

**Sequencing the Body:**

Prisons and the Spatial Imaginary

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis spatializes the sequences of occupied and interactive spaces in prison institutions, in an attempt to explore and understand the nature of these spaces and their relationship to the body. Six spaces – exterior, recreation, visitation, the cell block, general population cells, and segregation cells – represent a variety of architectural conditions that act on the body in particular ways. Each space is characterized by particular and specific degrees of control, privacy, and interaction that condition the private and public self. The method of working with these spaces includes additive, excursive, imaginary and redactive processes to highlight existing and hidden conditions. The desire is to inspire potential points of interjection for restorative justice and to shift the public perception of the prison industrial complex, while also being aware of the limitations of the role of the architect.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*I would like to thank my family and friends who have supported me throughout this thesis and the entirety of my architectural degree. I would especially like to thank my advisor, Ozayr Saloojee. He has consistently been a source of inspiration, valuable insight, and positivity throughout this process. Finally, I would like to thank the “Oz Squad” - Sarah, Marie, Troy, Ryan, and Cailen - for providing a supportive, fun, and inspiring thesis environment.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The power of architecture stems from its relationship to the human body - the active body, the free body, or in the case of carceral architecture – the docile or subjugated body. This relationship, between body and architecture, became the basis for a thesis exploring the role of architecture in the expansive carceral landscape. By identifying, exposing, interpreting, and reflecting on the ways that prisons manipulate and control the human body, the intention of the thesis was to recognize how even the most seemingly banal devices and methods of design knowingly or unknowingly contribute to some of the bleakest aspects of our built environment.

Sequencing the body breaks down the vastness of incarceration, into six common and non-site-specific conditions/ spaces. These spaces were chosen based on the varying spaces that individuals – the visitor, the public, the staff, the prisoner -interact with and/ or move through.

Initially, six spaces were identified and became the corresponding chapters of this thesis. The order was generally based on the sequence of occupying the public realm to the most “private” and confined spaces, the movement from the exterior to extreme interior, from outside representation to inner isolation, from non-secured to secured zones and the resulting ability to act as the “public” or “private” self. The approach first identified and contextualized these spaces, through text and collages, as they are

publicly accessible. Context collages were created for each space and served to act as the basis for documenting the architectural and spatial devices at play, how these spaces and devices act on the body – the prisoner, the prison staff, and the public -, and the key relationships developed between body and body, and body and architecture. The images used were selected from a variety of prison institutions with the intention of showing the diversity within these six spatial conditions. Short texts were written in support of the composition of imagery of each collage. It is imperative to acknowledge the biases associated with image selection. As noted by Jackie Wang in *Carceral Capitalism*, prisons are public institutions but are removed from the everyday experience and many white people (I include myself here) can typically only access prisons through the “fantasy of media representation”.<sup>1</sup>

The next step was a redaction of the original texts for each space. Select words were left visible – an attempt to expose and highlight architectural devices, and relationships. These words were subsequently used to prompt an interpretive, investigative drawing process, layered on top of the original collages, translating them to an architectural language and highlighting significant relationships, devices, and issues associated with each space. The key devices were identified, drawn, and interpreted to demonstrate

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<sup>1</sup> Jackie Wang, *Carceral Capitalism (Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series)* (South Pasadena, California: Semiotext(e), 2018), Chap. 6, Kindle.

how, although banal, each device contributes to building the full carceral conditions of each space.

These interpreted drawing and texts were then used to give each space a revised title based on their most important concepts. With this revised title, the “design” of each space was presented in the form of a final text.

An important consideration with this thesis is using prisons as a critique of the role (and complicity) of the architect in the prison industrial project. Two main intentions define modern prisons – the idea of incarceration as punishment itself and the idea that time spent in incarceration may change the behavior of its occupants.<sup>2</sup> Although redemptive penal philosophies exhibit altruistic intentions, in practice they are often unsuccessful for varying reasons. The Metropolitan Correctional Center in Chicago and Eastern State Penitentiary are two examples used to demonstrate good intentions gone awry.

Consider the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) Chicago, completed in 1975 and designed by architect Harry Weese. The 27 floors of the MCC were organized so that the administrative offices are on the lower floors and the prison cells are located on the floors above. The roof was utilized for the exercise yard of the facility. The triangular floor plan enabled efficient space planning, allowing each cell to have access to an external wall and “natural” light, while the inner space became a communal zone that improved sight lines for correction officers. Each double-story grouping of cells and communal space was intended for 44 people, based on single-occupancy cells. This method of carceral organization is called “direct supervision.” Initially, the interior was carpeted and full of color. Each room, intended for single occupancy, had a bar-less window. The windows were intended to maximize light entering the rooms by

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<sup>2</sup> Richard E. Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails: Creating Humane Spaces in Secure Settings (Environment and Behavior)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 20.

expanding the opening towards the exterior.<sup>3</sup> The downtown location of the building improved accessibility to the courts as well as for visitors and guests. One of the MCC guidelines was that it had to “enhance and protect the character of its urban surroundings”.<sup>4</sup>

This building had good intentions. Many of these concepts would still be considered humane today. Since the MCC was mostly for those awaiting trial or sentenced to less than two years it was designed based on the “innocent until proven guilty” maxim. But many of the well-intentioned design decisions were later changed to increase security, reduce vandalism, cut costs, and in response to attempted escapes by inmates. The roof was closed in with chain-link and barbed wire, bars were added to windows, the furniture was replaced with generic metal prison furniture – fixed to the ground and “vandalism-proof.” Double-bunking resulted in overcrowding, increasing the strain on the guards, and reducing privacy for each occupant. The windows, which were designed at the largest possible size that would not require bars, were insufficient at providing natural light or exterior views as they often became covered in frost. In the case of the MCC, the initial design and intentions were humane; however, they were not maintained and were often abandoned based on perceived security threats, cost savings, and overcrowding.

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<sup>3</sup> Caroline Nye Stevens, “Metropolitan Correctional Center,” *BLUEPRINT: Chicago*, December 22, 2010, <http://www.blueprintchicago.org/2010/12/22/metropolitan-correctional-center/>.

<sup>4</sup> “Metropolitan Correctional Center,” *Chicago modern: more than mies*, March 19, 2012, <https://chicagomodern.wordpress.com/2012/03/19/metropolitan-correctional-center/>.

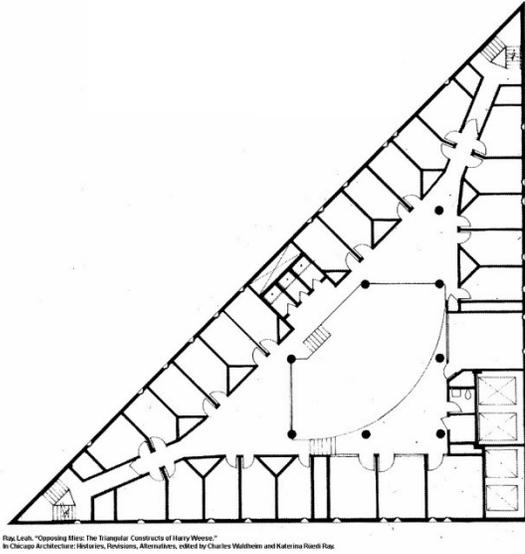


Figure 1: MCC Chicago (clockwise from top left: MCC floor plan, exterior view, entrance, original interior)  
 (Source (images 1-3) "Metropolitan Correctional Center," *Chicago modern*.  
 (image 4) Stevens, "Metropolitan Correctional Center.")

Eastern State Penitentiary, operating from 1829-1971, was designed to foster silent reflection, so that prisoners may be allowed to reflect on their actions on a redemptive path forward. This prison moved away from corporal punishment, but solitude failed to

produce penitence or productive members of society. Upon visiting Eastern State Penitentiary, Charles Dickens said that:

*In its intention, I am well convinced that it is kind, humane, and meant for reformation; but I am persuaded that those who devised that system of Prison Discipline, and those benevolent gentlemen who carry it into execution, do not know what it is that they are doing... I hold this slow and daily tampering with the mysteries of the brain, to be immeasurably worse than any torture of the body...<sup>5</sup>*

Today solitary confinement is punishment. As observed by Dickens, reflective penitence, or redemption through silence and labor were riddled with problems. However, the architecture did physically isolate prisoners as intended. Architectural systems designed to isolate inmates from each other exist today in many institutions. Although the terminology is different, solitary confinement still exists with the objective to segregate, isolate and dissociate.

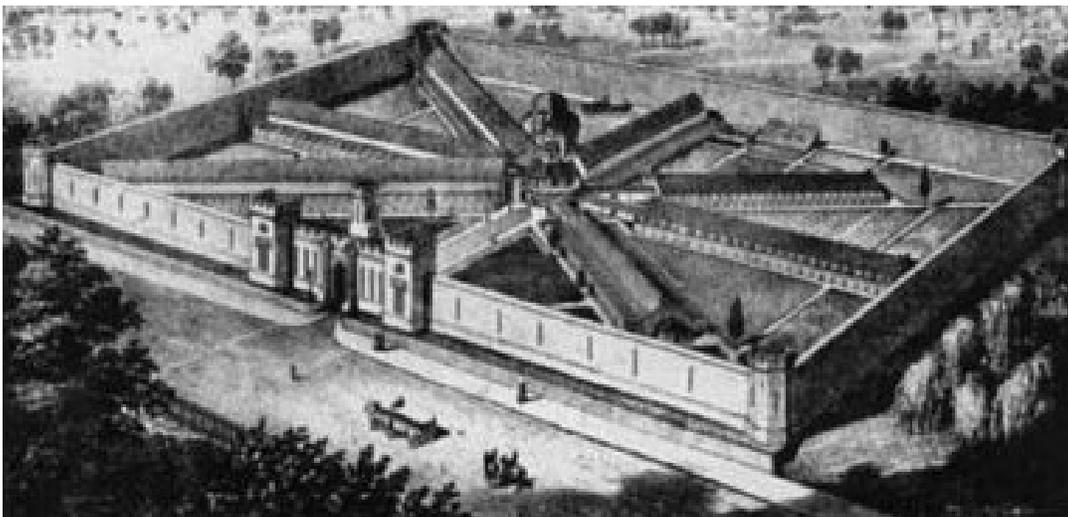


Figure 2: Eastern State Penitentiary (Source: Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 26.)

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<sup>5</sup> Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation [with Biographical Introduction]* (Neeland Media LLC., 2012), 63, Kindle.

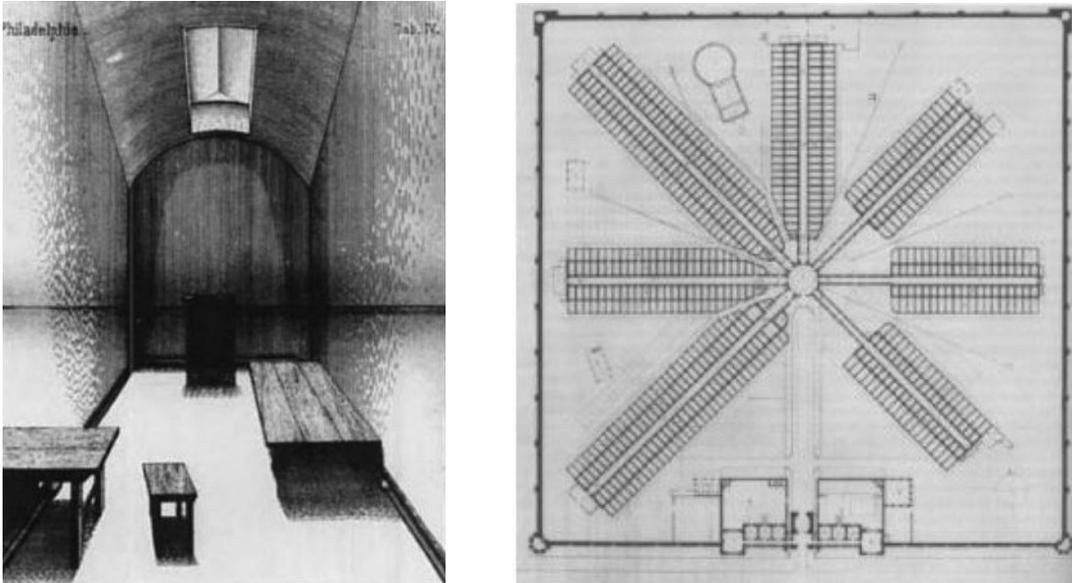


Figure 3: Eastern State Penitentiary Cell and Floor Plan (Source: Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 26.)

#### EARLY STUDIES

Preliminary studies were based upon developing a broader understanding of these spaces and their implicated issues in order to develop an appropriate approach for the thesis. These early studies included historical research and context, an understanding of the programming of time and scheduling aspect of incarceration, a block study/ "cell" model for understanding materiality and the significance of the wall within prisons, and an essay based on cities and restorative justice in which Kevin Lynch's performance dimensions for cities were applied to incarceration systems. Each of these have been included as appendices in the thesis as the thesis direction and trajectory changed over the duration of the project.

CONTEXT

Historically, the presence of these institutions in and out of the urban fabric has varied. They range from powerful and authoritative architectures, to discreet and hidden spaces. Many older prisons have a strong and highly recognizable presence within their surrounding urban context. Tall, heavy walls and imposing, ominous watch towers defined the boundary between in and out, restricting vision into or out of the site itself. The visitor entrance was typically quite formal and pronounced. It was unlikely that this format would be mistaken for another kind of institution. Its location within residential areas was often a pragmatic decision, and staff typically lived within hearing range of the bell tower.<sup>6</sup>

As technology and incarceration ideologies progresses and changes, prisons began to adopt different forms. Either shifting to rural areas or city limits, or if they were still embedded in the urban context, their presence became markedly less detectable. Public opinion typically followed a “not in my backyard” mentality, with concerns of safety and property value being the driving factors against inner city prison construction. Prisons tended to become subdued spaces because they were unpopular as artifacts in the public sphere.

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<sup>6</sup> Premium Kingston Pen Tour. Kingston, Ontario. October 13, 2017. Tour.

As seen in Figure 4, prison populations in the U.S. increased exponentially through the 1980s and 1990s, prompting the “need” for more prison construction.<sup>7</sup> The “War on Drugs” policies of the 1980s was a critical factor in rising prison populations, with drug offenses contributing to two-thirds of the rise in federal prisoners and over half of the rise for state prisoners between 1985 and 2000.<sup>8</sup> Building vertically or out of the city became two dominant ways of dealing with this surge in demand.

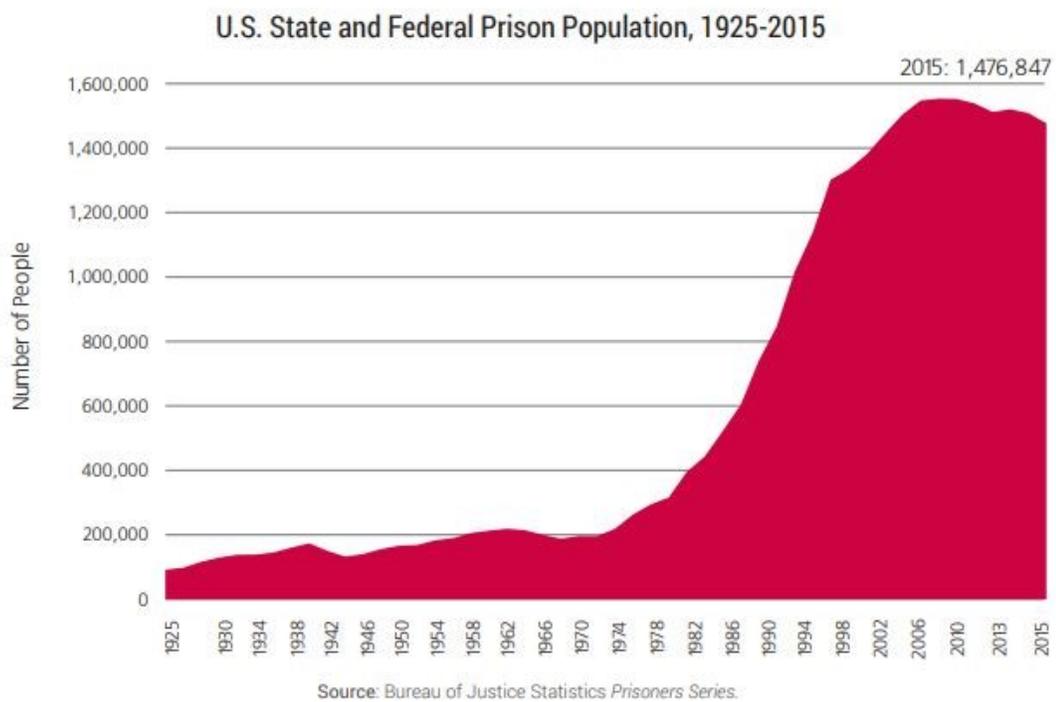


Figure 4: U.S. State and Federal Prison Population, 1925-2015 based on Bureau of Justice Statistics Source: “Trends in U.S. Correction,” *The Sentencing Project*, Last modified June 2017, <https://sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Trends-in-US-Corrections.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Leslie Fairweather and Seán McConville, *Prison architecture: policy, design, and experience* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2003), 1-3.

<sup>8</sup>Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness: Revised Edition* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 60, Kindle.

The Metropolitan Correctional Center in Chicago is an example of an institution disguised within its neighboring high rises. There was substantial opposition to its construction in the 1970s, but it is now hardly recognizable as a prison. The narrow-punched windows allow minimal views into the building and originally these windows had no bars.<sup>9</sup> Even now, the only indication may be the CCTV cameras, which are common amongst other corporate buildings, and the small, sleek sign on the building. Aerial photos have privileged a view of the roof top recreation yard. This could easily have been mistaken for a residential roof top if not for enclosing it with barbed-wire and chain-link fence, another addition years after initial design and construction.

The addition of barbed-wire to many prisons is generally a newer practice. In some cases, such as in Kingston penitentiary, barbed-wire was added to the top of the exterior walls in the 1990s.<sup>10</sup> Common security devices visible to those outside include CCTVs, floodlights, chain-linked fences, barbed-wire, bars on windows, and thick concrete or masonry walls.

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<sup>9</sup>Stevens, "Metropolitan Correctional Center."

<sup>10</sup> Premium Kingston Pen Tour.



INTERPRETATION

presence institutions powerful authoritative  
discreet recognizable watch  
urban context  
boundary, restricting into out of  
forms  
embedded urban context,  
detectable. Public opinion  
value  
vertically out of the city  
disguised neighbouring hardly recognizable  
minimal views into CCTV  
corporate Aerial  
privileged enclosing barbed-wire chain-link  
fence, barbed-wire  
CCTVs, floodlights,  
chain-linked fences, barbed-wire, bars on windows thick concrete masonry walls.  
aware  
watched.  
inner-city isolated  
ease of access outdoors  
urban context shape  
community



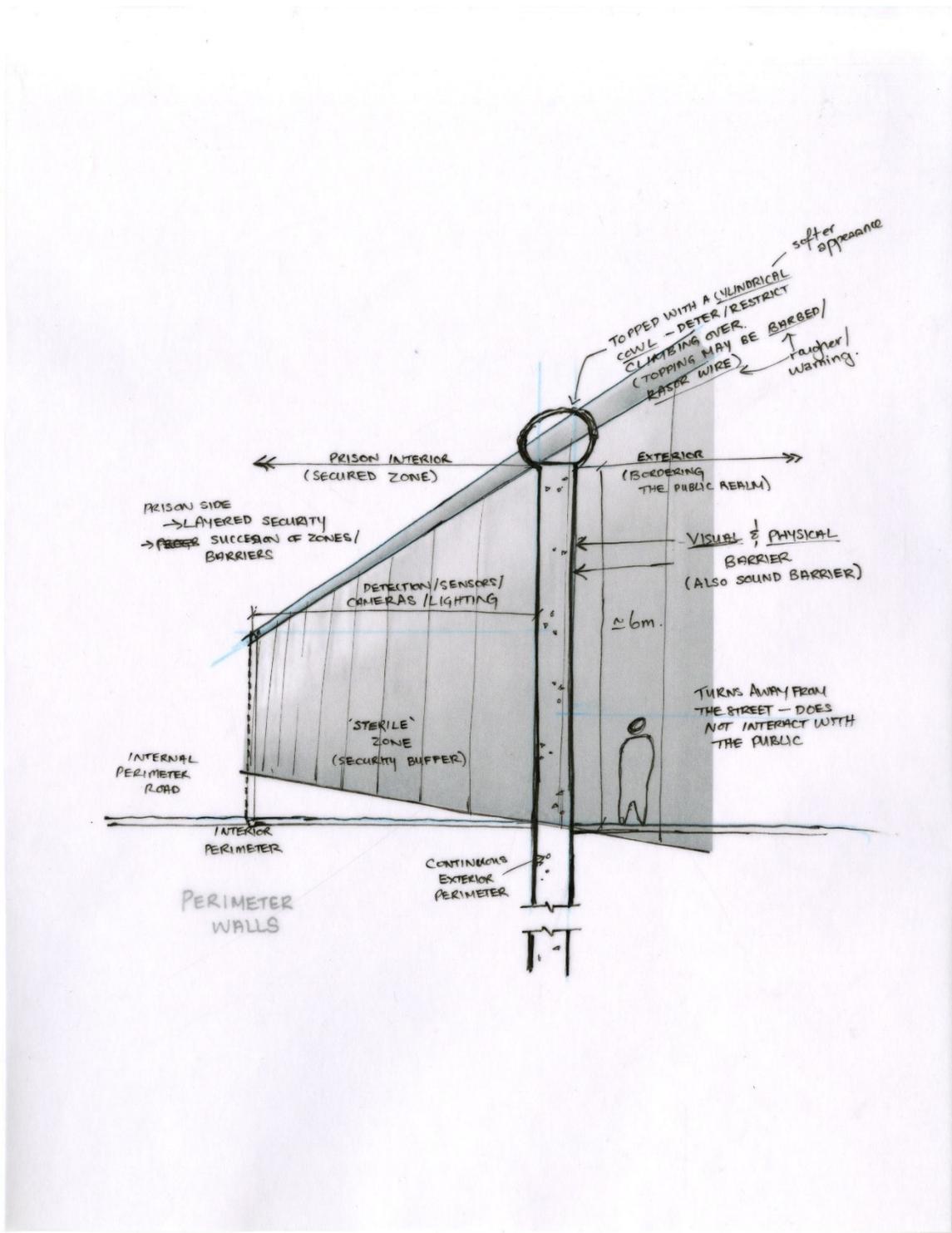


Figure 7: Perimeter Wall

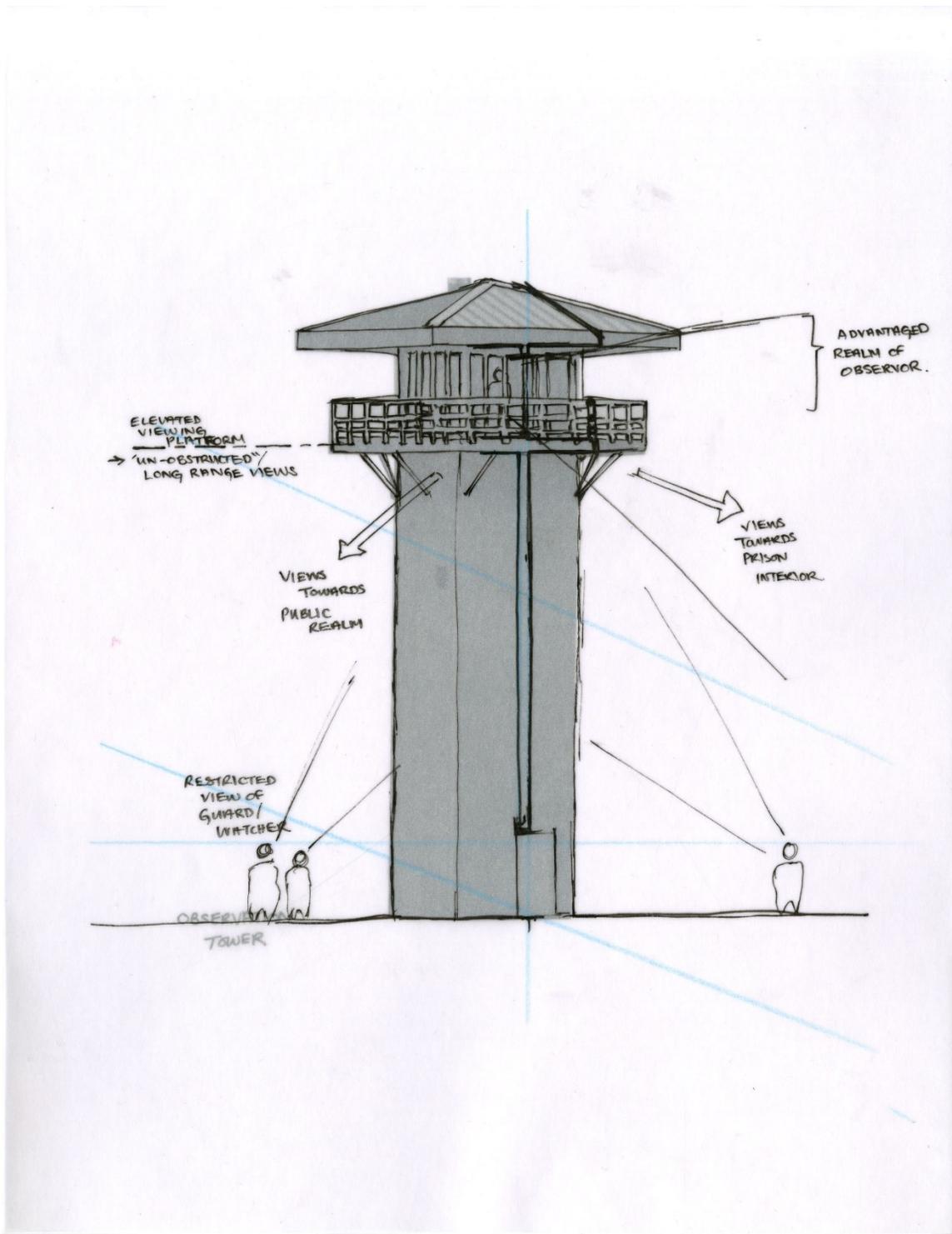


Figure 8: Watch Tower

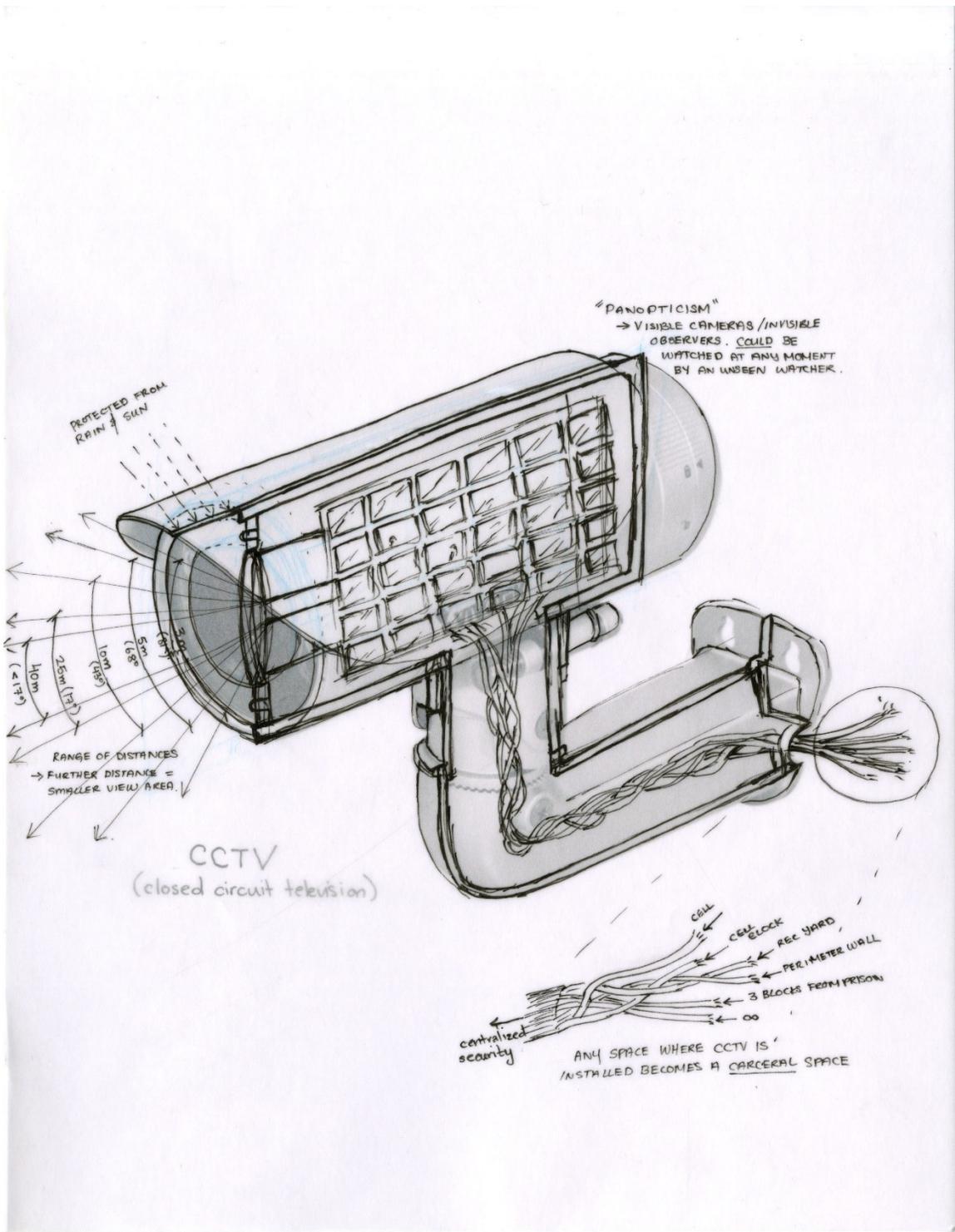


Figure 9: CCTV

The exterior of the prison is in constant dialogue with its surrounding context. It influences and shapes the development surrounding it and becomes, in effect, a subtraction in the public realm. Prisons are an outlier amongst public institutions, as they are “removed from the everyday experience.”<sup>11</sup>

Watch towers give guards privileged views to both the interior and exterior of the prisons. CCTVs monitor the exterior as well and are installed throughout the prison, allowing exterior and interior conditions to be viewed in parallel in any location, and comprehensively in the prison’s control room. Surveillance does not distinguish from those who have “committed” crime and those who don’t, blurring the distinction of “who” is being watched and challenging issues of privacy CCTVs extend the reach of surveillance into the public realm, contributing to an indefinite boundary of carceral space. Where guard towers are fixed in place, limited by the accuracy and extent of the human eye, additional CCTVs could be added to the surveillance network as seen appropriate further and further from the prison core. The relationship with time also becomes skewed, as embodied surveillance is anchored in the moment, while recorded surveillance allows for rewinding and reviewing of events. Both CCTVs and guard towers obscure the observer, creating panopticon conditions – a feeling of permanent visibility, with discontinuous observation.<sup>12</sup> CCTVs accomplish this with further success as infrared

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<sup>11</sup> Wang, *Carceral Capitalism*, chap. 6, Kindle.

<sup>12</sup> Michel Foucault and Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 201.

technology allows for observation with minimal to no light, as opposed to requiring external lighting that would enable the observer and the observed the same visual capabilities.

CONTEXT

Incarceration does not only affect the prisoner. It can profoundly affect family, friends, and extended networks. Significant others and children are left to deal with this void.

Visitation provides a momentary space of relief for this absence as well as an extension of support for the incarcerated, with the goal of increasing the possibility that they may return to society with a support system in place. As a result, visitation spaces may be the most significant spaces in the contemporary prison – they aid in maintaining connections outside of the space that works – in many ways – to sever them. Despite their importance in lowering recidivism rates and providing emotional support, traditional visitation spaces are widely being reduced or replaced instead, with video calling.

Contact with those on the “other” side runs the extreme – from nothing at all, to letters, phone-calls, video-calls, glass separated meetings, visitation rooms, and family visitation units. Family visitation units allow qualifying prisoners to “live” with their family in a miniature house on the prison grounds “unsupervised” for 2-3 days.<sup>13</sup> Fixed furniture, within the visitation rooms of the prison, dictates and controls the position of the body.

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<sup>13</sup> “Private Family Visits,” Government of Canada, Correctional Service of Canada, Communications and Citizen Engagement Sector, Multimedia Services, Director, July 26, 2016, <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/lois-et-reglements/710-8-cd-eng.shtml>.

The tables are typically clear and visibly equipped with a microphone, warning the guest and prisoner that they are being watched and could be listened to at any time.<sup>14</sup>

The prisoner undergoes extensive searches, including strip searches, both before and after visitation and the security processes for the guest are also resultingly extensive and intrusive. Visitors need to fill out form-work, their belongings screened for drugs, their bodies passed through metal detectors. The list of things not allowed in the visitation room, including clothing deemed inappropriate is extensive and sometimes surprising. Contact is limited to hand-holding and a short kiss and hug at the beginning and end of each meeting.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, if the prison is not easily accessible, visitation may not be feasible for many friends and family.

Phone and video calling is often available to supplement in-person visits, or in some cases, replace in-person visitation entirely. It is advertised as a source of revenue – alleviating the financial burden of funding visitation through taxpayers -, increased security – reducing likeliness of contraband entering the prison by eliminating in person contact-, and as beneficial for the visitor since visitation hours can be extended, they no longer have to enter the prison and instead can “visit” prisoners from the comfort of their home. Private, for-profit, companies establish contracts with the prisons for phone

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<sup>14</sup> Premium Kingston Pen Tour.

<sup>15</sup> “Visiting a Friend of Loved One in Prison,” California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, accessed January 06, 2018, <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/Visitors/>

calling, video calling, and video visits. Although on-site video visits are typically free, offsite video or phone-calling services usually carry a cost/minute. Figure 4, compiled by the Prison Policy Initiative, shows a comparison of typical rates from five of the more common companies: HomeWAV, JPay, Securus, TurnKey Corrections, and Telmate. These prices do not include the service charges typically associated with each payment, making the cost of visitation quickly add-up. The commissions arranged with each contract account for the percentage of gross revenue collected by the correctional facility- one of the selling points for correctional facilities to switch to these services. Higher commissions, typically result in higher rates and fees for the customers.

	Rates found	Typical rate	Commissions found	Typical commission
HomeWAV	\$0.50 – \$0.65/min	\$0.50/min	None – 40%	n/a
JPay	\$0.20 – \$0.43/min	\$0.33/min	0.75% – 19.3%	10%
Securus	\$0.50 – \$1.50/min	\$1/min	None – 40%	20%
TurnKey Corrections	\$0.35 – \$0.70/min	\$0.35/min	10% – 37%	n/a
Telmate	\$0.33 – \$0.66*/min	n/a	None – 50%*	n/a

Figure 10: Prison Video Calling Rates and Commissions  
 Source: Rabuy and Wagner, "Screening Out Family Time."

After implementing video calling, many jails eliminate plexiglass separated visitation, with some companies, such as Securus, requiring a ban on in-person visits as part of their contract.<sup>16</sup> Video calling does not replace and is not equivalent to in person visitation. Image quality and lack of eye contact both contribute to the divide between in-person and video visitation. Although video calling spares children from security measures associated with in-person visitation, it may not be appropriate for small

<sup>16</sup> Bernadette Rabuy and Peter Wagner, "Screening Out Family Time: The For-Profit Video Visitation Industry in Prisons & Jails," Prison Policy Initiative, January 2015, [https://static.prisonpolicy.org/visitation/ScreeningOutFamilyTime\\_January2015.pdf](https://static.prisonpolicy.org/visitation/ScreeningOutFamilyTime_January2015.pdf)

children as they do not understand why they cannot touch their parent. Privacy, is also an issue, as all phone and video calls are monitored by these private companies, and video calls often take place with other prisoners in the background.<sup>17</sup> Video and phone calling visitation should, at most, supplement in-person visitation.

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<sup>17</sup> Rabuy and Wagner, "Screening Out Family Time."



Figure 11: Context Collage

INTERPRETATION

children family friends.  
video  
Contact letters, phone, video calling,  
glass separation, visitation rooms, family visitation units.  
"unsupervised" Fixed furniture  
position body tables clear visibly  
microphone listened searches strip work intrusive. form-  
detectors.  
short kiss hug Contact hand-holding,  
video-calling Contact phone  
cost/minute accessible  
welcoming accessible  
integrated community



DEVICES

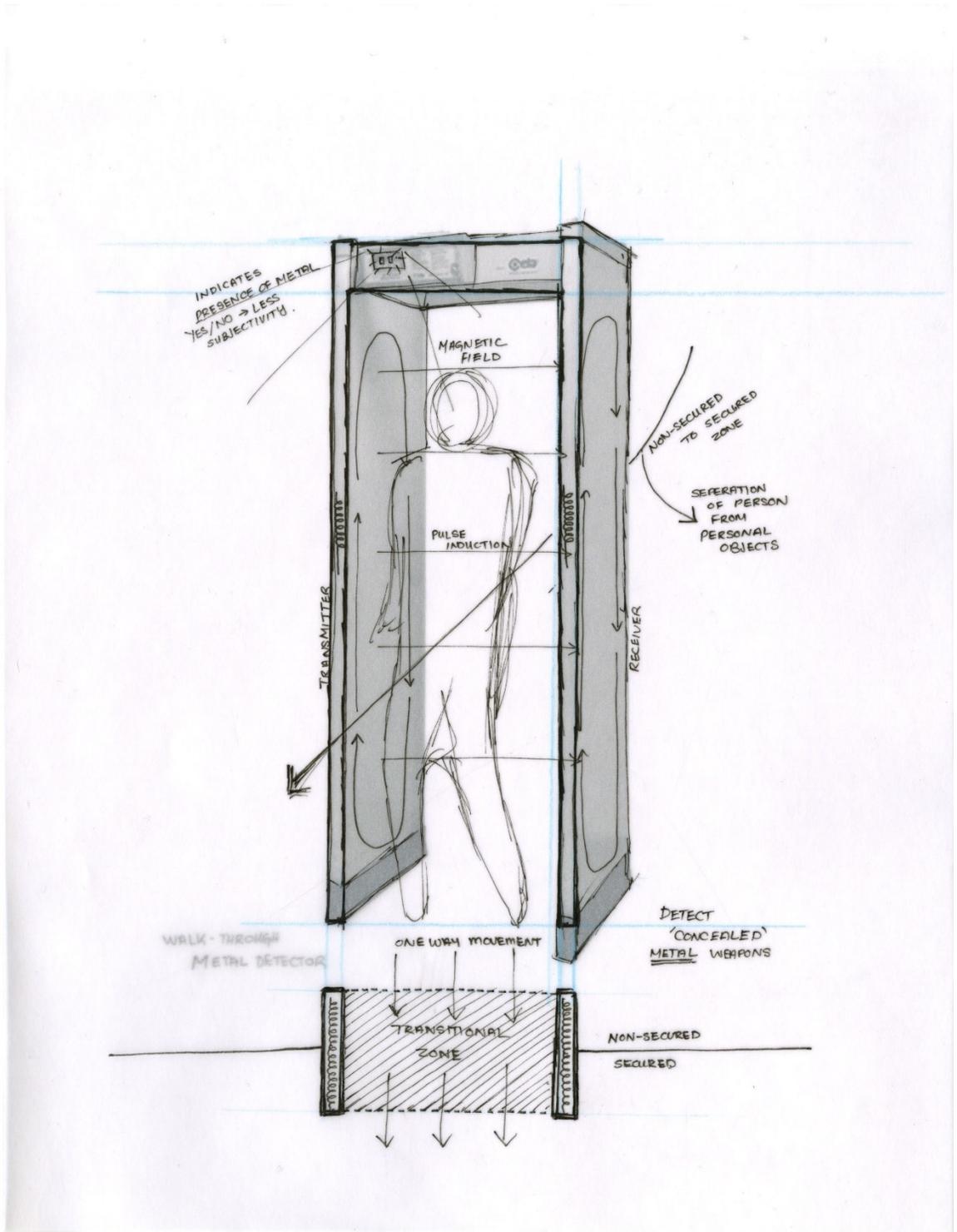


Figure 13: Metal Detector

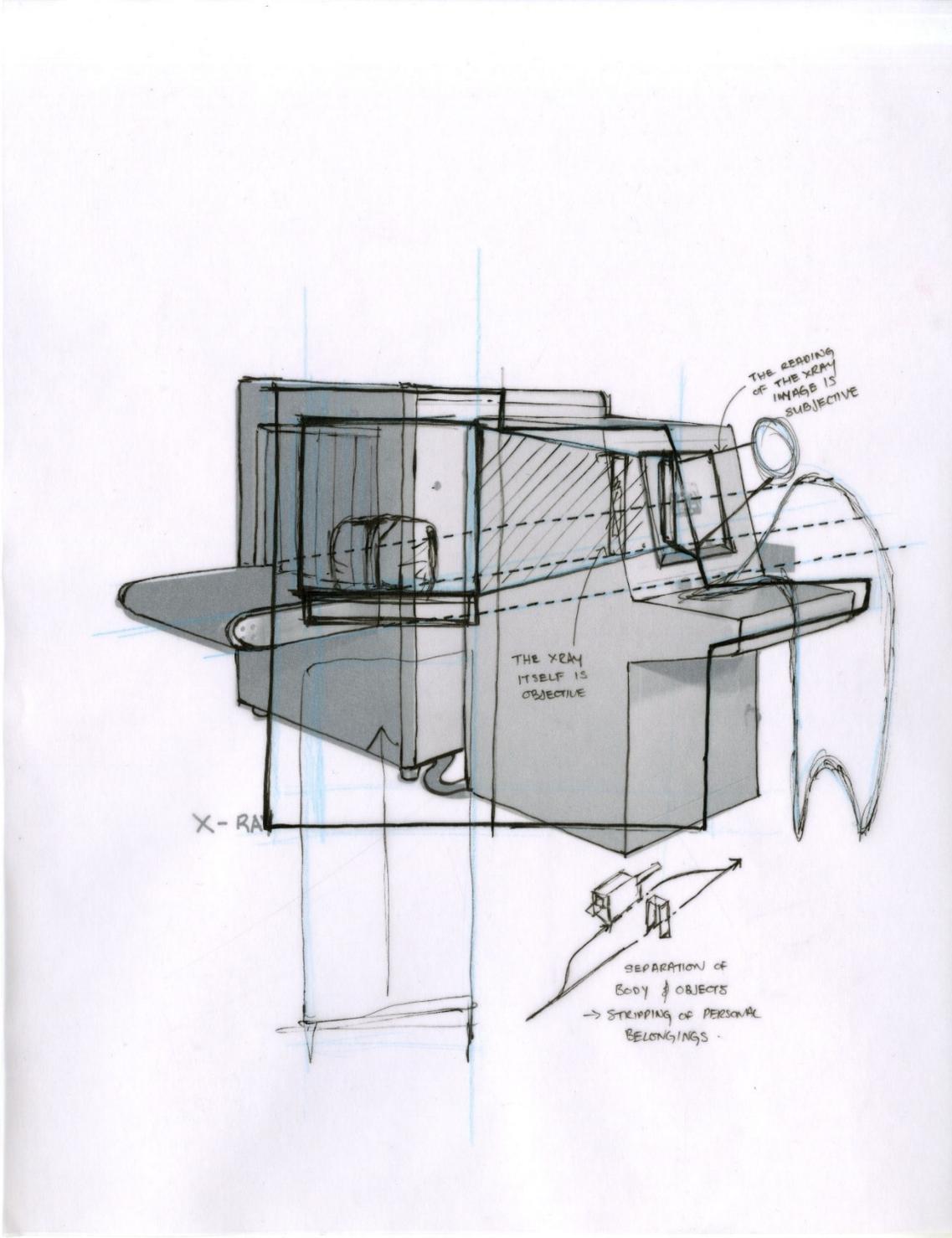


Figure 14: X-ray Machine

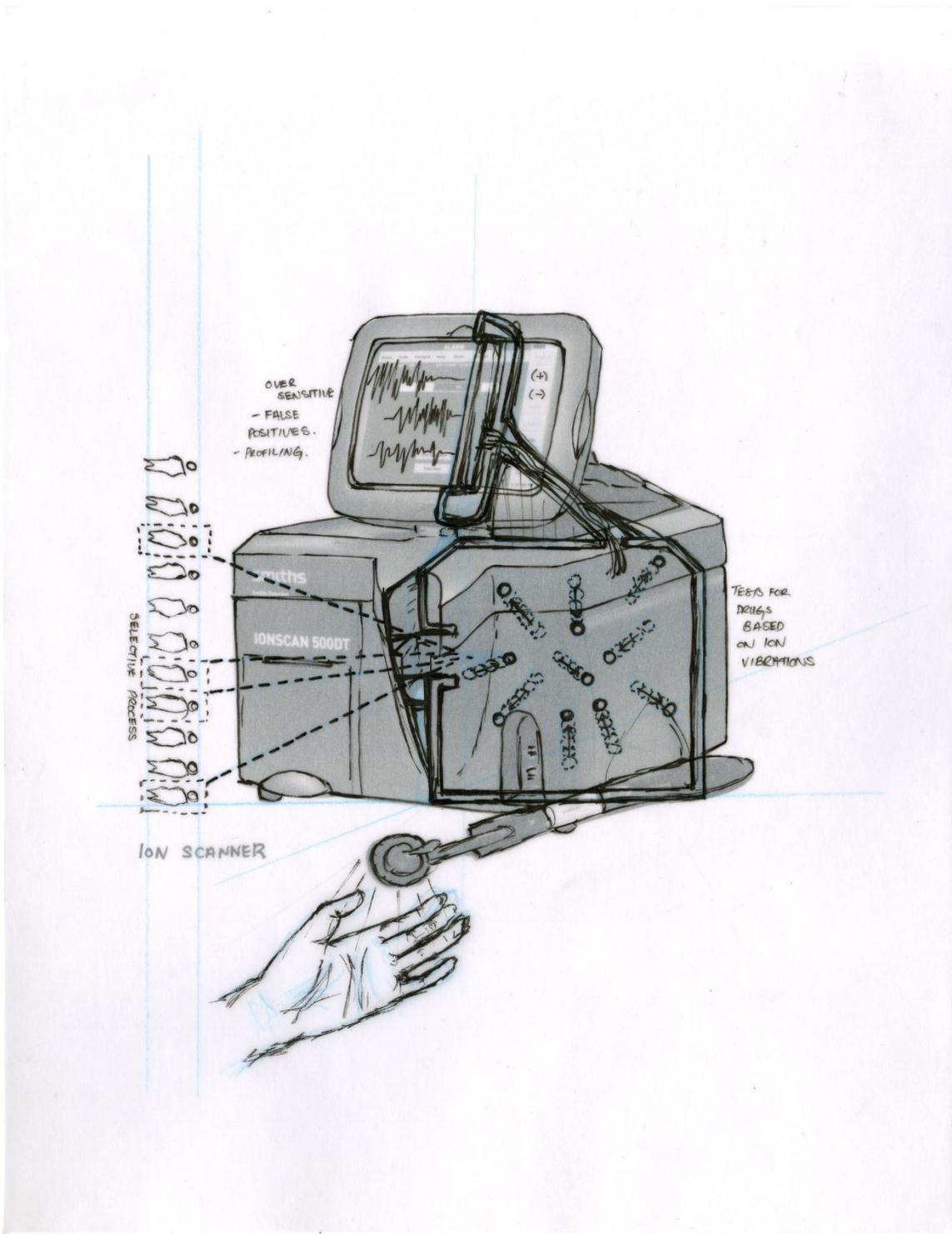


Figure 15: Ion Scanner

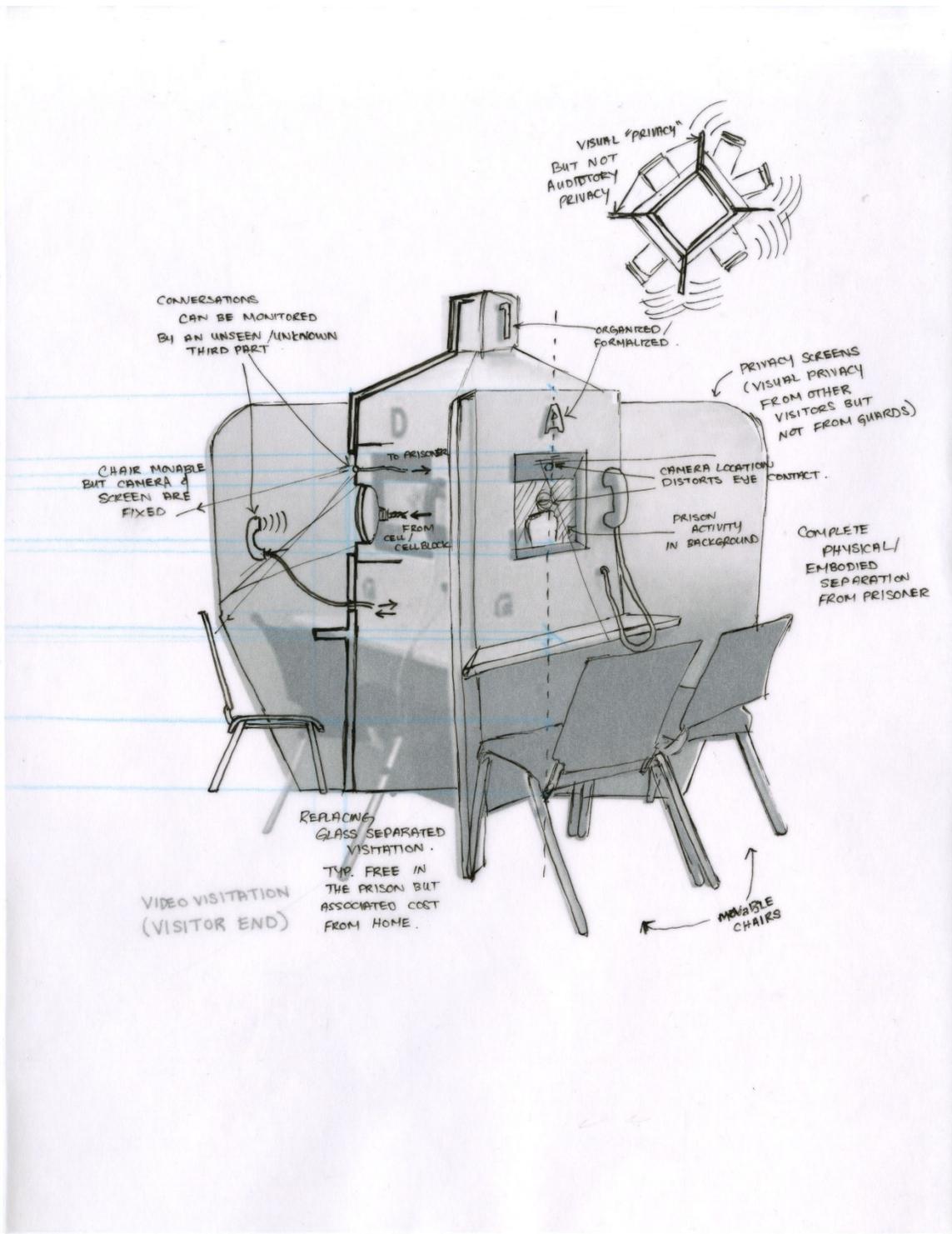


Figure 16: Video Visitation Station – Visitor

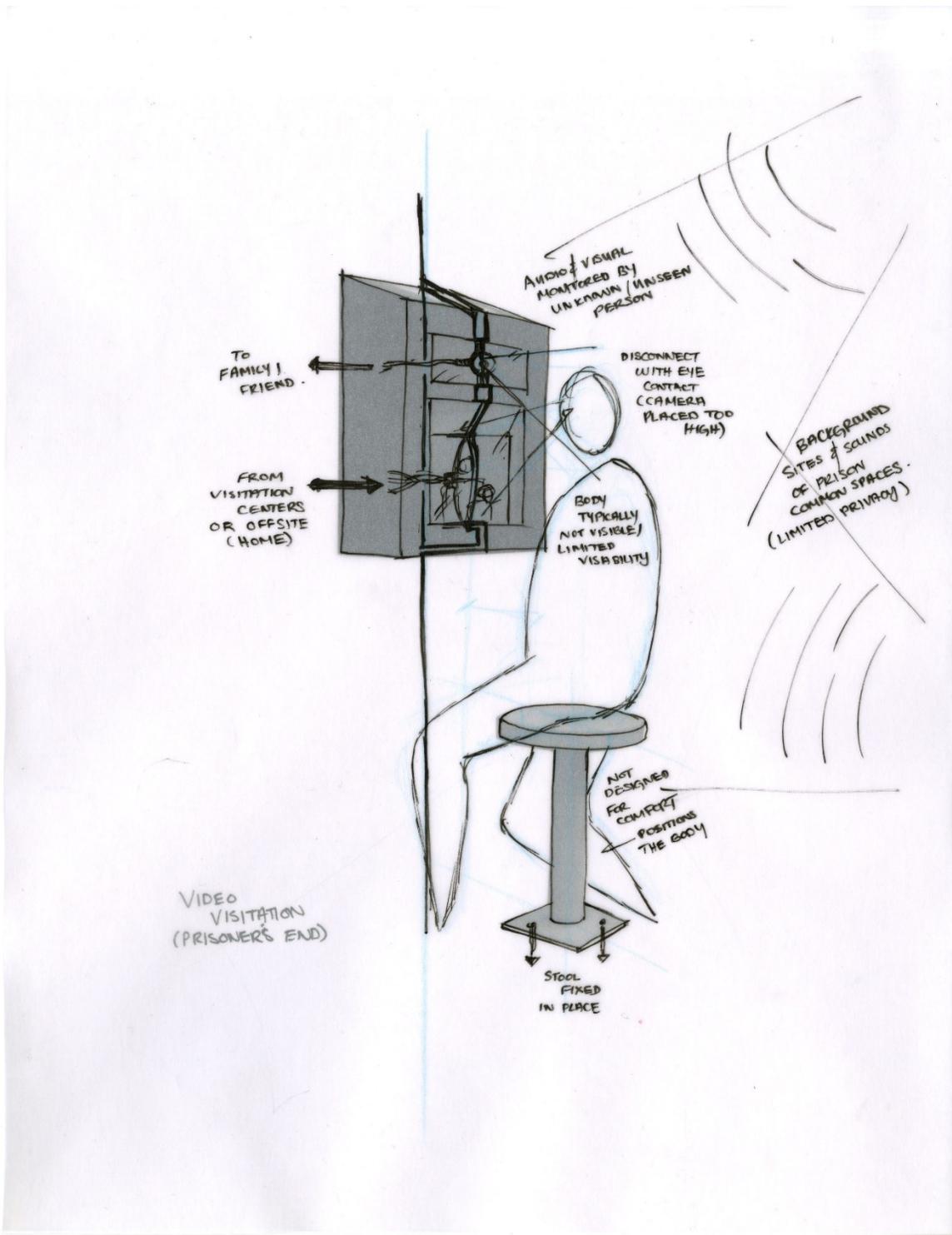


Figure 17: Video Visitation Station – Prisoner

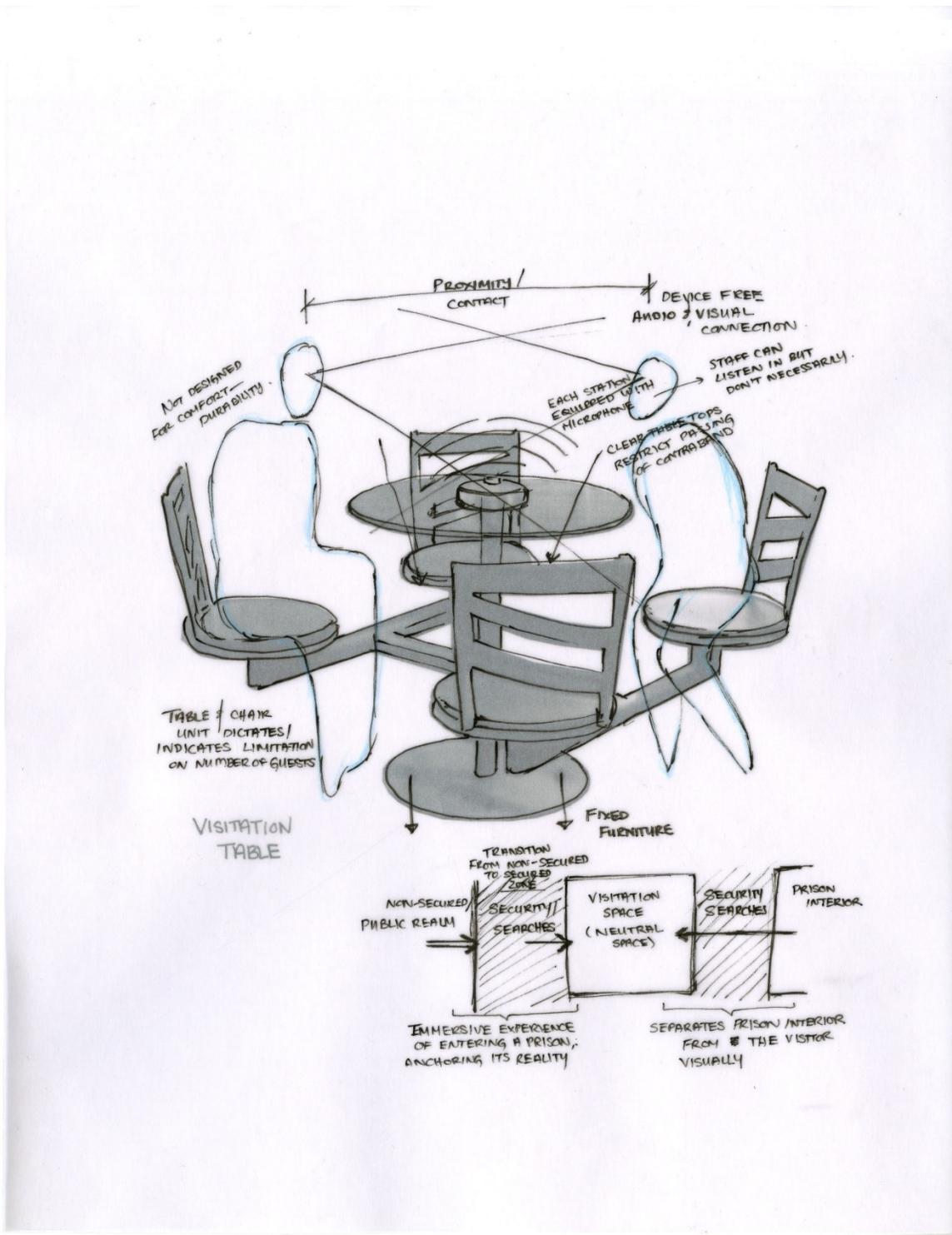


Figure 18: In-Person Visitation Table

Embodied contact anchors the carceral experience into the reality of others while providing valuable support for prisoners. The physical crossing between the secured and non-secured realms personalizes and adds realism to the experience. Telephone and video calling are alternative options, that do not require the visitor to enter the prison complex. However, a video call or phone call does not replace embodied (in person) visitation. Beyond the effects on individual relationships, not having to enter prisons for visitation detaches visitors from the reality of incarceration. Jackie Wang describes “the phenomenological experience of entering a space of absolute non-freedom and social abjection makes the existence of prisons that much more real (rather than a fantasy elsewhere) – it even makes the task of abolishing prisons more morally urgent.”<sup>18</sup>

Relationships that define the boundaries of the visitation spaces include those between visitors and prisoners, visitors with prison staff, prisoners with staff, visitors with the visitation space and with the transitional zone that leads to the visitation space.

At the first point of entry, the visitor undergoes various searches and security measures, conducted by staff of the prison. Metal detectors, random selection for drug screening, x-ray machine, lists of restricted items, surveillance, and security bridge the transition

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<sup>18</sup> Wang, *Carceral Capitalism*, intro, Kindle.

from non-secured to secured zones. Many of these devices may be found in other institutions as well, such as airports and sometimes schools. They subject the “free” body to guilty until proven innocent conditions.

Sensory contact – touch, visual, auditory – becomes the defining characteristic of visitation. Touch, clearly differs between embodied and no contact visitation, but visual and auditory experiences are also altered through video and phone calling.

The devices associated with visitation act to position the body, reduce privacy, and dictate proximity. Fixed furniture reinforces the number of guests able to visit a prisoner at a time. These restrictions also exist with video-calling, as separate accounts need to be made for each person calling prisoners. The fixed position also dictates how close a prisoner and guest can sit together, typically minimizing comfort. With video-calling, chairs may be movable for visitors for onsite visitation, but the camera and screen are fixed, making the positions unfavourable for children, disrupting eye contact, and removing control over background distractions, such as other prisoners. Video, and to a lesser extent, audio quality is also a problem as lack of visual and auditory clarity impersonalizes the experience. The near infinite distances of a video or phone call may distort the experience. Understanding of proximity becomes blurred and nearly irrelevant to the dynamic of technology assisted visitation.

For embodied visitation, microphones in the tables and transparent table tops provide visual cues that the conversation is being watched and listened to, but there is at least an awareness of who is monitoring them. Video and phone services are also monitored but less obviously and by an unknown liaison.

Glass separated visitation touts the line between embodied and video or phone calling visitation. The glass screen and telephone system augments embodied visitation by removing physical contact while visually enabling a more personal and intimate relationship. The fixed chairs on either side of the glass dictate the proximity of the visit. In the case of stools, the lack of back support indicates comfort as a low priority and that these visits are meant to be short.

Privilege is another factor with visitation. The costs of visitation have continued to shift to the visitors, whether it is the cost of travelling to the prison, user fees and rates for video and phone calling, or the cost of an internet connection strong enough to allow for these services.

When considering visitation spaces, it is important to provide a variety of options.

Embodied visitation should continue to be the central form of visitation, while video and phone call services are at most supplementary. Where video and phone call services are

provided, the spaces on either end of the connection, should allow for privacy and adjustments to the camera placement.

CONTEXT

As outlined by Correction Services Canada, after prisoners finish work or school, they typically have approximately five hours of recreation time.<sup>19</sup> This varies for prisons throughout the United States and Canada. If the weather permits, this time can be spent outdoors. Physical activity becomes an important outlet while also promoting health and theoretically allowing for relationships to form. The recreation facilities for some institutions are lacking, especially within short-term facilities and downtown locations. High-rise facilities, result in exterior rooftop space for recreational zones. Sports fields, such as running tracks, baseball diamonds, and basketball courts, are common in larger sites – particularly in prisons located in less urban and less dense contexts. In some warmer climates, outdoor gyms are common.

In Canada, colder climates and limited daylight can restrict the use of outdoor spaces, reducing the recreation space to smaller interior gymnasiums and workout facilities. Additionally, recreation facilities are restricted to a limited number of prisoners at a time. Chain-linked fences and barbed wire typically separate the outdoor spaces to minimize gang activity, large congregations, and reduce the pressure on correctional officers to monitor large groups of people. Officers may use bean bag guns, firing

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<sup>19</sup> “Serving time,” Government of Canada, Correction Service Canada, Reintegration Programs Division, March 10, 2016, <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/correctional-process/002001-1000-eng.shtml>.

warning shots first, when activity shifts towards violence.<sup>20</sup> Recreation is not limited to sport. Prisons may offer other recreational facilities for art, music, drama, etc. However, many programs are sometimes cut, and spaces reprogrammed or made inaccessible due to budget shortfalls, security issues, or over-crowding. For example, when touring the now decommissioned Kingston Penitentiary, the tour guide noted that the stage in the gymnasium, formerly used for plays, had been boarded up and a radio show put on by prisoners had also been cancelled during its operation.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, as prison gyms are flexible spaces, they have been used to relieve overcrowding. San Quentin State Prison used their basketball gym to house over 360 additional inmates as well as utilizing the chapel and other indoor spaces.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Premium Kingston Pen Tour.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Laura Sullivan, "San Quentin's Gym Becomes One Massive Cell," *National Public Radio*, July 7, 2008, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=92296114>

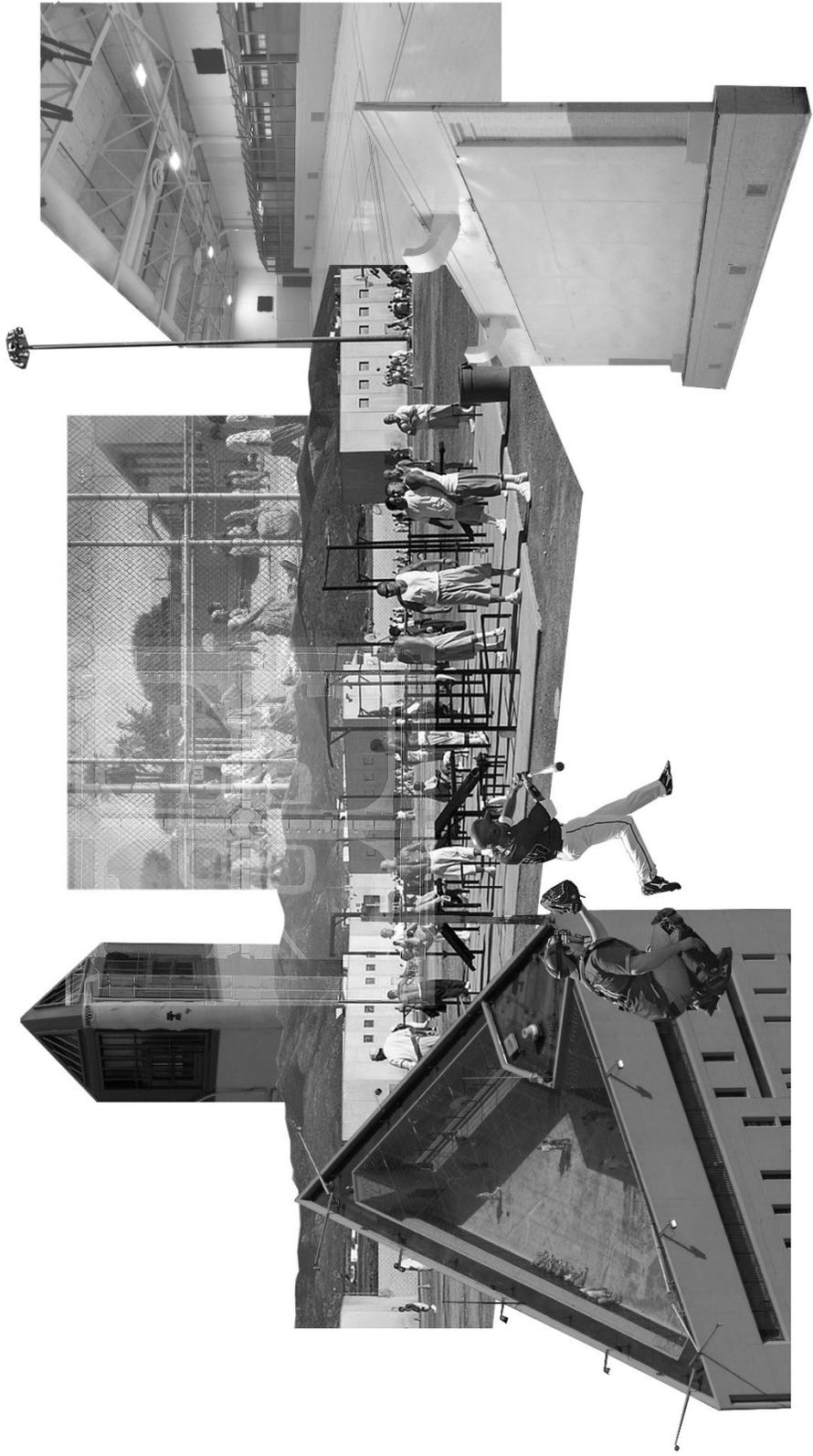


Figure 19: Context Collage

INTERPRETATION

weather outdoors  
outlet health  
relationships lacking  
exterior rooftop. Sports fields running tracks, baseball  
diamonds basketball courts climates, outdoor  
nature climates  
daylight outdoor  
gymnasiums workout  
restricted time. Chain-linked fences barbed wire  
separate congregation  
bean bag guns  
art, music, drama  
cut reprogrammed inaccessible  
security over-crowding. an opportunity  
relationships character behavior



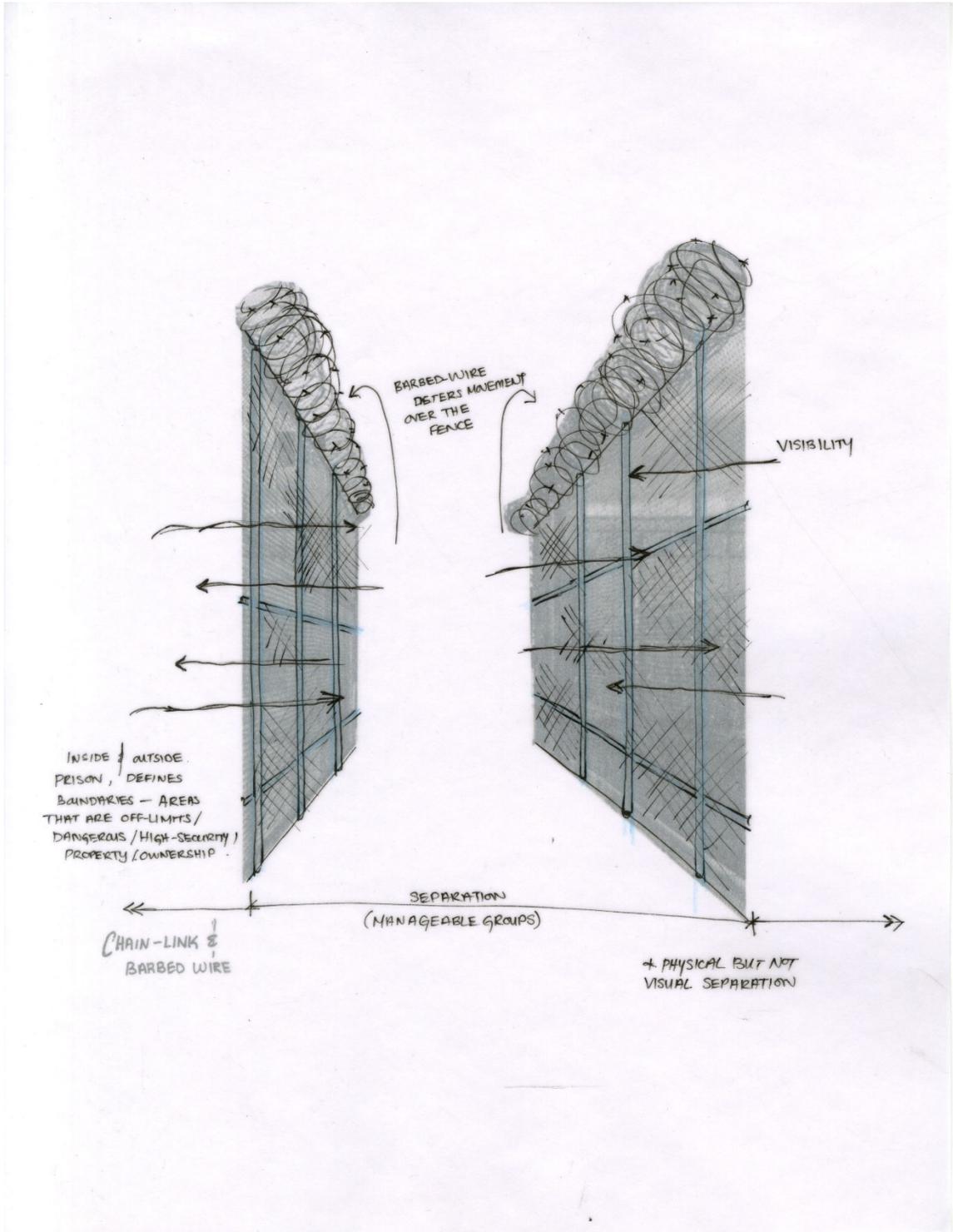


Figure 21: Chain-linked Fence with Barbed Wire

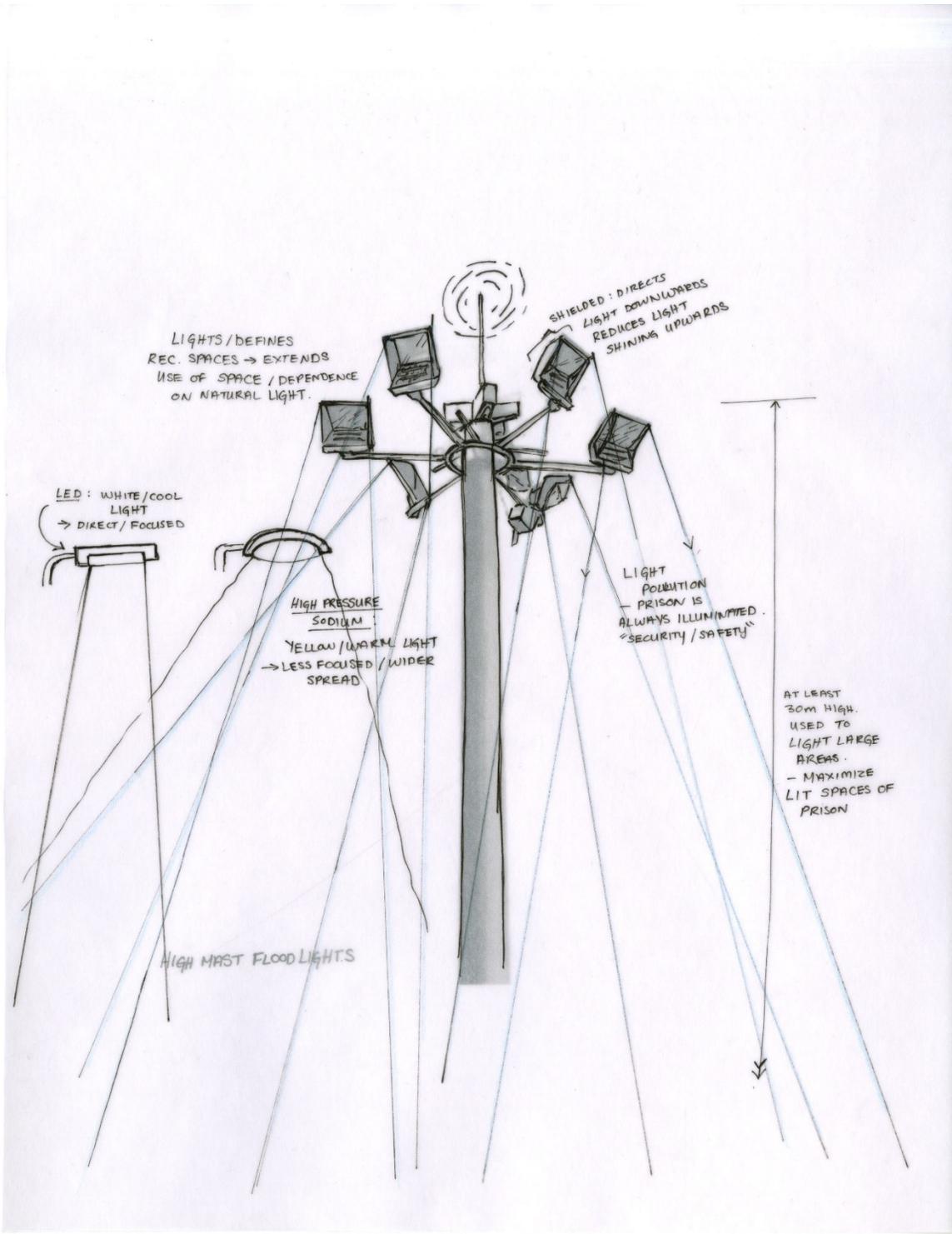


Figure 22: High Mast Flood Lights

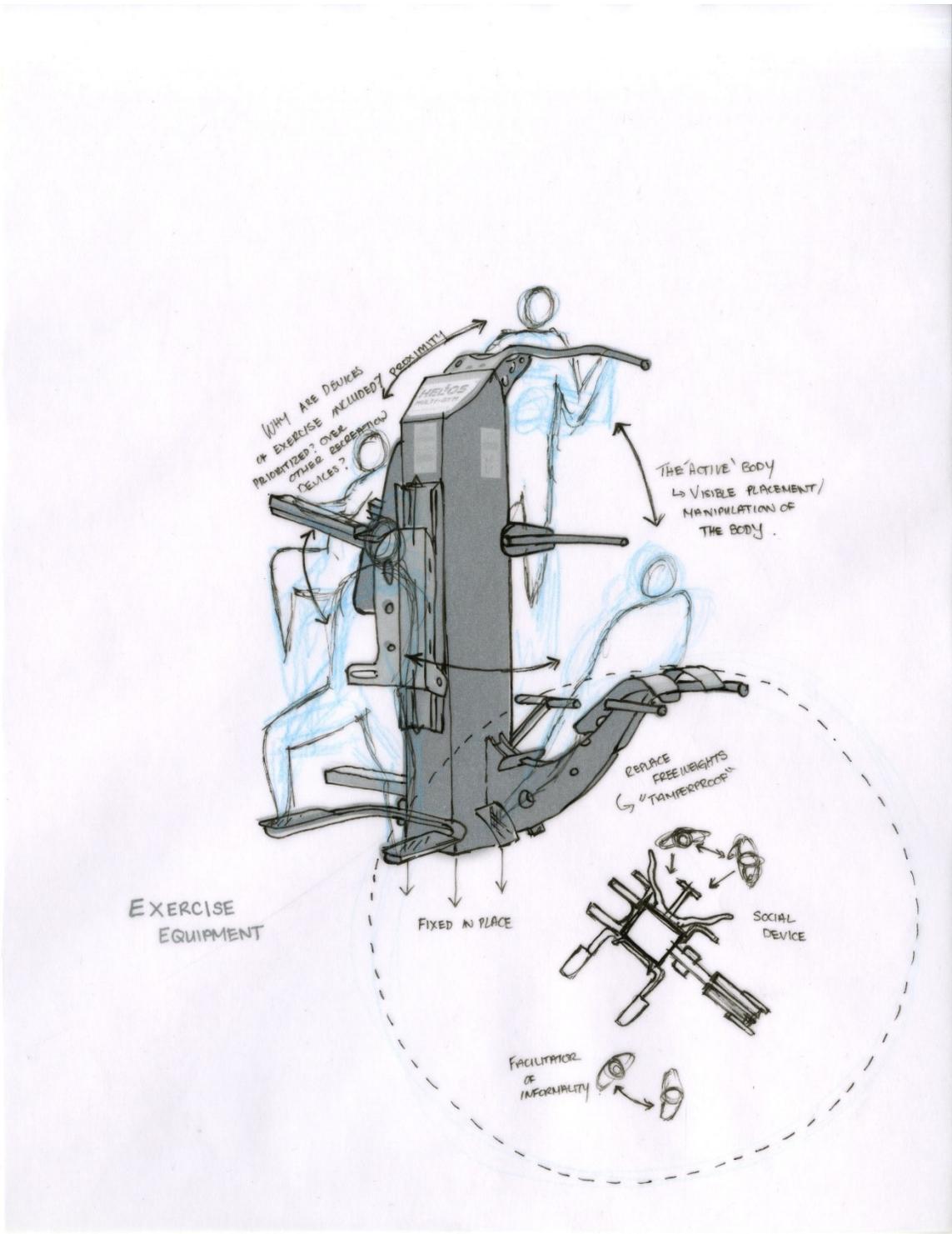


Figure 23: Exercise Equipment

The focus of spaces of recreation is active recreation as opposed to passive recreation – the liberation of the active body versus the passive body. Spaces of recreation are typically flexible spaces. Cells, kitchens, visitation, and work spaces are specialized for their function whereas recreation can be adapted for different uses. This impermanence could be an asset or a weakness in the design of these areas. It can allow for reprogramming for non-recreational use but can also allow for flexibility of recreational activities. Essentially, the integration of recreation is not strictly dependent on architecture, but the dissolution of recreation is also not salvaged by architecture.

Architectural devices of recreation act to impose segmentation. Segmentation was popularized to manage the containment and limit the spread of the plague.<sup>23</sup> It is similarly utilized on the recreation yards – dividing prisoners into more manageable groups and reducing the spread of ideas, contraband, and conflict. The primary device used to implement segmentation is the chain-linked fence, often topped with barbed wire or razor wire. The chain-linked fence allows for separation without inhibiting visual surveillance. Depending on the fence, the weave of the chain reduces openings making them too small to climb or to pass contraband through. The barbed wire and razor wire serve as physical barrier and a visual cue of the risk of climbing over the fence. Within these segmented spaces, the relationships between prisoners are developed, whether

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<sup>23</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 198.

negative or positive. Relationships with guards are also important as they may determine how groups are distributed.

A condition of the outdoor recreation spaces is that they become decontextualized from their surroundings. The space is technically outdoors, exposed to the local climate - the same amount of sunlight, wind, and precipitation as the exterior, but the visual landscape is likely inconsistent. The land is stripped, graded, sodded, and paved, often absent of native plant life – altered to maximize visibility. The relationship between prisoner and “nature” is altered as per the prisons design.

CONTEXT

The cell block is typically composed of individual cells and some form of common space shared by inmates and prisoners. These blocks separate prisoners into manageable numbers for officer supervision. In older institutions, cells were often arranged in wings, where cells were placed in the interior of the wings, without windows, and a wide corridor serving as the common space. The corridor would have windows but would not always provide views.

In newer models, such as direct supervision prisons, a central common space is surrounded by cells, which allows for an improved line of sight for correctional officers as well as better mixing between staff and prisoners.<sup>24</sup> By placing the cells at the exterior, direct access to natural light becomes possible for every cell, but the communal space, as a result, becomes windowless. This space is typically used for socialization and leisure, such as playing cards or watching TV. Furniture is typically generic, fixed in place, and classified as anti-vandalism. Some newer prisons have tried to incorporate “softer” furnishings, but if history repeats itself, it is likely that these would be replaced with fixed furnishings as they fall into disrepair.

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<sup>24</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 46-68.



INTERPRETATION

individual common  
manageable  
supervision arranged  
corridor  
windows views.  
direct supervision central  
surrounded line of sight  
mixing  
access natural light  
socialization leisure,  
playing cards watching TV. Furniture generic, fixed in place  
"anti-vandalism  
replaced  
disrepair  
respected destroy



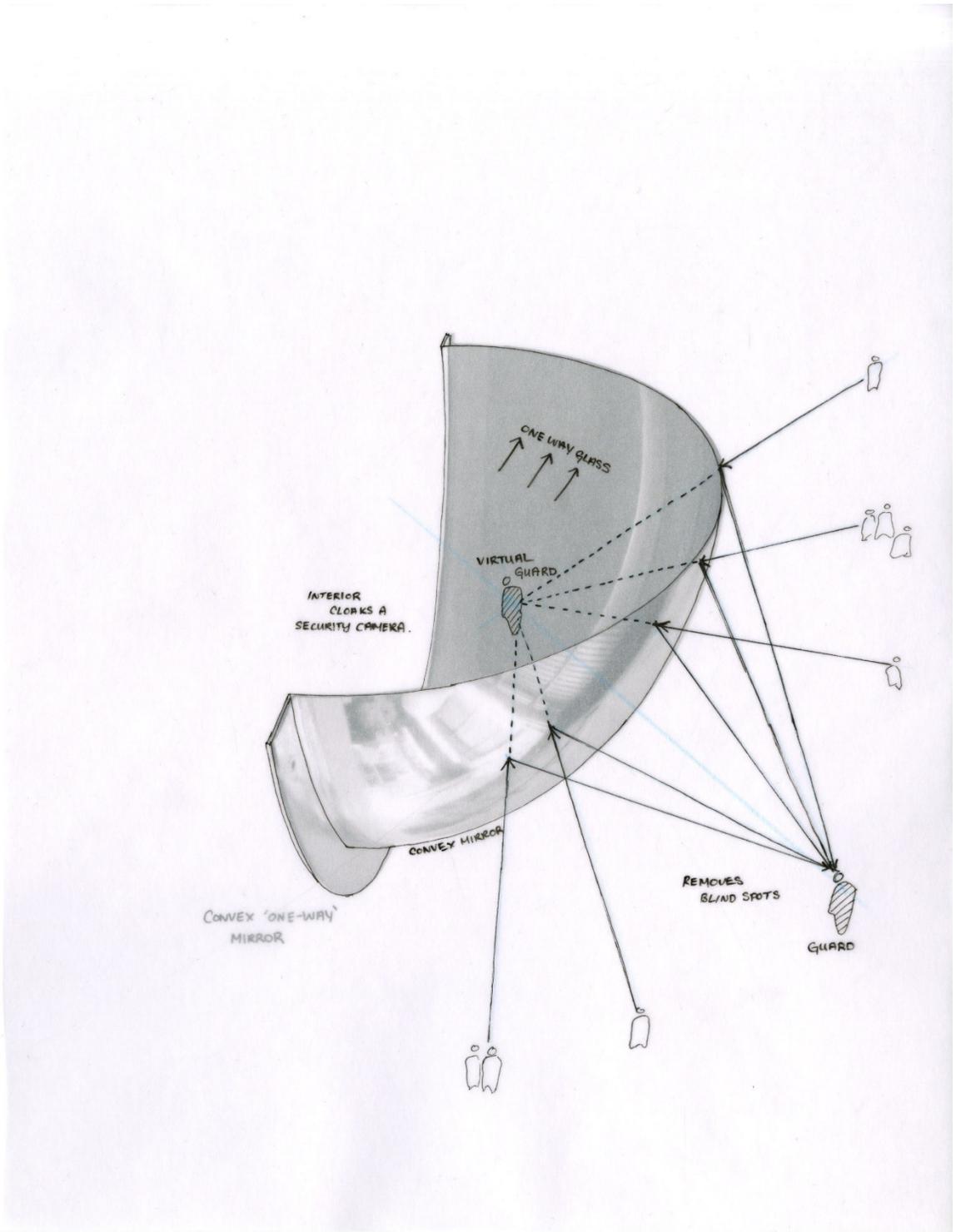


Figure 26: Convex Mirror

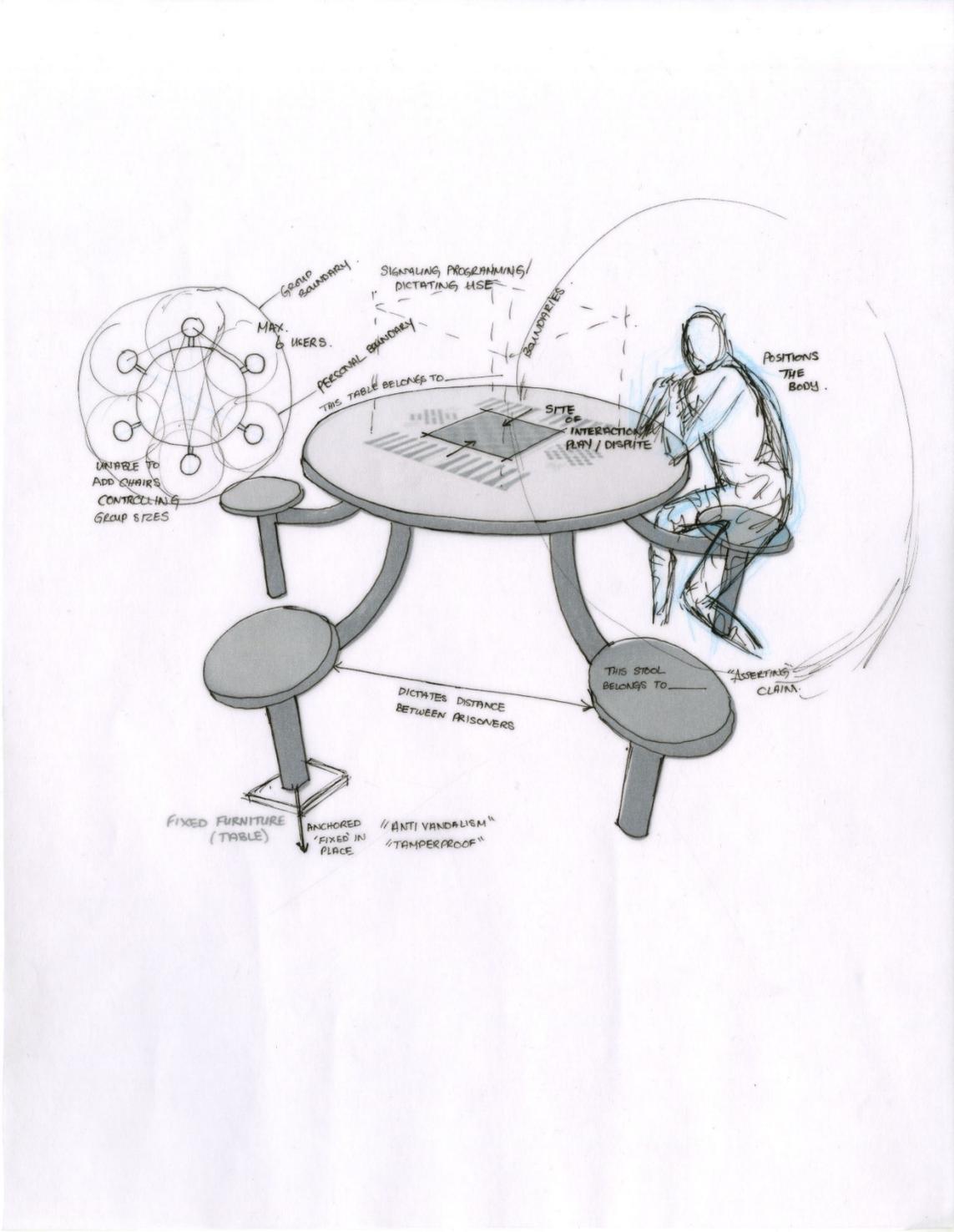


Figure 27: Fixed Furniture

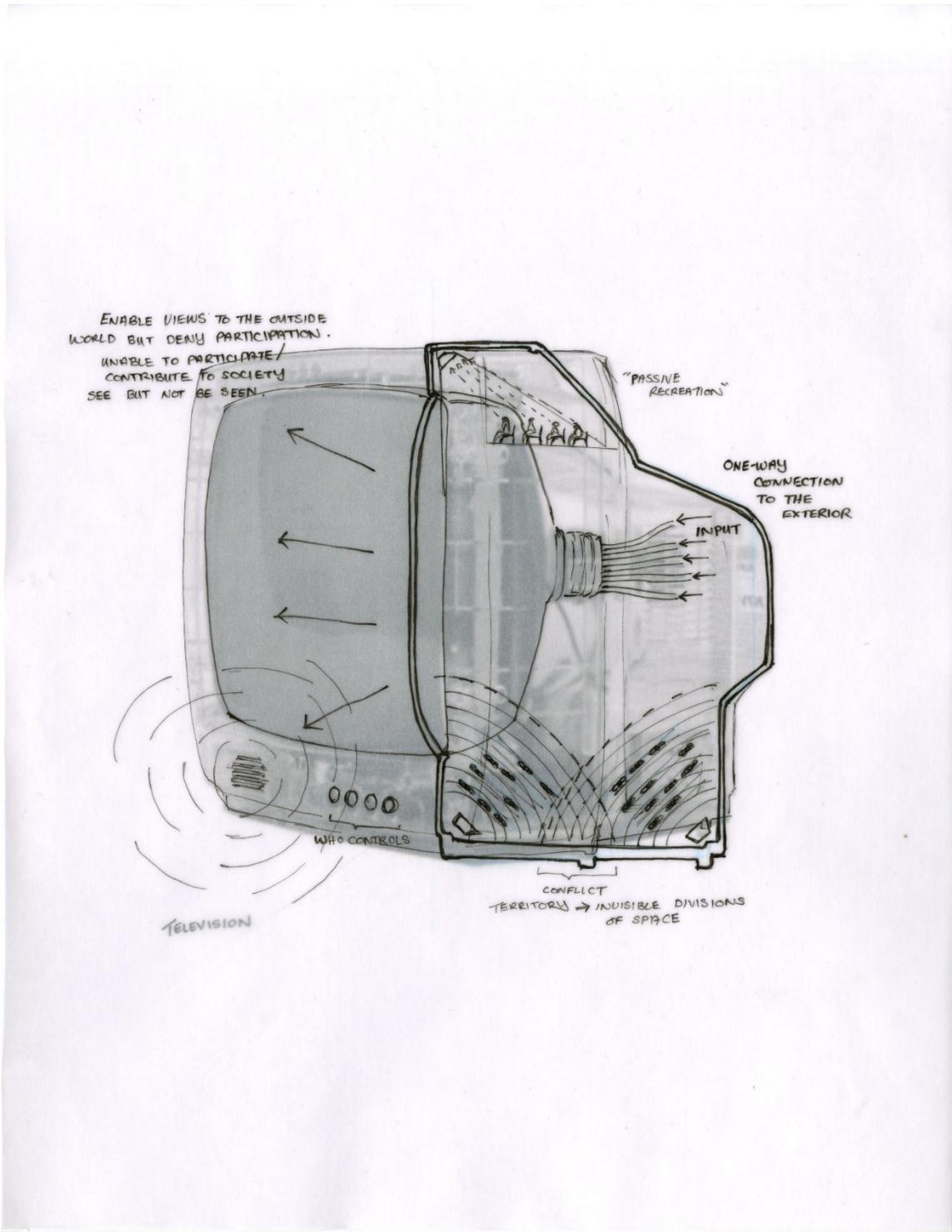


Figure 28: Television

Unlike active recreation, the activities of the cell block are less programmed and prescribed. Where active recreation is typically associated with ideas of self-betterment, the cell block relates more to leisure. It becomes the mediating space between the cells and the rest of the prison functions – between “private” and “public” spaces. Especially with the case of direct supervision, the cell block – or cell group, becomes an integral site for the relationship between the guards and the prisoners. With direct supervision, the guard is integrated with the prisoners and the architecture of this space is meant to encourage interaction. The surveillance station is left open – reducing the physical barriers between them. The cells should be arranged to maximize visibility, and architectural devices – such as the convex mirror further assist with visibility.

The consequences related to lack of privacy within the prison complex become highly apparent within the cell block, as prisoners may try and compensate with increased “territorial behavior”- asserting claim over specific areas and/or objects.<sup>25</sup> The combination of television – a main device of passive recreation – and fixed furniture, prime the space for territorial claims. Control of the television, occupation of tables, and chairs, become sites of territorial dispute. Territorial behavior is used to set personal and invisible boundaries that are otherwise absent through the architecture of the space. Territorial behavior is not explicitly negative; it provides benefits such as

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<sup>25</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 120-126.

“identification with space, personalization of settings, and symbolic value of place.”<sup>26</sup>

Personalization of settings hinges on the relationship between guards and prisoners. If architectural design enables relationships of mutual respect to develop, leniency on prison rules may allow for personalization and stronger identification with space.

Vandalism occurs with a lack of value of place. “Hard” furnishings indicate an expectation of how the space is meant to be treated. When the shared spaces fall into disrepair, it also indicates the level of respect that should be shown to that space. If no one else takes care of the space, why should they?

The television is an important device of passivity. It functions as a one-way connection to the exterior – providing information about the outside world, while denying participation. Allowing the prisoners to see but not to be seen.

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<sup>26</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 120-126.

CONTEXT

The accommodations for general population range from single or double occupancy to dormitory style. Some of the more humane prisons have individual accommodations that share a bathroom and maybe a kitchen and/or small common space. It is important to consider that with these spaces that general population is typically only restricted to their cells during sleeping hours (usually 11pm to 7am), cell checks, and lock-downs. Most waking hours are spent at work, school, or recreation programs.

Privacy and over-crowding become some of the most critical issues with the cell. In many, if not most cells, the toilet is highly visible, a truly dehumanizing design. Double occupancy and over-crowding heighten this infringement on privacy. The negative qualities associated with double occupancy are apparent, and therefore many prisons have been designed for single-occupancy. However, as prison population has surged, many of these cells were retrofitted with additional bunks and in more extreme cases, occupants slept on the floors or in large open spaces, such as basements, that have been converted to hold several bunk beds at a time. These situations become health and safety risks for everyone involved. The lack of individual spaces disables prisoners from ever being alone and deprives them of adequate places for privacy.

United Nations conventions on prison spaces, specifies that all cells must have windows large enough to allow prisoners to read by natural light, and must be built to allow natural ventilation, regardless of any artificial ventilation design or support.<sup>27</sup> In many older prisons, cells were intentionally located away from exterior walls, making it challenging, if not impossible, to retrofit with windows.<sup>28</sup> Many cells that do have windows, including those in new prisons, are narrow and inoperable.

Most cells are made of hard, cold, vandalism-proof materials. Concrete masonry units, precast concrete, and steel, are all common cell materials. The prison-commercial complex is vast as a result – with numerous companies selling prefabricated and pre-cast cells in order to reduce construction costs and maximize construction efficiency and rapidity. The cell has become highly standardized and easily replicable, designed to appease the minimum human rights specifications. Security, efficiency, and cost savings are the most important qualities for builders. With this standardization, personalization becomes an important issue – standardization dissolves any particular or unique expression of self or privacy. The rules surround personalization vary. Some forbid hanging privacy curtains, using rugs, painting walls, or not properly storing personal belongings.<sup>29</sup> Leniency on these rules may occur based on prisoner/guard relationships.

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<sup>27</sup> General Assembly resolution 70/175, United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules). A/RES/70/175 (17 December 2015), available from [undocs.org/A/RES/70/175](http://undocs.org/A/RES/70/175)

<sup>28</sup> Premium Kingston Pen Tour.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

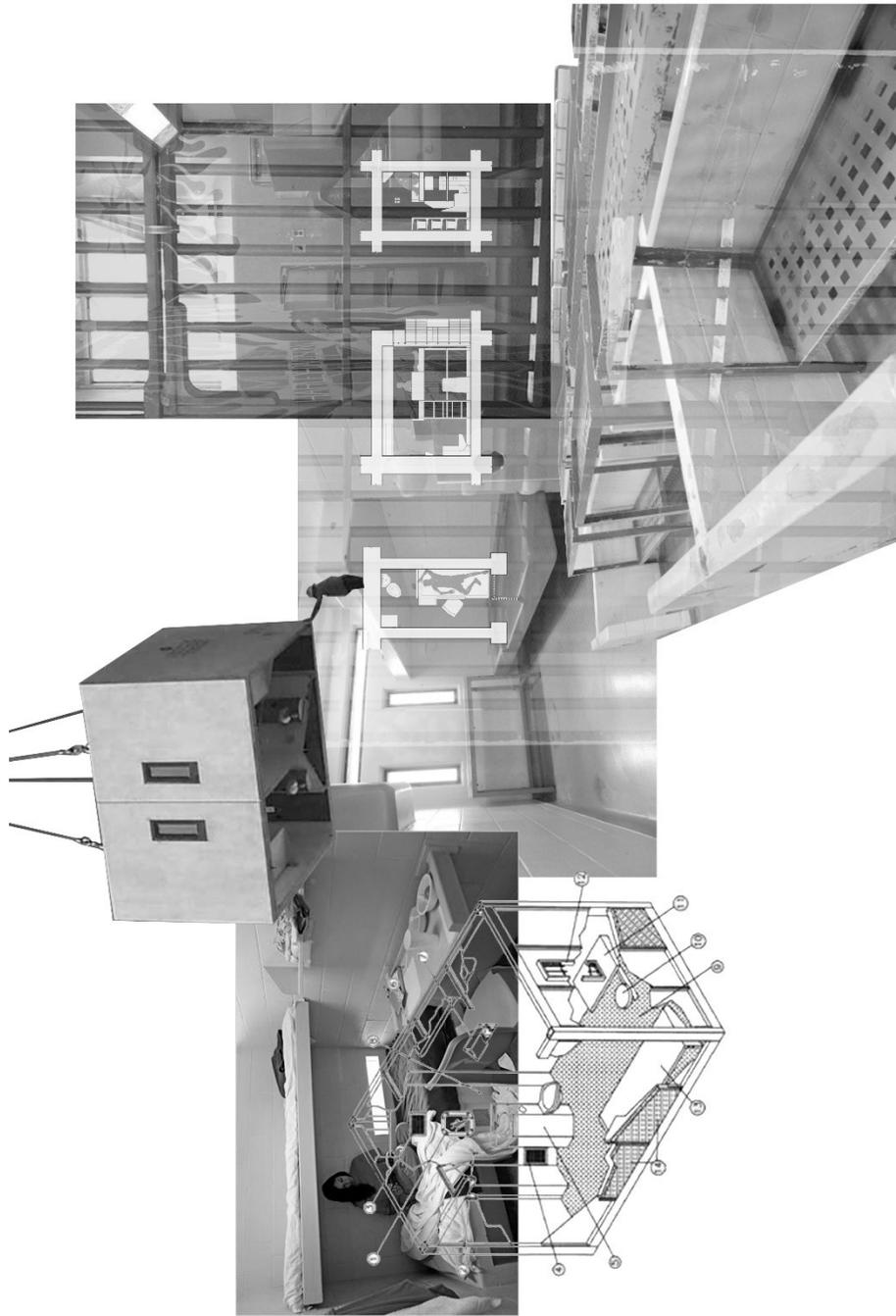


Figure 29: Context Collage

INTERPRETATION

single double occupancy  
dormitory share common  
space cell checks  
over-crowding Privacy  
highly visible dehumanizing Double occupancy  
infringement privacy.  
single-occupancy  
retrofitted converted bunk beds.  
open spaces alone deprives  
decompress  
windows natural light natural  
ventilation  
retrofit narrow inoperable "vandalism-  
proof" Concrete masonry precast concrete steel  
prefabricated,  
precast standardized replicable  
minimum Security, efficiency cost savings  
standardization, personalization  
forbidding  
personal belongings  
prisoner/guard relationships  
single-occupancy  
furnishings occupancy  
alone time decompression security restrictions



DEVICES

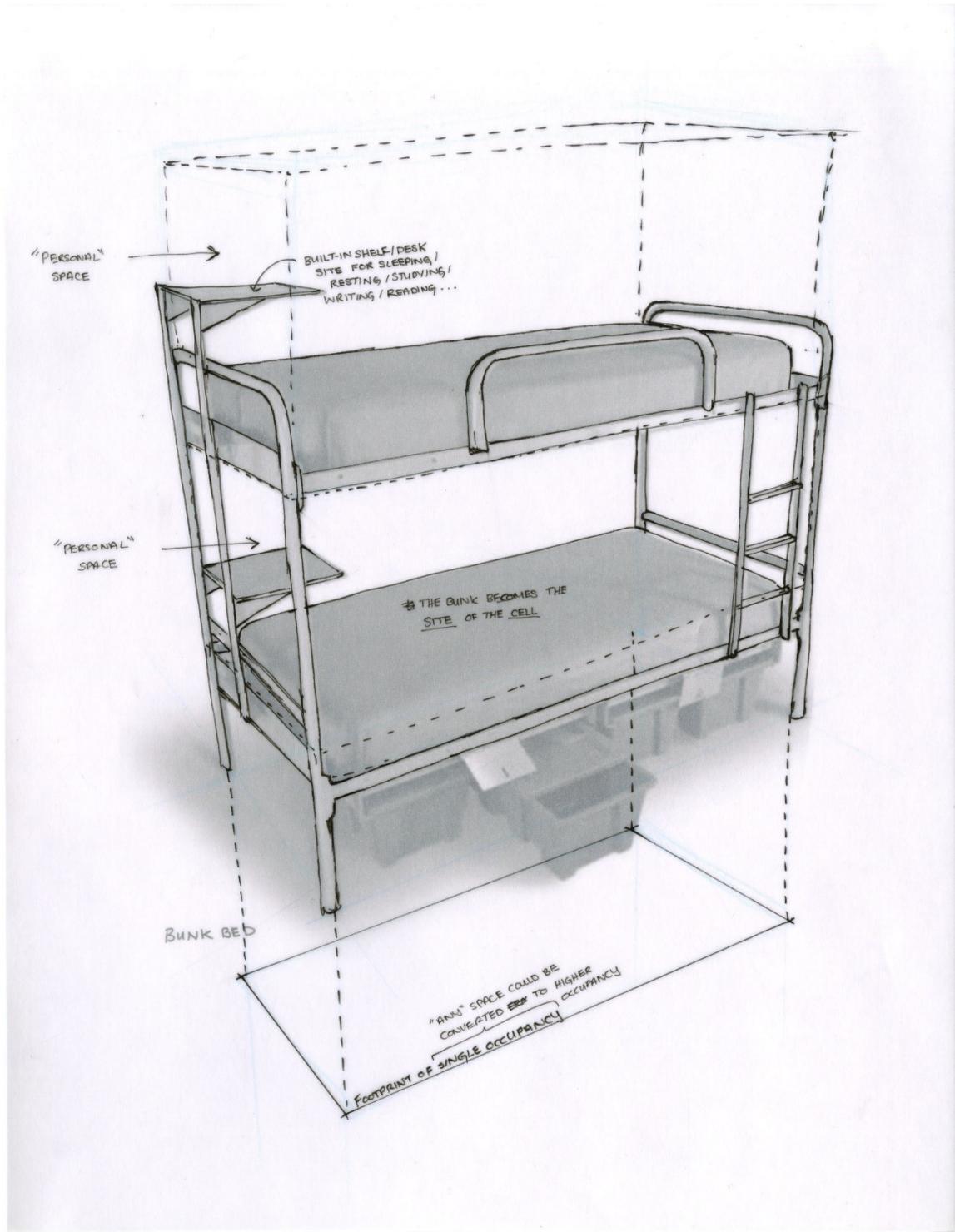


Figure 31: Bunk Bed

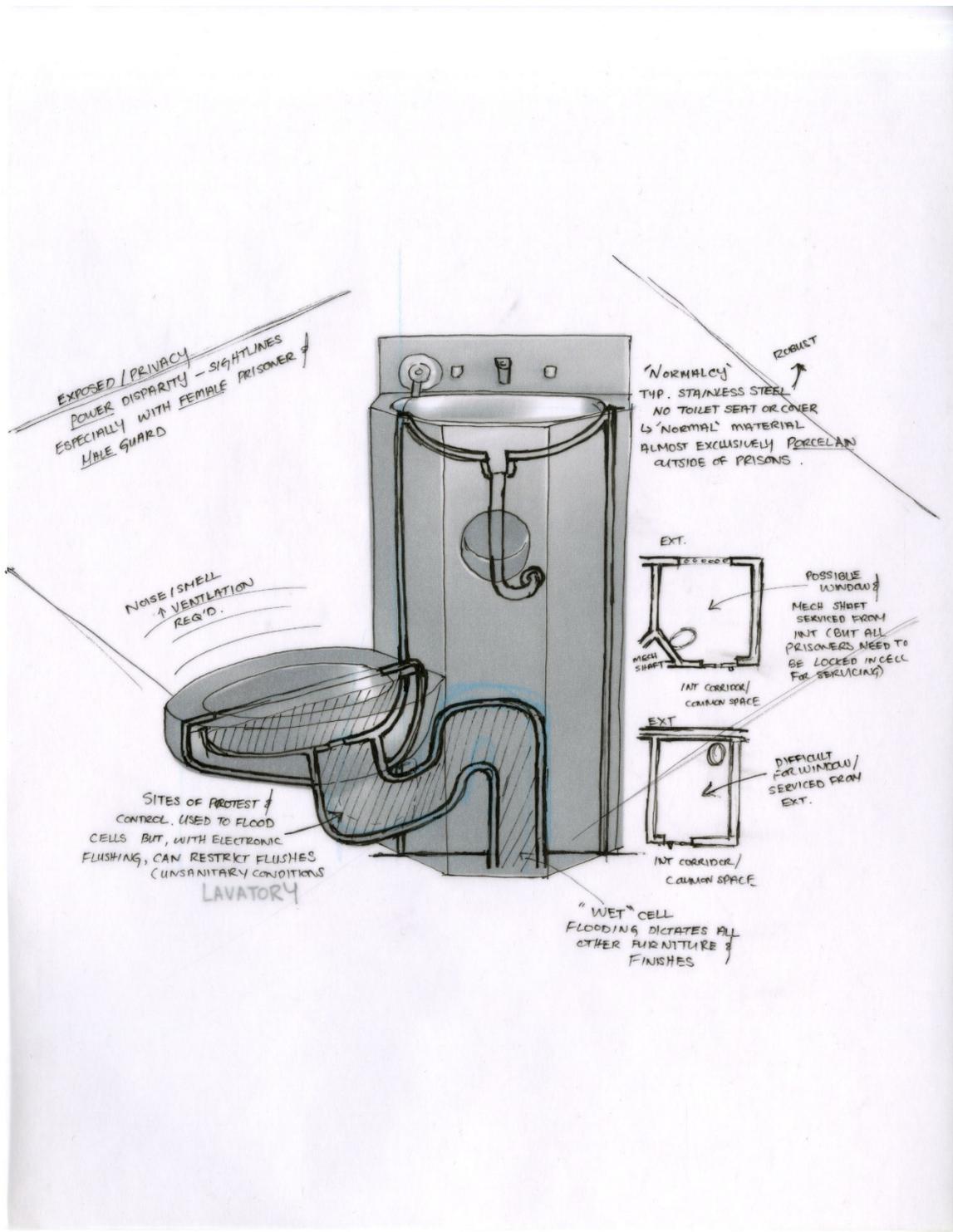


Figure 32: Lavatory

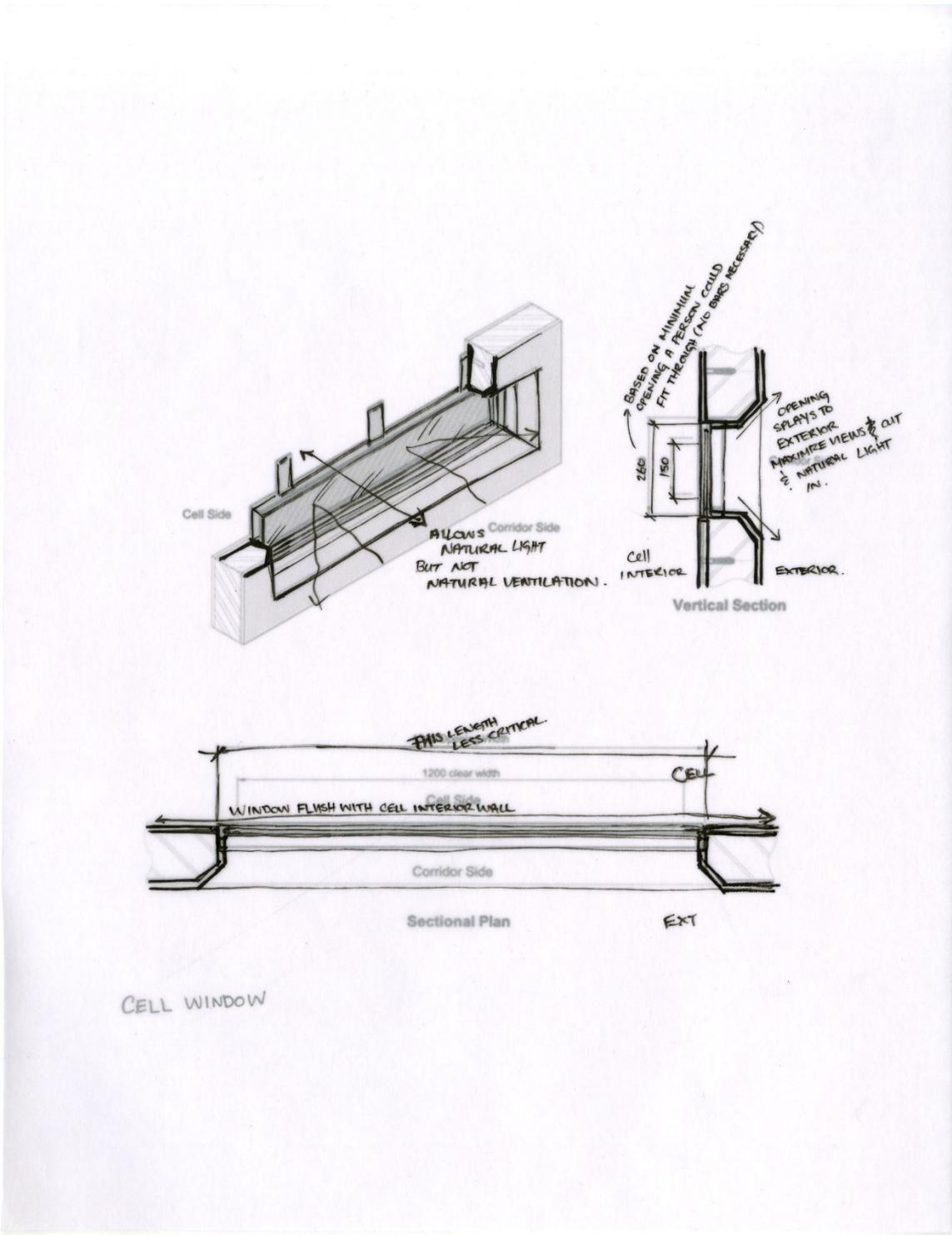


Figure 33: Window

The cell is the place that should enable the prisoner to act as their “private” self. It should be a place to express individuality. It should almost always be single occupancy. It is a critical space for the relationship between the prisoner and self. Overcrowding is the downfall of the cell and the relationship with oneself. Even when designed for single occupancy, overcrowding trumps design as it is quicker, easier, and cheaper (at least in the short term) to increase the occupancy of cells than it is to build more. The bunk bed becomes the main device enabling overcrowding. Almost any place that a single bed exists, a bunk bed could replace it. The bunk bed may also become the site of the cell. In the case of multiple bunks in a large open space, the bunk bed acts as the cell. As a device, it dictates proximity between a prisoner and their cell-mate - reducing the individual space of the cell to the individual space of the bed. The bed is no longer just used for sleeping but becomes the platform for private affairs including reading and self reflection.

The relationship between the guard and the prisoner is intrinsically linked with the architecture of the cell. The architecture may widen the gap between authoritarian and subject – embellishing the power dynamic. When open bars are used to enclose cells, as opposed to mostly opaque doors, use of the lavatory is exposed, which is a dehumanizing experience. Between cell-mates, both are exposed to the same condition – uncomfortable but fair. This relationship is not balanced between the guard and

prisoner. Therefore, the door should be considered an important threshold, negotiating the relationship between them.

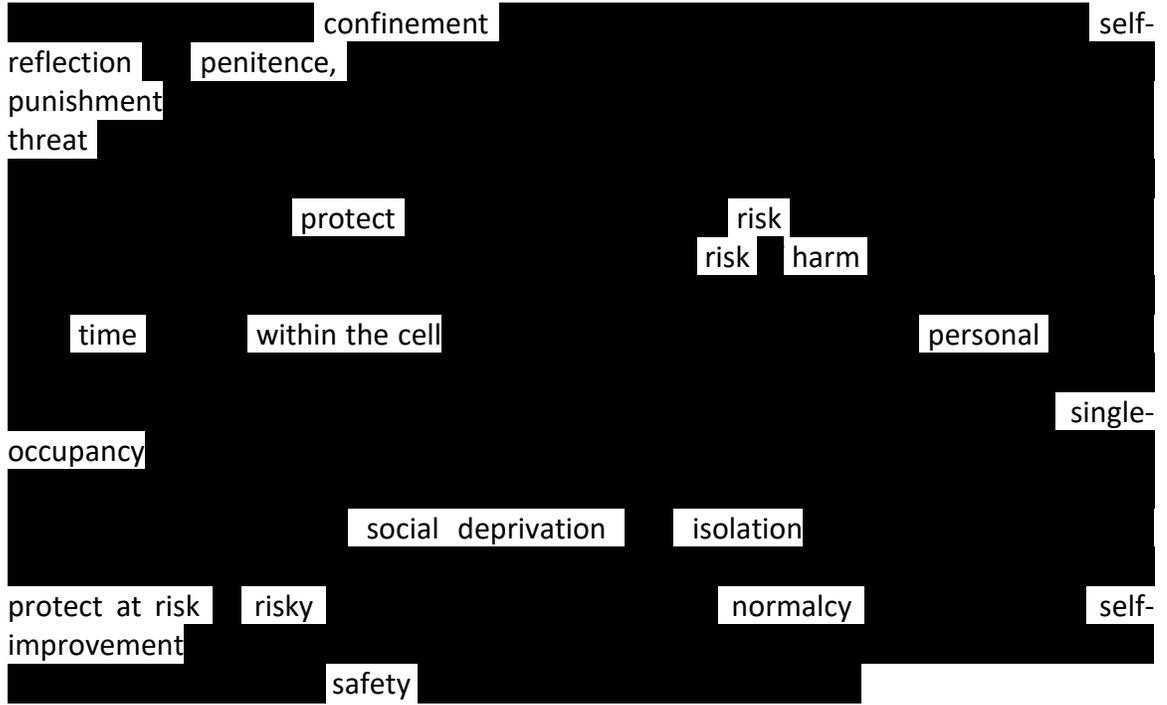
The practice of solitary confinement is highly contentious. Originally intended for self-reflection and solitude, its negative side effects made it a more suitable form of punishment. Often referred to as “the hole”, it is a highly undesirable place to be and the threat of ending up there is used to encourage good behavior. Segregation and dissociation are defined differently from solitary confinement. The intentions behind these strategies is, ostensibly, touted to protect occupants that may be a risk to themselves, to others, or because of their crime and/or high profile, may be at risk of harm from others.<sup>30</sup> As much as this differentiation is emphasized, the spatial conditions and social effects are essentially similar. For segregation, almost all the prisoners time is spent within the cell, except for perhaps an hour in a smaller exercise yard. The cell, as a result, becomes the most important space for segregated occupants. The construction of these spaces is similar to the general population cells, apart from always being single-occupancy, and perhaps including more facilities such as a shower and additional space to eat within the cell. Where general population may face a lack of privacy and alone time, segregation suffers from social deprivation and isolation.

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<sup>30</sup> Premium Kingston Pen Tour.



INTERPRETATION





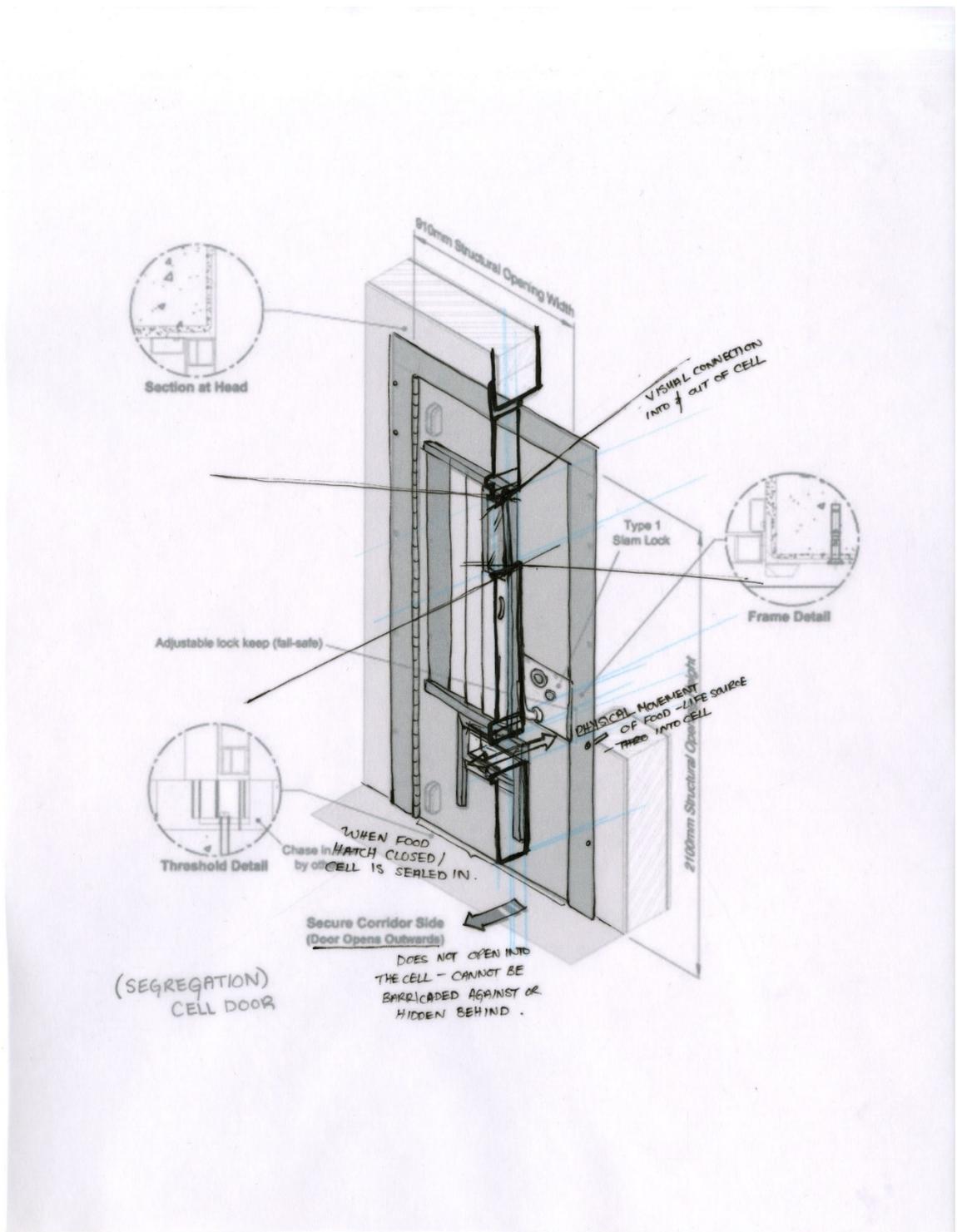


Figure 36: Segregation Cell Door

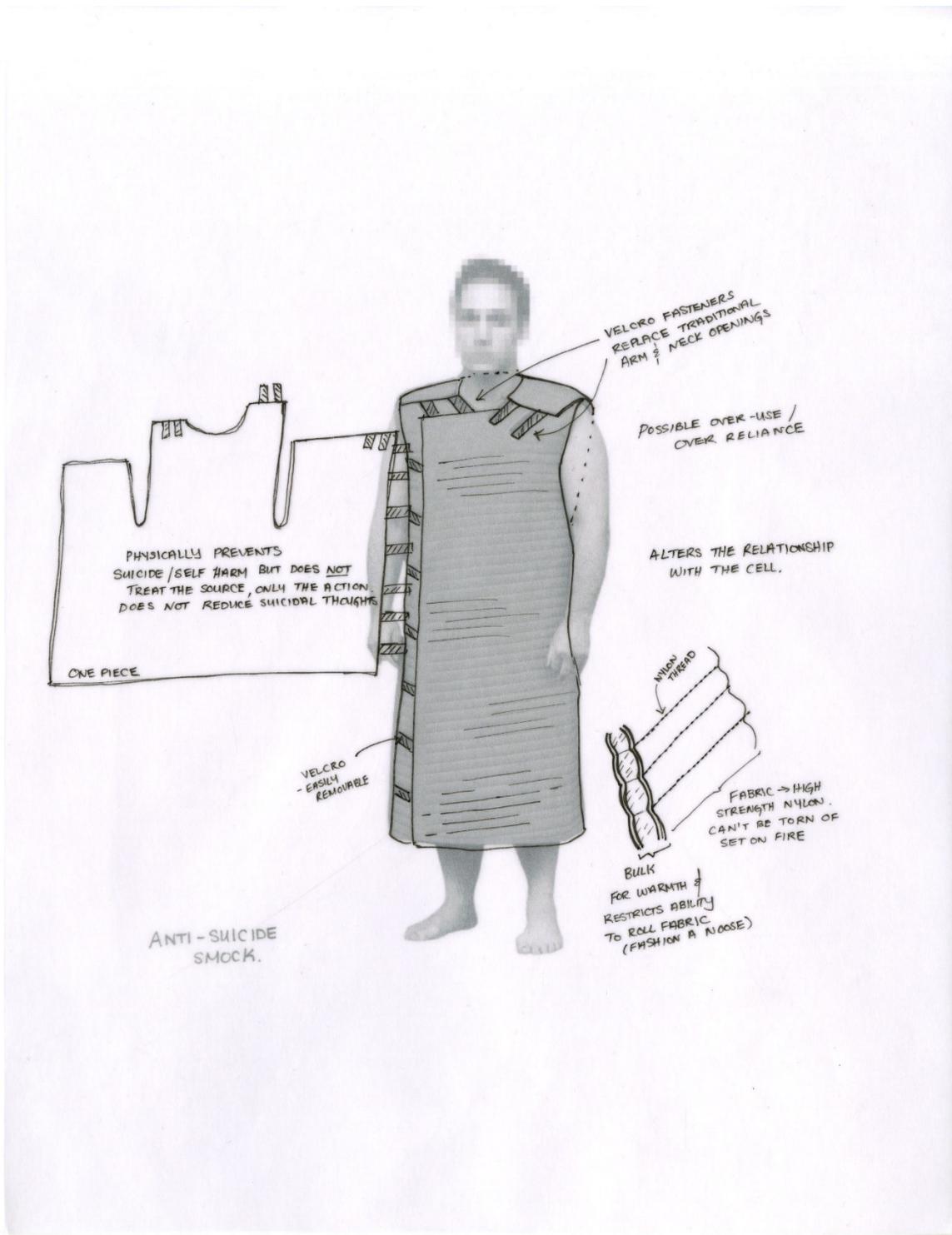


Figure 37: Anti-Suicide Smock

Segregation cells become the entirety of the prison confined to one space. The primary relationships associated with segregation cells are between the prisoner and the cell and between the prisoner and their self. They are “sealed” in and self-contained.

Furniture, is one of the devices defining these relationships. As segregation is often associated with high risk prisoners and prisoners likely to exhibit self harm, the furniture and the cell are designed to limit the extend of harm one can inflict on oneself. The bed, chair, and desk are all designed as anti-harm. Self harm and segregation have an intrinsic relationship. Since solitary confinement is punishment, dealing with self harm through isolation seems counterintuitive. Instead of addressing the causes of self-harm, the cells are designed to prevent the action.

The cell door is the major threshold negotiating the relationship between the prisoner and the exterior. It provides a disconnected relationship with the guard and/or prison staff. The food port, an operable hatch within the door, is the only relief to this boundary condition. It provides a passageway for sustenance, and minimal potential for human contact. The window within the door provides limited visual connections into the prison, with prison guards but not with other prisoners. The door, as a device, provides a nearly permanent buffer of safety between risky or harmful prisoners and the guard.

## EPILOGUE

Sequencing the body broke down the vastness of incarceration into six common and non-site-specific spaces. The resulting drawings and texts contribute to the much larger and increasingly complex topics surrounding carceral architecture and the prison industrial complex. Throughout the exploration of these spaces there were reoccurring themes regarding the often fragile or limited influence of the architect and how the implementation of various devices dictate and transform spatial conditions.

Although the thesis began as an exploration how the body moves through and interacts with the six spaces, the device study provided a valuable understanding of what creates carceral environments. The twenty devices, which only represent a fraction of those contributing to carceral conditions, are each responsible for transforming space and altering the behaviour of the body – conditioning it to passivity. Many of these are also present in the lives of “free” people, expanding the carceral environment further into the public realm. Despite their intentions, the devices may be manipulated to become tools for the active body. Each could be engaged, transformed, or utilized by the active body – resisting their intentions of control. Viewing these through the imagination of the incarcerated individual could be a future trajectory of this thesis; however, I will only discuss the television, the bunk bed, and the lavatory as part of this text.

For the passive body, the television acts as a one-way connection to the exterior. It enables views to the outside world but denies participation and contribution to society. As a device it allows the viewer to see but not to be seen. However, the television could also act as a device of empowerment. It could be used to educate and inform oneself. Since television is often anchored in current time, its visual representation of current social standards and technologies may reduce the technological and social gaps when prisoners reintegrate into society. Although television programming may reinforce social behaviour, it may also activate the imagination to question the status quo, inviting critical thinking and inspiring prisoners to become politically engaged.

Bunk beds enable overcrowding, acting as an extrusion of single occupancy. They work against architectural design, as almost any space designed for single occupancy could be retrofitted with a bunk bed. Although the implementation of this device minimizes personal space, the active body may still provide resistance. The assigned bunks are still one of the only places that are not considered shared space. This may provide a sense of ownership or a personal connection to that space. Whether prisoners are allowed to or not, they may personalize their bunks – customizing them to reflect their individuality as well as to instill privacy.

The lavatory is one of the key contributors to dehumanizing experiences. Its often-exposed location and stainless-steel materiality strays from normalcy. Further, the lack

of privacy widens the power disparity between guard and prisoner. However, it could be appropriated to provide power and control for the prisoner. As it is one of the few devices that prisoners can control, it may also be used as a site of protest by flooding the cell. The connection to other cells through the plumbing network allows the lavatory to also be used for communication with other prisoners.

These devices could all be appropriated by the prisoner as tools of liberation, whether its through self-education, communication, personalization, self-identity, or inspiring critical thinking. Just as the role of the architect is limited by how the client uses the space, the role of the device is limited by how the individual appropriates it. With each attempt to control and subjugate the body, individuals or groups of people will resist. This does not only apply to prisons, but to carceral architecture throughout the public realm and could be considered as an ally in designing humanistic architecture.

I acknowledge that this thesis portrays a pessimistic outlook of the architects limited role in the prevailing nature of carceral systems. Architecture in practice is dependant on many factors including the devices implemented within designed space, the motivations of the clients or owners, and the resistance, compliance, or manipulation by its users. Therefore, the intention is not to discourage architectural participation but instead to inspire a different kind of participation. For architects to not view solving

carceral architecture as an individualistic pursuit, but instead to participate as part of a larger group initiative.

### APPENDIX A: PRISON TIMELINE

The architecture of prisons has a lengthy and complex history. The prison timeline figure, was a working sketch used to document, summarize, and depict parallels within the initial research phase. The timeline included:

- Notable prisons from the USA, Canada, the UK, Norway, and Austria as noted in relevant literature. These include Eastern State and Auburn State Penitentiaries for their early forms of reformation through isolation and labor, the Metropolitan Correction Centers (MCCs), for their innovations through direct supervision, as well as Halden Prison and the Leoben Justice Center, both newer prisons, internationally recognized for their humanity.
- Significant philosophical and theoretical contributors, including Piranesi's "Imaginary Prisons", Jeremy Bentham's "Panopticon", Michael Foucault's "Discipline & Punish", and the works of more recent literary contributors.
- Potential political influences and important changes to the justice system, including the introduction of private prisons.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Pauly Madison, "A brief history of America's corporate-run prison industry," *Mother Jones*, June 23, 2017, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/06/history-of-americas-private-prison-industry-timeline/>.



## APPENDIX B: 24-HOUR DAY

How is the prison occupied over the course of a typical 24-hour day? Who has access to what areas at different times? How may the schedule and occupation of varying spaces create a “normalized” experience for its occupants? The intention of this component of the early research was to attempt to develop an understanding surrounding these questions. Different groups that occupy these institutions include staff, visitors, and the varying levels/classes of inmates.

Assuming that the majority of the institution is accessible to most of the staff at most times, the focus shifted to three groups: general population, segregation, and visitors. This was originally demonstrated as an animated gif, which has been exploded into 24 frames as seen in the figure. General population occupation was shown using orange, visitation in blue, and segregation in pink.

For general population, the typical daily weekday schedule was drawn from Correctional Services Canada’s website and is as follows:<sup>32</sup>

6:45 – Inmate count

7:00 – Breakfast

8:00 – Program, work, or back to cell

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<sup>32</sup> Government of Canada, “Serving time.”

11:45 – Return to cell for inmate count and lunch

13:00 – Program, work, or back to cell

16:30 – Return to cell for inmate count and supper

18:00 – Recreation, cultural events, self-help groups, etc.

22:30 – Night inmate count

23:00 – Lock-up and lights out

Many of the correctional facilities and penitentiaries in Canada seemed to have similar visiting hours during the day and typically not during meals or inmate counts. 9:00 to 11:00 and 13:00 to 15:00 were typical visit times for most institutions, with some offering extended visitation hours. Private family visitation is another form of visitation typically only available to prisoners that have demonstrated good behavior in which they are able to have a private visit, on prison grounds, for up to 72 hours approximately every two months.<sup>33</sup>

Inmates that are deemed unfit to be within general population are instead kept in segregation or dissociation cells. As noted on the Kingston Penitentiary tour,

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<sup>33</sup> Government of Canada, "Private Family Visits."

segregation inmates spend 23 hours a day within their cells and one hour in a segregated recreation yard.

Developing this animation helped to clarify the typical routines of many of the inmates.

Although the cell is one of the few areas that could allow for private reflection, what was curious was how little time, not including sleeping, is spent *within* the cell for most inmates. Therefore, the in-between spaces in the prison require equal investigation.

Also observed was that visitation hours often fell within typical working/business and school hours – which further complicate and make more challenging this kind of contact

The limitations of this exercise highlighted that it was important to ask these questions in spatial terms as well. It was a broadly generalizing method for demonstrating occupation of space and needed to bring space more actively into its consideration.

Although it was rooted in human experience, it was unsuccessful in showing interaction between inmates and other groups, and their physical environment.



Figure 39: Exploded 24-Hour Day Gif

## APPENDIX C: "CELL" STUDY MODEL

The intention of the "cell" model was to create a variety of similar sized "cells" that were not a direct depiction of prison cells, but instead a series of speculations exploring the common materiality and modularity of prison construction. The series of modular models were intended to be assembled together, conventionally, as a wall. When stacked, the wall would take on different properties from different perspectives. Viewing from one side would provide a one-to-one representation of a concrete masonry unit wall, while the opposite side would show a section of each "cell", and the other side would allow the viewer to look "through" the "cells". The first two cells were intended to represent different qualities. One of them was a more literal depiction of a cell, while the other was designed to show a variety of barriers, thresholds and various metal screens and bars – types and conditions that were usually encountered within the walls of the prison.

The materials chosen for the first iterations of these models were concrete and metal, both typical in carceral construction. Concrete is typically used for most of the permanent barriers within prisons. While metal is used to control and assert power in a more discreet, manipulative, and often more dangerous way: from the barred cells, allowing constant surveillance, minimizing the occupant's privacy. The perforated metal, within the windows, allowed views to the outside while still enforcing an inmate's position and distorting that view beyond. The chain-linked fences divided the yard, separating, and sorting the prisoners into "manageable" groups, or were sometimes

used to create the exterior barrier, two chain-linked fences separated by a road for drive-by surveillance. The barbed-wire, topping the exterior walls and chain-linked fences, were an overt and visible barrier to prevent anyone from climbing over these walls and fences.

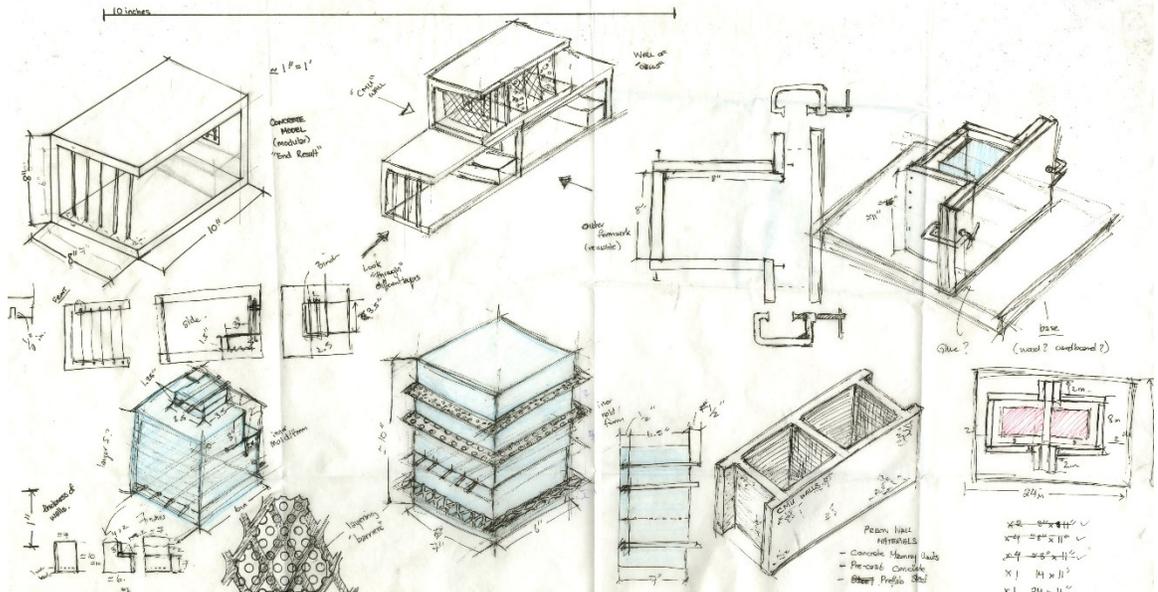


Figure 40: "Cell" Model Sketches

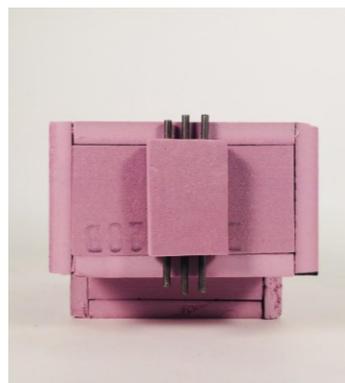


Figure 41: Interior Formwork



Figure 42: Formwork



Figure 43: Concrete Casting



Figure 44: Concrete Casting

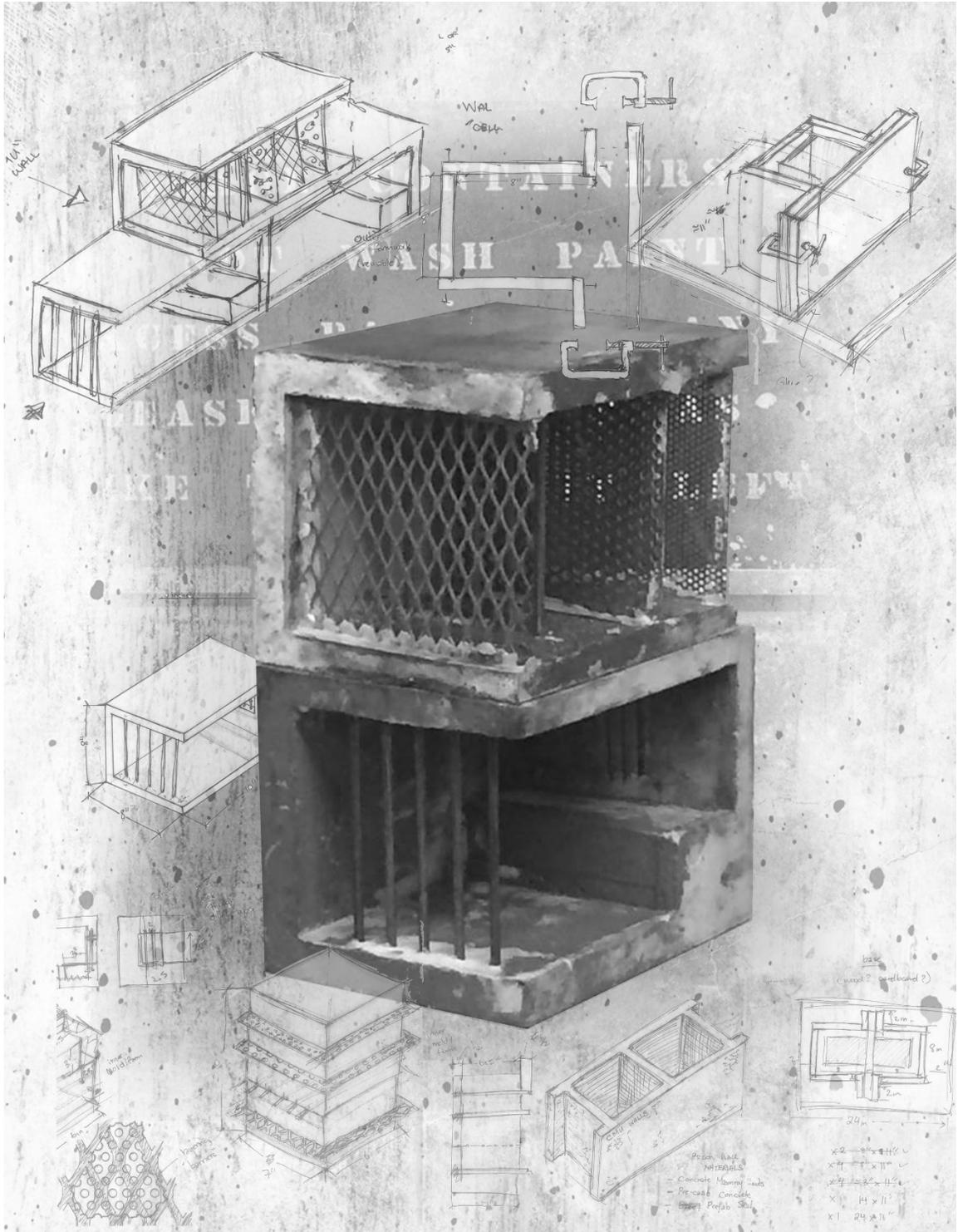


Figure 45: "Cell" Model Study Drawing

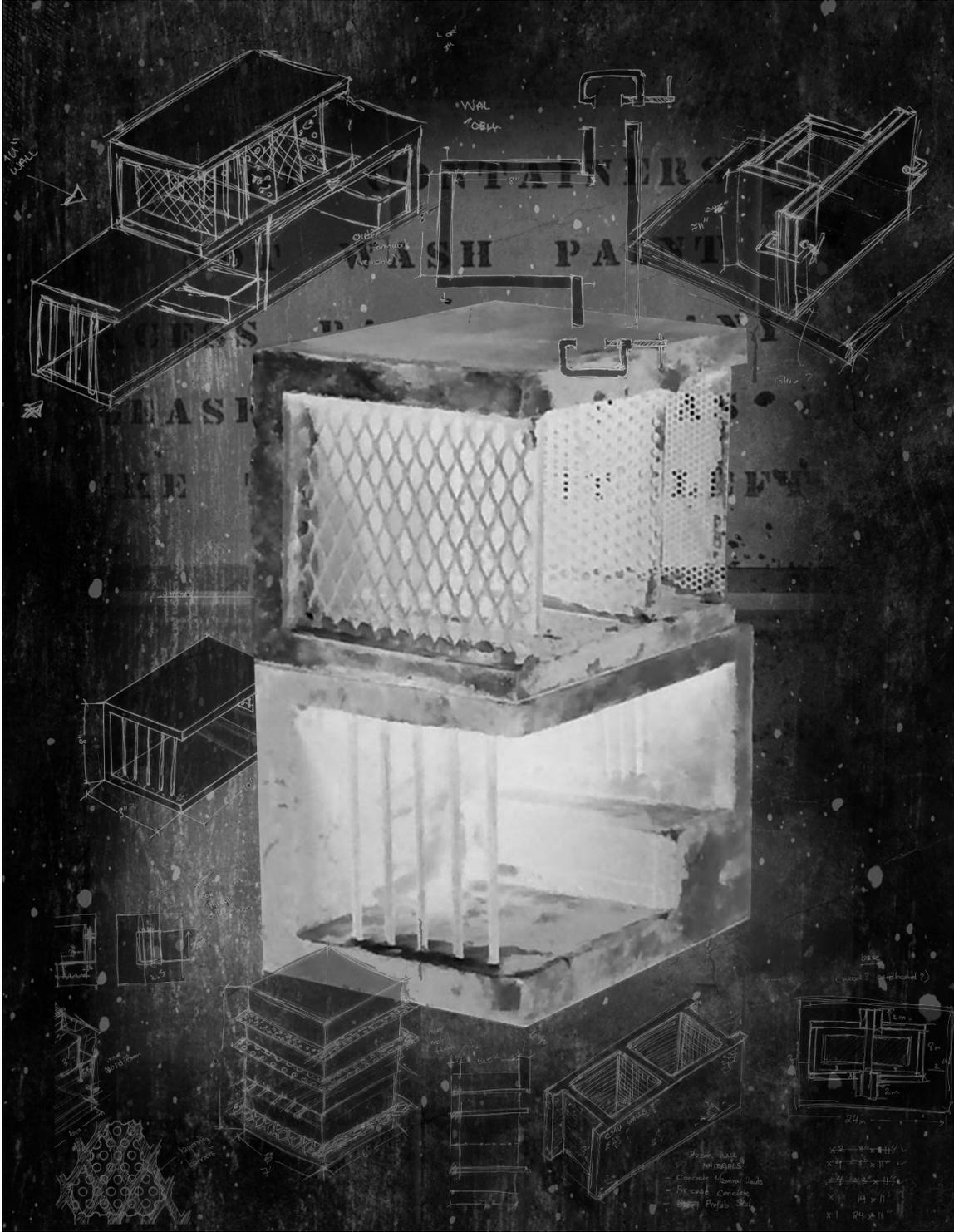


Figure 46: "Cell" Model Study Drawing

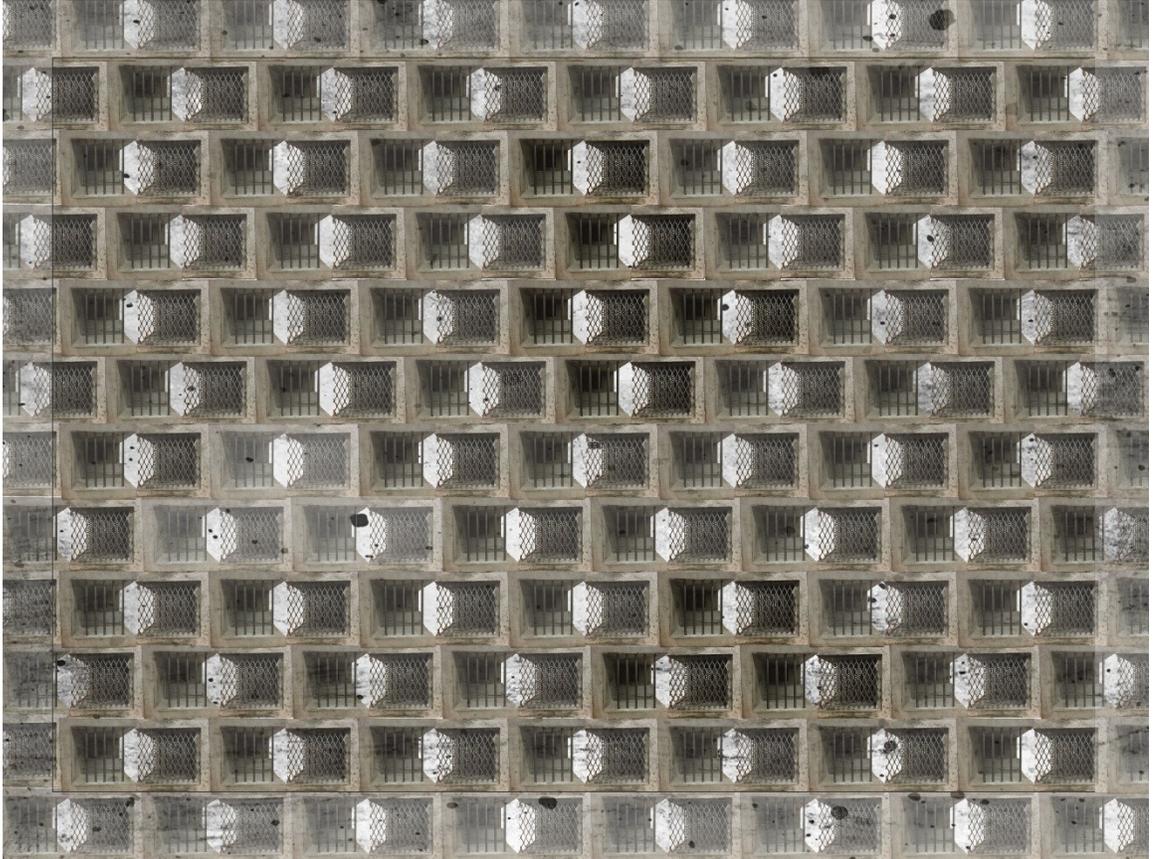


Figure 47: "Cell" Model Study Drawing

#### APPENDIX D: CITIES AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE: APPLYING KEVIN LYNCH'S PERFORMANCE DIMENSIONS FOR CITIES TO INCARCERATION SYSTEMS

The intention behind restorative justice is that its participants are meant to rejoin society as good neighbors. This means that prisons are to be viewed as micro- versions of cities, in the sense that there should be as much *normalization* as possible. The history of city planning, design, and foundation and of the incarceration system, are closely linked to social ideologies and an overall continuous betterment of the human condition. Kevin Lynch's five performance dimensions, as outlined in *A Theory of Good City Form*, were studied as a way to stimulate a conversation about how the values associated with cities may positively affect the incarceration system and included *vitality, sense, fit, access, and control*.

[1] Vitality: the way in which the form of a settlement supports its vital functions, biological requirements, and capabilities of humans. It is the aspect that protects the survival of the species.<sup>34</sup> For the Ancient Romans, this was apparent in the desire to pick a "healthy" site. For them healthy meant "well-aired" and ample access to sunlight. But sometimes "wealth" was prioritized over "health" in the establishment of towns.<sup>35</sup>

Lynch further defines additional types of vitality as: sustenance (which is the balance of supply and disposal including access to food, energy, water, and air, and proper waste management), safety (from hazards, poisons, or disease), and consonance (relating to

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<sup>34</sup> Kevin Lynch, *Good city form* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1984), 111-120.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *The idea of a town the anthropology of urban form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 41-71. Kindle.

the basic biological structure of supporting natural rhythms and encouraging active use of the body).<sup>36</sup>

Although the United Nations has resolved that prisons must abide by basic human rights, their vitality still shows a lot of room for improvement.<sup>37</sup> Food and water are provided, but access to natural light, allowing for regularity in natural rhythms, is not always available. Noise is an often-overlooked damaging aspect of prison life. Safety seems like an obvious concern for prison vitality as well as one of the main reasons for the prisons existence: to protect the public. However, the methods used to instill safety often cause more damage in other areas, such as mental health. Segregation is often used to promote “safety” by protecting those at risk of harm from others, harm to others, or harm to themselves. However, the mental health repercussions of segregation and solitary confinement also negatively affect the vitality of prisons.

[2] Sense: the ways in which a town/city can be perceived and differentiated and structured in time and space. This includes the way in which it connects to the values and concepts of its residents.<sup>38</sup> Values are an interesting metric in terms of both cities and prisons in the sense that they are not consistent and change over time. Socio-political ideals proposed at different times may have been inconsistent with public

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<sup>36</sup> Lynch, *Good city form*, 121-129.

<sup>37</sup> *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*

<sup>38</sup> Lynch, *Good city form*, 131-150.

opinions and for various reasons, such as the socio-political climate and other external factors, and as a result these ideals may have been dismissed, forgotten, or failed in practice.

Values and concepts connected to incarceration have varied immensely over time. Ideas of punishment, penitence, restoration, and rehabilitation have shifted and changed the prison system. One of the most dramatic changes is that humans have the capacity to change. How reformation is possible or best accomplished has evolved over the years from ideas of silent, isolated reflection, to manual labor, and education.

The way that the public views prisons has also shifted. Once highly visible, prisons instilled ideas of power and control. They ensured the public of safety from offenders, while also presenting a warning for misbehavior. The public perception has become increasingly negative. Prisons have become associated with a low form of 'civic pride', responsible for decreased property values and reduced public safety.<sup>39</sup> This has resulted in prisons taking on a cloaked identity, its function indistinguishable from surrounding buildings.

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<sup>39</sup> Yvonne Jewkes, "Aesthetics and An-aesthetics: The Architecture of Incarceration." In *The Arts of Imprisonment: Control, Resistance and Empowerment* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 36.

[3] Fit: the way in which form and the spaces within a city match the pattern and quantity of actions its users engage in and want to engage in. Lynch describes places as being modified to fit behavior or behavior being modified to fit places.<sup>40</sup> This section will focus on the public and private individual and the spaces required to match the actions and needs of both. Additionally, when these spaces are not provided, how the participant may attempt to adapt, typically in a negative manner.

The public versus private individual becomes a point of contention in institutions of incarceration. Historically, institutions have ranged from the extreme of total isolation to minimal personal space. Today, many institutions lack appropriate places that allow for privacy. Like the city, a balance of spaces for the public individual and for the private individual is necessary. Individuals often require solitude and intimacy to achieve emotional release from strong emotions such as anger, fear, or grief. Privacy is important for self-reflection, self-evaluation, rejuvenation, and personal growth. Although many prisons abide by principles of self-evaluation and may provide programs to enable this, they often do not provide the spaces to allow for it. With a loss of privacy comes a constant feeling of being watched. In normal city dynamics, citizens can find relief from being watched by retreating to their homes, but this is not an option for the typical prisoner.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Lynch, *Good city form*, 151-186.

<sup>41</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 117-118.

Richard E. Wener defines three kinds of human territories which had a consistent cross-over with the variety of spaces within a city. Primary spaces (such as the home), secondary spaces (such as the office), and thirdly, public spaces. These spaces vary in control and amount of time spent in them and are usually defined by some level of ownership, and the ability of the occupant to deny access to others. In the prison system, primary and secondary spaces are rare. The closest space that may resemble a primary space is the inmates cell; however, since these spaces are often double occupancy or higher and even when they are single occupancy are easily viewed or accessed by prison staff, they do not provide adequate privacy. This means that in most prison settings, the inmate is only able to act as their public self. In a natural attempt to establish space for their private self, they may become territorial, marking their space, and aggressively defending it.<sup>42</sup>

On the other extreme, the private self is maximized through isolation. Voluntary separation is beneficial by allowing for self-reflection and decompression, but involuntary isolation and the loss of social connection associated with it, is a deprivation that often can lead to psychological consequences.<sup>43</sup> As Wener notes, interaction with others is when how one learns about oneself, through gaining context in which they can

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<sup>42</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 117-118.

<sup>43</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 183.

assess their own behaviors and attitudes. Overall, people are social and removing people from social interactions strips them from the aspects of life that are meaningful, pleasant, and worth surviving for.

[4] Access: the way in which a city enables one to reach other people, activities, resources, services, information, or places. It also considers the diversity and quantity of the things that are accessible.<sup>44</sup> With ancient cities, a city is often located based on its abilities to protect itself as well as availability of resources. However, with newer cities, accessibility takes on an increasingly important role.

Accessibility is not just important for the modern city, but also for prisons. The importance of prison location is not just based on the misguided “negative” effects on its surrounding neighbors. Ease of accessibility provides connection to the outside world. It allows for easier options for visitation, lawyers, and staff. It can also allow for easier access to work programs or the courts for inmates.

Access to green space and “nature” has historically been credited as critical to humans physical and mental health. Environmental psychologist, Roger Ulrich, completed a study on the effects that access to nature or views of nature has on hospital patients.

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<sup>44</sup> Lynch, *Good city form*, 187-204.

The results included that patients with views of nature had lower stress, faster recoveries, reduced anxiety, and reduced depression. Natural views provide contemplative moments, which can be restorative and reduce aggressive behavior. Environmental psychologists, Rachel and Stephen Kaplan, cognitive theory explained that viewing scenes of fascination, such as nature scenes, require minimal concentration and therefore reduce mental fatigue.<sup>45</sup> If prisons are truly meant to be places of rehabilitation, then the effects demonstrated by these studies and theories would be highly beneficial in that process.

[5] Control: how access and use of spaces, the activities within them, how they are made, repaired, modified, and managed, are controlled by those who work, use, or reside in them.<sup>46</sup> As mentioned previously, man is a territorial animal, and if access to the variety of spaces required to act in public and private ways are not provided, then a struggle for territory may persist. Control typically coincides with the spatial rights of a person. Whether it is the right of presence, use and action, appropriation, modification, or disposition. Congruence becomes important as it relates to the extent in which a user can control a space.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Wener, *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails*, 217-230.

<sup>46</sup> Lynch, *Good city form*, 205-220.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

Unlike cities, prisons are places of total control. In cities, if people need to retreat to their private self or obtain affirmation through social interaction, they can do so freely and typically have access to appropriate places for each of these needs. Prisons do not often provide the variety in spaces or freedom of movement between spaces. However, prison systems could learn from cities and need to work harder to provide spaces for the public and private individual. Acknowledging that for inmates to re-enter society, they need normalization of social and spatial control and the ability to act within their cultural norms. They need to be able to express themselves privately and publicly and to have some form of control over their day-to-day activities. Otherwise, the system creates people unable to deal with strong feelings, and unable to assess their own behaviors.

Prisons tend to control every aspect of the prisoner's life, and with that comes a sense of always being watched. As earlier mentioned with the lack of private spaces, there is never a time that prisoners are truly alone. They have limited to no control over who can enter their space. They do not have ownership of their cell and are often limited to the extent in which they can modify it. As the primary users of the spaces they occupy, they have the least control.

When considering the performance dimensions, it is important to note the significance and impact of various external factors. Neither cities or prisons operate in a vacuum;

they are interdependent of their surroundings and good design on its own can only improve so much. Theories and philosophical intentions do not always work as well as they are proposed.

The prison system needs to undergo many changes if it is truly going to provide restorative justice. Although the concept of human beings being capable of change is not new, the ways in which society facilitates these changes has been a work in progress. Past failure in reformation is not evidence that people cannot change, but instead speaks to the methods, and lack in diversity of methods, implemented. Prisons cannot be fully compared to a city as they typically are not composed of similar levels of diversity as cities are. But they are still diverse, and designs for prisons need to be unique to their surroundings and their users.

The most valuable aims of design that can be learned from cities are creating public and private spaces, providing access to nature, and attempting to return normalization through some level of control allotted to the primary user. The challenge with each of these is that the architect or designer also has limited control in how their designs are carried out. The architect's role typically ends with the end of the construction contract.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the role of the designer is further challenged to create these

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<sup>48</sup> Jewkes, *The Arts of Imprisonment*, 42.

spaces and implement programs in a way that they can not be misappropriated without a high level of difficulty. Finally, perhaps by visualizing prisons as cities intended to rehabilitate and return people to regular cities, the idea of making that transition as normalized as possible may hold a greater significance in the eyes of both the designer, the facilitators, and the public and, of course, the prisoner.

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