

# The Geography of Incarceration

A Special Report from the Boston Indicators Project  
in Partnership with MassINC and the  
Massachusetts Criminal Justice Reform Coalition





## **ABOUT THE BOSTON INDICATORS PROJECT**

The Boston Indicators Project has been a primary data resource for Greater Boston for 15 years. Its goals are to democratize access to high quality data and information, foster informed public discourse, and monitor progress on shared civic goals. In addition to tracking a comprehensive framework of key indicators, the Project produces biennial reports chronicling Boston's accomplishments on a number of measures as well as the full array of challenges facing the city and region. It also convenes experts and stakeholders, analyzes relevant data, and reviews current research to produce special reports on critical topics, including this report on incarceration in Boston. As this report is embedded in an ongoing policy conversation, it offers readers potential levers by which we might address challenges within the criminal justice system. Rather than signaling a wholly new direction for the Boston Indicators Project, this report reflects the unique opportunity offered by our current civic conversations on and legislative processes regarding the criminal justice system.

## **ABOUT MASSINC**

The Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth (MassINC) is a rigorously non-partisan think tank and civic organization. It focuses on putting the American Dream within the reach of everyone in Massachusetts using three distinct tools—research, journalism, and civic engagement. MassINC's work is characterized by accurate data, careful analysis, and unbiased conclusions.

## **ABOUT THE MASSACHUSETTS CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM COALITION**

The Massachusetts Criminal Justice Reform Coalition (CJRC) is a diverse cross-section of leaders who find common ground in the urgent need for comprehensive corrections reform. The Coalition co-chairs are: Wayne Budd, former U.S. Attorney; Kevin Burke, former Secretary of Public Safety; and Max Stern, President of the Massachusetts Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers.

# The Geography of Incarceration

## The Cost and Consequences of High Incarceration Rates in Vulnerable City Neighborhoods

A Special Report from the Boston Indicators Project in Partnership with  
MassINC and the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Reform Coalition

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**Massachusetts Criminal  
Justice Reform Coalition**

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The Boston Indicators Project is a research center hosted by the Boston Foundation.

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# Preface

Last year, Massachusetts entered into a partnership with the Council on State Governments to undertake a comprehensive review of the state's criminal justice system. In January of 2016, the Boston Foundation hosted a forum with the nonpartisan public policy think tank MassINC that addressed how the Commonwealth's policies around sentencing, re-entry and recidivism stack up against national trends. The discussion also explored ways to foster a more effective criminal justice system by learning from best practices being implemented throughout the nation.

At that forum, panelists also discussed the dangers of sentencing inequities. This prompted the Boston Indicators Project to further explore these inequities and their impact on Boston's neighborhoods.

The Project partnered with MassINC and the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Reform Coalition to conduct a study on the geography of crime and incarceration in Boston. Strikingly, the findings suggest that areas of high crime do not necessarily correspond to areas of high incarceration rates. More strikingly, many people of color live in Boston neighborhoods with such highly concentrated rates of incarceration that nearly every street—and in some cases every other building—contains a resident who has been in Nashua Street Jail or Suffolk County House of Correction.

The study vividly depicts the disproportionate impact that incarceration has had on Boston's low-income residents of color, and describes its cascading negative effects, not just on the lives of the imprisoned but on their families, neighborhoods and the city as a whole. The report serves to invite the broader public to reflect on the manifold causes of this phenomenon—looming large among them, mandatory minimum sentencing for drug offenses.

The findings of this report are troubling, but yield solid recommendations that should help the Massachusetts Justice Reinvestment Initiative as it reconsiders the operations and results of criminal justice practices here.

As a community foundation whose mission is to build and sustain a city where justice and opportunity are extended to everyone, we believe the timing to address this issue is now—and a response is crucial.

Over the last decade, the Boston Foundation has published six reports designed to advance criminal justice reforms. In 2010, Governor Deval Patrick signed a bill that featured recommendations made in our reports, including funds for training employers in the Criminal Offender Record Information (CORI) system. The Foundation and the Criminal Justice Institute also staffed a blue ribbon task force on CORI employer guidelines and published reports on the Massachusetts Probation Department, which revealed the lack of oversight and skyrocketing budgets. Those reports led to Spotlight Team coverage in the *Boston Globe* and sweeping probation reform within the system.

This report from the Boston Indicators Project addresses one of the most critical challenges of our time. We hope it will contribute to the dialogue in a way that will help to move the needle in the direction of greater justice for all residents of Massachusetts, regardless of where they live.

Paul S. Grogan  
President & CEO, The Boston Foundation

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## Introduction

This paper explores the geography of incarceration in Boston, providing timely information as state leaders engage in an unprecedented effort to find strategies to operate our criminal justice system in a more cost-effective manner, and redirect the savings toward models that decrease crime and strengthen neighborhoods. The first phase of this federally-funded endeavor, which is known as the Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI), is expected to conclude in January with the filing of comprehensive reform legislation.

With three-quarters of those convicted of a crime in Massachusetts having had prior involvement with the justice system, there is now growing agreement among public sector leaders, many of whom are involved in the JRI process, that our system is failing to “correct” the behavior of individuals who pose harm to the community.<sup>1</sup> To date, the reform conversation has focused heavily on the overreliance of correctional facilities to manage people with substance use and mental health disorders. While this is certainly a major problem that has to be addressed, leaders can also use this opportunity to reassess how policies leading to mass incarceration have differentially affected low-income minority neighborhoods.

Building an equally strong consensus around this concern is important, as many see relatively low overall incarceration rates in Massachusetts as indication that our state has avoided the worst of mass incarceration. But over the last three decades, incarceration has actually risen at a faster rate in Massachusetts than in the nation overall and tough on crime policies (*see box on p. 5 for an explainer*) have driven incarceration rates up to exceptionally high levels in Boston’s communities of color.<sup>2</sup>

Researchers have increasingly highlighted how this is counterproductive from a public safety standpoint. This body of research began to emerge in the late 1990s with criminologists theorizing that too much imprisonment might become self-defeating in high-poverty urban neighborhoods.<sup>3</sup> The field has stressed that social ties are precisely what differentiate safe neighborhoods from those afflicted by crime. When residents know and trust their neighbors, they are able to support one another and work together to address neighborhood problems. Residents often lack these relationships in disadvantaged communities, in large part because poverty creates housing instability and residential turnover, which makes it harder for neighbors to work together informally to maintain social order.<sup>4</sup>

As a result, the criminal justice system is often more heavily involved in maintaining stability in these neighborhoods. This can be a blunt instrument, particularly when mandatory minimums and other tough on crime policies mete out an inflexible response. Disadvantaged neighborhoods can reach a tipping point where the benefits of taking individuals committing

## KEY FINDINGS

- Throughout Boston’s communities of color, incarceration rates are much more elevated than crime rates.
- Many people of color live in Boston neighborhoods with such highly concentrated rates of incarceration that nearly every street—in some cases every other building—contains a resident who has been incarcerated.
- Roxbury residents are incarcerated at twice the rate of Boston residents as a whole, giving it the highest concentration among all of the city’s primary neighborhoods.
- Spending for incarceration is out of balance. For example, more was spent incarcerating Codman Square residents in 2013 than was spent on grants for gang prevention for the entire state of Massachusetts.

**IN RECENT YEARS, RESEARCHERS HAVE ISSUED A NUMBER OF STUDIES DEMONSTRATING THAT URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE U.S. HAVE INDEED REACHED THE TIPPING POINT WHERE INCARCERATION BEGINS TO HINDER MORE THAN IT HELPS.**

crime out of the community are overcome by the negative consequences of sending so many residents cycling in and out of prison.<sup>5</sup>

Beyond the additional neighborhood churn, there are other reasons why incarceration can become self-defeating in high doses: Prison becomes normalized, and therefore much less of a deterrent, when many people experience it. Removing individuals from gangs and the drug trade leads to additional recruitment to replace those lost, exposing more youth to illicit activity. And low-income households with a breadwinner in prison find it challenging to support children at home, while also investing money and time assisting their incarcerated family member; a missing parent and family hardship become a recipe for juvenile delinquency.<sup>6</sup>

In recent years, researchers have issued a number of studies demonstrating that urban neighborhoods in the U.S. have reached the tipping point where incarceration begins to hinder more than it helps.<sup>7</sup> The largest, most rigorous of these studies, commissioned by the National Institute of Justice, examined data from Boston and found that high rates of incarceration were leading to additional crime in the city's most disadvantaged neighborhoods. The authors, several preeminent quantitative criminologists, concluded that place-based correctional programming and policing strategies are necessary to address this problem.<sup>8</sup>

While this study's striking results never captured public attention, the issue simmers in media coverage of the city's struggling neighborhoods. It was front and center in "68 Blocks: Life, Death, Hope"—the *Boston Globe's* 2013 series on Bowdoin-Geneva. And it's squarely between the lines in recent stories describing police-community tensions, and the difficulty both sides encounter amid the neighborhood instability to which current policy contributes.

The pages that follow capture the extent to which the city of Boston is home to high incarceration rate neighborhoods by mapping novel data provided by the Suffolk County Sheriff's Department. These figures cover all individuals re-entering to Boston neighborhoods between 2009 and 2015 from either the Suffolk County House of Correction or the Nashua Street Jail (see box p. 6 for more on how these institutions fit into our criminal justice system). These release data are juxtaposed with 2014 crime data to provide a view of how the geography of incarceration compares to the geography of crime in the city. It is important to note at the outset that this portrait of incarceration is incomplete. The data do not include Boston residents released from state and federal prisons or other jurisdictions. Because these are release data, the view is also slightly out of date. Sentencing reforms enacted in 2012 are not fully captured, nor are recent efforts by the Boston Police Department to increase the use of community problem-solving practices to avoid arrests and reduce justice system involvement. With these important caveats in mind, these data can sharpen our understanding of the impact of criminal justice policies on Boston's most vulnerable neighborhoods.

## The Path from Tough on Crime in the 1980s to Justice Reinvestment in Massachusetts Today

Up until the 1980s, prisons in Massachusetts held a small number of offenders, and corrections officials were intensely focused on rehabilitating the few inmates in their custody. As crime rates rose, however, the state changed course, enacting mandatory minimum statutes for firearms offenses (1974), drug dealing (1980), and vehicular homicide (1982). For a time, prosecutors often opted to charge defendants under less restrictive statutes and even when they won convictions under mandatory minimum laws, early release was still possible with good behavior.

When the infamous case of Willie Horton, a convicted felon who committed multiple crimes on a weekend furlough program while incarcerated in Massachusetts, became a defining issue in Governor Michael Dukakis's 1988 presidential campaign, the environment changed radically. Responding to a public that had already been alarmed by the growing crack epidemic, politicians reacted swiftly with increasingly tough sentencing policies. The Legislature quickly passed a mandatory minimum drug law with limited support from police and prosecutors. The following year the Legislature enacted a school zone statute, which led to penalty enhancement zones that effectively doubled sentences for those convicted of drug offenses within the vicinity of schools, parks, and playgrounds.

The landmark Federal Crime Bill signed by President Bill Clinton in 1994 provided states with monetary incentives to adopt reforms that led to longer periods of incarceration and reduced the incentives for prisoners to participate in rehabilitative programming. Massachusetts was quick to comply, passing a "Truth in Sentencing" law.

As prisons and jails filled in Massachusetts and leaders began to see how these changes were leading to individuals cycling in and out of prison, many began to call for a new approach. The Romney administration formed two commissions that made thoughtful recommendations for systemic reform. In 2011, the Legislature assembled the Special Commission to Study

the Criminal Justice System, which reached many similar conclusions.

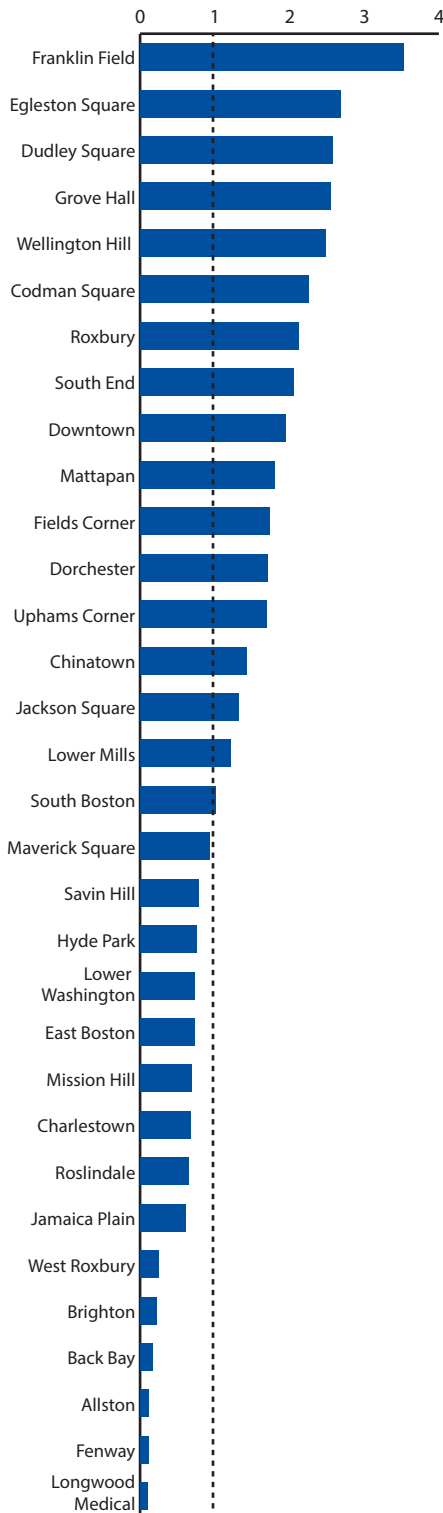
While the state has yet to adopt these comprehensive changes, there has been a pronounced movement away from the criminalization of individuals with substance use disorders. Legislative change eliminated incarceration for hypodermic needle possession in 2006. In 2009, voters decriminalized marijuana possession. In 2012, the Legislature reduced the size of the school zone for drug distribution offenses, increased the amount of drugs an individual must possess or distribute in order to incur some mandatory-minimum penalties, shortened some minimum sentences, and increased eligibility for parole and earned good time for some offenses.

While these changes have undoubtedly led to a significant reduction in the number of Boston residents held at the Suffolk County House of Correction, comprehensive change is required to reduce recidivism and bring incarceration rates in the city's communities of color down to levels that maximize public safety.<sup>9</sup> The Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI) is an unprecedented opportunity to bring about the necessary change.

Last year, Massachusetts became the twenty-fifth state to join the federally-funded effort. Through JRI, public sector leaders across all branches of state government are reviewing the effectiveness of the criminal justice system with technical assistance provided through the private nonprofit Council of State Governments (CSG). This data-driven approach aims to improve public safety by managing individuals in the criminal justice system in a more cost-effective manner, and redirecting the savings toward strategies that hold offenders accountable, decrease crime, and strengthen neighborhoods. If the current schedule holds, the CSG will present recommendations for Massachusetts in December 2016. These findings will be translated into a comprehensive reform bill to be introduced at the beginning of the 2017-2018 legislative session.

FIGURE 1

**Neighborhood share of Boston HOC commitments and jail detentions relative to neighborhood share of Boston residents, 2013**



I.  
**The Geography of Incarceration in Boston**

The Suffolk County Sheriff’s Department provided information on all of the individuals released from its custody between 2009 and 2015.<sup>10</sup> The files included more than 35,000 pretrial detainees held in the Nashua Street Jail and more than 8,000 sentenced inmates in the Suffolk County House of Correction (see box below for more on the distinction between these two facilities). These individuals came from a large number of communities. In order to identify clusters of residents from Boston neighborhoods, we mapped the address where these individuals reported living immediately prior to their incarceration. Because of the large number of cases, we mapped pretrial detainees for 2013 only. The year 2013 is the most recent for which we can track admissions and time served at the House of Correction, which in the vast majority of cases will be less than 30 months.

In 2013, 4,213 Boston residents were held for some period in the Nashua Street Jail awaiting trial; another 822 city residents were incarcerated at the Suffolk County House of Correction. **Map 1** shows that these incarcerations and pretrial detentions are clustered heavily in neighborhoods north and east of Franklin Park.

**The Role and Structure of Jails and Prisons in Massachusetts**

In Massachusetts, individuals sentenced to up to 30 months in prison serve their time in Houses of Correction, which are administered by county sheriffs. (This model is unique to Massachusetts. Throughout the country, individuals serving 12 months or more are generally sent to state prisons.) County sheriffs also operate jails, which house nearly all defendants detained while awaiting trial. While most defendants are released pending trial, some individuals are held in jail due to concerns about the danger they pose, their likelihood of appearing for trial, or their inability to make cash bail. The dual function of county sheriffs—housing both pretrial defendants and those with convictions with sentences to a House of Correction for under 30 months—means that incarceration in Massachusetts is unusually localized. The proximity of these facilities to community has many advantages, but in the context of high incarceration rate neighborhoods, it may reinforce the normalization of incarceration as a regular component of life.



**Figure 1** translates the concentrations on this map into a simple measure of concentration, the share of commitments and detentions in each neighborhood relative to the neighborhood’s share of Boston residents. Neighborhoods with elevated rates compared to the city average extend above the dotted line, which represents the level at which the share of commitments/detentions is equal to the share of Boston residents. Franklin Field, Egleston Square, and Dudley Square have the highest concentrations among the city’s sub-neighborhoods. With more than 16 percent of incarcerations and detentions and less than 8 percent of city residents, residents in Roxbury are committed/detained at twice the overall rate for Boston residents, leading to the highest concentration among the city’s primary neighborhoods. In Dorchester, the rate is also about double.

This ordering of neighborhoods shifts slightly when looking only at admissions to the House of Correction in 2013, shown on **Figure 2**. Franklin Field still had the most elevated rate, followed by Grove Hall, Codman Square, and Dudley Square. The South End also appears to have a high incarceration rate, but is important to note that the address of the Pine Street Inn shelter, which is situated by I-93 on the eastern edge of the neighborhood, accounted for approximately half of the South End’s HOC admissions.

MAP 1  
**Suffolk County House of Correction Commitments and Nashua Street Jail Detentions, 2013**

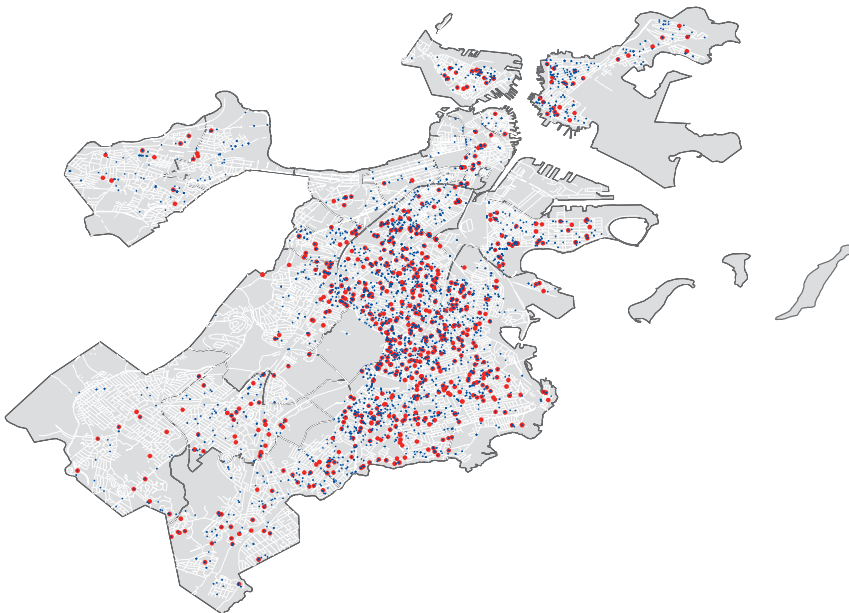
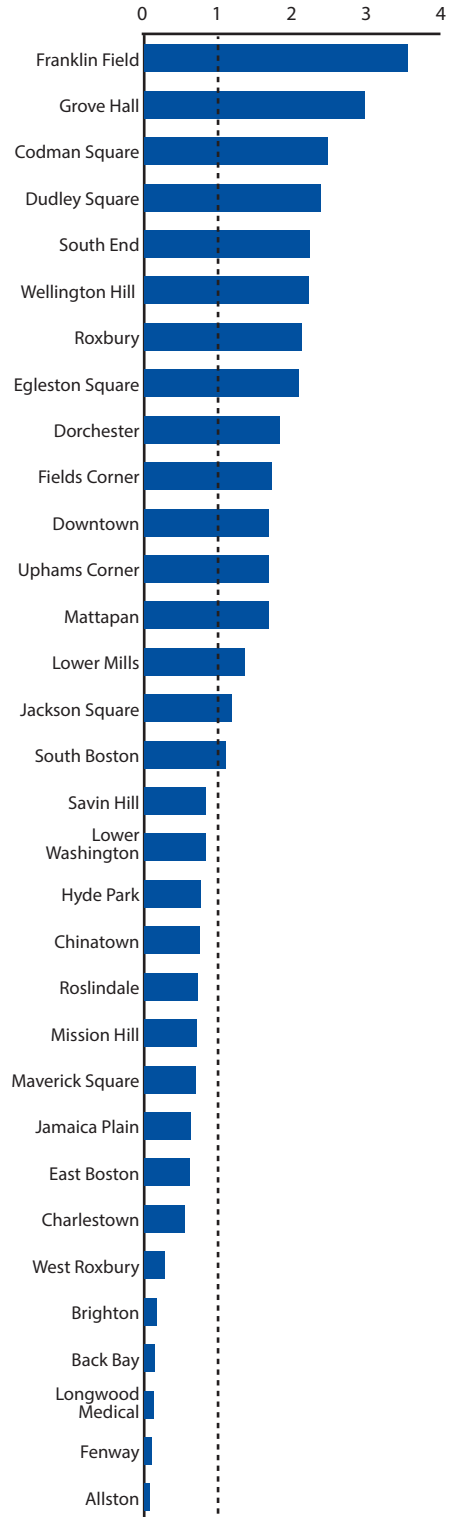


FIGURE 2  
**Neighborhood share of Boston HOC commitments relative to neighborhood share of Boston residents, 2013**



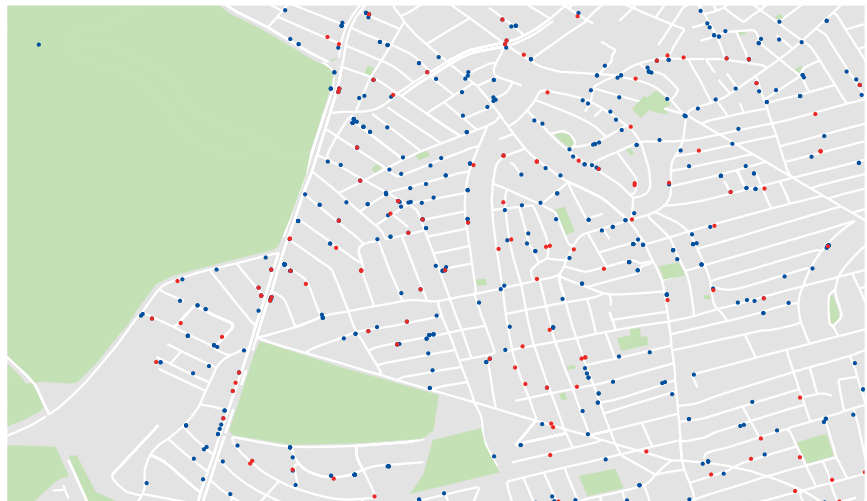
**HOUSE OF CORRECTION SENTENCES HAVE HIGHER COLLATERAL COSTS TO THE COMMUNITY [THAN JAIL DETENTION]. THEY ARE LONGER STAYS, NEARLY A YEAR ON AVERAGE, AND ALL OF THESE RESIDENTS RETURN WITH THE STIGMA OF A CRIMINAL CONVICTION.**

**Maps 2 A and B** zoom in on two of Boston's high incarceration rate neighborhoods, providing perspective on the extent to which these communities have been further destabilized by prison cycling. In Franklin Field and Grove Hall, virtually every block was impacted by incarceration and on many streets several residents were committed during the course of just one year.

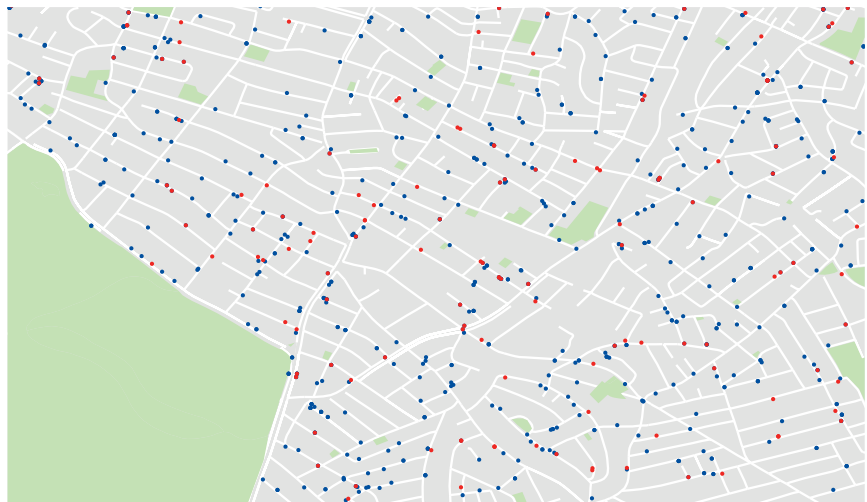
Examining admissions to the Suffolk County House of Correction over a longer period provides another indication of the extent to which incarceration penetrates the fabric of Boston neighborhoods, particularly communities of color throughout the city (**Map 3**). House of Correction sentences have higher collateral costs to the community. They are longer stays, nearly a year

MAPS 2A and B  
**Admissions to the Suffolk County House of Correction  
and the Nashua Street Jail, 2013**

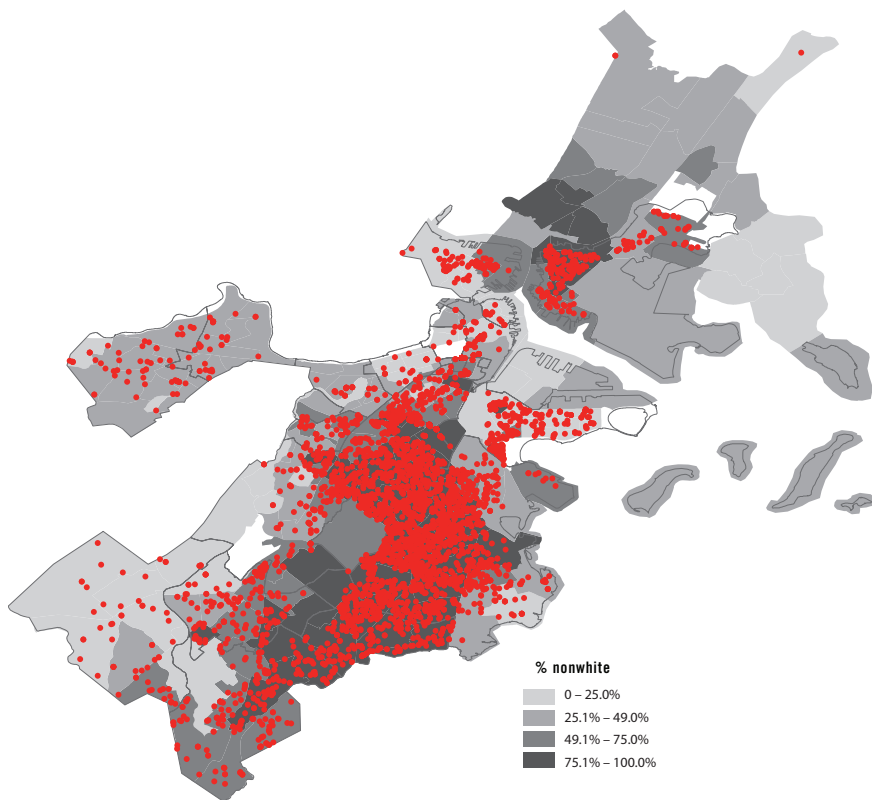
**2A Franklin Field 2013**



**2B Grove Hall 2013**



MAP 3  
**Releases from the Suffolk County House of Correction by  
 Neighborhood Race/Ethnicity, 2009-2015**

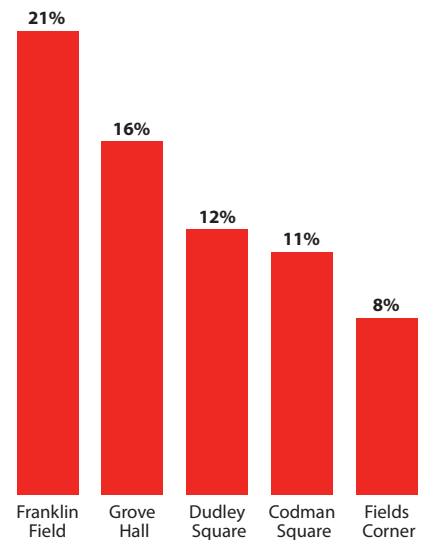


**MEN MAKE UP MORE  
 THAN 90 PERCENT  
 OF INCARCERATED  
 INDIVIDUALS AT THE  
 SUFFOLK COUNTY HOUSE  
 OF CORRECTION.**

on average, and all of these residents return with the stigma of a criminal conviction. **Maps 4 A-E** provide another up-close view of high incarceration rate neighborhoods. Between 2009 and 2015, it appears as if incarceration was a reality for almost 50 percent of households in these communities. In other words, nearly every other home is directly affected by incarceration.

Men make up more than 90 percent of incarcerated individuals at the Suffolk County House of Correction. Fathers with young children in Boston’s communities of color are particularly likely to be missing for a period of incarceration (**Figure 3**). In Franklin Field, more than one in five male residents age 25 to 29 were incarcerated during this six-year period; for Grove Hall, the figure was one in six. From Dudley Square, Codman Square, and Fields Corner, around one in ten male residents in this age cohort spent time at the Suffolk County House of Correction between 2009 and 2015. These figures are consistent with other research on high levels of incarceration among young men in communities of color.<sup>11</sup>

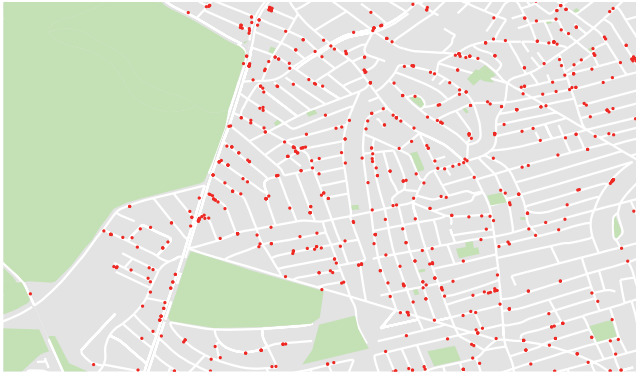
**FIGURE 3**  
**Suffolk County HOC**  
**commitment rate, male**  
**Boston residents age 25 to 29,**  
**2009 - 2015**



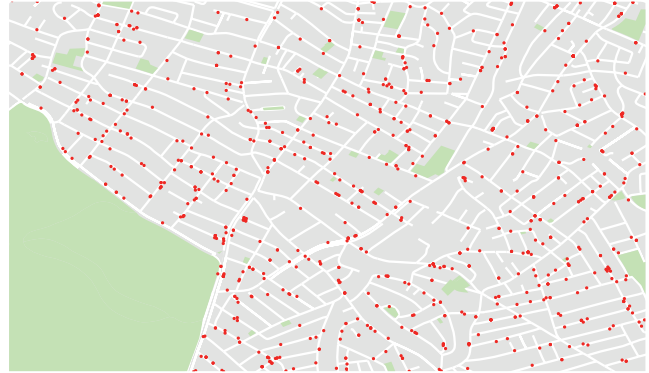
MAPS 4A – E

**Releases from the Suffolk County House of Correction, 2009-2015**

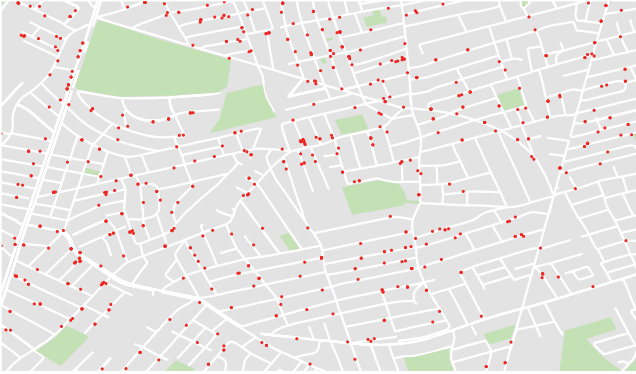
**4A Franklin Field**



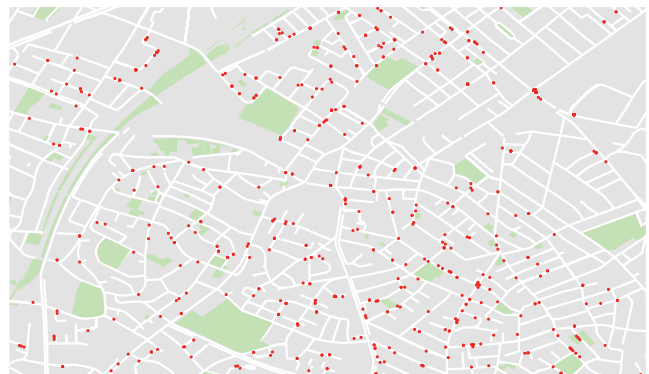
**4B Grove Hall**



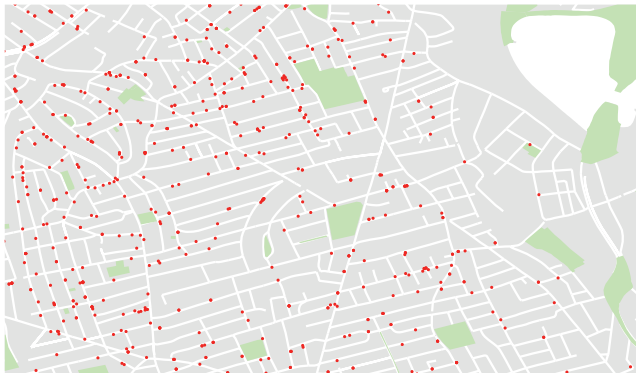
**4C Codman Square**



**4D Dudley Square**



**Map 4E Fields Corner**



NOTE: Each dot represents the release address of a person formerly incarcerated at HOC.



II.

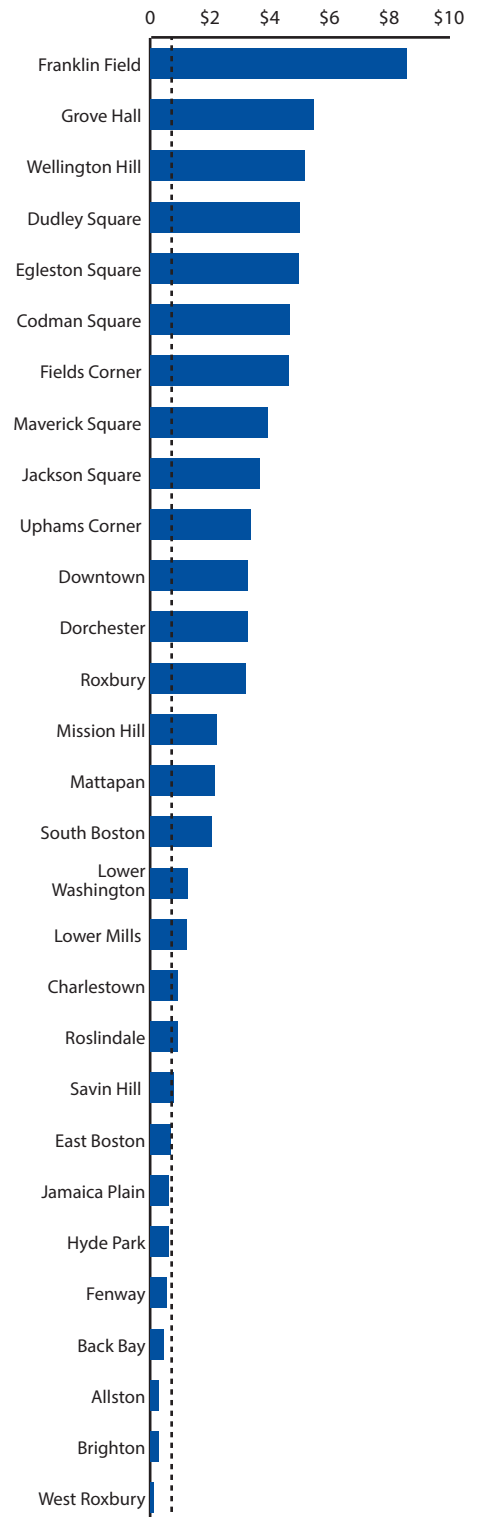
## The Costs of Incarceration

The residents of Boston neighborhoods who entered the Suffolk County House of Correction and the Nashua Street Jail in 2013 consumed a total of more than 440,000 bed days before their release. At an average cost of \$150 per day, this amounts to \$66 million for admissions over the one-year period.

To put this figure in perspective:

- 1) It is two and half times the state’s combined FY 2013 budgets for Bunker Hill Community College and Roxbury Community College, and approaching twice the city’s combined \$39 million budget for the Parks and Recreation and Youth and Families departments.
- 2) The nearly \$3.5 million spent in Franklin Field works out to \$535 for every resident of the neighborhood.
- 3) More was spent incarcerating Codman Square residents in 2013 (\$7.5 million) than the total budget for gang prevention grants statewide (\$6.5 million).
- 4) It cost more to incarcerate residents of Fields Corner (\$3.8 million) than Roca receives annually (\$2 million) through its social impact bond to provide high-touch training and services for nearly 1,000 proven-risk youth.
- 5) On a per square mile basis, the costs approach \$9 million for Franklin Field and around \$5 million in Dudley Square, Egleston Square, and Grove Hall. These figures represent ongoing operating costs for the Suffolk County House of Correction and Nashua Street Jail, year after year (Figure 4). They do not include capital costs or the full costs of health care and retirement benefits for the department’s employees. The average square-mile cost for all city neighborhoods is \$740,000 (indicated by the dotted line in Figure 4).

FIGURE 4  
Housing and jail costs  
per square mile in  
millions of dollars, 2013



**A TARGETED  
APPROACH THAT  
LEADS TO LOWER  
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HAS THE POTENTIAL  
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THE ENTIRE CITY.**

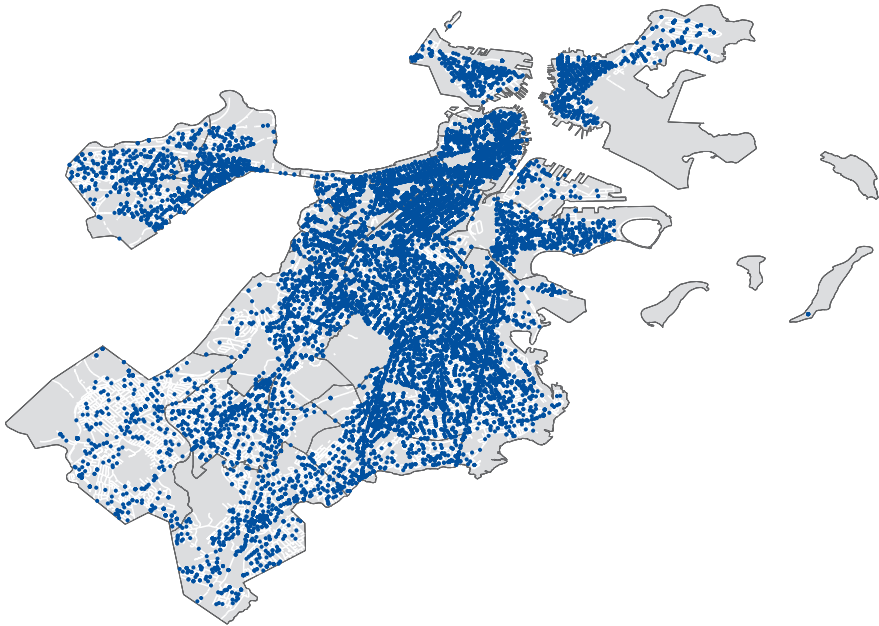
### III.

## High Incarceration Rate Neighborhoods and the Geography of Crime in Boston

Crime in Boston is concentrated in slightly different patterns than incarceration. Property crime (**Map 5A**) clusters in Downtown and the Back Bay, areas where the daytime population is much higher than the resident population and the presence of people, cars, and stores creates opportunity for theft. Violent crime is also relatively high in and around the downtown core (**Map 5B**), mostly because these areas have relatively small resident populations and larger numbers of visitors (and patrons of bars and nightclubs in particular).

But the most notable trend is that incarceration is significantly out of proportion to crime in high incarceration rate neighborhoods (**Figure 5**). Other researchers have noted this same pattern in communities of color.<sup>12</sup> Some of this disparity could be related to racial bias, inequality, or variation in the seriousness of offenses committed. It could also be attributed to individuals simply committing crimes outside of the neighborhood where they live. While it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions on the causes of the mismatch between incarceration rates and crime rates from this report, it is an area deserving of greater scrutiny. Notably, the mismatch suggests that a targeted approach that leads to lower incarceration in high incarceration rate neighborhoods has the potential to increase public safety throughout the entire city.

MAP 5A  
Property Crime in Boston, 2014



MAP 5B  
Violent Crime in Boston, 2014

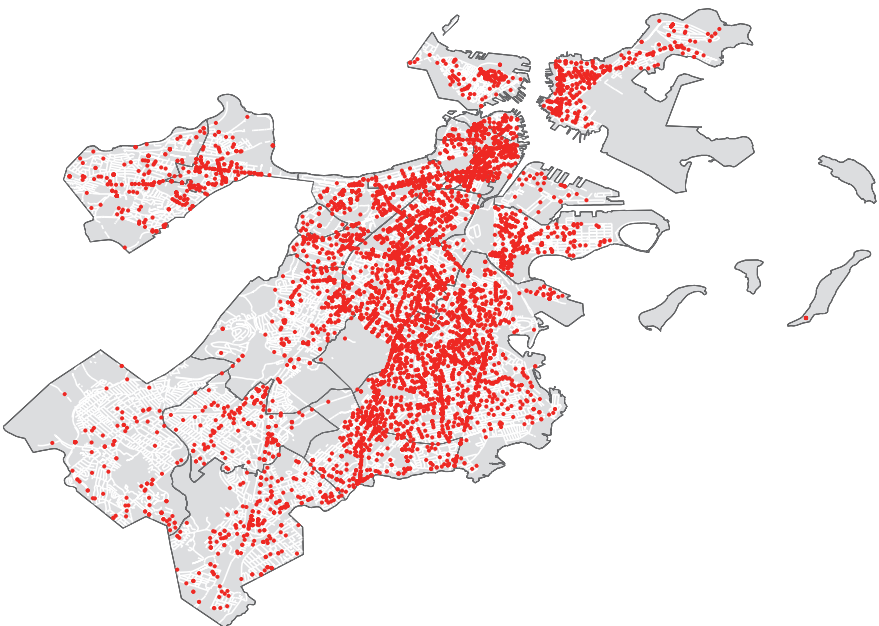
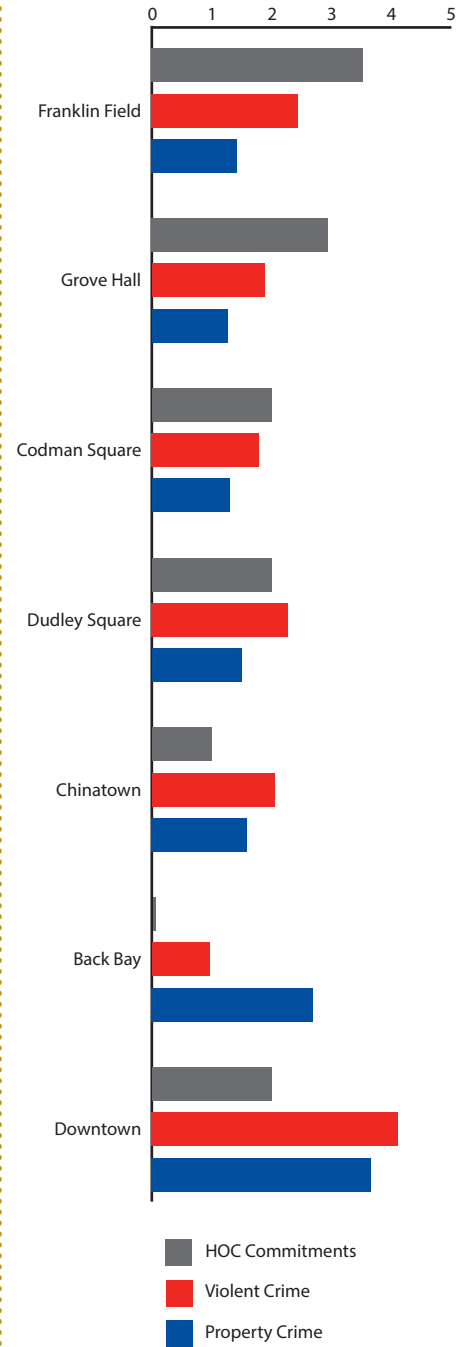


FIGURE 5  
Neighborhood share of Boston HOC commitments, violent crime, and property crime relative to neighborhood share of Boston residents



## IV.

# Changing Course

The data presented above should serve as a wakeup call as leaders in Massachusetts consider how to reform a criminal justice system that has had disproportionate impact on urban communities like Boston, and especially destabilized high incarceration rate communities. The patterns presented by this data, that incarceration is a reality for almost 50 percent of homes in certain communities in Boston and that the individuals return to those communities, lead us to question the effectiveness of the sentencing deterrents and, more importantly, the ability of our system to rehabilitate involved individuals.

As such, we would offer the following suggestions to policy makers, practitioners, researchers, and Bostonians as we further engage in a critical conversation and consider how to responsibly alter course.

**1. Replace mandatory minimums with evidence-based approaches to sentencing that allow courts to tailor justice to the needs of the community.** People of color represent three-quarters of those convicted of mandatory minimums drug offenses in Massachusetts though they make up less than one-quarter of the Commonwealth's population. The Supreme Judicial Court is currently weighing whether a policy leading to such gross racial disparities is constitutional. Regardless of the outcome of the case on constitutional grounds, it is clear that reforms are needed in order to allow judges to craft solutions that address community challenges. In crafting those solutions, evidence is crucial: What works according to data-driven analysis should be the cornerstone of any sentencing guidelines or policies.

MassINC's 2014 polling of Massachusetts residents living in urban neighborhoods with high incarceration rates revealed a preference for reforms that allow judges greater freedom in sentencing. Fewer than one in 10 residents in these neighborhoods supported the use of mandatory minimum drug sentences. And they were more likely to favor full judicial discretion in sentencing matters (51 percent in high incarceration areas vs 39 percent in all other Massachusetts communities).<sup>14</sup>



**2. Redesign Houses of Correction so that they excel at providing services that address criminogenic risks and needs.** Less than 50 percent of the Suffolk County Sheriff’s department annual budget of \$100 million is available to provide services that address substance use treatment, educational programming, and reentry services. The agency relies heavily on grant funding and partnerships with community organizations to provide what should be core services to their mission. Sheriffs should be afforded the resources to provide these services. In turn, they should be accountable for demonstrating return on this investment through recidivism reduction.

**3. Focus jail diversion and pretrial services on high incarceration rate communities.** Greater use of jail diversion must be front and center in any strategy to reduce incarceration in high incarceration rate communities. Traditionally this practice is reserved for first-time juvenile defendants charged with nonviolent offenses. But criminal justice reformers have called for expanding jail diversion options to adults and those with more serious charges. This requires more capacity in courts and community corrections agencies. To the extent that we invest in diversion programs as an alternative to incarceration, these resources should focus first on high incarceration rate communities.

We can also make better use of existing resources. Legislation passed at the end of last session by the Senate would have allowed the Probation Department to provide pretrial services through its Community Correction Centers, which offer a range of rehabilitative services. The center operated by the department in Boston has capacity to serve more clients. Defendants sent to the center could be connected to these services and observed in the community pending trial. For those who respond well, dispositions to the case could be found that do not involve incarceration and a criminal record.

**4. Develop complementary community-based strategies.** Criminal justice reform is central to reducing high incarceration rates and improving outcomes for individuals returning to Boston neighborhoods after serving time in prison. However, addressing the lasting effects of tough-on-crime era policies on communities of color will also require complementary community-based strategies. The My Brother’s Keeper Initiative—a national campaign launched by President Obama to narrow opportunity gaps and tackle inequalities faced by young men of color—is a prime example. Mayor Walsh has established a local advisory committee that has developed a carefully crafted plan to help young men of color overcome obstacles to graduating high school, completing a post-secondary degree or credential, and successfully entering the workforce.



## APPENDIX A

## Commitments to the Suffolk County House of Correction from Boston Neighborhoods, 2013

NEIGHBORHOOD	NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS	SHARE OF COMMITMENTS	SHARE OF POPULATION	TOTAL BED DAYS	TOTAL COST (@\$150/BED DAY)
Allston	3	0.4%	5.4%	420	\$63,000
Back Bay	4	0.5%	3.5%	539	\$80,850
Brighton	9	1.1%	6.8%	2,603	\$390,450
Charlestown	13	1.6%	2.9%	3,854	\$578,100
Dorchester	277	33.7%	18.6%	92,696	\$13,904,400
<i>Codman Square</i>	84	10.2%	4.2%	27,728	\$4,159,200
<i>Grove Hall</i>	56	6.8%	2.3%	15,488	\$2,323,200
<i>Fields Corner</i>	37	4.5%	2.6%	13,654	\$2,048,100
<i>Lower Mills</i>	35	4.3%	3.2%	11,113	\$1,666,950
<i>Savin Hill</i>	13	1.6%	1.9%	3,714	\$557,100
<i>Uphams Corner</i>	36	4.4%	2.6%	13,307	\$1,996,050
<i>Franklin Field</i>	40	4.9%	1.4%	12,993	\$1,948,950
Chinatown	4	0.5%	0.7%	770	\$115,500
Downtown	34	4.1%	2.5%	9,274	\$1,391,100
East Boston	32	3.9%	6.4%	10,336	\$1,550,400
<i>Maverick Square</i>	9	1.1%	1.6%	2,887	\$433,050
Fenway	6	0.7%	6.9%	1,328	\$199,200
Hyde Park	31	3.8%	5.0%	11,118	\$1,667,700
Jamaica Plain	34	4.1%	6.6%	9,286	\$1,392,900
<i>Jackson Square</i>	8	1.0%	0.8%	2,462	\$369,300
Longwood Medical	1	0.1%	0.9%	190	\$28,500
Mattapan	49	6.0%	3.6%	16,052	\$2,407,800
<i>Wellington Hill</i>	19	2.3%	1.0%	6,727	\$1,009,050
Mission Hill	16	1.9%	2.8%	3,729	\$559,350
Roslindale	27	3.3%	4.6%	9,835	\$1,475,250
<i>Lower Washington</i>	6	0.7%	0.9%	1,594	\$239,100
Roxbury	136	16.5%	7.9%	38,896	\$5,834,400
<i>Dudley Square</i>	47	5.7%	2.4%	14,467	\$2,170,050
<i>Egleston Square</i>	11	1.3%	0.6%	1,839	\$275,850
South Boston	53	6.4%	5.9%	14,866	\$2,229,900
South End	83	10.1%	4.6%	24,424	\$3,663,600
West Roxbury	10	1.2%	4.5%	3,149	\$472,350
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>242,751</b>	<b>\$36,412,650</b>

Please note that italicized rows indicate sub-neighborhoods that exist within but do not necessarily account for the entire populations of their larger neighborhood. Some Grove Hall tracts fall in Roxbury but we have placed all of them under Dorchester in this table. Due to census tract boundary challenges we were unable to identify Bowdon/Geneva; however, some of this area is captured under Grove Hall.

## APPENDIX B

**Detentions at the Nashua Street Jail from Boston Neighborhoods, 2013**

NEIGHBORHOOD	NUMBER OF DETENTIONS	SHARE OF DETENTIONS	SHARE OF POPULATION	TOTAL BED DAYS	TOTAL COST (@\$150/BED DAY)
Allston	37	0.9%	5.4%	2,026	\$303,900
Back Bay	31	0.7%	3.5%	1,282	\$192,300
Brighton	78	1.9%	6.8%	2,613	\$391,950
Charlestown	100	2.4%	2.9%	4,322	\$648,300
Dorchester	1,258	29.9%	18.6%	62,213	\$9,331,950
<i>Codman Square</i>	360	8.5%	4.2%	22,514	\$3,377,100
<i>Grove Hall</i>	210	5.0%	2.8%	10,454	\$1,568,100
<i>Fields Corner</i>	196	4.7%	2.6%	11,535	\$1,730,250
<i>Lower Mills</i>	144	3.4%	2.5%	5,903	\$885,450
<i>Savin Hill</i>	61	1.4%	2.3%	1,857	\$278,550
<i>Uphams Corner</i>	191	4.5%	2.8%	7,347	\$1,102,050
<i>Franklin Field</i>	204	4.8%	1.2%	10,044	\$1,506,600
Chinatown	58	1.4%	0.7%	3,622	\$543,300
Downtown	233	5.5%	2.5%	9,415	\$1,412,250
East Boston	227	5.4%	6.4%	8,030	\$1,204,500
<i>Maverick Square</i>	78	1.9%	1.5%	2,630	\$394,500
Fenway	34	0.8%	6.9%	1,319	\$197,850
Hyde Park	157	3.7%	5.0%	8,605	\$1,290,750
Jamaica Plain	168	4.0%	6.6%	7,301	\$1,095,150
<i>Jackson Square</i>	52	1.2%	0.9%	2,194	\$329,100
Longwood Medical	3	0.1%	0.9%	339	\$50,850
Mattapan	292	6.9%	3.6%	13,717	\$2,057,550
<i>Wellington Hill</i>	122	2.9%	1.1%	5,788	\$868,200
Mission Hill	79	1.9%	2.8%	3,586	\$537,900
Roslindale	112	2.7%	4.6%	4,416	\$662,400
<i>Lower Washington</i>	24	0.6%	0.8%	1,459	\$218,850
Roxbury	709	16.8%	7.9%	35,925	\$5,388,750
<i>Dudley Square</i>	285	6.8%	2.7%	13,259	\$1,988,850
<i>Egleston Square</i>	90	2.1%	0.8%	5,569	\$835,350
South Boston	229	5.4%	5.9%	11,379	\$1,706,850
South End	366	8.7%	4.6%	16,420	\$2,463,000
West Roxbury	42	1.0%	4.5%	1,035	\$155,250
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,213</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>197,565</b>	<b>\$29,634,750</b>

Please note that italicized rows indicate sub-neighborhoods that exist within but do not necessarily account for the entire populations of their larger neighborhood. Some Grove Hall tracts fall in Roxbury but we have placed all of them under Dorchester in this table. Due to census tract boundary challenges we were unable to identify Bowdoin/Geneva; however, some of this area is captured under Grove Hall.



## APPENDIX C

## Combined Detentions at the Nashua Street Jail and Commitments to the Suffolk County House of Correction from Boston Neighborhoods, 2013

NEIGHBORHOOD	NUMBER OF DETENTIONS & COMMITMENTS	SHARE OF DETENTIONS & COMMITMENTS	SHARE OF POPULATION	TOTAL BED DAYS	TOTAL COST (@\$150/BED DAY)
Allston	40	0.8%	5.4%	2,446	\$366,900
Back Bay	35	0.7%	3.5%	1,821	\$273,150
Brighton	87	1.7%	6.8%	5,216	\$782,400
Charlestown	113	2.2%	2.9%	8,176	\$1,226,400
Dorchester	1535	30.5%	18.6%	154,909	\$23,236,350
<i>Codman Square</i>	444	8.8%	4.2%	50,242	\$7,536,300
<i>Grove Hall</i>	266	5.3%	2.8%	25,942	\$3,891,300
<i>Fields Corner</i>	233	4.6%	2.6%	25,189	\$3,778,350
<i>Lower Mills</i>	179	3.6%	2.5%	17,016	\$2,552,400
<i>Savin Hill</i>	74	1.5%	2.3%	5,571	\$835,650
<i>Uphams Corner</i>	227	4.5%	2.8%	20,654	\$3,098,100
<i>Franklin Field</i>	244	4.8%	1.2%	23,037	\$3,455,550
Chinatown	62	1.2%	0.7%	4,392	\$658,800
Downtown	267	5.3%	2.5%	18,689	\$2,803,350
East Boston	259	5.1%	6.4%	18,366	\$2,754,900
<i>Maverick Square</i>	87	1.7%	1.5%	5,517	\$827,550
Fenway	40	0.8%	6.9%	2,647	\$397,050
Hyde Park	188	3.7%	5.0%	19,723	\$2,958,450
Jamaica Plain	202	4.0%	6.6%	16,587	\$2,488,050
<i>Jackson Square</i>	60	1.2%	0.9%	4,656	\$698,400
Longwood Medical	4	0.1%	0.9%	529	\$79,350
Mattapan	341	6.8%	3.6%	29,769	\$4,465,350
<i>Wellington Hill</i>	141	2.8%	1.1%	12,515	\$1,877,250
Mission Hill	95	1.9%	2.8%	7,315	\$1,097,250
Roslindale	139	2.8%	4.6%	14,251	\$2,137,650
<i>Lower Washington</i>	30	0.6%	0.8%	3,053	\$457,950
Roxbury	845	16.8%	7.9%	74,821	\$11,223,150
<i>Dudley Square</i>	332	6.6%	2.7%	27,726	\$4,158,900
<i>Egleston Square</i>	101	2.0%	0.8%	7,408	\$1,111,200
South Boston	282	5.6%	5.9%	26,245	\$3,936,750
South End	449	8.9%	4.6%	40,844	\$6,126,600
West Roxbury	52	1.0%	4.5%	4,184	\$627,600
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,035</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>440,316</b>	<b>\$66,047,400</b>

Please note that italicized rows indicate sub-neighborhoods that exist within but do not necessarily account for the entire populations of their larger neighborhood. Some Grove Hall tracts fall in Roxbury but we have placed all of them under Dorchester in this table. Due to census tract boundary challenges we were unable to identify Bowdon/Geneva; however, some of this area is captured under Grove Hall.

## Endnotes

1. Slide 22. "Massachusetts Criminal Justice Review: Working Group Meeting 2" (Washington, DC: CSG Justice Center, April 2016).
2. Slide 10. "Massachusetts Criminal Justice Review: Working Group Meeting 2" (Washington, DC: CSG Justice Center, April 2016).
3. Dina Rose and Todd Clear. "Incarceration, Social Capital, and Crime: Implications for Social Disorganization Theory" *Criminology* 36.3 (1998).
4. Robert Sampson. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy" *Science* 277:5328 (1997); Jeffrey Morenoff and others. "Neighborhood Inequality, Collective Efficacy, and the Spatial Dynamics of Urban Violence" *Criminology* 39.3 (2001).
5. Rose and Clear (1998).
6. Todd Clear and others. "Incarceration and the Community: The Problem of Removing and Returning Offenders." *Crime and Delinquency* 47.3 (2001). Also note that the cycle of incarceration and release leaves women in particular struggling with economic burdens on multiple fronts. In the Boston Reentry Study, Bruce Western and his colleagues show how female relatives of men incarcerated in Suffolk County not only must support both their family and their incarcerated partner or family member, they must continue to provide this support during the reentry campaign. See Bruce Western and others. "Stress and Hardship after Prison" *American Journal of Sociology* 120.5 (2015).
7. See Natasha Frost and Laura Gross. "Coercive Mobility and the Impact of Prison-Cycling on Communities." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 57.5 (2012); Todd Clear and others. "Coercive Mobility and Crime: A Preliminary Examination of Concentrated Incarceration and Social Disorganization." *Justice Quarterly* 20.1 (2003); Robert Crutchfield and Gregory Weeks. "The Effects of Mass Incarceration on Communities of Color: In Poor and Disadvantaged Communities, There May Well Be a Tipping Point at Which Rigorous Crime Policies and Practices Can Do More Harm Than Good" *Issues in Science and Technology* 32.1 (2015).
8. Todd Clear and others. "Predicting Crime through Incarceration: The Impact of Rates of Prison Cycling on Rates of Crime in Communities." Final Report to the National Institute of Justice. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 2014).
9. For more on how policy changes have influenced incarceration rates in Massachusetts, see Benjamin Forman and John Larivee. "Cost, Crime, Consequences: Is It Time to Get Smart on Crime?" (Boston, MA: MassINC, 2013); and Benjamin Forman and others. "Mounting an Evidence-Based Criminal Justice Response to Substance Abuse and Drug Offending in Massachusetts" (Boston, MA: MassINC, 2016).
10. While the data allowed us to uniquely identify individuals to avoid double counting, names and other personal information were not included.
11. For example, see Derek Neal and Armin Rick. "The Prison Boom and the Lack of Black Progress after Smith and Welch" Working Paper 20283 (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2014); and Bruce Western and Christopher Wildeman. "The Black Family and Mass Incarceration" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 621.1 (2009).
12. Geert Dhondt. "The Bluntness of Incarceration: Crime and Punishment in Tallahassee Neighborhoods, 1995 to 2002" *Crime, Law and Social Change* 57.5 (2012).
13. Christopher Wildeman and Bruce Western. "Incarceration in Fragile Families" *The Future of Children* 20.2 (2010).
14. Steve Koczeala and others. "Ready for Reform? Public Opinion on Criminal Justice in Massachusetts" (Boston, MA: MassINC, 2014). The exact question wording was, "Which is the best way for judges to sentence convicted offenders?" and the response choices were:
  - A. Let judges decide the punishment each time on a case-by-case basis;
  - B. Have judges use sentencing guidelines while still having some discretion; or
  - C. Require judges to sentence some offenders to prison for a minimum period of timeMore than half of residents surveyed from high release communities chose response A.





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