

FOREWORD BY MIKE DAVIS

CORRECTIONS & COLLECTIONS
ARCHITECTURES FOR ART AND CRIME

JOE DAY

ROUTLEDGE


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JOE DAY

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FOREWORD

BY MIKE DAVIS

MILLIONS OF TOURISTS, guidebooks in hand, have trooped through Venice's Palazzo Ducale, admiring Titian, the Tintoretts, Palladio and Veronese, but not realizing the ruthless power incarnated in the building until they have crossed over the Bridge of Sighs and explored the ghastly dungeons. For half a millennium, as the Palazzo was continuously built and rebuilt, the rulers of the Republic of St Mark insatiably collected both high art and prisoners within its walls.

In 1923, shortly after Mussolini's Squadristi marched on Rome, the derelict Palazzo was formally transformed into a museum. Rather miraculously a century or more of graffiti was left on some of the cell walls, comprising a collection perhaps unique in Europe. A defiant 'Viva Malatesta!' dates one of the last of Palazzo's prisoners — an anarchist arrested around the turn of the century.

Prison within a museum; museum within a prison. The curation of men, the incarceration of art. Fruitful or just clever mirror images? Joe Day takes us farther up-river with such inverted analogies than most of us would have conceived possible.

Indeed, I must warn the reader that this remarkable book — a brilliantly original reconceptualization of (late?) postmodernism that has no need to quote Foucault or Baudrillard — will rattle some of their categories. At least that was my experience. I opened *Corrections and Collections* with the anticipation that I would savor provocative comparisons between the architectural geometries of modern museums and prisons, but I did not expect the distinctions between the two to blur so quickly.

As Day makes overpoweringly clear, this is not a simple confusion arising from the generic characteristics of contemporary institutional architecture. Prisons and museums share profound and troubling characteristics that transcend more superficial affinities with other monolithic design schemes like hospitals, administrative centers, and university architecture. Indeed, what begins as analogy becomes a systematic isomorphism that finally has to be recognized as a strange species of unexpected identity.

The Mobius Strip, to recall its formal definition, is a 'non-orientable surface with only one side' that tricks our eyes into believing that there must be two sides. To the obvious objection that whatever their similarity in design, prisons and museums have completely different 'programs', Day confronts us with their disturbing phenomenological equation. Like the strange topology that August Mobius discovered in 1858, one will search in vain for the authentic boundary or edge between our society's two most favored building projects. Day's thesis, refined to a single sentence, is that the warehousing of surplus people and over-valued objects on an unprecedented scale is the expression of a single social logic.

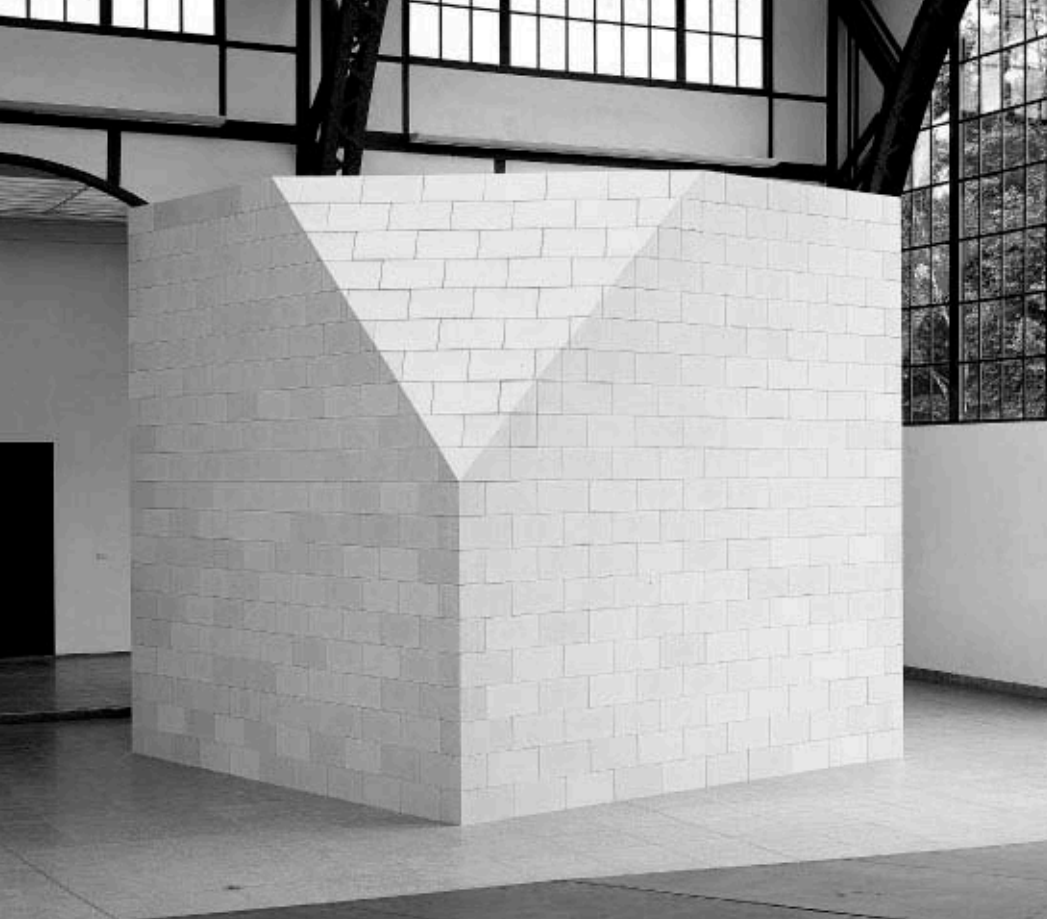
In Southern California, as he shows in fascinating but sometimes frightening detail, this logic has created an extraordinary landscape. Along the west-east axis of the Santa Monica mountains and at the base of the foothills that link them to the San Gabriel mountains, the great oil, railroad and real-estate dynasties of the region monumentalize themselves in a corridor of in-your-face-Manhattan art mausoleums: the Getty Villa, the Getty Center, the UCLA Hammer, LACMA, MOCA, Norton Simon, and the Huntington.

Their counterpart is a carceral solar system that revolves around Downtown Los Angeles' central jail complex — the largest in the world — with 25,000 inmates a few blocks from MOCA and the latest Broad Museum. In the nearest orbits are more jails, followed by a dozen state and federal prisons in LA's suburban and desert peripheries. As Day points out, this is our most eloquent answer to the urban employment crisis.

The design strategies that emerge from this sinister conflation of collection and punishment correspond to a hybrid of aesthetic minimalism, traffic management, and neo-Benthamism. Thus jaded correctional officers sit in front of monitors watching stored human objects masturbating, screaming or simply vegetating, while self-conscious museum visitors feign sophisticated appreciation of more and more contrived art installations while a voice inside their heads asks, "This piece of shit is worth \$15 million dollars?"

Even if it violates the precision of its mathematical definition, the concept of 'nonorientability' seems powerful in understanding Day's analysis of these mirrored and alienated phenomena. The coevolution of prisons and museums corresponds to the radical absence of orienting hopes or emancipations.

00.INTRODUCTION



TO SEDUCE OR SUBDUE?

To find the future, listen for acronyms. Abbreviations are economic bellwethers, and where there is spending, proper names often must pay. Over the last twenty-five years, the California Department of Corrections has redesignated all thirty-three of its state prisons, or CSPs, with two to five letter acronyms, adding to an already impressive list of abbreviations used to run those facilities, such as AD-SEG, SHU, LWOP, 270s, and J-CAT.¹ At a stroke, the storied bastions of San Quentin, Folsom and Pelican

CUBE WITHOUT A CORNER, Sol LeWitt (1968)

Bay became SQ, FOL and PBSP, respectively, mere nodes in a vast punitive archipelago. In the same years, most major museums trademarked cute, populist contractions of their names as brand logos. Long a redoubt of proper names, especially those of artists and connoisseurs, the art press now features a proliferation of MoMAs and MOCAs, Dias and MAKs, ICAs and CACs.

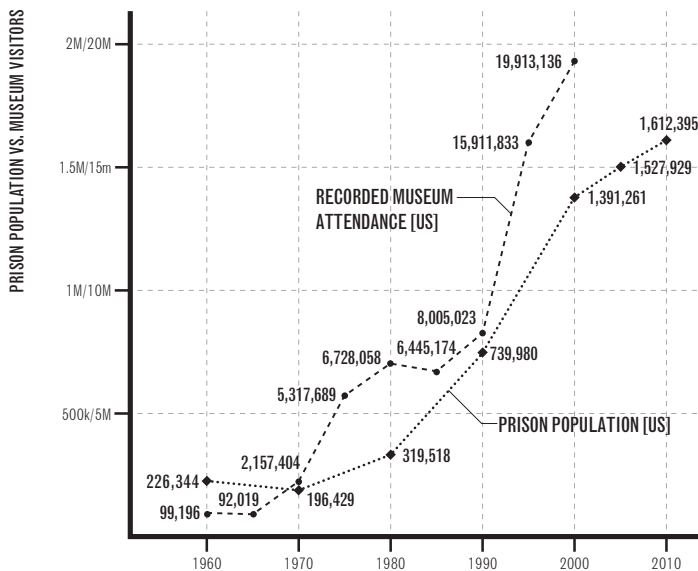
CORRECTIONS & COLLECTIONS explores and connects two massive expansions in our built environment. Prisons and museums led the last great wave of American urban renewal. Before the many new housing, sports, education and transit projects of the last quarter century could take shape, civic space in the United States was first cordoned into zones of cultural and societal transgression, and then reapportioned to lure new inhabitants while containing the old. After two centuries of incremental growth, the number of correctional facilities and museums in the United States tripled in twenty-five years, from roughly 600 prisons and 6,000 museums in 1975 to more than 1,800 prisons and an estimated 18,000 museums by 2000.² In both, this multiplication only begins to describe the expansion, taking into account neither the many additions to existing buildings, nor the escalating size of new ones. Neither trend has slowed in the new century.

The United States is not alone in either building boom, but unique in pursuing them simultaneously. Through the post-WWII period, the EU nations and Japan invest a far greater percentage of public funds in museum construction, and, though they now lag us, the largest Asian powers, especially China and Russia, share our enthusiasm for imprisonment. First to cope with and then to capitalize on each summer's wave of international tourism, continental Europe, led by France and Italy, pioneered the curation of historic-urban centers, often funneling 10–15% of national tax revenue into cultural affairs (to our paltry 2% of public funding). China and Russia outstripped our rates of incarceration in the early 20th century, when their factory prisons and gulags set the pace for mass imprisonment.³ The United States, however, is the only

nation to pursue corrections and collections together, and with such a vengeance, since the 1970s. While many countries have favored one sector or the other by government fiat, twin US policies of tax breaks for art patronage and mandatory minimum sentences for drug-related offenses (as well as lucrative government bond issues for prison construction) have yielded an oddly symmetrical landscape of the beautiful and the damned.

Over 740 of every 100,000 Americans are incarcerated — nearly an antipodean 1% of the total US population. As Michelle Alexander points out in *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, the racial imbalances of those in custody are stark as well: “The US imprisons more of its black population than South Africa did at the height of apartheid.”⁴ The growth of some state prison systems outstripped those of all but a few nations. California’s alone has swollen more than tenfold since 1975, from 16,000 inmates to 173,000 in 2010.⁵ In a 1995 survey of fifty-nine nations, only five countries held more inmates than the state of California, and the United States’ total of 1.6 million inmates in that year outstripped the other four: China with 1.2 million, Russia with just over a million, and Ukraine and India each near 200,000.⁶ US prisons have added an additional 600,000 inmates since 1995, for a current total of 2.2 million prisoners — more than three times the total for all twenty-seven EU countries combined, more than ten times as many per capita as Japan, and, strikingly, almost six times as many per capita as China.⁷

As gargantuan as US prison statistics have become, we incarcerate far fewer people than visit our museums. We host almost exactly as many people *each day* in US museums as we detain annually in US prisons. American museums averaged a collective 2.3 million daily visits in 2005, and, as with our prisons, the numbers are concentrated in a few states and cities.⁸ Just one New York museum, the newly renovated Museum of Modern Art, drew 2.6 million visitors in 2005, the year it reopened, and 3.1 million in 2010.⁹ The disparity in our collective experience of exhibition and incarceration should not distract from how much



more radically pervasive both have become than ever before, or anywhere else. *Corrections and Collections* takes advantage of the almost universally familiar experience of new museums to cast some light on the generally impenetrable, but profoundly life-altering logic of our many new prisons.

These two trends point to an unlikely reality for contemporary American architecture and urbanism. Much of the most innovative civic architecture of the last twenty-five years has met the demands of two conflicting, but distinctly public, mandates: clear the streets of the threatening poor, and provide easy, alluring access to priceless trophies. Led as much by second cities such as San Diego and Chicago as by New York and Los Angeles, almost all US urban centers have been reorganized to consolidate their cultural assets and corral their disadvantaged inhabitants.¹⁰ In cities large and small, museum districts now back up to correctional corridors, bracketing the experience and, for many, the very idea of American urbanity.

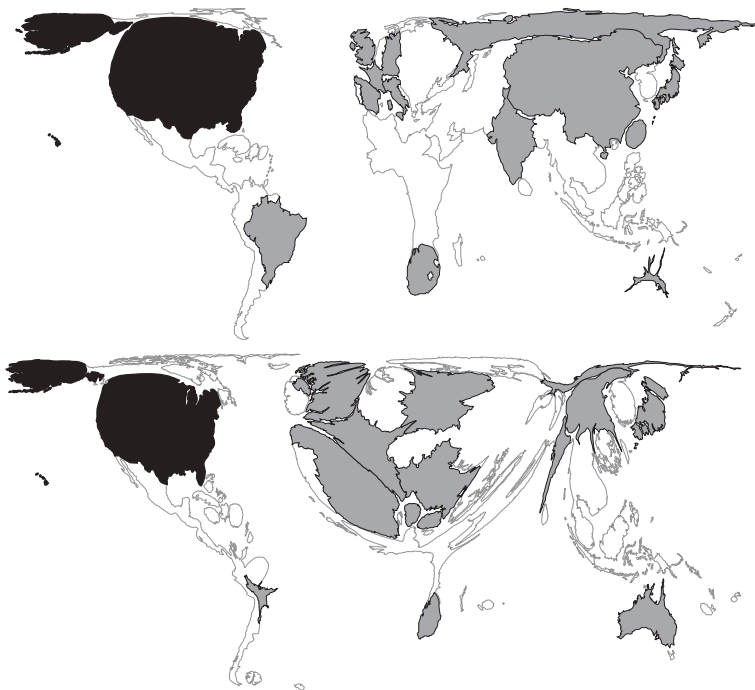
BEYOND R&D

Pace Bataille, the slaughterhouse has attracted little attention from either architects or artists. Late capitalism, with its focus on accumulation, would not, could not, institutionalize death and waste. Museums, on the other hand, have proliferated and expanded, adapting to the growing pressure of visitors and their expectations, as well as the increasing bulk and variety of what artists may be producing.¹¹

JOSEPH RYKWERT

THOUGH AT OPPOSITE ENDS of any spectrum of public engagement, class eligibility, and civic pride, museums and prisons share agendas of accumulation and logics of visual hierarchy. They are in many ways complementary architectures, buildings that organize our most problematic citizens and valuable treasures for reconsideration. Both are defined first by how they manage vision: what is seen, by whom, and in what sequence and circumstance. Both grapple with how to simultaneously secure their contents and showcase them. Surprisingly, many of the salient differences between exhibition and incarceration hinge less on the distinctions between holding objects and people — a variable that often boils down to the “thickness” of a building’s perimeter and the requisite lumens of light allocated to an inmate or artwork — and more on modulating the size, proximity and role of an audience.

Historically, matters were more nuanced, and this parallel perhaps more far-fetched. From their typological inception in the Enlightenment, prisons and museums evolved not simply to contain criminals and artifacts, but to promote distinct agendas vis-à-vis their holdings and the public. Prisons arbitrate among at least four perennial objectives: Removal, Retribution, Reformation, and Rehabilitation. That is, prisons *remove* those convicted of crimes from society, punish or seek *retribution* from them for their misdeeds, *reform* them in mind or spirit, and, more recently,



Top: PRISON POPULATION MAP | Bottom: TOURIST ENTRIES PER ANNUM

initiate their *rehabilitation* from addiction and mental illness. In theory, they do any and all of these to protect the law-abiding, to exact contrition from the convict, to transform him or (increasingly) her into a less-problematic citizen, and to deter society at large from criminal behavior by presenting its consequences. Sociologically, if not architecturally, all prisons can be assessed in terms of how they weight these goals, and how they meet them.

Museums could be said to address four parallel concerns — four Ds — Display, Displacement, Didactics, and Diversity. Museums obviously *display* objects; they *displace* both the viewer and viewed out of everyday circumstances in order to make both the rare accessible and the common “foreign”; they operate *didactically*, to open teaching dialogues on the relevance and interrelationship of those objects; and, increasingly, they try to *diversify* both their holdings and their audience. Museums perform these

various roles to safeguard what we deem valuable, expose and explicate that value, and expand the terms by which we assign it.

Both the four Rs of incarceration and the four Ds of exhibition continue to shape buildings, but their terms are now weighted very differently than they were twenty-five years ago, to say nothing of 250 years ago at their typological inception. To these four intrinsic purposes for each building type, we must now add at least one extra aim apiece: for prisons, a double-R for rural revival; and for museums, a double-D for density development. As even a cursory look at either building boom will reveal, these projects are judged now less in terms of how they affect or organize their contents, and far more in terms of their civic performance *in situ*. Apart from the preservation and transformation of their “holdings,” prisons and museums now promise their host locales politically quantifiable benefits in terms of jobs, land values, and tax base.

As Douglas Crimp notes in *On the Museum's Ruins*, his call for an “archeology” of the museum akin to Michel Foucault's examination of prisons, both building types “seemed to be equally space(s) of exclusions and confinements.”¹² For all the talk of “warehousing” that marks contemporary discussions of both, prisons and museums remain highly specialized institutions, at once vaults and vessels for their respective holdings. The increasingly secretive and embattled attitude of correctional personnel finds its societal antithesis in curatorial expansion and public outreach, but both are highly exclusive cultures, charged with roles that border on secular mysticism. One seeks to transform people — criminals — into mute and manageable objects, the other to make objects — art — into living statements.

PRISONS AND MUSEUMS DEFINE and polarize a complex array of societal and cultural transgressions. It is a central, perhaps defining irony of our time that extreme behavior, once it has been judged licit or illicit, sends either its protagonist or its product to either building. Prisons assimilate the guilt and culpability of



the convicted in much the way art museums presume the value of works they exhibit. Some inmates may eventually be exonerated, and many paintings will not stand the test of time, but within their spatial and temporal confines, the specific freedoms celebrated by museums and revoked by prisons could be said to have outstripped their respective markets — their contents become quite literally, if not permanently, priceless.

The fact that museums and prisons highlight the activities of individuals at the margins of the labor market seems to have become only more crucial as the US economic balance has tipped sharply from manufacturing to services and retail. Museums and prisons play complementary roles in shaping a postindustrial workforce, one preoccupied with individual viability rather than collective welfare, obsessed with the trappings of wealth and the exceptional behavior it both requires and rewards, and eager to take high-stakes gambles for personal gain and recognition. If *transformation* — of society, matter, knowledge, self —



was a driving ambition of the 20th century, its angrier, sexier, and less reliable sibling *transgression* has taken an early lead in the 21st.

The emphasis of this study falls on new museums for fine art and new mega-jails that now punctuate broader networks of exhibition and discipline, but these urban projects are hardly isolated phenomena. In the outer rings of exurban and rural expansion many specialized penal institutions have proliferated concurrently: prisons for women, medical rehabilitation, youth authority, and privately owned prisons head a long list. Museums of fine art are but one of a panoply of fast-multiplying genres that also include museums of natural history, celebrity, warfare, calamity, science, trade, technology, archeology and anthropology, not to mention the many new museums of architecture and design. Urban jails and art museums, however, have spurred the most experimentation. Art museums are the “high game” for architects, the nexus of a rivalry between artists and architects over who will challenge and update our cultural assumptions

HOLDING CELL, Nico Bick (2011) | Opposite: RELIEVED PRODUCTION CYCLE, Liam Gillick (2007)

most effectively. Big city jails are the gateway islands of our new gulag archipelago, cities unto themselves that form and define the threshold of societal sanction.

BOOM TIMES

"Why is it," asked Crimp in 1987, "that as we enter the era of post-modernism, we are witnessing the largest growth in museum building since the nineteenth century?"¹³ Though the centrality of both museums and prisons in urban planning dates back to the Middle Ages, their current vogue reflects some unlikely reversals at the end of the 20th century. For much of the post-WWII period, each was perceived to be in steep decline toward anachronism, with much speculation anticipating their demise. For Crimp and many art theorists, the irony of this surge in museum construction lay in the oft-proclaimed "death" of painting and sculpture — the arts that museums traditionally feature — at the hands of photography and film media. Just as the aura of original works was thoroughly occluded by mass-produced imagery, however, we witnessed an unexpected, hysterical scurry to preserve and display art objects. One could see the prison boom in a similar light: given the vast critical literature of the 1960s and '70s that decried the failure of rehabilitation through incarceration, few would have predicted then the rise of prisons as a leading political panacea over the following decades.

But both turned out to be fragile ironies. In the case of museums, the more lushly illustrated art publications became, the better they served as publicity for the original works. Rather than replacing the one-off, mass reproduction has cheapened and expanded the allure of the masterpiece, undermining the exclusivity of the museum rather than its worth. Museum stock hasn't gone down; it has instead risen and split many times over. Museums have shed their image as musty containers of stale relics. Endless, anonymous galleries and permanent collections

have given way to multimedia spaces, gift stores, and cafes. Curators once intent on revealing a Grand March of Periods opt instead for fast-changing themed exhibitions and blockbuster retrospectives, packing exhibits with the life-traces and biographies of artists alongside their work.

When, on the other hand, the reformatory ideals of modern incarceration were judged bankrupt in the 1970s, the recognition of that failure carried with it not an exposé of misguided public policy, but an indictment of the urban poor, now deemed completely incorrigible. Law-and-order politicians found renewable political capital in creating miserable prison conditions through overcrowding and then promising to ameliorate the same through more construction. If prisons transformed inmates into hardened criminals rather than upstanding citizens, the solution for US voters was not to reexamine the institutions, but to keep prisoners inside as long as possible. As one officer on a tour of the federal work camp at Boron, California, put it, "We are not paid to fix these people. We are paid to store them."

The geometric escalation in US prison populations, fueled by "three-strikes" legislation and especially mandatory minimum drug sentencing guidelines, required both gargantuan rural penitentiaries and major new criminal justice "hubs" in big cities. In the late '70s, an invention termed Podular Supervision, based distantly on Jeremy Bentham's infamous Panopticon, led to a wealth of new carceral options in what are collectively known as "New Generation Justice Facilities." The spatial efficiency of new podular housing units allowed a fractal-like escalation of new prison and jail configurations including metropolitan towers, total isolation units, and the fast-evolving "270" block pioneered in California state prisons. Regional and national prison booms have led to a thoroughly mechanized, self-refining building process in which advances in security, surveillance, and cost savings are quickly generalized. In order to pass seamlessly into dense urban fabric near courthouses, new inner-city jails mimic

surrounding corporate towers and office parks, allowing inmate warehousing in previously forbidden quarters.

Very different, but parallel, dynamics drove a concurrent museum boom in the second half of the 20th century. Watersheds in Minimalism, Louis Kahn's museums for Yale University (1958 and 1976) and the Kimbell family (1972) inspired an American tulip craze in academic and private art museums, including Renzo Piano's Menil Pavilion, Philip Johnson's home galleries, and later the contentious Wexner Center by Peter Eisenman. At the other extreme of scale, Piano and Richard Rogers' Centre Pompidou and I.M. Pei's East Wing for the National Gallery, both completed in the late 1970s, ushered in the era of state-sponsored modern art vaults. International museum competitions have generated a "design diplomacy" of ever more extroverted proposals. Architecture *in extremis* reigns as minimalist and maximalist schemes vie for the attention of increasingly desensitized jurors. A few prolific architects — among them Richard Meier, Frank Gehry, Tadao Ando, and again Piano — build so many museums that personal typologies have evolved, impervious to differences in climate, locale, and cultural context. Though the art world cognoscenti lament these "signature" structures, they now form a quantifiable, replicable currency of civic identity and marketing. All of these trends converged through the 1980s and 1990s in an unprec-

FOREST OF TOMBS. Tadao Ando. Kumamoto, Japan (1992)
Opposite: COYOTE RIDGE DETENTION CENTER. Rosser (2008)



edented exploration of forms for exhibition space, often unburdened by stellar art to display. As Rosalind Krauss has noted, the success of these micro-museum “attractors” laid the groundwork for massive cultural projects, as well as inventive philanthropic asset leveraging, that defined the urban '90s.

TIMELAPSE

Ever since Minimalism made it inevitable that artists and architects would produce work that was claimed not only to occupy the same ground but to produce the space of art itself, art and architecture have engaged in a disciplinary competition about who should do what for whom and at what cost, which discipline is more properly part of the service economy, and which is higher in the cultural hierarchy.¹⁴

SYLVIA LAVIN

Decade by decade since the 1960s, museums and prisons have traded a variety of design tropes — innovations that quickly become habit across both fields. First we witness a tug-of-war between Late Modernism and Minimalism, resolved often in a penitential middle ground of sheer facades and repetitive, linear organizations. Though the 1980s are generally considered the apex of architectural Postmodernism, with its vying schools





of Historicism and Deconstruction, prisons and museums go through transformations that are more accurately read in terms of post-Minimalism, with its focus on theatricality, body-space relationships, and scopic regimentation. In the 1990s we celebrated the culmination of the 20th century with a rash of commemorative, encyclopedic, and elephantine “total” institutions, sprawling and towering detention centers and memorial museums.

After 2000 and especially after 9/11, prisons and museums took on a darker cast, post-apocalyptic and militarized, both in their subject matter and their staging of international debacles: the looting of the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad; the failure to settle on a museological program for Ground Zero; the Abu Ghraib atrocities; and the controversies surrounding US prisoner-of-war treatment at Guantanamo. As many notorious prisons in other countries become museums of national memory, a new strain of secret, far-flung, and extrajudicial “black site” prisons plays a disturbingly unbridled role in US foreign policy.

The structure of this study describes four sequential but overlapping temporalities, each with a chapter fleshing out its defining innovations and another tracing its logic of expansion:



MINIMAL — Chapters 01 and 02 look at the confluence of prison and museum design in terms of Minimalism, as the disciplinary ideals of asceticism — removal, deprivation, and repetition — became central to art production and exhibition in the 1960s and '70s. Chapter 01, *Reduce*, looks at how strategies of simplification and abstraction, which had long typified prison architecture, came to dominate museum design in the post-WWII period. Louis Kahn's three major museums are watersheds in this regard, with each introducing a distinct aspect of penitential aesthetics into buildings for art. With a newly simplified architectural vocabulary, institutions of constraint and display multiplied quickly in the 1970s. Chapter 02, *Repeat*, notes the role of the Rockefeller brothers in these twin institutional expansions, and examines the many economies of scale afforded by repetition of spaces and structural elements in a single building, as well as the massive growth in networks of exhibition and discipline as standardized forms were replicated in many locations.

POST-MINIMAL — Chapters 03 and 04 introduce post-Minimalist strategies of the 1970s and '80s that shifted both the nature and rationale of incarceration and exhibition, fostering an

even more accelerated proliferation of both. Chapter 03, *Rotate*, examines how we have consolidated the tasks of surveillance and exhibition into single, concentric volumes after the models of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon and Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim. This reassessment led to an array of podular prisons and "centers" for contemporary art that ask to be read as templates for personal and collective transformation rather than mere institutions of containment. Central here are the "easy" spaces and flexible gestures that Frank Gehry pioneered in his trajectory from the repurposed industrial shells of his early Aerospace and Temporary Contemporary museums through the civic convolutions of Bilbao and later proposals.

Chapter 04, *Proliferate*, explores how these more efficient prototypes multiplied and escalated into far-flung and internodal networks, championed by proselytizers such as Thomas Krens of the Guggenheim Foundation and Donald Novey of the California correctional officers union. Both prisons and museums are now franchised according to tested prototypes and conceived as iterations in a larger skein of strategic planning. Krens and Novey pioneered new management regimes of constant expansion, pooling old and new institutions, both "ready-made" and signature buildings, under the yoke of a single brand. An orchestrated circuitry of viewing and holding spaces, or "infotestines," debrief new arrivals on the lore and future of these networks, and now typify most jails and single-topic museums.

MILLENNIAL — In the decade preceding the new millennium, the thrust of museum and prison design became both more comprehensive and more particular. Chapter 05, *Neutralize*, explores the many new prisons and museums that sought to diffuse an urban situation, a historical event or even their own presence. Authorless but gargantuan metropolitan jails were disguised as office towers or power stations. Diplomacy through design factors in to both the many cross-border museum commissions to "global" architects and in the banal facades of tower jails built to appease squeamish urban neighbors. Chapter 06,

Privatize, turns to privately-funded “personal” museums and for-profit prisons, both testing grounds for new architects and architectural solutions. Usually smaller and more agilely managed, private facilities of exhibition and detention are hotbeds of innovation, and of eccentricity. Often considered “lite” in their holdings — built for low-risk inmates and questionable art — these institutions enjoy far more latitude in their design and philosophy.

POST-MILLENNIAL — Since 2000, institutions of display and discipline have taken on international, or transnational, dimensions, many of them unanticipated and controversial. Chapter 07, *Collide*, notes the confluence of art and crime in prisons-turned-museums, museums as crime scenes, and in the work of artists and inmates that no longer observe clear distinctions between curatorial and custodial agendas. These post-Millennial demands were anticipated by Rem Koolhaas in his early schemes for Arnhem Prison, which proposed a panoptic display of failed architectures of reformation, and in his many unbuilt museums: an encyclopedic, and captive, catalog of exhibitionary strategies.

Paradox is more the rule than exception in Chapter 08, *Disperse*, as new architectures of fixity attempt to reflect and respond to constant change and disaggregation. As the internationalization of incarceration has imperiled many basic standards of correctional conduct, the wholesale displacement of curation to temporary settings has rendered many cultural limitations quaint in other ways. Transient art fairs now surpass museums in ratifying any emergent avant-garde, hosting spectacular installations and promulgating new agendas for future art practices.

DOMESTICALLY, the urban prisons and museums built since the 1970s punctuate the end of the industrial and corporate stewardship of our cities. The public emphasis of these new prisons and museums is not on their internal holdings and workings, but on their ability to shore up depopulated central-core areas. New jails do this by underpinning civil sector expansion. New federal and county detention centers house exponentially more inmates than

they could forty years ago, awaiting more trials and appeals in more courtrooms, watched over by more guards, prosecuted and defended by more attorneys, supported and managed by many more civil servants. Museums yield parallel benefits in retail and residential terms, with their high-profile presence (and often exorbitant costs) benchmarking neighboring real estate and “activating” street life. Their twin surges reflect a distinctly suburban reassessment of civic allure, danger, and expendability.

Institutions of discipline and exhibition have thus replaced malls and office towers as the anchor tenants of what we used to call the CBD, or Central Business District. Though some note the rise of “Stealth architecture” and a “Bilbao Effect,” little investigation has been made of this twinning in contemporary urban renewal. *Corrections and Collections* explores the spatial dialectics of surveillance and spectacle created by these newly proximate architectures — an intersection in contemporary civic space better grasped in the wasted (but highly curated) digital game terrains of *Grand Theft Auto* than in most current urban theory.

The recent explosion of both building types underscores an unpopular notion that if public architecture occasionally rises to the level of “frozen music,” it also, invariably, concretizes politics. We have voted to build prisons at the direct cost of higher education; private philanthropy is increasingly torn between funding larger and more grandiose museums and subsidizing charities and services for the disadvantaged. The legacies of royal authority and privilege, prisons and museums play more complicated roles as democratic institutions. Though long philosophically derided, prisons and museums “fail” in ways that seem only to spawn new proposals, enthusiastically promulgated then categorically dismissed by subsequent critics and reformers.

TURNTABLEISM

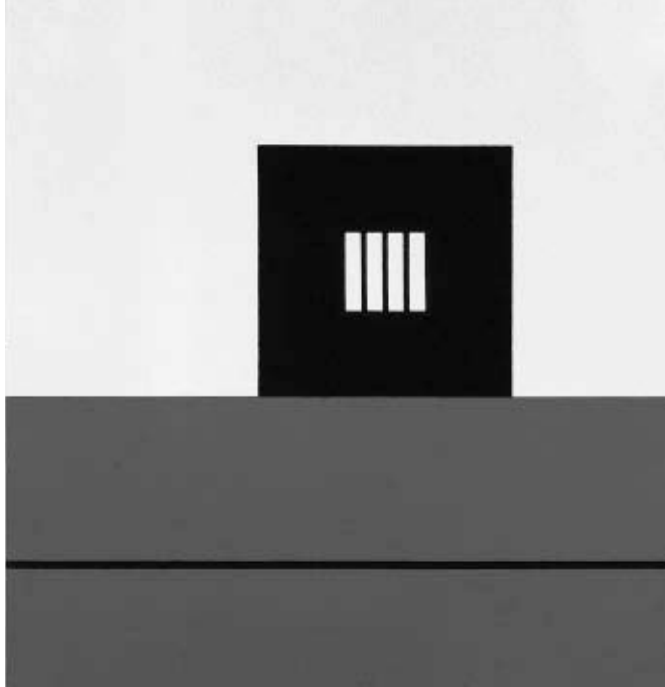
Notes on the Paintings:

1. These are paintings of prisons, cells, and walls.
2. Here, the idealist square becomes the prison. Geometry is revealed as confinement.
3. The cell is a reminder of the apartment house, the hospital bed, the school desk — the isolated endpoints of industrial structure.
4. The paintings are a critique of idealist modernism. In the “color field” is placed a jail.¹⁵

PETER HALLEY, NOTES ON THE PAINTINGS, 1982

THIS STUDY BROKERS among many modes of inquiry and models of argument. Polemics, surveys, and journalism have all been brought to bear on prisons and museums, and a much wider array of discursive forms pertain to the integrally related topics of art, crime, and urbanism. For histories of each building type I have relied especially on those by Robin Evans, Norman Johnston, and Leslie Fairweather for prisons; on Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Tony Bennett and Alan Wallach for museums; and on Anthony Vidler regarding both. I've also consulted many surveys of state-of-the-art buildings and calls for their reform.¹⁶ The vast majority of the coverage of recent buildings is by journalists, reportage in time- and site-specific pieces that render indelible the human impact and statistical improbability of these buildings, and these are cited as they relate to the text. Teaching with Mike Davis at SCI-Arc in the 1990s gave me both a pretext for visiting many prisons and a tutorial in how to see and portray them in a broader context.

A few theorists have considered the affinity of museums and prisons before, almost all in the wake of Michel Foucault. Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) dominates the field of penology still, and his assorted writings on art and archives extend his lessons on power, coercion, and



transparency through cultural domains. With Erving Goffman's *Asylums* (1961), *Discipline and Punish* had a resounding impact on a '70s generation of planners who sought to "deinstitutionalize" prisons and jails. I've met guards who have read Foucault and brought up the Panopticon while giving tours of California state prisons. More broadly, his theories of pervasive surveillance and self-policing have been borne out exponentially, in ways Foucault could not have predicted, in electronic surveillance, digital monitoring, and the ubiquitous video coverage of urban space.¹⁷

David Lyon's *The Electronic Eye* and later writings cover the post-Foucault gamut in this direction, and many have elaborated on various tangents of his theories on incarceration, prominent among them Robin Evans and Thomas Bender. A surprising array of scholars has tried to extend Foucault's analytical method to museums: among them Douglas Crimp, Svetlana Alpers, Tony Bennett, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, and Thomas Markus.¹⁸ More recently, discussions of art and architecture have broken along partisan lines, with the editorial alumni of *ArtForum* and *October*



usually enjoying both first and last say. Rosalind Krauss' "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum" and Hal Foster's recent collected essays, *Design and Crime* and *The Art-Architecture Complex*, examine the incursion of the market into the museum, and the declension of high culture into design.¹⁹ The thematic sequencing of this study is in many respects the result of trying to process and respond to these positions.

However, more directly salient for my work has been institutional critique generated by artists. Robert Smithson looms large over this dialogue with "Some Void Thoughts on Museums," as does Brian O'Doherty's *Inside the White Cube*.²⁰ After both Marcel Duchamp and Broodthaers, many artists have posed their own "counter-museums," as in the cluttered realms of Thomas Hirschhorn and the micro-utopias of Liam Gillick.

Little Frank and His Carp, a 2001 performance by Andrea Fraser based on a recorded docent's tour of the Guggenheim Bilbao, reflects sharply on Frank Gehry's architectural techniques, formal imperatives, and its resuscitation of the Basque economy. In her book *Museum Highlights* (1998), Fraser also parses many of the Foucauldians above by way of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of institutions, and alludes to Loïc Wacquant's recent excoriations of mass incarceration.²¹ The early cutaway models of Langlands & Bell, a British art partnership, presaged the many pairings of prison and museum plans included here. Richard

ANDREA FRASER, *Little Frank and His Carp* (2001)
Opposite: PRISON WITH UNDERGROUND CIRCUIT, Peter Halley (1983)

Ross' photography of both prison and museum interiors, within his larger oeuvre of *Architecture of Authority*, haunt these pages, as do abstractions of those same dynamics by Peter Halley.

Most of all, I have been inspired by a handful of paired essays by novelists: Aldous Huxley's "The Prisons" on Piranesi and "Reflections on Goya" in *Texts and Pretexts*; Joan Didion's pieces on The Getty and Alcatraz in *The White Album* and *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*, respectively; and more recently, Jonathan Franzen writing on the Mercer Museum and the SuperMax prison in Florence, Colorado, in *How to Be Alone*. Read together, each of these pairs achieves in microcosm what I hope this study will deliver in aggregate: a broader, more complex, and engaged discussion of prisons and museums both as manifestations of prevalent, unacknowledged philosophies, and as repositories of our most overwrought desires and least examined fears.



AS PRISONS REIN IN PEOPLE who no longer have clear options or places in our economy, museums host a perpetual trade fair of optional lifestyles for those who can afford them. With the rise of multimedia and installation work, museums of contemporary art showcase a wide array of possible futures: many of them attractive, some of them threatening, none of them as universal or all-embracing as the modern movements they often allude to wistfully. For the bulk of Americans who fall somewhere between destitution and affluence, prisons and museums translate into an endlessly pixilated spectacle of chain gangs and gala balls, prisoner abuse scandals and ostentatiously overpriced exhibition tickets — an aunt in an art fair or a brother in custody — with few degrees of separation either way.

Corrections and Collections limits its scope to the architectural residue of these seismic shifts. The radical changes and advances in design for exhibition and discipline in the last forty years reveal fantasies and pathologies of a society in flux. Prisons and museums have long been held as the nadir and apex, respectively, of city life. The metropolitan ideal that gave rise to this opposition, however, is yielding to both the increasingly cosmopolitan logic of global exchange and cultural experimentation, as well as the counter-urban machinations of suburban wealth and rural political will. *Corrections and Collections* draws a comparison between museums and prisons to set the issues specific to each in higher relief, and to leverage the fast-expanding public awareness of one to illuminate the other. In the effusive public celebrations that mark the completion of new museums — monuments to our collective and individual audacity — we should listen carefully for the low, broad echoes of assent that have underwritten an unprecedented infrastructure of restraint.

A black and white photograph of a minimalist interior. The space features a light-colored concrete floor with visible expansion lines. Several white, rectangular, open-frame structures are arranged on the floor, resembling modern stools or architectural elements. In the background, a plain white wall is visible, and to the left, a dark doorway or recessed area provides a contrast. A single recessed ceiling light is visible in the upper left. The word "MINIMAL" is printed in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters in the upper center of the image.

MINIMAL