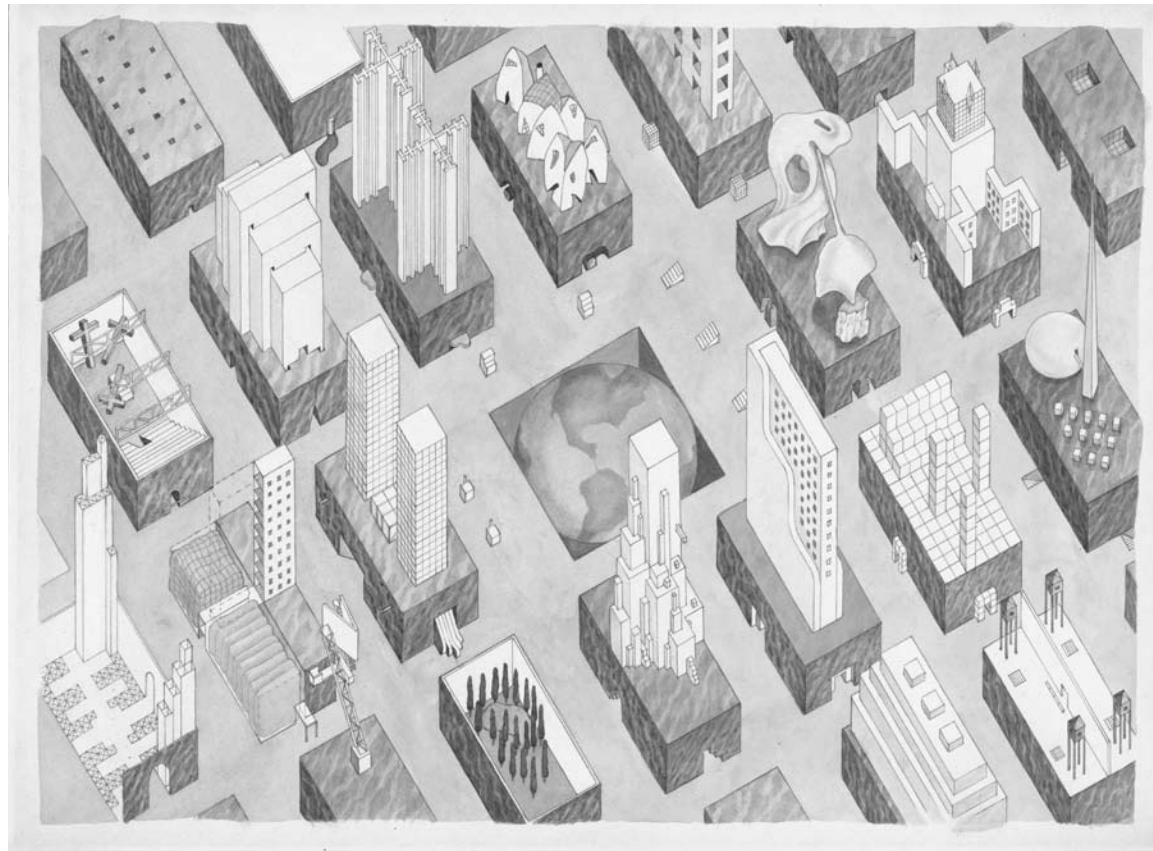

Quadrant 3 — Final map, as redrawn by visual interpreter
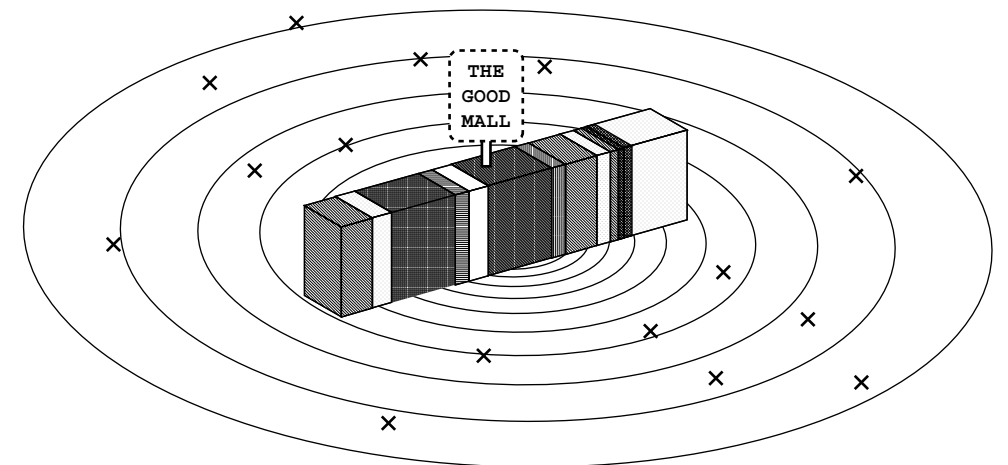
Quadrant 3 — Resulting diagram

Local / Interdependent Governance with
Flexible Institutions / Open Communities

This is a world in which governance is driven by incentives to maximize collective well-being. This logic distributes risk among various small group stakeholders, subordinating responsibility to broad community goals. Political participation is fostered among citizens and local interest group associations. The built environment is structured around changing behaviors and interests. Institutions must be flexibly designed to accommodate change and to address local needs.

Present day examples include community development corporations, settlement houses, small schools, and block associations. Future models might include community service centers, vocational transition guilds or infill housing networks.
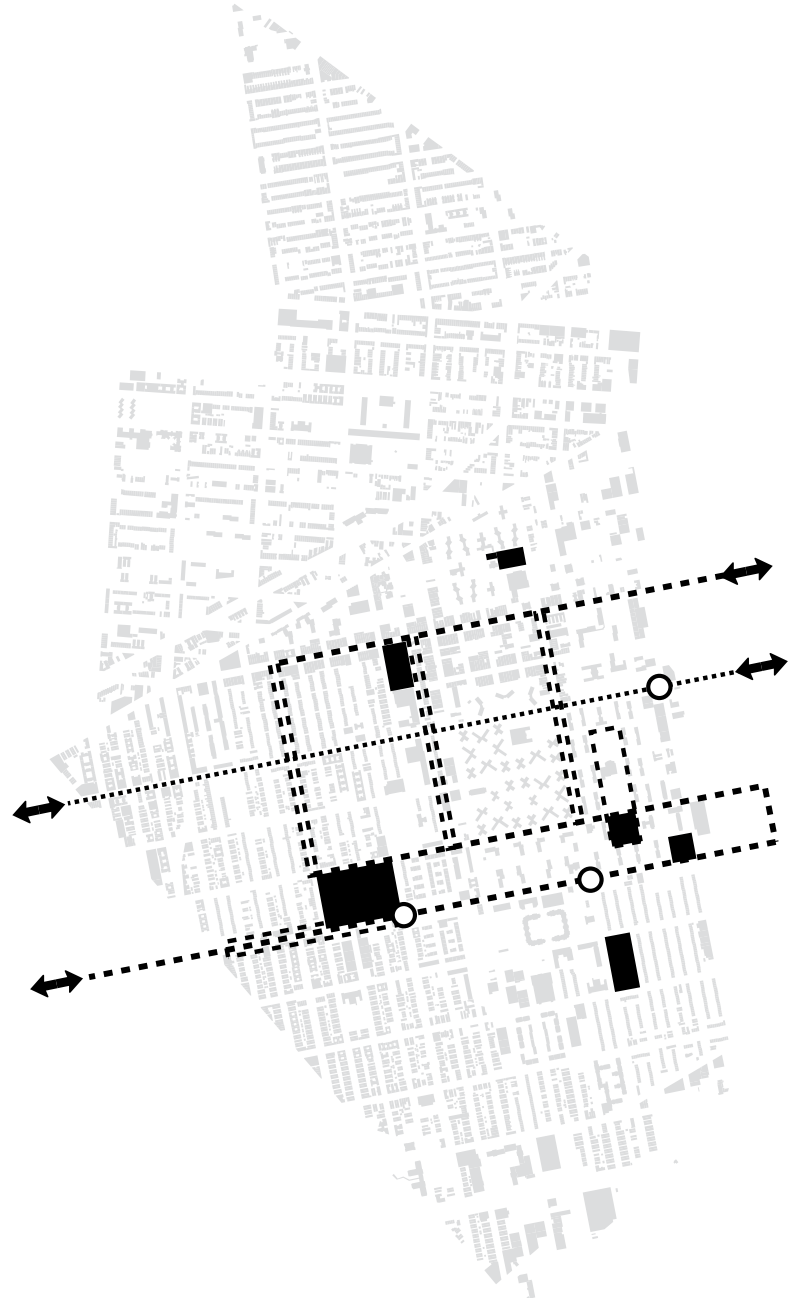
Rem Koolhaas imagined this kind of world taken to its logical and most extreme end in *The City of the Captive Globe* from 1972, (shown opposite).

As developed in *Delirious New York*, Manhattan's "culture of congestion" is both contained and enabled by its relentless grid. In this drawing, each city block is designed to contain a different value, activity, or population, allowing for maximum diversity with maximum flexibility of (re)arrangement. By crowning each block with a specific form — from El Lissitzy's Lenin's Stand to Wallace Harrison's World's Fair Perisphere to the globe itself — the plan telegraphs its capacity for containing absolute diversity of use in a legible form.

Rem Koolhaas and Madeline Vriesendorp, *The City of the Captive Globe*, axonometric drawing, 1972

CENTRAL

CLOSED ←—→ OPEN

LOCAL

Local / Interdependent Governance with
Flexible Institutions / Open Communities
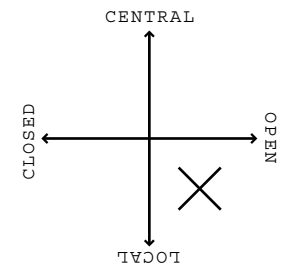
The Checkerboard

Although this quadrant seemed the most open-ended, flexible, and optimistic — small and local plus open and changeable — the group decided early on that this combination might result in chaos. Analysis of the map resulted in a visualization of the existing distributed institutions which provide neighborhood support: tenant associations, individuals, churches, mosques, and other formal and informal institutions.

What emerged from the analysis was a checkerboard of services said to be available but lacking the reinforcing resources or infrastructure necessary to sustain and empower them. The group decided to do just this: reinforce the infrastructure by adding a series of distributed institutions and also a series of connectors attached to those institutions to link schools, civic centers, common spaces and park spaces. The result was a network of networks which

actively and dynamically both centralize and distribute necessary resources and support for the community in a responsive and flexible manner. Small, here, is not about scale, but about diversity and responsiveness to a particular community. Partnerships, methods of empowerment, resources for sustainability, and networking reinforce the idea that in this scenario, small is big. Shockingly, in the midst of adding connector hubs to institutions on the map, this table discovered (while looking for a high school), that there was not one to be found in Brownsville.[16]
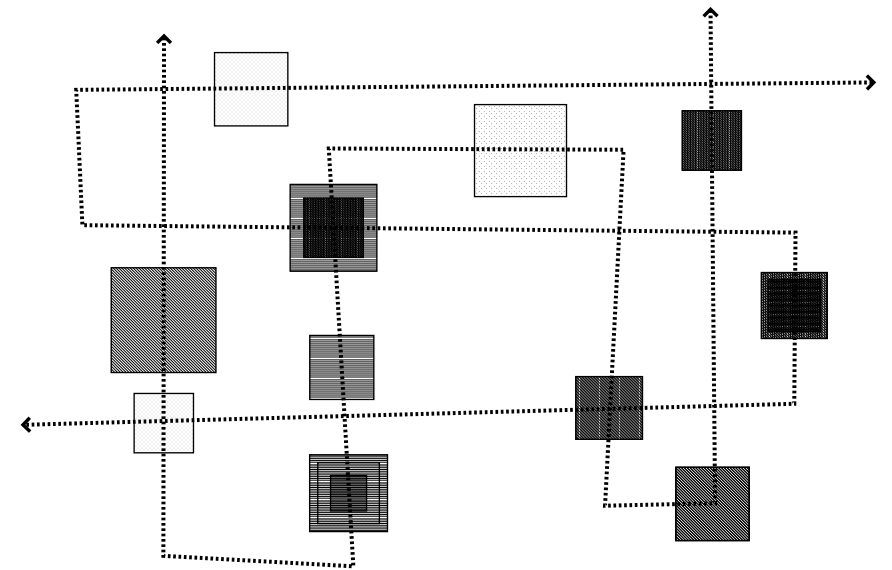
Provisional Conclusion

Documented here are the results of a single day's collaborative work by some experienced professionals and experts. The event was designed for informed but impromptu work. We wanted the results to be spontaneous and outside the realm of conventional wisdom. The members of the group were, generally speaking, committed to the transformation of the criminal justice system or the transformation of the city. We were thinking about doing the first by doing the second. The results documented here as diagrams, are suggestive of evidence that — with the right catalysts — things might change, incrementally or even radically. It is our hope that the day's work is the beginning of a new network of conversations and planning with the aid of evidence-based visualization. We hope that the results testify to the not-inconsiderable fact that architects and planners can rethink their role to incorporate more than the design of physical objects, and that criminal justice experts can rethink their relationship to the reentry problem as a matter of reinvestment in the city.

Over the course of the day's work, even with all the data that had been prepared, participants demanded more data, and more up-to-date data. The demand for data, in fact, stood in for another conversation: each person asked the others to bring more of their own expertise to bear on the problem, and with more specificity. In some cases the data is not publicly available, for understandable reasons. It is our hope that this conversation continues and that these different worlds of people, data, policy, design, and activism will find more ways of coming together to shape the future of our cities.

Notes

1. See http://www.csgeast.org/crimreinvest.asp. for an explanation of the term as used by the Council on State Governments who have implemented some of these policies.
2. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, nearly two-thirds of released prisoners are expected to be rearrested within three years of release. 60% of these arrests are due to breaking parole, rather than committing new crimes. http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/crimoff.htm
3. See *Architecture and Justice*, Laura Kurgan et.al, GSAPP/SIDL Publication, 2008
4. Pritchett, Wendell E. (2001) "Race and Community in Postwar Brooklyn" in *Journal of Urban History*, 27(4): 445–470.
5. For extensive history of Brownsville see Pritchett, Ibid
6. U.S. Census Bureau
7. See Pritchett, Ibid
8. Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance. Brownsville: Slum Clearance Plan Under Title 1 of the Housing Act of 1949: New York. Committee on Slum Clearance, Report of New York City Slum Clearance Program under Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949 (July 15, 1957)
9. South Bronx and Bedford Stuyvesant, Brooklyn are the most obvious examples.
10. In 1999 New York City Housing Authority was awarded a Hope V1 Grant to demolish 102 public housing units at Prospect Plaza and to redevelop three of the other buildings into the complex into Section 8 Housing. Public Housing sites to receive these grants across the country between 1996 and 2002 were often called "ditressed" sites, not very far from the definition of the very same tenement "slums" which Robert Moses had described as "cancerous." For more detail on Hope VI, see http://nyc.gov/html/dcp/pdf/cpc/030474.pdf.
11. Joel Garreau, "Conspiracy of Heretics", *Wired Magazine*, Issue 2.11, 1994
12. A special issue of *Wired Magazine* in 1994 introduced "scenarios" to a growing population of Internet users whose world was being reshaped by new forms of production and communication with digital technologies. The issue documented the origins of scenario planning in the aftermath of the Second World War, as the US military tried out various versions of what its opponents might do. Another story offers a corporate origin from the 1970s, when Pierre Wack, a planner for Royal Dutch/Shell, used scenarios which enabled his company to anticipate the OPEC oil embargo. In the early 1990s Wack facilitated a famous scenario planning exercise in South Africa, focused on a future for the country post Apartheid
13. See *The Pattern*, Laura Kurgan et. al, GSAPP/SIDL Publication, 2008
14. http://www.bard.edu/bpi/ and also see http://www.designcouncil.org.uk, publication, "The 21st Century Prison."
15. Big box n. N. Amer. informal. a very large store which sells goods at discount prices, especially one specializing in a particular type of merchandize. http://www.askoxford.com/oec/mainpage/oec04/
16. In CD16 a vast majority of the population have not graduated from high school (see map, p. 19.) Add to this the fact that according to the JFA Institute's publication, "Public Safety, Public Spending, forecasting America's Prison Population 2007–2011," "the 'at-risk' population, which generally consists of younger males. The high crime rates ages 15–25, while high adult incarceration rate is between the ages of 18 and 35. http://www.jfa-associates.com/

Image Credits

p. 24: *Dome For Manhattan*, 1964, Buckminster Fuller. Courtesy The Estate of Buckminster Fuller
p. 28: *New York Birdcage*, Imaginary Architecture Project, 1968, Friedrich St. Florian. Courtesy The Museum of Modern Art
p. 32: *Lower Manhattan Expressway Project*, 1972, Paul Rudolph. Courtesy The Museum of Modern Art
p. 36: *The City of the Captive Globe*, 1972, Rem Koolhaas. Courtesy The Museum of Modern Art

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