

RETHINKING THE ARCHITECTURE OF INCARCERATION:

A PROPOSED PRE-RELEASE CENTRE
FOR FEMALE OFFENDERS IN DURBAN

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DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

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Signed

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My publishing supervisor Dr S Maharaj for his immense patience and continual assistance

The Department of Correctional Services for their authorisation to conduct the research

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this to the imprisoned women who have suffered long after the end of their sentences.

&

To my incredible parents Ferah and Afzal Goga who have supported me throughout this entire experience, thank you for all your love and encouragement.

ABSTRACT

It is beyond the scope of the present brief to appraise the degree of failure regarding the idea of imprisonment or to uncover a universal prototype for all incarcerative facilities. Therefore the focus of this dissertation will pertain directly to the rehabilitation and reintegration of women in prison through the built form, with specific emphasis in dealing with the psychological repercussions that the correctional environment incurs.

The research study identifies rehabilitation and reintegration as key strategies for lowering the recidivism rate of offenders and attempts to understand the complex incarcerative subculture that exists in order to facilitate change. Criminological theories linked to the key strategies include: Panopticism, the theory of rehabilitation and the institutional theory. Here the interest leans toward current and dated methods of reform. The search for characteristics which constitute an effective facility that will seek to ready the offender for release will drive the design process and create a resource for forward-thinking, small scale, correctional and pre-release facilities for women.

The dissertation includes issues which have come to dominate discussions surrounding incarceration and a response to the commonly asked question: should incarcerative facilities be moving toward rehabilitation rather than punishment?

Corresponding qualitative research involving both local and global institutions is conducted in order to provide a multifaceted understanding of the existing state of South African correctional facilities and contemporary interpretations aligned with positive change worldwide. Findings through observational analysis and interviews with correctional personnel will be used to inform the outcome of the research which confirms that there is a definite need for an emphasis to be placed on the re-entry process of offenders. It also indicates that while South African penal policies are largely progressive, facilities in which offenders are imprisoned remain outdated, ultimately revealing an environment that is unfavourable towards rehabilitation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABET – Adult basic education and training

CCTV – closed circuit television

DCS – Department of Correctional Services

IEP – Incentives and earned privileges

MBU – mother and baby unit

NIMBY – not in my back yard

SABC- South African Broadcasting Corporation

SAHRC - South African Human Rights Commission

UK- United Kingdom

WC – water closet (toilet)

WHB – wash hand basin

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter one defines the focus of the research and underlying issues pertaining to penal environments, rehabilitation and women in correctional facilities. The motivation and justification for the research brings clarity to why there has recently been an increasing concern toward the effectiveness of rehabilitation in correctional centres, and makes prominent the need for women to be acknowledged in the design of the facility. The definition of the problem, aims, objectives and questions then follow providing the reader with a precise understanding of the pitfalls regarding the incarcerative system and how positive change can be achieved.

1.1. BACKGROUND

Crime is a prominent and ongoing issue, South Africa has one of the largest criminal populations in the world (SAHRC, 2015) with a particularly a high frequency of murders, assaults, acts of rape and theft (Police, per capita, by country, 2014). Prisons or correctional centres exist to rid society of these crimes by sentencing offenders to a life of confinement and deprivation of a variety of freedoms. A society's attitude toward crime and its punishment are reflected in the design of the building it uses to detain its offenders (Johnson, 1973). Large concrete and steel embodiments represent the public's commitment to psychological reform and the dispositional perspective of human behaviour through which it is grounded. The extreme dependence on incarceration that exists in today's society replicates the persistent belief that criminality can be reduced principally by detaining individual offenders and doing little else. Offenders' basic rights according to new correctional services policies include humane accommodation, reading material, education, adequate nutrition and medical treatment. However, the increasing prison population has led to a compromise of offenders' basic rights and new correctional policies (SAHRC, 2015). The 'rehabilitation revolution will not happen unless the number of offenders is cut down' (Whitehead, 2011).

The penal institution itself, is a powerful social construct that can have criminogenic consequences on the persons confined there (Haney, 2006). 'Prison is a barely controlled jungle where the aggressive and the strong will exploit the weak, and the weak are dreadfully aware of it' (Keve, 1974:54). Apart from the formal rules that dictate the penal environment there are a number of informal rules which offenders'

must abide by. In order to protect themselves and cope with prison many offenders' find themselves influenced by the effects of acculturation, having to embrace highly exploitive and life-threatening rules (Haney, 2001). Many offenders leave prison not as rehabilitated law-abiding citizens but rather as individuals with an increased appetite for criminal behaviour.

Justifications' based on incapacitation state that while offenders are incarcerated, they will be unable to commit crimes, thus ultimately keeping society safer. Milovanovic and others argue that this is based on an incorrect distinction between the 'inside and the outside' (Arrigo, Bruce & Milovanovic, 2009). Offenders continue to victimise and exploit people inside the prison no different to their role in society prior to imprisonment, and therefore no different to their role once they are released (Arrigo, Bruce & Milovanovic, 2009). A definite need arises to break the pattern of transgression.

Punishment, like most aspects of power, has limitations that require careful consideration; punishment should only seek one result and that is - the 'prevention of repetition.' (Foucault, 1995). However 'prison's revolving door' keeps turning, proving that habitual re-offense is an issue that still needs to be addressed (Lackner, 2012).



Figure 1. (Author 2015) 'Prison's revolving door'

1.2. MOTIVATION/ JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

As per the 2012 to 2013 Department of Correctional Services (DCS) annual report, there are 242 correctional centres that accommodate 164 755 offenders. Out of this number, only 4 118 are females (SABC, 2013).

The small number of females who populate a marginal division of mixed gender correctional facilities have been subsumed by the mainstream male population. The consequence of their minor existence has led to the fact that their needs are failing to be met (Currie, 2012). Despite their numbers, female offenders have very specific needs, with regards to health care: pregnancy, child birth and childcare as well as certain privacy needs which differ from that of men's. The Constitution of South Africa addresses the rights of offenders in general, but there are few laws that cater for the specific needs of female offenders.

Incarcerated females in South Africa are invisible in most research and public discussion surrounding imprisonment (Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006) and it is for this reason that the effectiveness of imprisonment for female offenders has been lost, and will continue to be... unless a more thoughtful approach is adopted (Currie, 2012). Although there has recently been a gradually emergent portion of female-specific literature that has been driven by the increasing imprisonment rate of women, much remains uncovered concerning the effects of the correctional environment on women and rehabilitation regarding female offenders (Lackner, 2012).

Rethinking incarceration to accommodate for offenders (and female offenders specifically) to be correctly rehabilitated before being released back into society will not only benefit society as a whole but also the individual. Minister of Correctional Services, Sibusiso Ndebele states that around 575 female offenders leave correctional centres per month (SABC, 2013). Most of the existing research on offenders places emphasis on recidivism and 'ignores the reality that recidivism is directly affected by post-correctional reintegration and adjustment' or the lack-thereof (Visher & Travis, 2003).

Rehabilitation and reintegration as a strategy for lowering the recidivism rate of offenders, needs to be employed, but for this to take place, the offender population needs to be significantly reduced (SAHRC, 2015). Research in the direction of South African correctional centres will be conducted in order to gain a better understanding of the existing South African correctional situation. This will be the starting point from which further exploration into successful penal systems and programs, can be undertaken. The

psychological effects of imprisonment, women in correctional centres and rehabilitation are key subtopics that will be explored. By reviewing existing adverse psychological effects of incarcerative environments, a better understanding of how to assume the task of reversing these effects can be discovered.

'There can be little denying that the context in which one lives and works impinges upon and shapes the individual's behaviour both then and in the future. Sometimes the context of one's life may have a positive influence and will promote desirable personal change or lead to self-satisfaction. Other contexts may contribute to distress and result in the eventual deterioration of the individual's functional capacity' (Wright, Goodstein, 1989).

Transforming the context of the offender's life to one that has a positive influence can lead to the desired change sought after by contemporary penal policies, that is: to reduce the rate of re-offence.

1.3. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Prisons/correctional centres are not successful in rehabilitating offenders evident by the rate of re-offense.

1.3.2. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM:

Penal environments have adverse psychological effects on offenders, and despite current efforts which rely on programs to rehabilitate the offender, most prisons fail in doing so. Penal programmes and recent policies aligned with positive change are undertaken in outdated, repressive prison environments. Although many of these institutions have undergone renovation and refurbishment to develop their functionality, they are still largely inadequate consequently hindering the progress of rehabilitation programmes. This, and the large gap in transition between the centre and the outside world causes an increase in recidivism rates (Singh, 2007).

Female offenders are not properly accommodated for in the male dominated prison environment, especially in terms of rehabilitation before re-entry into society. Women's prisons are surrounded by controversial commentaries relating to the issues of mental illness, drug abuse and self-inflicted death.

These issues have become increasingly discernible to the public in the twenty-first century (Hackney, 2011). A number of scholars and activists blame these issues upon a 'gendered' design; believing that the prison system was 'designed by men, for men' (Carlen 2004; Corston, 2007; Coyle, 2005; Flynn, 1998; Hackney, 2011; Rafter, 1990; Scott and Codd, 2010). The South African correctional system claims to rehabilitate and reform offenders during their time served at the centre despite these issues and the problematic increase in recidivism rates.

'DCS [The Department of Correctional Services] is fully committed to a caring and just society, enjoining [the public] to afford those who err against society the opportunity to correct their ways under humane conditions. [The Department of Correctional Services] is going all out to rehabilitate those seeking opportunities for change in their lives' (Ministry of Correctional Services, 2012).

In South Africa statistics indicate that forty-seven percent of all offenders will be reconvicted within three years of their release. Currently, almost half of all sentenced offenders have previously been imprisoned. With correctional centres functioning over capacity and unemployment in South Africa reaching forty percent, the prospect of successful reintegration in South Africa looks 'dreary' (Uthando organisation, 2007).

During their term of imprisonment, women face a variety of physical and psychological issues and more often than not the incarcerative services are ill-equipped to deal with them (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2004). Compared to other females, women in prison have considerably higher rates of mental illness. Twenty-four percent of women in government prisons show signs of mental disorder (General Accounting Office, 1999). The effects of imprisonment, including the detachment from family and adapting to the penal environment, can exacerbate these conditions. Upon release, previously imprisoned women feel demoralised and stigmatised by society, thus enabling additional feelings of low self-esteem (Stohr, Walsh, Hemmens, 2012).

The majority of the women return to the communities in which they lived prior to their incarceration, where they face the same difficulties, of poverty and dysfunction. Most women that received rehabilitative treatment in incarcerative facilities, admitted that these programmes did not provide the coping skills to deal with real life stressors that awaited them upon release (Lackner, 2012). In addition, women have limited access to support on the outside, due to a lack of community services. Given the mental and

physical status of incarcerated women, the inability to manage difficulties subsequent to imprisonment can impede a woman's successful re-entry process (Ritchie, 2001 & Lukis, 2006). Consequently ex-offenders reoffend as the lack of provisions for a successful transition to the community is not properly considered.

1.3.3. KEY QUESTION

How can female offenders be successfully rehabilitated to prevent re-offense upon release?

1.3.4. RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS

1. Do correctional centres cause more harm than good, so much so, that they impede the successful re-entry process of the offender?
2. What positive methods of rehabilitation and reintegration, from an architectural standpoint, can be implemented into the design of incarcerative facilities?
3. How can prisons better accommodate for the specific rehabilitative needs of female offenders?

1.3.5. THE AIM OF THE STUDY IS:

To determine the guidelines for creating a gender-responsive facility effective in rehabilitating female offenders for a successful re-entry into society.

1.3.6. OBJECTIVES

The primary objective is:

To understand the current situation of incarcerated female offenders in order to facilitate positive change.

The secondary objectives are:

- To establish how female offenders' specific rehabilitative needs can be accommodated for within the programme and structure of the facility.
- To determine how adverse psychological effects of imprisonment can be addressed through the built form.

- To determine the types of environments that would aid in facilitating the successful rehabilitation process.
- To establish how the gap in transition between prison and society can be narrowed to better facilitate re-entry.

1.4. SETTING OUT THE SCOPE/ DELINEATION

1.4.1. DELIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research deliberates whether the incarcerative system has been successful in rehabilitating the offender and readying them for release. It determines the psychological effects of correctional environments on female offenders and ways to combat these effects. A time period of one year to conduct the research will be assumed, thus influencing the amount of participants (fifteen) involved in the study and the time spent observing the case studies.

Access to the case studies or certain parts of them may be off limits or considered to be too dangerous to conduct research in. Research will only be done in the female division of the correctional facility. Gaining access requires the approval of the Department of Correctional Services as well as the Area Manager of the Centre. This is a lengthy process and will significantly reduce the time allocated for fieldwork. Due to the high-security nature of correctional facilities the researcher is not able to gain access to existing plans for the case studies and most precedent studies involved. All data will be collected through observation, documented from memory or from the secondary data available.

Offenders are an especially vulnerable class of potential research participants. An exclusion bias resulting from the exclusion of male or female offenders themselves from the sample will form one of the delimitations. Since the participants will be selected on a non-coercive method, only participants that volunteer will be selected.

Restriction of the study to Durban, due to convenience, is a de-limitation that will provide the bounds of the primary data consideration.

1.4.2. STATING THE ASSUMPTIONS

It is assumed that since most correctional facilities were built before the apartheid era they are still designed as places of punishment reciprocal of that time. Females have not been adequately accommodated for because of their minority status and offenders are still punished mentally in incarcerative facilities which can induce adverse psychological effects. By creating a facility that undoes the damage caused by imprisonment, progression can be made with regards to the successful release of offenders back into society.

1.5. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Correctional Centre – a penal institution maintained by the government used to hold sentenced and awaiting trial offenders with the primary aim of rehabilitating them.

Deviance - behaviour that disrupts social norms, in this case it refers to criminal behaviour that is usually of sufficient severity to earn the condemnation of the majority of society.

Ex-offender - a person that has completed their sentence in a Correctional Centre and has been released. This excludes persons who have been detained on a short-term basis in local jails or police stations.

Female offender – this refers to all women that have been incarcerated in state prisons excluding juvenile females and women who are held for a short time in local jails or police stations.

Freedom - the power to behave, speak, think or do as one pleases.

Incarceration - The act of holding a person captive for a period of time, and during this time, taking away various freedoms from them.

Incarceration Rate – this refers to the number of offenders in correctional facilities per 100,000 population at the end of the calendar year.

Institutionalisation - to subject a person to the harmful effects of confinement in an institution.

Law abiding citizen – a person that always obeys the law and is considered to be honourable because of it.

Lawbreaker - a person who breaks the law

Not in My Back Yard (or Nimby) - refers to the resistance by residents to the proposal of a new correctional facility close to them, often implying that these residents believe that the facility should be isolated.

Offender - A person who commits an illegal act. The new term used by the South African Department for an incarcerated individual.

Penology - the study of the penance for crime, in both reformatory and deterrent aspects.

Prisoner- a person who is deprived of liberty against his or her will in an incarcerative institution. The term applies predominantly to those on trial or serving a sentence in a prison.

Prison – an institution to which people are legally confined as punishment for a crime committed.

Prison subculture- the group of people that exist within the prison culture that distinguish themselves from rest of the larger culture (which is the general public outside prison) to which they belong.

Psychological effects of imprisonment – this refers to all aspects of the prison environment that has an effect on the mind. It is related to the mental and emotional state of a person.

Recidivism Rate - this refers to the offenders who, after being released, return to prison because they have re-offended.

Rethinking the Architecture of Incarceration - To consider and assess incarceration, especially in order to change/transform the way it is presently and typically thought about.

Reform - refers to the reformation of a person, i.e. to change them in order to improve / positively develop them

Rehabilitation - the act of restoring something to a better state, to facilitate the process of recovery from a lawbreaker to a productive citizen of the law

Total institution – an institution where like-situated people are accommodated and cut off from society for a substantial period of time and together lead a controlled life.

The outside – society and the external realm beyond the correctional facility or prison boundary.

The inside – within the confines of the correctional facility or prison boundary.

Typology - a classification according to general type, in this case it refers to a building type.

Solitary confinement - a form of incarceration where the offender is isolated from other offenders.

Surveillance - the observation of people's behaviour and activities for the purpose of influencing, managing, or protecting them.

1.6. RESEARCH METHODS AND MATERIALS

1.6.1. INTRODUCTION

The research methodology indicates that the research data will be collected qualitatively through observations, focus groups and interviews. The sample population, sampling methods, data collection and analysis form the framework for the methodology, explicating the motives behind the specific methods chosen and the main purpose of the study: to determine whether penal environments are conducive to rehabilitation. Empirical evidence is needed to establish a stronger argument concurrent with the fact that little research has been conducted on female offenders and correctional centres in South Africa. This study is aimed at increasing the current knowledge data base with regards to these foci. The research relies on the observation of the penal environment, from a feminist perspective where the researcher will be immersed into the naturalistic setting of the offender. It also relies on interaction between the researcher and Correctional Centre personnel.

1.6.2. QUALITATIVE STUDY

The dissertation includes an exploratory study that will be approached qualitatively. This type of research allows the researcher to acquire details about the behaviour of the offenders and staff as well as emotions felt within the environment providing insight into some of the psychological effects that the building provokes. Qualitative analysis will also be efficient in identifying other intangible factors, such as social norms of correctional environments, routine processes, user needs, social statuses and authoritative power relations. Critics of qualitative studies indicate that participant observation limits the scope of a study to small groups and severely circumscribed sociocultural scenes. There is also the matter of minimising the impact of the researcher's presence on the behaviour of those being observed. Ethical issues provide limitations, as anonymity has to be maintained and voluntary informed consent is required (Fitzgerald & Cox and Fitzgerald, 2002). Although access and permission to observe the offenders may be granted, entry to particular groups or scenes may be restricted given that offenders are deemed a vulnerable population. While the data obtained can be extended to people with attributes comparable to those in the study population, the results obtained from such a small group should not be generalised.

Gaining a rich, multi-layered understanding of the specific social context and institutional culture is an imperative component of the primary data collection.

Research projects involving members of the South African Department of Correctional Services are subject to a formal application and approval process as described in DCS Research Policy. Once the department has approved the study, arrangements to visit the correctional centres for analysis will be made with the area manager of that particular centre.

Data will be produced through observations, focus groups and one-on-one interviews. There exists plenty of information regarding rehabilitation in prisons and the impact of prison environments globally but insufficient information regarding it locally. Female correctional centres and research based on women in these facilities is widely relegated. The research will allow for this information to be obtainable at a local scale.

1.6.3. SAMPLING METHODS

Snowball sampling is one of the sampling methods used in the study. The researcher will identify individuals who are relevant to the study, and work at the correctional Centre. From these individuals, knowledge can be gained about other useful informants, i.e. social workers or wardens in the female section. An advantage of this method is that the initial informants refer the researcher to others, so that the researcher will have already been introduced, easing the introductory process. A disadvantage is that the variation in findings may be restricted since it comprises of informants who belong to the networks of the index cases (World Health Organisation, 2015). This is why two different entrances into the correctional community is needed. The head social worker of the prison and the head warden of the female centre.

Convenience sampling is another method used. Since access can only be granted through meetings arranged with the area manager of the Centre, and a staff member is required to accompany the researcher during the observation process, times and days that are convenient for both the researcher and area manager will be chosen. The study units that happen to be available at the time of data collection are selected in the sample. A drawback of convenience sampling is that the sample may be biased. Some people may be over-selected others under-selected or missed completely. The interactions

observed may be biased because certain weekly activities may not take place on the day or time observed (World Health Organisation, 2015).

1.6.4. SAMPLE POPULATION

An architect with experience in new incarcerative design, Correctional staff, and a Correctional case study in KwaZulu-Natal will form an information rich, self-selected sample. Purposive sampling will be used to select individuals that form part of the incarcerative community these individuals would have a first-hand experience of the current situation in correctional facilities and thus will be the best informers in relation to the correctional environment and rehabilitation programs. Since offenders themselves are considered a vulnerable group, individuals such as the social workers and wardens that interact with them on a daily basis would form the best sample participants for the study. These staff members also have a direct experience with the institutional environment, therefore their perceptions regarding the psychological effects of the setting will prove invaluable.

The study will take place in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa within the female divisions of Durban Westville Correctional Centre. The selection of participants will be based on the principle of non-coercion. The expected outcome of the study is that the correctional facility has not implemented the rehabilitative environments necessary for female offenders' successful re-entry into society.

1.6.5. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Observation allowing a first-hand experience of the day-to-day goings on in the correctional environment will be conducted. This will facilitate insight into the activities which govern offenders' lives without having to impose sensitive issues upon them. A record of descriptive and reflective notes will be used to represent this data. Limitations to observational analysis includes its restriction to the day, the atmosphere and activities may change during the night, therefore an all-inclusive interpretation may be lost. Also, observation is subject to the researcher's perspective, and the time allocated in the correctional environment which is controlled by the authorities involved.

Interviews will be conducted to gain an understanding of the participants' subjective views of the situation. Open-ended questions will be drawn up to allow the participant to create options for responding, where

participants (fifteen in number) can voice their experiences and perspectives as they wish to. This may also generate the likelihood of more personal answers that may not be able to be discussed during focus group discussions. It should be noted that individuals may bias their responses. The correctional architect will be interviewed individually to gain an in-depth understanding of the challenges faced in terms of design policies of prisons as well as to compare the success or failure of the prison in the eyes of the architect and the correctional staff.

Focus group discussions will be conducted with the social workers and wardens of the Westville Female Correctional Centre. The participants will be asked about their perceptions and opinions surrounding the key topics. This will allow the researcher to obtain data and insights that may be withdrawn without the ease of communication found in a group discussion. It will also allow the researcher to gain an understanding of the general agreements and disagreements surrounding those topics.

Responses of the research participants will be coded and used to generate themes. The data from both the social workers and wardens will be brought together, analysed and then compared with the extant literature in order to make deductions about the effect of the penal environment on the female offender. Contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships between individuals within the centre will also be interrogated.

1.6.6. VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND RIGOR

It is assumed that the participants will answer truthfully and accurately to the best of their abilities. It is also assumed that the staff interviewed will have an extensive knowledge regarding the offenders' needs and wants as well as their complaints since they observe and interact with them on a regular basis. The proposed procedures that will be undertaken to evaluate the accuracy and integrity of the findings when carrying out the research are: member checking, detailed descriptions of findings, appropriate sampling and clarification of the possible bias's that could be brought to the study.

The member checking will be done in the form of a follow-up interview. It involves taking the final report and themes back to the wardens, social workers and architect interviewed to allow them to view the data and comment on whether they feel it is accurately portrayed. The observation undertaken will seek to

transport readers back to the setting so as to provide them with a shared experience of the correctional environment. This will enable richer and more realistic results.

The sample is appropriate; and consists of a substantial size. This will ensure optimal quality data collection and effective saturation of categories. Through data saturation, replication in categories can be confirmed (Morse, Barret, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002) thus proving that the research is comprehensive and thorough and that the sample population chosen was adequate.

Possible biases including the sampling bias could occur when the sample is collected through a non-coercive method; some participants could be more willing to volunteer than others. Bias will also occur when the interpretation of the environment is influenced by the background, gender, socioeconomic status and academic viewpoint of the researcher. The researcher's own presence may influence the participants' views and interaction. All of the above verification strategies contribute to reliability, validity and rigor to ensure that the end research product is dependable enough to be integrated into the developing knowledge base on prisons.

1.6.7. CONCLUSION

The disadvantages and advantages of the methodology is provided giving the reader an indication of the validity and reliability of the study. The research seeks to understand the research problem from the standpoint of the local population it involves (Denzin, Lincoln, 2000). It will be effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of the sample prison population chosen. The data collected will provide information surrounding the 'human' side of the issue (Denzin, Lincoln, 2000). The study is something of a necessity considering the steadily rising number of women in correctional facilities and increased recidivism rates (NICRO, 2015).

1.7. DISSERTATION FRAMEWORK

In countries like South Africa that have abolished the death penalty and corporal punishment, incarceration is the most severe sanction which a court can impose on a convicted offender. By definition, depriving a person of their liberty is a negative act, therefore incarceration is described as punishment (Coyle, 2005). While most would suggest that there is a natural connection between crime and punishment, what this punishment demonstrates can range from passive coercion to brutal subjugation.

In recent years, there has been an increasing emphasis on the managerial processes rather than on the outcome of penal facilities. The most common solution for the rehabilitation of offenders has been programmes which consist of therapy and educational workshops. Most programmes are being undertaken in what can only be described as 'monolithic... monkey-cage monstrosities' (Taylor, 2008). The structures of these prisons are not reflective of a rehabilitative environment and are dominated by a philosophy that has long been out of date. It is for this reason that the new penal philosophy has struggled to emerge. According to Cottam (2002), true transformation starts with the re-design of the prison building. To understand the prison building, one has to understand its users. There is an inclination to consider offenders as a homogenous population, defined principally by the fact of their incarceration. The reality is that they are an incongruent group with different backgrounds, needs and behaviors. If the primary objective of incarceration is to facilitate the successful re-entry of the offender into society, penal institutions need to change their focus towards the offenders (Coyle, 2005).

To rethink the architecture of incarceration means to challenge the accepted norms, that current penal designs advocate, in an attempt to better them. As a country that has one of the highest crime rates in the world, South Africa should be looking for fast solutions to a slow transformation. Outdated penal designs solely built with the intention of depriving offenders of their freedom predominantly form South Africa's incarcerative agenda with its new designs still failing to meet the needs of the current offender population.

Panopticism, the Institutional Theory and the Rehabilitation Theory outline the broader fundamental aspects of typical penal institutions from where further, in-depth research will be explored. The literature review provides an overview of the transformation of penal models and provides an account of the current incarcerative situation at a local and global scale. It uncovers additional, specific areas of concern namely with regards to women in these institutions and the psychological effects of the penal environments. A study of the Durban Westville, the Malmesbury Correctional Centres serve as local cases studies. The outdated pre-apartheid and supposedly progressive post-apartheid South African models form a stark contrast with the women's pre-release Centre in Australia and UK Learning Prison, which form the international precedents for the study.

Prison design exemplifies hard architecture; providing little privacy; promoting isolation and high security, which stimulates negative behavioral effects and Environments that promote soft architecture, privacy, social interaction and freedom of movement are known to have positive effects on human behavior. It is

for this reason that typical penal architecture is predominantly relegated by progressive thinkers and penologists and in parts of the world like Australia and the United Kingdom prison design is rapidly moving towards a less brutal approach to penal reform.

A tripartite solution discovered through the research exploration becomes apparent as a way of achieving the successful re-entry into society by offenders, and specifically the female offender. This can summarised by the following general themes: the establishment of a gender responsive design, one that addresses adverse psychological effects and finally one that allows for a balance of control and autonomy.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The literature review provides an account of published writings on the issues relevant to prisons today and the contrasting views of how they should be dealt with. The exploration done in this chapter is guided by the key subtopics: prison as a typology, women in prison, the psychological effects of imprisonment and rehabilitative environments, as well as the research problem which relays the inadequacy of prisons to carry out their acclaimed purposes.

Research on what the typical prison typology encompasses, reveals that prisons are the epitome of hard architecture, providing little privacy, while promoting isolation and high levels of security (Sanyal, 2014). This type of architecture was established to achieve normative behavioural change, the results of which are not entirely successful. Directly opposed to these norms exists soft architecture, spaces designed for privacy and social interaction as well as freedom of movement, all of which are commonly associated with developing the emotional, social and intellectual skills needed to live and work in the community (Rossler, 2006). Therefore in order to challenge and rethink the prison typology both the norms and opposed architypes are pitted against each other, in order to seek out their positive attributes. The result of which establishes a set of paradoxical relationships, both needed to inform the rehabilitation process.

Prison design that achieves the successful rehabilitation of offenders is crucial for the welfare of both offenders and the broader community. Traditional aspirations of incarcerative institutions include: punishment, retribution, deterrence and incapacitation. However, rehabilitation is the primary intended outcome of imprisonment as it is the main driver behind successful reintegration and reduced recidivism rates (Rubin, 2001). Newer prison design attempts to focus solely on rehabilitation without the influence of these outdated aspirations.

Women and men are intrinsically different and therefore more is required to effectively address the specific issues relevant to them and ensure that correctional facilities designed for women are not merely an adaptation of those considered appropriate for men (Armstrong, Chartrand & Baldry 2005; Lawlor,

Nicholls & Sanfilippo, 2008). Coyle et al. (2009) have noted that prisons have been predominantly organised to meet the needs and requirements of male offenders.

There is much evidence to prove that the current design of prison environments and systems do not work (Dvoskin, 2009), and the increasing recidivism rate is a major cause for concern (Grierson, 2013). It is therefore necessary to rethink prison environments in order to establish an outcome of positive change. Architecture can be highly influential on the mind and behaviour of the offender, thus it is imperative that the behavioural consequences of design decisions be taken into account when designing prisons. Identifying principles that underlie good rehabilitation practices can assist in creating an environment that is supportive of positive behaviour thus achieving effective rehabilitation.

2.2. PRISON TYPOLOGY

The objective of prisons since the conception of the institution has been to instil punishment by depriving offenders of their freedom. The initial and recent thinking behind imprisonment has also invariably dealt with the idea of reformation, however the way in which it is thought to be achieved has evolved over time (Bosworth, 2005).

Prisons continue to be used as a form of punishment for misdeeds done, although one of its primary issues is that it unintentionally creates more deviance than it expels. Prisons act as training grounds for criminal activity (Lerman, 2009:120). Hurd (1991) states that prisons are 'an expensive way of making bad people worse'. These and other inconsistencies result in a higher likelihood of reoffending upon release (Lerman, 2009:120) and therefore add to the downfall of the prison system (Jewkes & Bennet, 2013).

Environment and setting plays an important role in prison design. Inside El Salvador's prison pits, offenders are crammed together like 'livestock in cells' that look like cages (Nye, 2013), according to Morris & Rothman (1995) it is 'hard to train for freedom in a cage'. Many prisons adopt a combination of hard architecture that enforces minimised social interaction and a diminished sense of privacy, which is not conducive to any form of positive change (Sanyal, 2014). Detractors of prison environments express concern over whether serving time is 'too easy', and that criminals reoffend for a 'free place to eat, sleep and live' (University of Cincinnati, 2015). Statistics also show that a large number of offenders come

from informal settlements where living arrangements are less than satisfactory (Durban female correctional center, 2014-2015), verifying the disagreeable nature of their 'free-world' (Haney, 2001) and implying that prison is a better alternative. Jeffrey (2013), contradicts this argument by stating that prisons are filled with anguish and offenders frequently have to confront 'sexual assault' as well as 'violence', their lives are controlled by others and they are separated from their loved ones. Punishment extends beyond the prison sentence as an offender's wrongdoing remains with them long after imprisonment, bringing forward social disgrace, unemployment, and other hardships upon re-entering society. Other opposing arguments enforce that most prisons are known to be dangerous and unpleasant environments to be in. According to Dvoskin (2009) prisons have and always will be 'replete with aggressive behaviours'.

According to offenders' biographies and memoirs: prison is 'a factory that produces nothing but human misery' (Pratt, 1999). Many offenders deal with losing family members, in addition to dealing with the losing of their youth while in prison (Hairston and Addams, 2001). Many feel powerless, having limited autonomy and almost no privacy. Studies also show that female offenders express concern over inconsistencies in the rules, being dehumanised and having little control of their own lives. An offender's account of the prison experience states that:

'The most stressful part is having no control over your life. When they say jump, you jump...if someone thinks that you did something wrong, even if you didn't, you're automatically dehumanised. In general, you are never treated as if you have feelings or that you are allowed to have feelings' (Collica, 2010).

The challenges offenders face in order to survive the incarcerative experience and re-join the free world upon release have intensified (Haney, 2001). In many institutions overcrowding and the lack of meaningful programming has adversely affected living conditions, jeopardised offender safety and lead to compromised prison management (Haney, 2001). The deprivation of 'pro-social' occupations in which to engage in while imprisoned is also a cause of deviant behaviour within the prison environment (Waul, 2003). Hence despite prison providing 'free' shelter and food (University of Cincinnati, 2015), it is proven to be at the cost of the offender's safety, dignity and freedom.

2.2.1. PRISON MODELS

The Panopticon is one of the most influential prison designs in history. Designed as a polygonal structure, consisting of twelve sides with a central circular form to allow for all-round visual surveillance, the cells were intended to be kept illuminated, lining the perimeter with the central form kept in darkness. This was proposed to protect the presence of the surveyor who could see but not be seen. The Panopticon was designed as the ultimate disciplinary architecture. Foucault states that although it 'opposed the...prisons, littered with mechanisms of torture' it still 'presents a cruel and ingenious cage' (ADPSR, 2015). The Panopticon has had a major influence on prison design, some imitating it and others trying to move away from it.

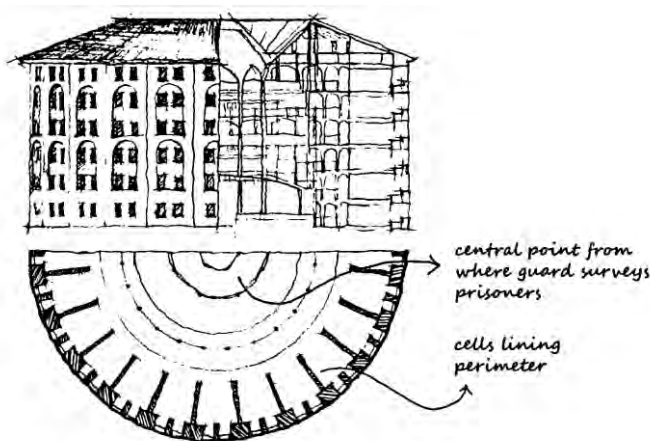


Figure 2 (Author 2015) 'Elevation, section and plan of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon penitentiary, Model from 1791, showing the central point from which the watchman surveys the prisons cells.



Figure 3 (Source: Flickr. Image by Unknown) Image showing Presidio Modelo prison, Cuba, built from 1926 to 1928. Reproduces Jeremy Bentham's idea of the Panopticon, with door-less cells, lining the perimeter, lit from the outside with an unlit enclosed central tower from where observation took place.

Prison designs have evolved over time with rehabilitative trends that influenced them. They can be categorised according to the management technique implemented in the design: intermittent surveillance, remote surveillance and direct surveillance. Prisons designed in the late 18th century moved away from the Panopticon design (Gillespie, 2010). Typically designed with a central point from which large linear wings of cells radiate, the adoption of this corridor and cell plan allowed prisons to accommodate for the increasing number of offenders (Cottam, Henley, Horne & Comely, 2002). The structure allows for

discontinuous observation, what is referred to as 'intermittent surveillance' (Gillespie, 2010) (Fig.4&5). In this arrangement, guards patrol the corridors to monitor behaviour and offenders are only directly observed when the guard passes their cell entrance (ADPSR, 2015). Grills and bars on cell entrances allow for full visibility into cells. The design discourages communication between offenders and forces offenders to spend large portions of their day in their cells. Isolation was seen as a method of self-reflection that aided in reform. Extended walls between cells are used to further prevent communication between offenders also denying the foreknowledge of the arrival of guards down the corridor (Sanyal, 2014) (Fig. 6). Many of South Africa's large prisons are a variation of this model (Gillespie, 2010).

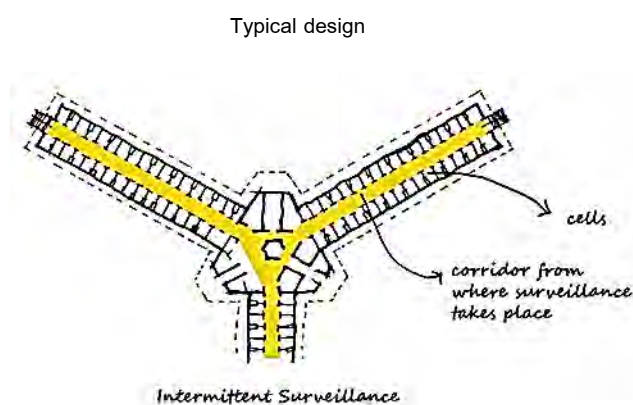


Figure 4 (Aurthor 2015) showing Intermittent Surveillance typical design with circulation highlighted in yellow

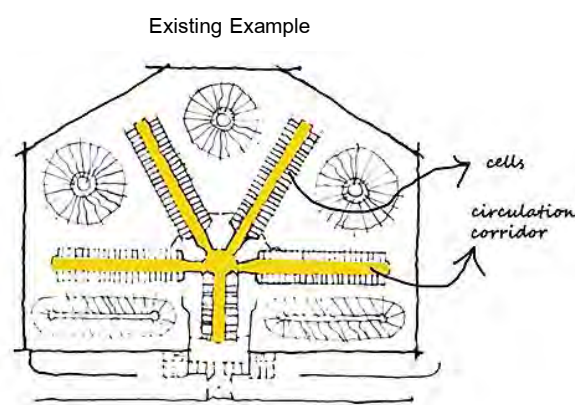


Figure 5 (Author, 2015) Federal Correctional Institution, Manchester, Kentucky. Image showing the central point from which the corridors flanked by prison cells radiate off of. The prison is essentially divided into 4 sections with two rows of single cells on either side of the surveillance corridor. Each section is patrolled by a guard to obtain intermittent surveillance.



Figure 6 (Lindberg, 2013) showing Stillwater Prison built from 1910 to 1914. Grills to entrances of cells and extended walls between cells are noticeable.

During the late 1970s and 80s 'New Generation' prisons were established. These buildings materialised decentralisation by accommodating offenders and staff in cluster buildings separated by landscaping and external walkways. The clusters became known as units or 'pods' with radially positioned cells around an exposed triangular dayroom with a central observation point (Fig. 7&8). This is known as the control room which was built to achieve total visibility. All of the cell doors were electronically controlled from the guard's control room and communication with offenders was conducted via an intercom system, affording guards almost no direct contact with offenders. This new form of surveillance known as 'remote surveillance' protects the physical presence of the guards while still maintaining the main principle of the Panopticon (ADPSR, 2015). That is a guard occupying a position within an architectural configuration that allows for continuous visual contact with offenders from the perspective of a security enclave (Gillespie, 2010).

The use of surveillance cameras, laminated glass ceilings and mirrors, provided additional visual surveillance while aural surveillance was employed through high ceilings, deterring communication between offenders (Sanyal, 2014). This form of surveillance allows for little to no privacy and was discovered to have negative effects on the offender, such as creating a sense of paranoia (Haney, 2001). Offenders typically have freedom of access to common areas and social interaction between offenders is promoted. Though because of the omnipresent gaze cast by the guards, offenders are constrained in

their behaviour and actions. This management technique more closely achieves the Panopticon's goal of total surveillance than any other.

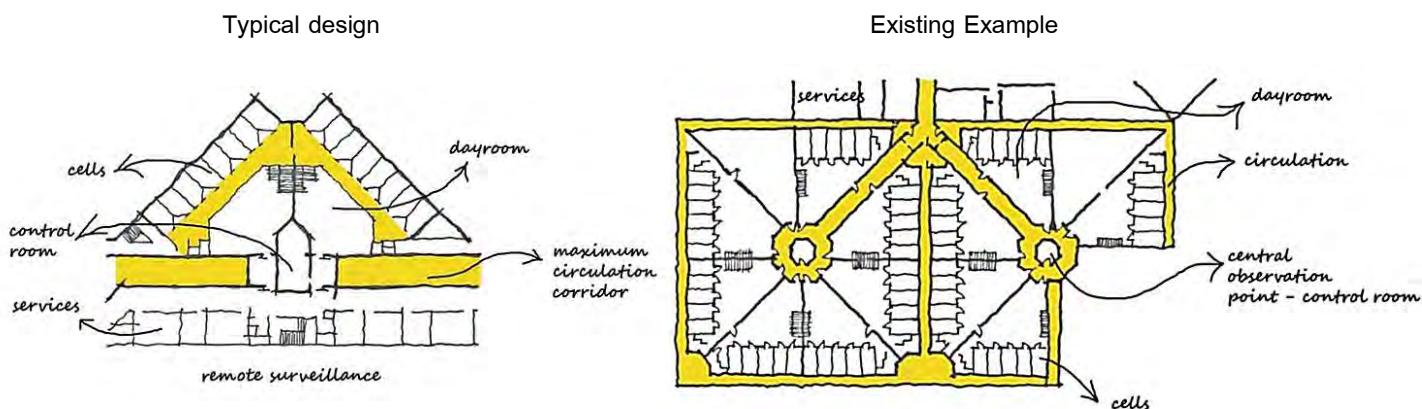


Figure 7 (Author, 2015) showing remote Surveillance typical design with circulation highlighted in yellow

Figure 8 (Author, 2015) Reno County Detention Center, Hutchinson. Illustration showing the central observation point where control rooms are located surrounded by a perimeter of cells. The accommodation is divided into clusters. Each building is monitored by cameras obtaining indirect supervision, or remote surveillance. (Illustration by author)

The most recent surveillance technique discovered is the 'direct supervision', model which was a reinvention of the 'pod' that placed value on human interaction as a security and rehabilitative ideal. The most significant change was the removal of the control booth from the 'pod', ensuring that guards had to be physically present alongside the offenders. This encouraged interaction between staff and offenders in an open setting. Other typical institutional features, such as bars and fixed furniture, were eliminated in favour of a more non-institutional feel. The new prison was not designed to 'look or feel like a prison.' A renewed attention was given to materials, furniture and décor to achieve 'normalisation' (Wortley, 2002). Dayrooms were designed to let in more sunlight through the use of laminate polycarbonate glazing instead of bars. Design was used to create secure environments without giving the impression of security or visible constraint, delivering the ability to make the inside of the prison feel much like normal life. This technique was deemed 'revolutionary' within international prison administrations and is being implemented as one of the best management techniques used in new prisons today. (Fig. 9& 10)

Typical design

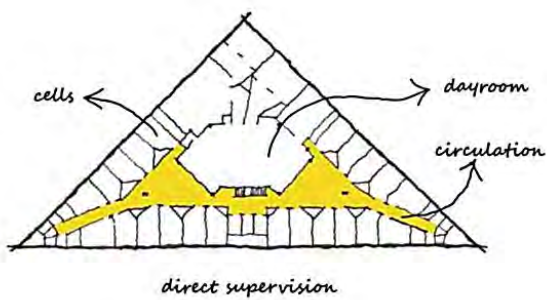


Figure 9 (Author 2015) showing direct supervision typical design with circulation highlighted in yellow

Existing Example

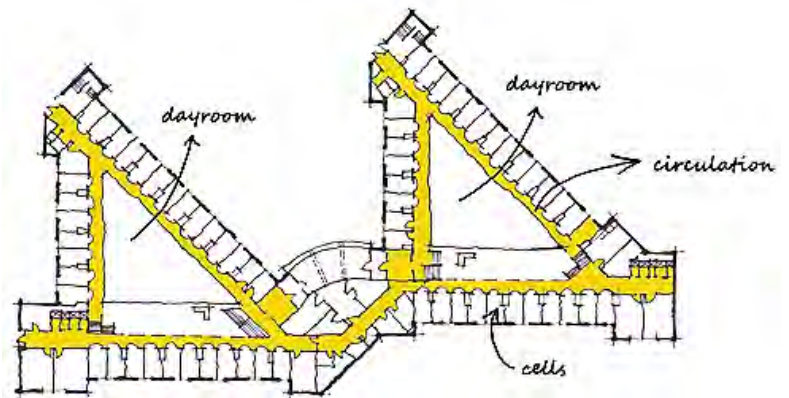


Figure 10 (Author, 2015) HM Prison Pentonville, Barnsbury, London. Shows central multiple volume dayroom which the guards are required to be present in while surveying offender's cells. Direct supervision is obtained.

Prisons are the epitome of hard and regulated environments, purpose built to maximise control over behaviour. The desire to monitor and control activity are key informants in the design. Guards, thickened walls, bars, razor wire fences and electronic surveillance are ++characteristics implemented to reduce opportunities for offenders to misbehave (Wortley, 2002). Traditional approaches to security rely on coercive and oppressive methods of control and are derived from the conviction that offenders are unpredictable, dangerous and must be constrained at all times (Hatton and Fisher, 2009). According to this view, prison regimes might succeed in physically suppressing and containing individuals, but research indicates that the causes of misconduct are found in the antisocial tendencies that prisons promote. Behavioural control, however is more complex than approaches based on physical containment. Expectations that certain offenders will 'misbehave' have led prisons to be overdesigned in terms of security (Wortley, 2002). Many more offenders than necessary are subjected to special precautionary conditions. However, control in prison is a reality that must be achieved. It has also been established that those who suffer from a lack of effective control in prison are offenders themselves (Wortley, 2002).

Other approaches shield themselves from criticism by employing more subtle techniques of control: that is, the use of threat. Louis Kriesberg's (1982) definition of threat, captures the essence of coercive influence by stating that: 'Coercion involves trying to make the other side yield by reason of fear or actual

force' (Dugan, 2003). Kreisberg's reference to fear denotes a relation to threat; people feel threatened when they think that force will be applied if they do not accede to the other's demands (Dugan, 2003). A popular threat in prison is being sent into solitary confinement for misbehaviour and another, the threat of being transferred to a less liberal prison.

Contemporary methods of control involve the offender incentives and earned privileges (IEP) policy which claims to benefit the offender. Good behaviour is incentivised and bad behaviour is challenged with the loss of incentives (Liebling, 2008). Offenders are aware that new prison models typically provide a much more comfortable living environment than older models and are thus seen as 'desirable' (Jewkes, 2012). Offenders are encouraged to buy into authoritarian notions of rewards for 'good' behaviour knowing that the consequence of 'bad' behaviour may be removal of privileges or relocation (Jewkes, 2012). Prison staff and managers have at their disposal the ultimate 'carrot-and-stick' sanction securing offenders' docility through imaginatively designed environments and the threat of being sent to a prison designed along principles of banality and standardisation. Prison authorities claim that the progressive prison requires its atavistic older model to act as a place of admonishment (Hancock & Jewkes, 2014). Viewed in this way even well intentioned architecture can be directed towards securing the submission of individuals.

Despite these criticisms, when incorporated fairly and constructively with the help of specially trained and skilled officers, the IEP policy has been shown to work in aiding the rehabilitative process (Liebling, 2008). Surveillance, constraint and control are important components of prison regimes, but how they are used is key to the success of the prison and its users. The direct supervision method of management and control in prison has proven to be effective, unfortunately no prison exists in South Africa solely based on this model. Eventually the atavistic older model should be discarded, although that is a slow process which should start with the gradual reduction of the offender population and the building of new facilities that are equipped to do this.

2.3. WOMEN IN PRISON

2.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Prior to the development of the all-female institution, in the first decades of the 19th century, female offenders were predominantly housed in a separate unit within the male prison. They were also provided

with poorer living conditions (R.E Dobash, R.P Dobash, Gutteridge, 1986). This indicates that historically prisons were neither built nor designed with the needs of women in mind.

Although there are women only prisons in existence today, women are still essentially imprisoned in a section of the male prison which was never designed to house women. In South Africa there are two-hundred and forty-one active correctional centres, eight are for women only and ninety-one accommodate women in a section of a predominantly male prison (NICRO, 2014). While the present correctional centres claim to operate differently to the past indicating a more focused perspective on rehabilitation and leaving behind the brutality of historical prison models, the buildings have not changed with the change in program. In most countries any special provision for females is added on to the standard male provision rather than designed from the outset according to a 'women-centred' perspective (Fair, 2008). The institutions that claim to have adapted the prison environment to accommodate for women are still largely inadequate (Jewkes, 2007).

In the Durban Westville and Pollsmoor prisons, which predominantly held people of colour, female offenders were housed in communal cells similar to those for men, though in considerably less crowded conditions. Some women were held in smaller cells holding four or six offenders each, and the few white offenders were housed in single cells. In Kroonstad women's prison, which formerly held 'whites only', almost all women were kept in single cells (Human Rights Watch, 1994). These South African prisons operated during the apartheid regime and are still in operation today despite the abolition of formal racial segregation established since amendments to the 1990 Prison Act were made (Hrw.org, 2015). The new Correctional Services Act drafted in 1998, which took human rights into account (Dissel and Ellis, 2015) is still largely notional, because the buildings themselves remain predominantly unchanged (Sarkin, 2015).

Current research has established that the variances between women offenders and their male counterparts are fundamentally apparent (Belknap, 2001). How female offenders differ from males with relation to offence type, coping mechanisms and criminogenic needs, confirm their position as a distinct, unique group. Acknowledging gendered needs requires the understanding of the differences between men and women with relation to prison.

2.3.2. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Studies show that women offenders are more often the primary caretakers of young children than men (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2004). About two-thirds of incarcerated women have minor children (Petersilia, 2000). On average five percent of women who enter prisons are pregnant and six percent of women are pregnant in prison (The Rebecca Project, 2011). Although women represent a small number in penal facilities, their increasing quantities signify that the number of mothers imprisoned are also on the rise (Petersilia 2000).

In the 1960s, Mother and Baby Units (MBUs) were formally established in prisons in recognition that the most favourable place for a young baby is with his or her mother (Constance, 2008). It was also a time when problems experienced by offenders' families were first brought to serious attention (Shaw, 1992). According to Goshin (2010) permitting incarcerated mothers and their babies to remain together may prevent distressing effects that otherwise ensue from enforced separation between mother and baby. Sleeda, Baradonb & Fonagya (2013) agree with this arrangement but warn that infants who remain with their mothers in prison may be impacted by the complex social and psychological difficulties that many of these families experience.

According to the Correctional Services Act No. 111 of 1998, which is still in effect today, a female offender in South Africa can have her new-born child live with her 'until such child is two years of age or until such time that the child can be appropriately placed (South African Department of Correctional Services, 2008). Whenever possible, the Department is required to accommodate offenders with children. The department is then responsible for the child's food, clothing, health care, and other facilities necessary for the child's 'sound development' (Library of congress, 2015). In 2013, the Department reported that there were 3505 female offenders in the Department's custody, 282 of whom were incarcerated with their babies (allAfrica, 2013).

The needs of mothers during pregnancy and childbirth conflict with the demands of the prison system (The Rebecca Project, 2011). Very few offenders receive prenatal care, which can be detrimental to both the mother and child. Additionally, a lack of maternity resources to deal with their medical needs pose serious challenges to offenders (The Rebecca Project, 2011).

Petersilia (2000) states that the most mothers will recommence their childrearing roles after release, however mothers released from prison have been known to encounter problems with finding adequate housing, occupation, and basic healthcare. Incarcerated parents often become negative role models with children that are more likely to be imprisoned later on in their lives. Bartels & Gaffney (2011) acknowledge that prisons can do more to stop this contagion effect. While the framework of the South African DCS indicates that efforts have been made in correctional facilities to provide for women's needs, they seem largely superficial and more is required to effectively address the specific issues relevant to women in prison.

2.3.3. CRIMES COMPARED TO MEN

Most crimes committed by women offenders are non-violent crimes (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2002). Therefore women offenders are considered less violent than male offenders. Most countries use standard security measures on the entire prison including the women's section. Many of the imprisoned women are being held in security greater than needed (Fair, 2008). This implies unnecessary costs which could be redirected to a better cause. It is visible in the table below that most of the budget spent on a South African prison is spent on security.

TABLE SHOWING THE CATEGORY BREAKDOWN OF THE DCS BUDGET FROM 2008-2013

PROGRAMME(RMILL)	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	Average	%
ADMIN	R3 299	R3 501	R4 089	R4 882	R5 251	R4 204	28
SECURITY	R7 238	R7 622	R7 848	R8 448	R10 022	R8 236	54
CORRECTIONS	R612	R665	R752	R808	R1 092	R786	5
CARE	R1 171	R1 349	R1 416	R1 483	R1 582	R1 400	9
SOCIAL	R501	R549	R591	R655	R801	R619	4
REINTEGRATION							
TOTAL	R12 821	R13 686	R14 696	R16 276	R18 748	R15 245	100

Table 1 (Regan & Macquet, 2014) providing the category breakdown of the DCS budget from 2008-2013 with the security category highlighted. The figures are in ZAR millions.

2.3.4. FAMILY & BACKGROUND

According to Pollock-Byrne (1990), researchers have found that women in prison may come from more disordered backgrounds than men in prison do. The human emotional need to be an accepted member of a group is a natural trait. This implies a relationship that goes beyond that shared with an acquaintance.

The need to belong is the need to give and receive affection from others and without belonging one cannot identify oneself as clearly. This leads to difficulties communicating with and relating to one's surroundings (Fiske, 2004).

Ward & Kassebaum (1965) identified groups of women that formed their own 'families' in prison as pseudo-families. They define pseudo-families as structures of social relationships formed among women in prison, which resemble family structures in the broader society. This indicates that women in prison desire to belong to a family or support structure and in creating fictive families in prison, they are able to fulfil their role as a member of a larger social group as they would in the real world (Pollock, 2002).

Studies show that women also receive less outside communication from family members than men did. Visitation is crucial to the women's ability to maintain family connections and a stable state of mind. It is noted that women's prisons tend to be located further away from their home communities making family visits more infrequent for some (Pollock-Byrne, 1990 & Foster, 2014). Maintaining family ties also provides motivation to cope in prison and look forward to release (Brookes, 2005).

2.3.5. SELF-ESTEEM

A long-standing belief is that women in prison have a poor concept of self, compared to men. Tittle (1973) reported that women experienced lowered self-esteem during a prison term, and an increased sense of self-esteem closer to their release (Pollock-Byrne, 1990). Many women enter the prison system with a poor self-image fuelled by a history of trauma and abuse. Women in the prison system commonly have unhealthy, unequal relationships with friends and family members outside of prison (Covington, H. Hill & M. Hill, 1998). Ombudsman (2008) therefore suggests that healthy relationships need to be established in order to fully overcome the feeling of being treated unequally.

Some women find support in other offenders (Ombudsman, 2008), denoting a desire to be cared for and to care for another. The notion of being needed gives the offender a sense of self-worth and increased self-esteem. After release it is key to keep up this sense of importance in another's life by interchanging it with a greater sense of responsibility in the community. Being labelled as an ex-offender or deviant in society disrupts the opportunity to establish a higher self-esteem and feel accepted by society. Punishment of the offender by imprisonment makes the relative values of the victim and offender

apparent, which explains why the offender experiences a lowered sense of self-value (Jeffreys, 2003). Conner (2008) states that women grow and develop in relationship and connection therefore an environment that uplifts and empowers women through social interaction, education and sport would be highly beneficial in establishing successful rehabilitation.

2.3.6. ACTIVITIES

More incarcerated women than men spend the better part of their day in some form of work or assignment, than exercising and playing sports. For some who have had negative relational histories with men or those with certain cultural beliefs, the lack of female staff prevented them from participating in sport and physical activity. Another extrinsic issue contributing to the anxieties women experienced while participating in physical activity, was that women prefer privacy and are far more self-conscious than men (Meek, 2013). This indicates that a context that acknowledges the need for partial privacy could facilitate higher participation levels. This in turn will enable a sense of community or team building and can be seen as a stress reliever (Meek, Champion & Klier, 2012).

The majority of women spend their days attending vocational programs, while leisure time is spent watching television or playing card and board games. The loss of autonomy and incessant boredom is often overwhelming (Pollock-Byrne, 1990) and according to Pritikin (2009), boredom lends itself to deviant behaviour. Since women experience more physical symptoms associated with stress, it is important to allow for stress relieving activities such as sport or meditation.

Women traditionally engage in domestic activities as social opportunities, therefore providing spaces for food preparation and laundry etcetera, can be advantageous. However, providing only these activities limit women to stereotypical roles. Correctional centres should sanction such roles without restricting the possibility of other less conventional activities to take place (Carp & Davis, 1989). The allowance of women to partake in activities regardless of what their stereotypical gender role suggests, will promote gender equality and empowerment in the employment arena after release.

2.4. CONCLUSION

The period of South Africa's democratic change saw changes in law and policy on penal institutions, intended to have a humane effect. The new legal framework put in place outlaws racial discrimination and is orientated towards the rights and duties of offenders (Singh, 2014). This provides the basis for a prison system that conforms to standards set by the democracy that South Africa purports to be. However in some aspects of social life, attitudes and interests of an illiberal nature continue to exist. This, in part, can be attributed to the design of the prisons intended for racial segregation. Many of the changes enacted by law have not yet been implemented. The rising prison numbers are overwhelming the capacity of the prison administration to ensure that basic rights and needs are met. In consequence, the official broader goals of rehabilitation and development are being stifled (Judicial Inspectorate, 2000).

The difference between male and female offenders is obvious and yet many penal facilities ignore this. Prison design needs to establish a gender responsive approach that employs ways to accommodate for mothers and pregnant women; help maintain family ties; uplift women and provide female centred activities. Rehabilitation that overhauls the superficiality of programs conducted in oppressive environments can be more effective by accommodating for the specific needs of its offenders.

2.5. PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF IMPRISONMENT ON WOMEN

2.5.1. INTRODUCTION

Craig Haney (2006) claims that fundamentally flawed prisons have lapsed from imposing punishment to doing real harm. His argument suggests that by ignoring the social contextual causes of crime and minimising the potentially harmful effects of imprisonment, these policies cause maltreatment to the imprisoned and ultimately increase crime. Many prison systems do little to provide meaningful programming and other forms of effective rehabilitation. Yet adverse conditions can cause offenders to adapt to the pains of imprisonment in ways that are problematic while they are imprisoned, and dysfunctional after they are released (Haney, 2006).

Offenders have always been confronted with a number of contingencies and pressures to which they are required to adapt to in order to survive the prison experience. Over the past few years penologists have described the prison situation as one 'in crisis' (Doward, 2015). Overcrowding and corrupt prison systems

adversely affect living conditions in prisons. They jeopardise offender safety, compromise prison management, and limit offender access to meaningful programming (Haney, 2001). Violence and sexual assault is rife in South African prisons (Pillay, 2009) but the battles experienced by female offenders have been deemphasised. An advantage has been taken of the culture of silence that has become an integral part of prison life (Donnelly, 2006).

Studies have been carried out to disclose the psychological and behavioural effects of penal environments on female offenders, validating that the offenders' adverse responses to their surroundings become worse over time. It has been advocated that the inability to deal with imprisonment is related to badly designed prisons and systems (Howells, 2000). Some of the negative psychological effects of prison environments include: dependency, total institutionalism, social stigma and mental health issues, all of which have been found to be experienced by female offenders.

2.5.2. DEPENDENCY

Researchers are openly uncertain about whether the pains of imprisonment always translate into psychological defects although they concede that, for most, prisons produce negative and long-lasting effects. Researchers agree that the more harsh, dangerous, or psychologically-taxing the nature of the confinement, the greater the number of people who will suffer from the damage that they incur (Bonta & Gendreau, 1990 & Schnittker & John, 2007). For some, prisons cause a dependency upon the penal structure and the inability to cope without it (Haney, 2001).

The recurring theme of control is prevalent in prison systems. Through the act of surveillance, the surveyor gains control over the surveyed. When consent is given then this may be more justifiable, however, in the absence of consent this disempowerment of the individual is problematic, stripping them of their dignity and responsibility regarding their own lives (Macnish, 2013).

Offenders are typically denied their basic privacy rights, and lose control over mundane aspects of their existence such as: over the identity of the person with whom they must share space; when they must get up or go to bed and when or what they may eat. They are constantly monitored driving some to feel infantilised. The degraded conditions under which they live, serve to repeatedly remind them of their compromised social status and stigmatised social role as offenders. In extreme cases of

institutionalisation, the offenders may come to think of themselves as '*the kind of person*' who deserves only the degradation and stigma to which they have been subjected while incarcerated (Haney, 2001).

In more recent years the emphasis on the punitive and stigmatising aspects of incarceration has progressively increased resulting in further literal and psychological isolation of prisons from the surrounding community (Haney, 2001). The use of tracking monitors, stun belts and electronically operated prison gates and cell doors as well as razor wire and electric fencing form intensive limitations to freedom within the prison and are used in contemporary prisons as 'less lethal' forms of constraint (Wright, 2015). In Pretoria, private C-Max offenders are held in twenty-three hour per-day isolation. There is a high emphasis on security and offenders are shackled to a stun belt whenever they leave the prison and are also handcuffed each time they leave the cell (Independent Online, 2010). The concept of isolation of infringes upon offenders' basic rights, and defeats the stated objectives of rehabilitation and is therefore most likely to lead to psychological and behavioural problems (Weir, 2012).

Penal institutions require offenders to abandon their freedom and the autonomy to make their own choices and decisions. This process requires a major change for most people. Over time, some offenders may adjust to the muting of self-initiative that prison requires and become increasingly dependent on institutional contingencies that they once resisted. This becomes problematic after release as decision making and control of their own lives becomes a necessity (Haney, 2001). Prisons that give offenders opportunities to exercise pockets of autonomy and personal initiative must be created in order to give the offender some responsibility over their own lives and actions (Haney, 2001), so that re-entry into society does not become unnatural.

2.5.3. TOTAL INSTITUTION

Prison's encompassing character is symbolised by the barrier to social interaction with the outside. Tightly scheduled arrangements are carried out to fulfil the official aims of the institution. The identical treatment of all offenders as if they were a singular group without individual identities suggests that some power to individualise sentences is necessary (Petersilia, 2000 & Roberts, 2015).

Goffman and Townsend on the idea of 'total institution' and institutionalisation through 'structured dependency', emphasise the importance of choice within an institution (Cottam, Henley, Horne & Comely,

2002). Although new institutions have placed emphasis on incentives and advanced monitoring technologies, depicting them positively in the guise of providing a secure environment, these methods ensure a compliance and acquiescence which represent a new and potentially more insidious form of control (Hancock & Jewkes, 2014). Thus it can be contended that this is a manipulation of true choice. Prisons need to reinforce offenders' independence and self-efficacy (Gentleman, 2012). This can be done by structuring prison life to replicate an environment which makes people feel engaged and provides them with responsibilities giving them a sense of purpose and increased self-worth (Haney, 2001).

Sarason (1974) states that the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure is important in developing a sense of community, which in turn will assist in adaptation to life after prison. Being cut off from society, with compromised prison visitation programs do not provide sufficient support services in facilitating the transition from prison to the free-world. Having family and community ties helps in the transition back to society (Møller et al., 2007).

2.5.4. SOCIAL STIGMA

Simply being aware of and perceiving stigma from society members is consistently linked with reduced psychological and social functioning. Across stigmatised groups, research has shown that perceived stigma is linked to unemployment and income loss (Link, 1987), depression (Markowitz, 1998; Staring, Van der Gaag, Van den Berge, Duivenvoorden, & Mulder, 2009), poor social abilities (Prince & Prince, 2002; Perlick et al., 2001), low self-esteem (Link, Struening, Neese-Todd, Asmussen, & Phelan, 2001), and negative coping mechanisms (Perlick et al., 2007; Kleim et al., 2008). Research also shows a link between perceived stigma and lower likelihood of seeking treatment (Corrigan & Rusch, 2002). Many offenders agree that the public stigmatises offenders as a group (Moore, Jeffrey, Stuewig & Tangney, 2012). Offenders' perceived stigma is related to anticipating the use of negative coping mechanisms and a link can be found between negative perceived stigma of offenders and acts of recidivism. Studies show that the highest levels of stigma transpired while assessing society's overall negative attitudes and discrimination against ex-offenders (Moore, Jeffrey, Stuewig & Tangney, 2012).

Upon release into the community, women often experience a degradation process as a consequence of both society's labelling, as well as internal mechanisms of self-shaming, resulting from embarrassment about having been in prison (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001). Dodge and Pogrebin (2001) argue that this

degradation often constitutes punishment well beyond the actual time women offenders serve within the prison, and may contribute to further deviance since social exclusion from society is often a contributory factor in a person's criminal activity (Carlen, 2002).

Most offenders leave penal facilities with no money or instant claim to unemployment welfares, and few work options. A year after release, the majority of former offenders are not employed in the legitimate labour market. Employers are increasingly reluctant to hire ex-offenders. This feeds the cycle of recidivism as unemployment is connected with violence and crime (Petersilia, 2000). Finding a job and contributing to the economy is imperative to an offender's success outside prison.

The Department of Labour has formed a relation with the Department of Correctional Services to provide an employability enhancement service to ex-offenders in South Africa. There are no laws in place preventing ex-offenders from obtaining employment, however because of the stigma surrounding criminal offence most employers do not employ ex-offenders (Labour.gov.za, 2015). Prisons should seek to involve the community in the rehabilitation process to help transcend the negative effects of stigmatisation (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, 2012).

2.5.5. MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

The psychological effects of imprisonment have recently been known to cause multiple disorders in incarcerated and recently released offenders. Post Incarceration Syndrome is a set of symptoms caused by being subjected to prolonged incarceration in environments of punishment with few opportunities for education, job training, or rehabilitation. The symptoms are most severe in offenders subjected to prolonged solitary confinement and severe institutional abuse (Gorski, 2015).

Prison environments are designed to demand passive compliance to authoritative figures, acceptance of restricted acts of daily living, the repression of personal lifestyle preferences as well as the elimination of critical thinking and individual decision making. Others manifest a coping skill and psychological defence mechanism against punitive measures by acting duplicitously: passive aggressive with the wardens, and actively aggressive with predatory offenders. Many offenders suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), due to traumatic experiences before incarceration and institutional abuse during the term of imprisonment. Medical care is needed to help offenders to overcome or to not trigger the symptoms of

PTSD. The peaceful environment, suggested to ensure this, does not correlate with the harsh prison setting at present (vBulletin, 2015).

Rehabilitative environments can help to reduce these damaging psychological effects. Interventions to prevent recidivism after release from prison may benefit offenders. This includes structured treatments with gradual transition to the community, enhanced protective factors, and reductions of environmental triggers to use drugs or resort to crime (Binswanger et.al. 2012).

Gray (1992) and other scholars contend that men and women respond to stress differently. Women tend to internalise stress, which may explain why female offenders engage in self-harming behaviour. Women have more frequent suicide attempts and need medical and mental health services more than male offenders (Bedard, 2008). Thus it can be concluded that a facility housing female offenders does not need the same security as a male facility would, instead safety measures and precautions should be taken. A female facility also requires more medical and health services; and would additionally benefit from an environment which alleviates internal stressors (American Psychological Association, 2010). One-on-one counselling sessions and group therapy that allows for sharing of difficulties experienced also aids in coping with and reducing stress (Nhs.uk, 2015).

2.6. REHABILITATIVE ENVIRONMENTS

2.6.1. INTRODUCTION

'In a perverse exercise of creativity, architects create penal structures designed to destroy the personality' (Jeffreys, 2013) and yet little has been done to improve this.

It has been noted that various environments can have positive behavioural effects. These environments are opposed to the typical architecture found in incarcerative facilities. They include soft architecture; private spaces; spaces that encourage social interaction and freedom of movement (Rossler, 2006). While prison architecture can be described as hard architecture, allowing little privacy, promoting isolation and high security for the prevention of escapes. This prompted the challenging of two conflicting architectures. As a result, a set of paradoxical relationships between the two opposed environments then

informed the subthemes: Soft architecture versus hard architecture; public versus private; social interaction versus isolation and security versus freedom of movement. Rehabilitative environments, will lastly be discussed to determine the best environments for rehabilitation in incarcerative facilities.

2.6.2. HARD ARCHITECTURE VERSUS SOFT ARCHITECTURE

The scale and impermeable nature of hard architecture is oppressive to the human spirit and yet has been found in various expressions of prison architecture today (Sanyal, 2014). The formality and rigidity of prison architecture is typically designed to be hostile, intending to 'shock more than serve' (Benfield, 2013). The large fortress type prisons of the early 19th century were designed to show the might of the state in a traditional style, emphasising continuity alongside the modernity that replaced the makeshift structures of earlier times. The aggressive influence and heaviness of the building was made evident to demonstrate the power of the state over malefactors, built to 'crush' and 'suppress' crime (Fairweather, McConville, 2000).

Prisons often display a simplistic, and severe-looking form (Taylor, 2008). The new Brandvlei Correctional Center is said to become the 'blueprint' for all future correctional centres across South Africa. The 386 million rand high-tech facility is claimed to place focus on rehabilitation (eNCA, 2013). The facility adopts high tech surveillance and monitoring, including a biometric fingerprint identification system, gym and library. Although the add-on of active security systems and useful amenities is seen as positive, it is surmounted by the huge cost expended and the institution's largely conventional looking structure. (Fig11-14)



Figure 11 (eNCA, 2013) showing offenders' cells with steel bunk beds similar to most prisons in South Africa



Figure 12 (eNCA, 2013) showing offenders housing facility with high security perimeter fencing



Figure 13 (eNCA, 2013) showing dayroom with standard vandal proof furniture and attempts to allow natural light in



Figure 14 (eNCA, 2013) showing vandal proof phone booths with immovable stools and little privacy allowance

New prisons like their predecessors are designed for efficiency, economy, consistency, security and control. They dictate uniformity in design and provision. The building materials are hard-wearing, requiring low maintenance to avoid costs of repair due to damage and vandalism. Although, Wener (2012) argues that hard architecture encourages vandalism by the presence of 'vandal proof' fixtures that challenge the user to 'break me if you can' communicating an expectation of destructive behaviour. Vandalism can in turn suggest disorder, indicating that the authorities are not in control and the offender may feel the need to defend themselves. Moreover, prison layouts with hard steel and concrete surfaces and a superior attitude from staff, provide the message that staff and offenders are in a state of opposition. If physical barriers are needed to separate offenders from each other and from staff, then 'this must be a 'dangerous place' (Wener, 2012).

Barriers are provided against escape and the loss of internal control. This is attained through surveillance; which emphasises the provision of clear lines of sight and constraint; shown by secure the compartmentalisation of various sectors of the prison. Access to the staff and vantage points have to be restricted and denied. A form of omnipresence and omnipotence is emphasised (Fairweather, McConville, 2000).

'In their cells seen but not seeing, the offenders' isolation and personalities were turned terribly against them in a setting that could have been an ossuary for the living' (Fairweather, McConville, 2000).

Cell houses consisting of open barred cells, are organised in tiers (Fig. 15) representative of the twentieth-century industrialised response to crime that denies the offender any individuality. As the numbers in prison have increased, standardisation has become a central feature in prison design and architecture allowing for swift economic construction and ease of management. The cells are indistinguishable from each other. Each cell typically consists of a single bed, stainless steel sanitary unit and mirror. Some prisons such as ADX Florence in Colorado (Fig. 16) go as far as to have a poured concrete bed and immovable concrete desk and stool reinforcing the mistrusting attitude towards its offenders (Sanyal, 2014). The advocacy of fixed, indestructible furnishings creates a brutal environment (Kizaz, 2013).



Figure 15 (Dentamaro, 2011) showing the Southern Michigan Correctional Facility's five floors with rows of identical cells arranged in tiers.

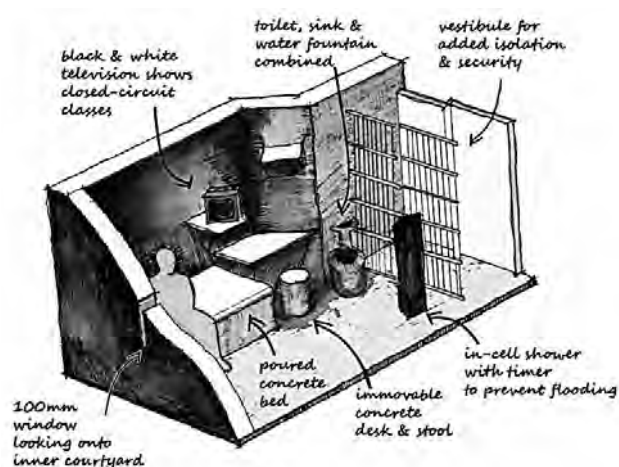


Figure 16 (Author, 2015) cell showing poured concrete bed and indestructible furniture.

Eating, sleeping, exercise, work and recreation are delivered in a functional, machine-like way to the acceptable minimum standards but without any human intervention, comfort or acknowledgement of the individual. This is also reflected on the outer façades of the building, sombre looking facades are punctured with monotonous rows of tiny windows (Fig. 17).

'The offenders must have had a sense of being the raw material of machines- but there is, of course, no product other than their durance' (Fairweather, McConville, 2000).



Figure 17 (Unknown, 2011) showing Allan B. Polunsky Unit Prison, opened in 1993 (still

The architecture of the new generation prison models have used innovative design ideas to challenge the architecture of incarceration with the belief that there are other ways to generate disciplined and controlled environments while using normalised surroundings. This generates different expectations, indicating that the offenders and staff are expected to behave in ways consistent with external civilised standards. Soft colours and materials, open layouts and casual behaviour of staff imply a norm of cooperation, where opportunities for contact are not seen as chances for assault. The presence of breakable or fragile materials announces that rough and destructive handling is not anticipated, encouraging caretaking. The use of natural light and nature to evoke positive emotions can create a positive atmosphere. Visual connections to the outdoors, and recreational spaces as in West Kimberley Regional Prison (Fig. 18 & 19) are intentionally designed to create a non-institutional feel that promotes normalised surroundings. Furnishings are soft and rounded, and recessed lighting is used to remove unsafe electrical points for injury prevention (Tag Architects, 2012).



Figure 18 (Tag Architects, 2012) showing West Kimberley Regional prisons colourful accommodation units and direct links to nature.



Figure 19 (Tag Architects, 2012) showing West Kimberley Regional prison.

Prison architecture is preordained to have a discernible effect on behaviour, staff interaction and morale therefore prison environments need to be properly considered to positively influence behaviour while still maintaining safety and order. 'Settings somehow communicate expected behaviour if the cues can be read and understood' (Rapoport, 1982 & Wener, 2012).

2.6.3. PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE

Offenders held in maximum security prisons have little autonomy and privacy. Bars instead of doors to cells, allow passers-by to gaze into offenders' cells. Critics have likened these to cages, claiming that offenders' are 'displayed and managed like animals in a zoo' (Rank, 2015). Prisons do not treat offenders with dignity (Coyle, 2003) - eating, sleeping, and even defecating is no longer a private affair. Showering is generally accommodated for in communal areas with open stalls that are closely monitored by correctional officers. Frequent 'shakedowns' or random searches, of cellblocks and offenders are done with the objective of reducing the risk of contraband (Rank, 2015). This can lead to potential humiliation for offenders. The need to have constant surveillance of visits and activities by CCTV cameras also disregards offenders' basic rights to some privacy and should not be taken for granted nor regarded as the norm (Coyle, 2003).

Some progressive prisons have been designed to restore basic human dignity through the elimination of grills, instead the offenders are provided rooms that accommodate for a hatch that can be slid by the guard if need be, however for the most part, offenders are able to maintain their privacy (Sanyal, 2014) and the blurred lines between public and private are, to an extent, re-established. Providing offenders with private spaces will allow them some control over contact resources and exposure to stressors which in turn could help to eliminate situations that may lead to fights and arguments. Control over their own environment reduces stress and irritability as well as increases tolerance for frustration. Varying levels of public and private areas need to be provided allowing offenders the opportunity to remove themselves from irritations or conflict (Wener, 2012).

2.6.4. ISOLATION VERSUS SOCIAL INTERACTION

Isolation in prison is commonplace. Offenders spend most of their time locked in their cells. The conventional prison cell is tall, long and narrow. Cottam Henley, Horne & Comely (2002) have likened its proportions to that of a domestic water closet (WC). Claustrophobic with little ventilation and natural light the typical prison cell is not depicted as a positive environment and is said to induce negative behavioural effects on offenders (Haney, 2001).

Long hours spent in solitary confinement or in congested prisons can cause extreme psychological problems (Naday, Freilich, Mellow & Jeff, 2008). The offender is socially isolated from others, human interaction is reduced to limited transactions with staff and in some cases: infrequent contact with family and friends. The offender is almost entirely dependent on the wardens for the provision of basic needs. Their movements are tightly controlled in a restrictive space and closely observed. The small cell in which they are held has little or no view of the outside, with limited access to fresh air and natural light. The space provides 'little stimulation' with virtually nothing to occupy the inhabitant with (Naday, Freilich, Mellow & Jeff, 2008).

Solitary confinement has traditionally been used as a type of behavioural reform of isolating offenders physically, emotionally and mentally in order to control and improve an offender's behaviour (Naday, Freilich, Mellow & Jeff, 2008). Although more recently solitary confinement is considered to be a form of 'psychological torture' (Gawande, 2009, The New Yorker, 2010) when the period of confinement is longer

than a few weeks or is continued indefinitely (Hresko, 2006). Studies also show that the increasing use of high-security segregation is counter-productive, often causing violence inside facilities and contributing to recidivism after release (Nolan, 2013). Throughout its use in prisons researchers and practitioners have observed the adverse effects of solitary confinement on offenders' health. National and international bodies view it to be an extreme measure to be used as a last resort and for short periods of time. However some governmental organisations have expressed such concern so as to call for its abolition (SALC, 2015).

Solitary confinement is still practiced in South African maximum security prisons today (News24, 2013). Violent and disruptive offenders who have been classified as dangerous in terms of the South African Criminal Procedure Act are kept in solitary confinement for up to twenty-four hours per day. Offenders at Bloemfontein's Mangaung Prison are being kept in solitary confinement for up to four years at a time. Specialised equipment, such as electric shields, are used by the prison guards to control the offenders. A South African offender reports:

'The isolation drove me insane. I was in constant mental pain and I tried to commit suicide with a razor blade in 2009' (Hopkins, 2013).

It is therefore maintained that solitary confinement may cause more harm than good and this technique of punishment is not entirely beneficial to the desired outcome of rehabilitation.

In contrast to the isolation of offenders, recent trendsetters in prison design have implemented the concept of community living to promote social interaction. In correlation with the need to belong new prisons have moved away from the customary institutional scheme and towards 'cottage-style' living arrangements (Ombudsman, 2008). This contemporary arrangement has been employed at facilities such as the Brisbane Women's Correctional Centre and the Plains Correctional Centre in Whales. The new prison encourages community living in cottages generally with four to six offenders per cottage where they share social responsibilities designed to provide facilities and routines that 'replicate' (as close as possible) 'family and community' duties (WADCS, 2009). This method has been shown to be effective in aiding women to be better equipped to cope with daily activities and responsibilities after release as well as allowing them to fulfil their need to form 'family' bonds and support networks during their sentence (Bartels & Gaffney, 2011).

Other prisons such as the new juvenile detention facility in Linden, New Jersey, have been designed to look more like a school than a prison and is intended to create a more positive atmosphere for both the youth and staff members. The design is based on the idea that ‘environment cues behaviour,’ and the main goal is to have the offenders spending time in the education and recreation areas, not isolated ‘in their rooms’ (Prevost, 2007).



Figure 20 (Prevost, 2007) showing the school-like facility in Linden



Figure 21 (Prevost, 2007) Linden common room

Social interaction is an important element in the re-entry process of any institutionalised population. There are few community based institutions that provide specialised residential and vocational services (Blessing, Golden, Ruiz-Quintanilla, 2010). The majority of offenders will one day return to civilian life and therefore it is important to work towards a successful re-entry and release during the incarceration period (Re-Entry Council, 2003). Prisons should help offenders to see themselves in productive and meaningful roles outside of prison while they are on the inside. In order to accomplish this they need to be designed to invite and facilitate the involvement of family and community throughout the period of incarceration and re-entry. Studies show that offenders believe: community support is an important factor in helping to avoid recidivism after release (Blessing, Golden, Ruiz-Quintanilla, 2010). Women are also more content in smaller groups and more intimate spaces therefore large areas should be subdivided. Smaller housing units are also more effective as larger housing units are more difficult to manage (Carp and Davis, 1989).

A women's correctional facility should incorporate the needs of small children into the facility including community spaces and play areas as maintaining family and community ties is important in helping to break the cycle of reoffending. The building should foster an open environment inside a secure perimeter with the building layouts designed to encourage small group activities (Bartels & Gaffney, 2011). Education, domesticity and daily chores in normalised settings allow for social interaction and create a better community environment (Bartels & Gaffney, 2011).

2.6.5. SECURITY VERSUS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

A fundamental characteristic of the 19th century prison which is still in practice, is the principle of uniform systems and categories: the system of organising the prison according to a standardised perception of security risk and incarcerating offenders in a building with 'factory-like' cells (Cottam, Henley, Horne & Comely, 2002). The daily experiences of offenders are shaped by the formal and informal social organisation of prisons. The formal organisation of corrections that affect offenders include the classification process, the security levels of institutions, confinement arrangements within the prison, program options, and special-needs placements (Rank, 2015). It is argued that the system does not accommodate for the offenders' needs but rather the need to secure them in the best interest of the government and public. The purpose of classification is to assign offenders to an appropriate level of institutional control. High-risk offenders are grouped as special needs offenders to be supervised closely; low-risk offenders are seen to have fewer needs and require minimal control.

According to current practices, prisons are divided into three categories, namely: maximum security prisons; medium security prisons and; minimum security prisons. Although alternatives for minimum security prisons should be explored since they are of such low risk to society (Carp and Davis, 1989).

There are several levels of security and control between the medium and maximum security prisons. A constantly shifting relationship exists between the freedoms and restrictions of the building, and therefore the technology and participation required from staff. This emphasises the need to design flexible buildings that can adapt with the change in security levels (Fairweather, McConville, 2000). The layout of a prison affects the options for the kind of management style that can be used. The degree of physical openness of the design sets limits on the effectiveness of visual surveillance. Poor site-lines can force reliance on CCTV cameras to observe spaces which is a poor alternative to the physical presence of guards (Allard, Wortley & Stewart, 2008). In this respect, direct supervision is preferred to reduce the chance of an

offense occurring. The open unit goes beyond simple visual access to include both social access and contact. Offenders and guards can see and be seen as well as interact with each other also enabling guards to respond to problem situations quicker. Traditional prison designs rely on physical barriers and remote surveillance opposed to personal contact and communication thus no immediate staff response can be obtained. Offenders are therefore less likely to trust their safety to staff intervention. Layouts also affect the degree to which offenders have access to important services. Bathrooms, phones, food and medical help are some of the services restricted often requiring a staff escort or scheduled use. Designs such as this force reliance on staff for large and small needs leading to increased frustration for offenders as well as staff, provoking opportunities for conflict. Organisation of space should allow for clear sight lines enabling an offender to freely obtain small needs without a staff escort but with some visual supervision (Wener, 2012).

2.6.6. REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION

Correctional institutions strip offenders of all of their familiar social and cultural supports around which their individual identities had previously been centred. Any program of rehabilitation within prison must first overcome these processes in order to achieve success. Some scholars, including David Rothman (1973), completely reject the possibility of rehabilitation to take place due to the relative powerlessness of the offender to consent to such efforts and because of the 'incongruous nature' of the setting within which it is offered (Bosworth, 2004). In reciprocation, similar recent views regarding the rehabilitation of offenders claim that in order for the rehabilitation to have a lasting effect, it should be by a method of non-coercion (Larsen, 2011). Instead, in exchange for offenders' cooperation, incentives and earned privileges such as a shortened sentence or better living conditions are used. Incentives become so appealing that many cooperate solely as a means to an end. The compulsion involved in this process of 'sham cooperation' is suppressed due to the fact that the offender attains substantial reward (Bosworth, 2004). According to Liebling & Maruna (2013) it is the offenders that suffer if the prison environment lacks this degree of control, therefore a balance of both control and autonomy should be maintained for the benefit of the offender. This way of thinking can also be aligned with positive disciplinary techniques which seek to aid rather than oppress the individual.

In South Africa all offenders are required to attend programs aimed at rehabilitation. There is said to be an emphasis placed on sports activities and education training. However, this is largely 'theoretical' as

overcrowding places restrictions on activities and rehabilitation programs (Health24, 2014). Consequently, many offenders leaving the institution experience anxiety about re-entry due to the structured predictability of prison which one cannot find in the real world (Goffman, 1961; McGrath, 2000).

Often rehabilitation is thought to be enough to combat recidivism and reintegration is not as valued or emphasised in the prison system. Reintegration relates to social or environmental problems that face the offender upon release. These are problems that arise due to the new non-offending lifestyle, and relate to a specific difficulty that the offender maybe facing. The goal is then to manage the problem and find a resolve to prevent the ex-offender from resorting to crime once again through both rehabilitation and reintegration. Such reintegration activities include finding suitable accommodation, obtaining employment, managing finance and relationships, developing positive community support and achieving post-release health care continuity (Workman, 2011). Reintegration is extremely important in preventing recidivism and should be given more attention, especially in South Africa where halfway houses or reintegration centres are extremely uncommon. The gap in transition between prison life and the outside world is often too difficult for newly released offenders to cope with (Lackner, 2015).

2.7. CONCLUSION

All aspects of punishment are controversial, and imprisonment is therefore a subject of 'deep moral disagreement' (Jeffreys, 2013). However, progressive thinkers regarding incarceration have detached the idea of punishment from contemporary prison design. While under investigation, the question of: what purpose is served by subjecting disempowered, abused and nonviolent women to the perpetually damaging environment of prisons? Is asked. In recent years this question has been challenged enough to create a shift in penological thinking and progressive countries are looking toward alternative measures of imprisonment.

Women in prison are significantly neglected and the psychological effects of imprisonment are damaging. Without a dramatic shift in penal culture and the built form, prisons will continue to fail at producing the desired outcome of rehabilitation. The minimum criterion of prisons should be that the offender emerges no worse than prior to incarceration, however much evidence has eluded to the fact that prisons have enhanced offenders' abilities to commit further crime. Over the years it has been established that the role of architecture has been ignored while the penal philosophy and policy has transformed and improved. Rehabilitative programs have yet to manifest themselves architecturally in the majority of prison

buildings. Architecturally, most of the world has yet to develop a reformatory prison model that achieves a rehabilitative success that is commendable.

CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION & REVIEW OF THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The theories are selected to explain and justify the main attributes of the prison typology. The chapter is divided into three theories, one being Panopticism; which discusses the theory that certain techniques of surveillance and constraint can be used to gain control over deviants. The second being: The rehabilitation theory; that deliberates different approaches to corrections that were assumed to result in offenders returning to society as model citizens. Finally the third being the institutional theory which discusses the process of reprogramming individuals to accept and conform to strict controls and the behavioural effects that prison architecture has on the individual.

3.2. PANOPTICISM

Architecture has long been a requisite tool in the search for solutions regarding methods of exerting social control. Largely, the purpose of prisons since their conception in the eighteenth century, has been to instil punishment by depriving offenders of their freedom. Prison architecture is the epitome of 'hard architecture,' designed to erase human dignity by constantly enforcing on criminal minds the idea of penance for misdeeds done (Sanyal, 2014).

Michel Foucault's theory of Panopticism has played a major role in early penal design and still influences prison architecture and society today. The theory of Panopticism, developed in 1995, elaborates upon the conceptualisation of Bentham's panopticon. Bentham's panoptic social experiment involved the 'realigning' of deviants to the correct path through surveillance. Bentham regarded his panopticon proposal as humane and an improvement to the practices of the criminal justice system of that time (Brunon-ernst, 2015). However the absence of force does not prevent other forms of oppression to incur (Koskela, 2003). The emotional experience of being under surveillance contributes to a diminished sense of personal value and self-esteem felt by the offender (Haney, 2001). Koskela (2003) claims that, that which ensures discipline simultaneously erodes confidence. Foucault (1995) considered the Panopticon an instrument of subjection.

The concepts of constraint and surveillance which are used to implement control are applied to prisons today and can be argued to impose the same state of mind upon the offender as the Panopticon, although advancements in technology have transformed traditional approaches. The 'new surveillance' (Marx, 1998) embraces technological developments, which present degrees of complexity and motion. Closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras offer an omnipresent, disciplinary gaze from a hidden, anonymous watcher similar to the Panopticon but on a much larger scale. One of the central arguments against the extent to which surveillance is implemented is that it poses a threat to privacy, which is of importance to the individual (Macnish, 2013). Traditional forms of surveillance meant that offenders could never be sure when they were being watched and hence through self-interest and habit it was hoped they would engage in self-discipline. Bentham laid down the principle that control should be 'visible and unverifiable' (Marx, 2005).

'The inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon...[but] the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so...' (Marx, 2005)

The new surveillance reflects this pattern in seeking to create self-restraint with well-publicised contemporary warnings and multiple cameras (Marx, 2005). The issues discussed by contemporary scholars have commonly been about the degrees to which the new surveillance imitates the panoptic social order. For Foucault, the Panopticon is an architectural strategy that signals the convergence of a historically situated political and social thought relating to the idea of control and resistance (Simon, 2005). Something which the new democracy strives to move away from. The traditional and new are similar in keeping with these ideas however should contemporary prison design not be moving away from this kind of architectural determinism?

3.3. INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

The institutional theory focusses on the process by which structures, schemes, rules and routines become indicators for behavioural action (Scott, 2004). The initial exposition of the theory was recognised in Meyer and Rowan's (1977) literature. The formulation of the theory involves the intentionality of structural arrangements that are the passive objects of institutionalisation processes (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996).

Institutionalisation, a key concept in institutional theory, refers to embedding a behaviour within an organisation. It is often associated with negative connotations regarding its damaging effect on the individual through oppressive forms and inflexible systems. It has brought about the new institutional theory which focuses on the effects rather than the process of institutionalisation (Sieweke, 2014). Institutions can be defined as structures of social order that govern the behaviour of a group of individuals within a community.

Prisons are considered institutional buildings labelled as 'institutors of power' (Hancock & Jewkes, 2011) that incorporate 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961). Goffman's (1961) concept of total institution refers to an institutional setting where every aspect of its users lives are controlled, A place where 'like-situation' individuals are cut-off from society for a considerable period of time (Johnson & Rhodes, 2007). Prisons are designed to promote institutionalisation - individuals are assumed to accept and follow social norms unquestioningly, without any real reflection or behavioural resistance based on their own particular personal interests (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). The impact that these types of environments have on the individual are immense. Institutions function in a pattern of social-organisation that goes beyond the cognisant intentions of the individuals involved (ICM, 2015). It manifests a social order and an organisation that reflects psychology and culture as well as encompasses subjective experiences. Social institutions are designed to influence the individual and enforce control, through many characteristics. One of them that has been known to dominate prison design is disciplinary architecture (Awofeso, 2013).

3.4. DISCIPLINARY ARCHITECTURE

Both theories of Panopticism and institutionalisation can be linked with architectures of control. Disciplinary architecture is an architecture where necessary control is forced on the user by the product of architecture (Lockton, 2006). Architectures of control are deliberately emphasised in prisons, manipulating offender behaviour through tangible and powerful strategies. The use of disciplinary architecture was introduced to the prison system through the idea of the panopticon. Bentham's Panopticon and Foucault's argument relay that by passively instilling punishment in architecture instead of administering direct retribution, the likelihood of an opposed public reaction can be reduced (Foucault, 1977). However, Foucault saw the inherent cruelty that prison buildings exacted. Spaces were dedicated to maintain complete control. Well intentioned reformist architecture believed that the more control they

imposed on the offender the higher the possibility to achieve their goals of reawakening and reflection, however, this just lead to increased powerlessness felt by the offender. Disciplinary architecture that is commonly found in institutional buildings reinforce the offenders' dependent status and consequently affect their ability to cope in the outside community, where they have no structures to depend upon (Johnson & Rhodes, 2007).

Disciplinary architecture can be used to promote safety and achieve positive social goals including peaceful coexistence. If it is remodelled to exact discipline but discontinues to degrade or humiliate offenders (Johnson & Rhodes, 2007), it can be used to constructively influence offenders lives (The Consortium, 2015). Two types of control are prominent in disciplinary architecture: physical control and psychological control.

Physical control involves tangible factors that users are directly aware of while psychological control involves techniques where users are often unaware of the effects of the surrounding architecture. Through psychological and physical control, the environment can offer cues about who belongs in a place and lead people to where they need to be, where they are most welcome or encouraged to stay, when they are supposed to be there and what they should be doing. This manipulation of behaviour through design can be exploited to a sense where it becomes controlling and leaves the user with no choice or freedom of movement within the confined areas. Alternatively it can be used to encourage positive activity and provide healthy choices within the environment. Unfortunately most prisons fall under the former category.

The research shows how perspectives drawn from the institutional theory affect the offender in the prison environment and cause negative socialising effects on the offenders which in turn affect their ability to reintegrate back into society after release. When assigned correctional facilities to design, architects are often encouraged to create elements of 'bleakness and ugliness' to evoke notions of punishment through institutionalisation. Adverse effects of institutionalisation is a dominant cause for behavioural defects, and re-entry issues (Leota, 2014). The research acknowledges how disciplinary architecture can be reconsidered to act as an informer for better penal design.

3.5. THE THEORY OF REHABILITATION

The theory that offenders could be imprisoned and rehabilitated then returned to society as productive law-abiding citizens first emerged in the early 1900's. It is an idea that has since been debated for almost a century, as recidivism rates are often disappointing in the face of optimism (Cjonline.uc.edu, 2015).

The theory of rehabilitation, when associated with incarceration, is referred to as the process of aiding an individual to re-enter society with the expectation of having reformed them into independent, law abiding citizens (Bosworth, 2004). The concept of rehabilitation was only properly established in the early 1900's, and has become an idea that has since been debated as recidivism rates continue to increase (University of Cincinnati, 2015). In the traditional sense, rehabilitation was fuelled by the idea that the incarcerative experience will guarantee that people will change their lives in a way that will make them productive and upstanding members of society. However, this is not reinforced by empirical evidence, and in practice, prisons tend to be wholly unsuccessful at improving the lives of offenders (Jewkes & Bennet, 2013).

The perceptions used to realise reform in prisons have adapted over time. Initial prison reform involved ideas of silence, isolation, labour and an association with religious and moral beliefs. The 'Pennsylvania system' placed all offenders into isolated cells with religious literature, forcing them to be silent and reflect upon their wrongs. In response to this system's failure the 'Auburn system' was developed. Here, offenders were confined to separate cells and were prohibited from communicating with each other. The aim of the system was claimed to be rehabilitative as it taught offenders: personal discipline, respect for work, property, and other people (Bosworth, 2005). Reform then moved onto medically based interventions including drugs and psychosurgery were crime became a 'sickness' that needed curing. More contemporary rehabilitation movements have moved toward educational, vocational, and psychologically based programs (Bosworth, 2004).

Some scholars reject the idea of rehabilitation in prisons due to the nature of the environment in which it is undertaken (Bosworth, 2004). Contrary to the belief that 'nothing works' or the Martinson phenomenon, opposing data shows that the prevailing ideological context is favourable to the implementation of an effective progression of treatment programs (Cullen & Gendreau, 1989). Restorative justice has become the new approach to corrections that focuses on the needs of the victims, the

offenders and the community. Offenders are encouraged to take responsibility for their actions and to repair the harm that they've done by apologising to their victims, or partaking in community service activities (Andrew, 2009). These alternative systems of incarceration require that all offenders be treated with respect due to their value as human beings (Walmsley, 2005).

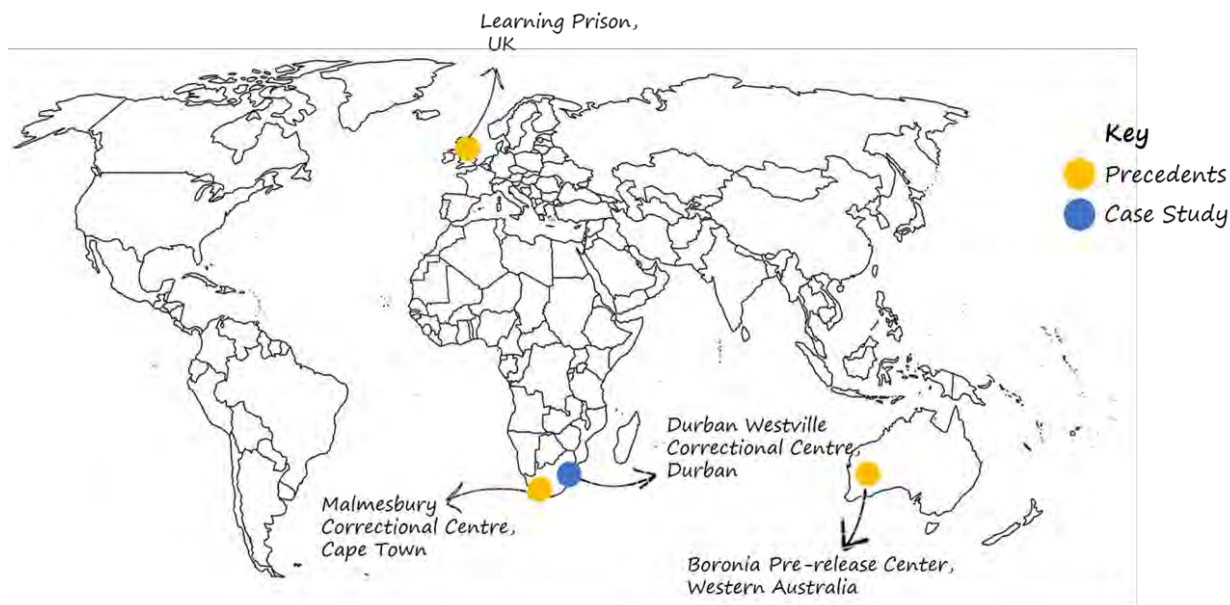
While alternative approaches to imprisonment are regarded as excessively lenient (Barnette, 2015), scholars maintain that prison environments should acknowledge the offender's right to be treated in a humane way (Unodc, 2015). Most prisons are not conducive to rehabilitation because of their harsh environments with settings that have proven to have negative effects on the individual's behaviour. The psychological benefits that the architecture can provide is not adequately considered by architects and other entities involved in correctional design.

3.6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion the three theories provide insight into incarcerative research that can be used to further interrogate penal environments. Both Panopticism and the Institutional Theory reflect common ideas of control, forming a connection with disciplinary architecture. Disciplinary Architecture is dominant in prison design and is mostly used as a form of control while involuntarily evoking negative psychological effects, however it can be used to facilitate a positive effect, especially on the behaviour of an individual. The theory of rehabilitation reveals that an offender needs to be imprisoned to be rehabilitated, that is: to go through a series of processes in order to emerge as a model citizen. The methods by which this can be achieved uncover that rehabilitation is gradual and that the penal environment plays an important role in determining its success.

The future of prison design looks toward facilities that are built from a humanitarian standpoint while still maintaining order. The following chapters four and five introduce the precedent and case studies. The Malmesbury and Westville correctional centres are local institutions based in South Africa and form a stark contrast to the international Boronia Pre-release Centre and The Learning Prison. Since rehabilitative environments and successful re-entry are the main objectives, the criteria under which they are analysed follow the themes of the rehabilitative environments discussed in the literature review. These themes comprise of the paradoxical relationships that seek to challenge typical penal design, namely:

hard architecture versus soft, public versus private, isolation versus social interaction and security versus freedom of movement. Where possible the analysis includes the facilities psychological benefits or lack thereof, as well as how women are accommodated for within the design.



Location map of precedents and case study

Figure 22 (Author, 2015) showing location map of precedents and case study

CHAPTER 4: PRECEDENT STUDIES

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Architects and designers, across Europe and in Australia are the forerunners of prison designs that encourage personal change and adopt a less brutal lifestyle to reduce the psychological effects of imprisonment. This is claimed to be achieved through the strategic application of 'humane' principles that can be identified both aesthetically and functionally throughout the building. Contemporary designs suggest that the deprivation of freedom from the outside world is punishment enough and that prison designs should centre themselves solely on rehabilitation and reintegration. However, to what extent have recent architectural developments achieved this? The precedent studies have been chosen from the most recent and seemingly most progressive designs in an attempt to explicate a response.

Through the analysis of the precedents which look toward acclaimed prison designs of the twenty-first century, critics including Alferoff & Knights (2003), Dale & Burrell (2008) & Hancock as well as Spicer (2011) have questioned whether such organisational settings represent an honest escape from structural 'modalities' of control represented by older prison models. Moreover, these analyses can inform emerging debates about what future prisons should look like and express warnings about the potential fallacy in assuming that 'new' equates to 'better' (Hancock & Jewkes, 2014). Humane environments promoting social interaction and considerations concerning natural daylight and aesthetic stimuli are increasingly being incorporated into penal environments and are recognised as positives, incontestably desirable for both offenders and staff.

Recent studies of South African penal systems demonstrate Hancock & Jewkes's (2014) claim that new does not automatically mean better. South Africa's post-apartheid correctional centre is said to have created a dramatic shift in penal design as an attempt to redeem the institution from its own history, but how much has the prison environment improved and does the new high-tech organisational system add worth to the ultimate goal of penal reform? According to Gillespie (2010), Hancock and Jewkes (2014), South Africa's prison conditions are still vile and a 'disgrace to civilised society' (Gillespie, 2010). There are many ways in which the intentions of the new architectural design 'got hopelessly lost' in everyday practice (Hancock & Jewkes, 2014).

The research further explores how accomplished these new and acclaimed prisons are in reducing recidivism rates as well as bringing focus to what is lacking in guaranteeing a successful transition from prison to the outside world. The precedent and case studies are interrogated using the paradoxical subthemes which help to analyse its rehabilitative capabilities: hard architecture versus soft architecture,

public versus private, isolation versus social interaction, levels of security and freedom of movement. Other focuses include women and psychological effects that will be used to draw parallels between the analysis and literature.

4.2. HILARY COTTAM – THE LEARNING PRISON

4.2.1. BACKGROUND

The Learning Prison is a proposed prison model designed by United Kingdom designer Hilary Cottam (Hilarycottam.com, 2015). The prison is made up of eleven houses, each of which accommodates an accountable group of thirty-six offenders who are expected to form a small community. Cells are grouped on three floors around a central atrium, ensuring a secure inside and outside space where the offender is continually visible and can move around unescorted. The checkerboard pattern (Fig, 23) allows for each house to be attached to an outdoor garden. The communal facilities are able provide for a capacity of four-hundred offenders planned within the 10 000 square meter plot. Building on the live work principles, the prison can be built at density levels that allow for constructive containment on urban land areas (Cottam et al., 2002). It is expected that the state would fund the new prison.

Although the proposal is regarded as universal design, the prison makes no effort to accommodate for male or female offenders in particular nor does it state what category of offender it will hold. The users identified as 'offenders,' cannot be assigned to a specific sex. The broader areas of focus include effective learning, cost and maintenance.



Figure 23 (Henley, 2003) showing an aerial view of the Learning Prison model displaying houses arranged in checkerboard pattern

4.2.2. MOTIVATION AND JUSTIFICATION OF PRECEDENT

Currently many prison systems spend around eighty percent of their resources on management, with little left to facilitate the prevention of re-offending (Sanyal, 2014). The proposed Learning Prison makes efforts to achieve this. The prison is much smaller than existing prisons. It has been designed to reduce the movement of offenders within the prison, enabling scarce resources to be switched from security to rehabilitation (Cottam, 2015). By linking individual units to an enclosed outside space to which offenders have moderately free access, the design reduces the time and cost associated with allowing offenders supervised time in the open air (Sanyal, 2014). Escorting offenders along sprawling wings to key services is 'labour intensive' (Cottam, 2015). The design has won awards for its innovativeness and received much attention from researchers and architects. The prison is intended to precede the 'Fordist' designs implemented in older models and become a new generation model which can be looked at as an example for what prisons can achieve (Sanyal, 2014).

A major positive aspect of the facility is that it seeks to challenge accepted thinking on economic and social issues, many ex-offenders re-offend due to unemployment (Cottam, 2015) the new prison architecture is a radical approach which supports and makes affordable a learning regime which is believed to help diminish unemployment and in turn recidivism rates. It also allows for privacy, implements disciplinary architecture, encourages community living within the housing units and provides some freedom of movement within its confines.

The changing appearance of the prison in the twentieth century did not fundamentally alter the regimes within. Newer designs such as this focus on creating 'community,' vast institutions have become fragmented into smaller units to facilitate this. The spatial structure, functional program and institutional regime which supplement these forms bear no similarity to their nineteenth century precursors (Jewkes, 2007). According to Jewkes (2007), in the long run, these characteristics are likely to influence the quality of life and social relations in a much more powerful, and lasting way, than the formal imagery.

The twenty-first century brief incorporating direct supervision, which has been the inspiration of the learning prison, has begun to direct more attention toward the relationship between staff and offenders. Discourses of rehabilitation have given way to new ideas concerned with helping offenders to change and improve as an outcome of their own efforts. Spatial organisation is critical to the new generation of prison architecture which seeks to incorporate features of situational crime prevention into its design. The housing units of the learning prison strive to achieve this, employing new crime prevention and rehabilitative strategies.

4.2.3. ANALYSIS

4.2.3.1. HARD ARCHITECTURE AND SOFT ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the prison is aimed at creating a humane and secure environment taking care to avoid repressive settings characteristically linked with prison design. The 'houses', are supposed to create a normalised environment, that offenders can adopt as their home for the duration of their sentence (Cottam et al., 2002). Cells are designed with views to nature for a non-claustrophobic environment, bars or grilles are also non-existent.

The prison environment is focused on quality and performance. Sufficient daylighting and natural ventilation using the venturi effect is applied promoting the wellbeing of offenders. Hard and soft landscaping is used on ground level. Gardens planted with flowers, herbs and small trees will provide shade and produce fragrances offering a calming setting. The basketball court with harder more durable surface creates a balance of textures (Fig, 29).

It is clear that maintenance has been a major consideration in the design. A hard exterior material of precast concrete is chosen because of its robustness and durability. The repetitive forms allow for fast prefabricated construction. For the lowest story and garden walls, sheets of corten steel cladding is envisaged. The steel has an inherent protective layer, providing a robust envelope which weathers to form a protective layer, thereby mitigating the necessity to reapply protective finishes or to budget for cleaning. The upper levels of the live-learn units are proposed to have less robust systems and materials, such as timber, incorporating high levels of insulation and visual connections to gardens and courtyards through large windows. The exposed pre-cast concrete superstructure would constitute the bulk of the internal finishes alleviating the need for decoration.

The houses are identical, although in no way resemble a typical prison structure but rather, a residential complex. Their indistinguishable nature also reinforced by the lack of variation in building height and high walled gardens could be interpreted as a lack of consideration for offenders individuality. The forms appear heavy with their robust materials and rigid angular block-like appearances which enforce a subtle air of control.

4.2.3.2. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

It is proposed that an offender under the new regime would be expected to spend a certain amount of time in the house and in communal spaces, similar to a working adult in the real world (Cottam et al., 2002). Offenders' are accommodated in single cells allowing for both privacy and interaction. Each cell is paired with a neighbouring 'buddy' cell. The cell has a central door between the two individual cells,

allowing them the option of a roommate if desired (Fig. 26). This feature controlled by the offenders. The element of choice safeguards against structured dependency and rigid routines which other institutions endorse (Rorrison, 2015). The cell is designed to save space and give the impression of a larger unit with a sloping ceiling above the bathroom (Fig. 27). The in-cell sanitation is provided with a door creating a humane environment. In each house the cells are arranged in a U-shape (Fig, 24), with the lowest floor of the house being largely communal (Fig, 25), used for leisure, dining and house meetings. Varying levels of publicness and privacy can be identified.

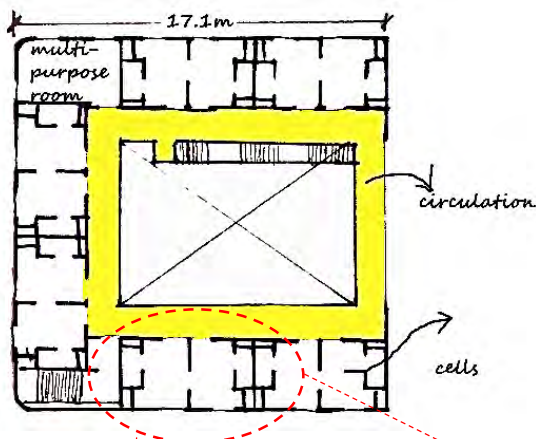


Figure 24 (Author, 2015) showing the Learning Prison upper floor of housing unit, single cells arranged in U-shape and circulation to lower communal level by author

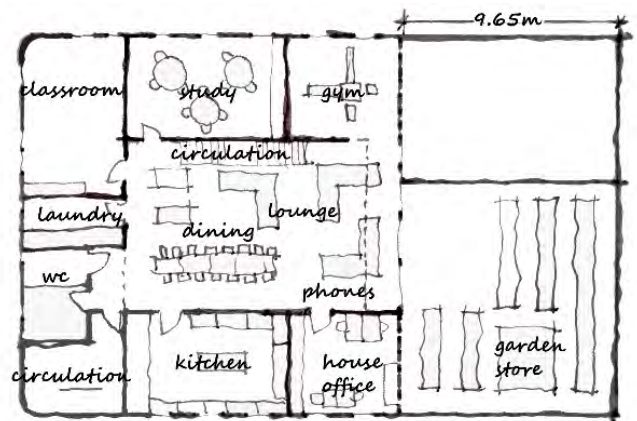


Figure 25 (Author, 2015) showing communal spaces in housing unit and circulation to semi-public ground floor by author

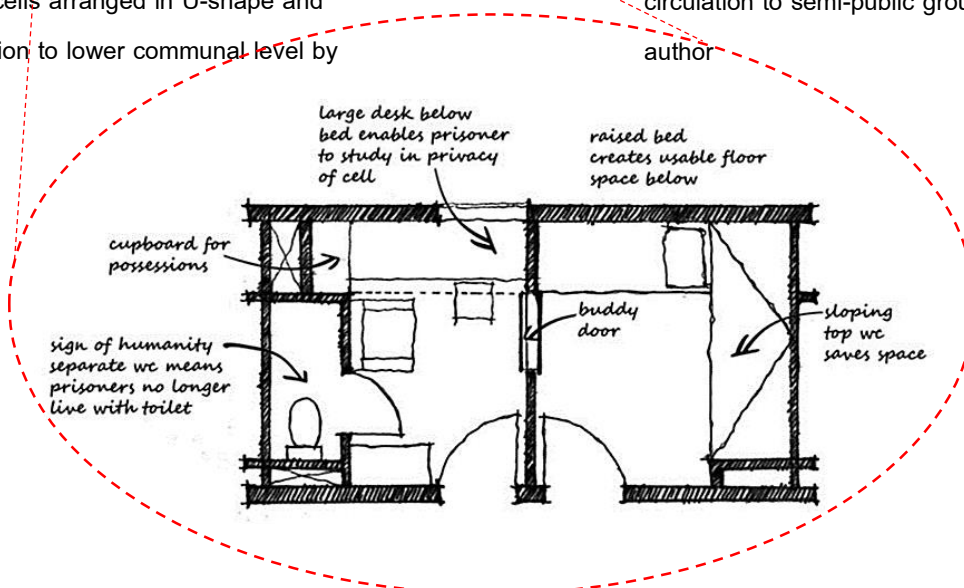


Figure 26 (Author, 2015) showing 'buddy cells' enlarged from upper floor housing unit by author

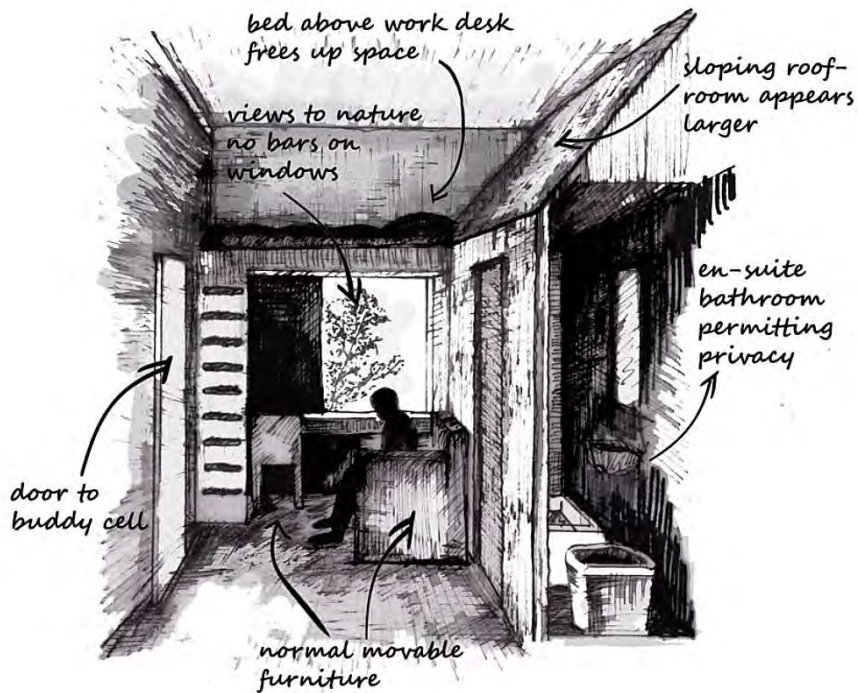


Figure 27 (Author, 2015) showing perspective view of cell

4.2.3.3. ISOLATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

In the learning prison the individual gradually learns to discipline their own life, as an active member of the house community (Rorrison, 2015). The idea behind such a prison that provides for a smaller number is that offenders can now be located to a prison closer to their families and communities. Making visitation easier and thus aiding in maintaining family ties.

The house offers social integration which closely replicates conditions in society. It enables forms of activity and movement which make the establishment more effective and affordable. The houses are networked for working and learning, with screens for individual intranet education. This gives offenders a choice between group learning and individual learning. Offenders are often self-conscious and prefer individual learning, this way the offender is protected from any potential humiliation that may incur from a group situation. The ground floor has common areas available for learning, counselling, working and exercise. Each house has communal facilities for the members of that particular house, almost representative of family life in the outside world. Offenders would be expected to work an eight-hour day and partake in community activities such as cleaning, cooking and budgeting. These too are learning activities, central to the offenders' ability to structure their lives after release (SIX, 2010). Offenders are expected to be active in the day to day running of the prison. Communal spaces are larger and more

comfortable pleasant spaces encouraging offenders to partake in socialisation and interact with others (Cottam et al., 2002).

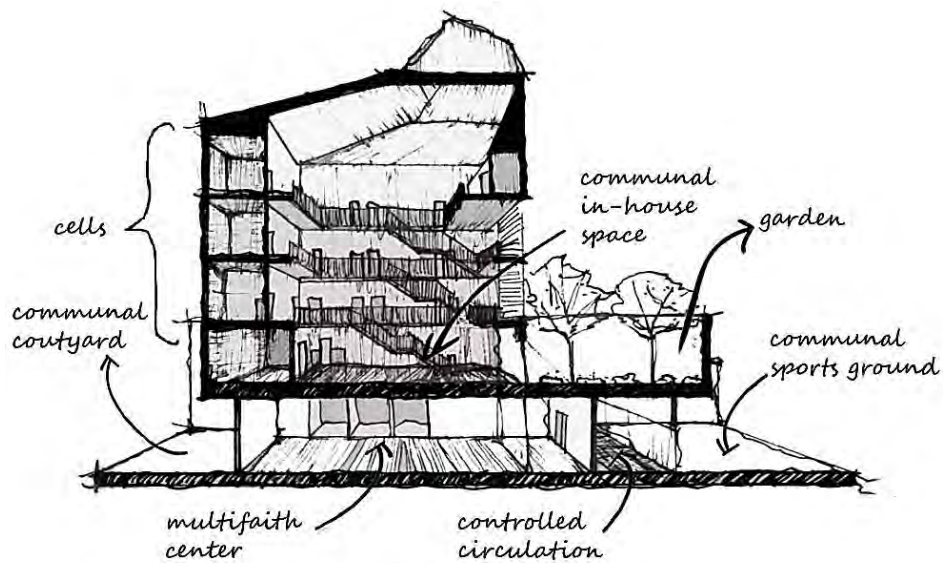


Figure 28 (Author, 2015) showing a cross-section of the house. With cells on the top three floors; a communal space on the first floor and a learning centre on the ground.

The outside community is completely shut off, and offenders are only expected to connect with visitors that are known family and friends. No effort is made to reintegrate the offenders with the immediate community, which could create potential difficulties upon offender release.

The ground floor is where most of the social activities take place. Three central workshops allow for half the prison population to work simultaneously, promoting socialisation and interaction. The ground floor incorporates a shop, health center, sports hall, pool, a multi faith center, administration block, visiting area and library. The communal facilities are clustered and within this arrangement a ring of circulation is embedded.

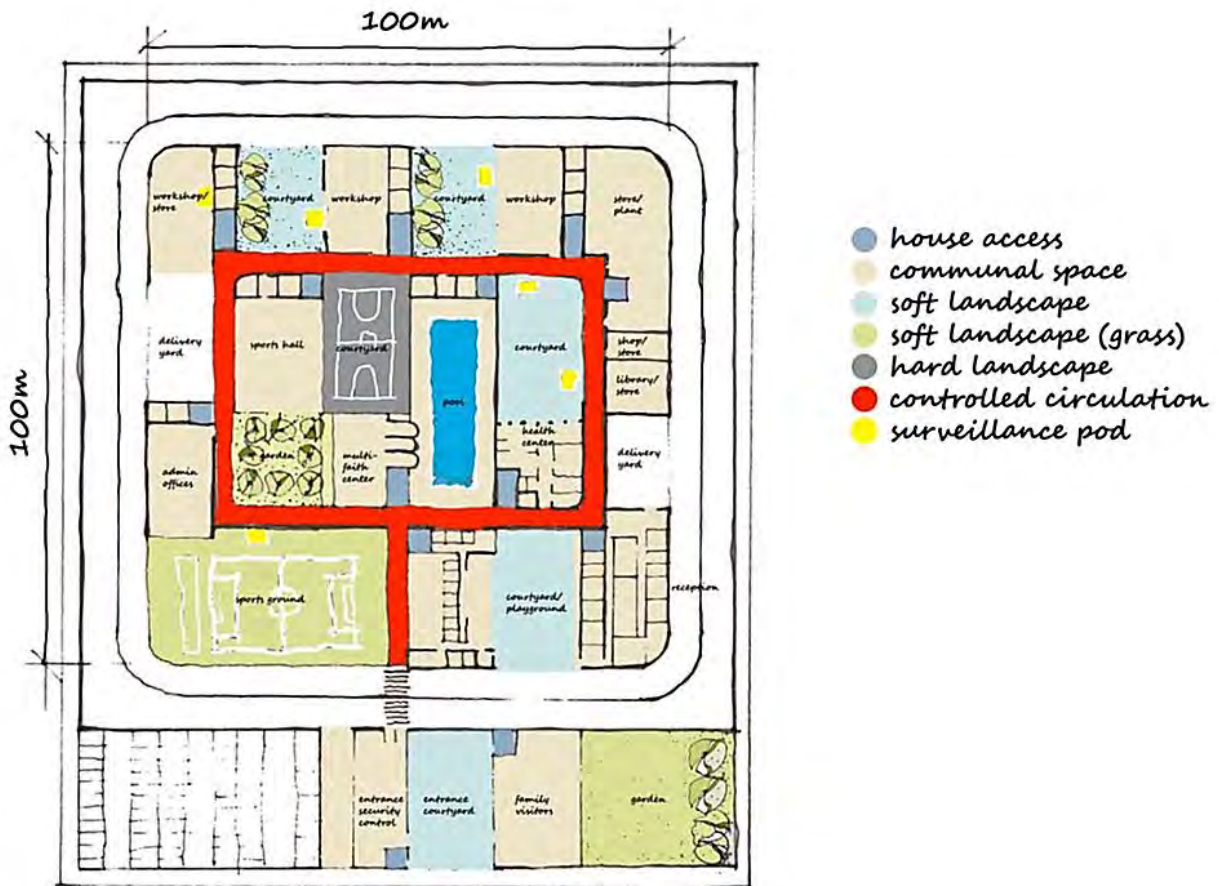


Figure 29 (Author, 2015) Ground floor plan showing activity spaces and key services.

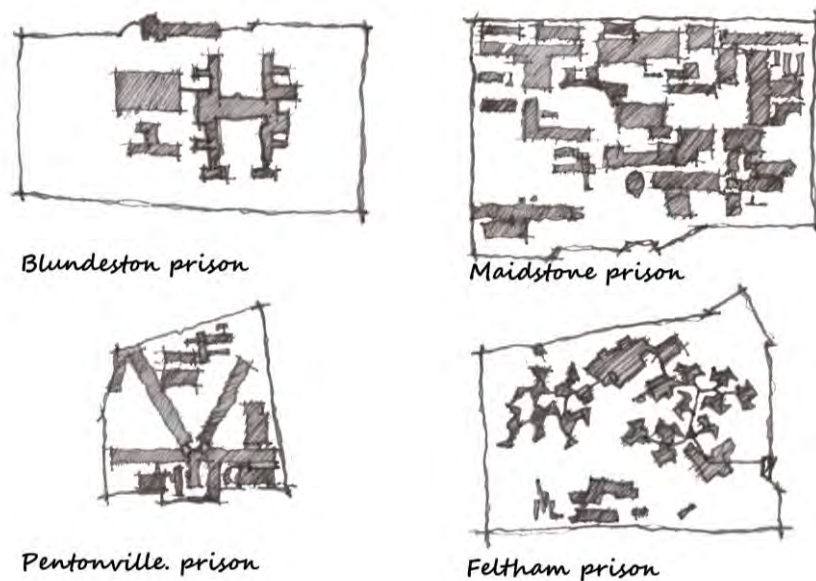
4.2.3.4. SECURITY VERSUS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The design focusses on movement and densifying the site, looking at how prisons are usually arranged in order to improve it. Cottam et al. (2002) claim that prisons were historically designed with little regard of the shape of external space. Prisons were and are still designed with arbitrary buildings 'in a sea of external space' confined within a secure perimeter (Fig. 30). This affects, movement and security. Once outside the buildings an offender can move to any point inside the perimeter with supervision. Their argument states that this makes the prison hard to control without intensive staff management. In new generation prisons freedom of movement within the secure prison perimeter is encouraged as it allows the offender to gain independence and more control over their own lives. This unsupervised freedom however may cause a loss of internal control (Fairweather, McConville, 2000). Although, by predicating

the need for offenders to be constantly supervised from building to building it also implies authorities' mistrust toward offenders to carry out basic responsibilities.

Traditionally, cells are located deep within the building, far from the exterior, creating unnecessary effort for management to access them. Movement between wings and centralised activities is via outside space, creating a further barrier for offenders trying to access the services (Cottam et al., 2002). The learning prison model has planned the spaces in an orderly fashion with little movement required from activity to activity and from cells to services. This indicates that it allows for very limited freedom of movement within the site.

The Learning Prison appears to be liberal in terms of security, however the space is 'strictly controlling.' Instead of openly depriving offenders of their freedom as the panopticon model suggests, the prison reverses this logic. Clearly defined spaces serve as a means of control within which activities are unrestricted (Sanyal, 2014). Offenders will have free access to small pockets of secure space, but they will be closely supervised by the presence of staff teams located in the houses (Fig, 31 & 32). Thus serving as a preventative crime measure. Security measures are incorporated for the safety of the offender thus reducing the risk of self-harm.



The existing distribution of prison buildings within their sites. - drawings show large masses of external space & buildings spread out requiring much circulation space between wings and units

Figure 30 (Author, 2015) showing diagrams of buildings with excessive external space between them

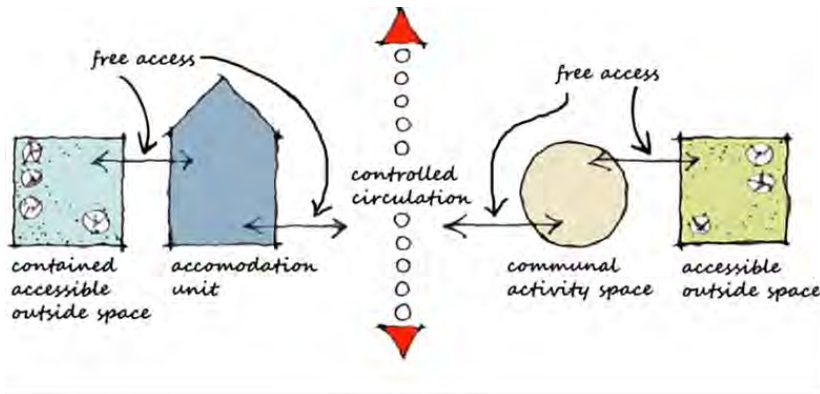


Figure 31 (Author, 2015) showing controlled and free access movements. Since direct access is enabled to courtyard and garden, no managed movement is required.

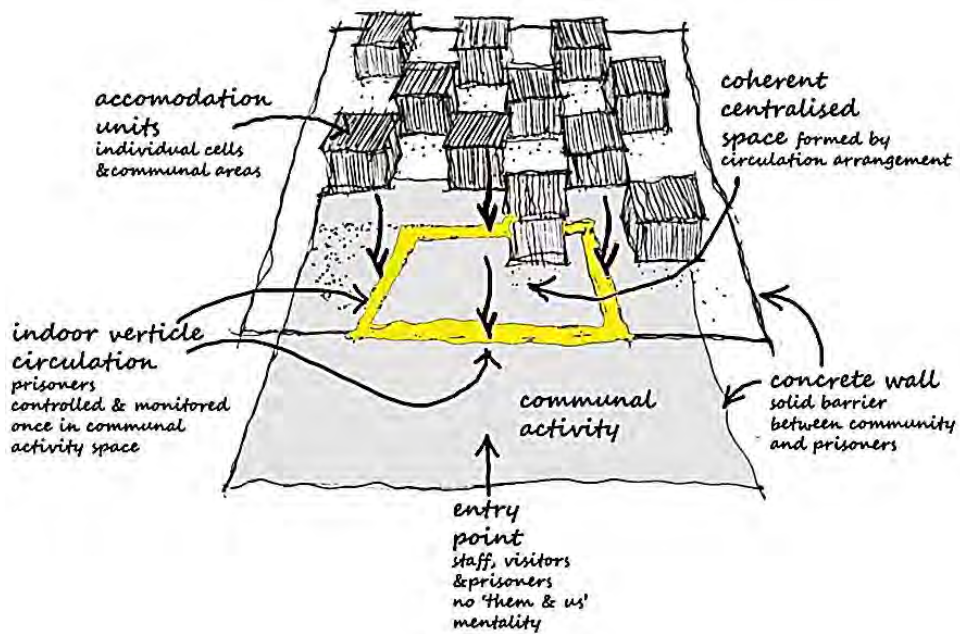


Figure 32 (Author, 2015) showing diagrammatic representation of houses above the ground floor level of communal activity. Vertical circulation from each house leads to main controlled circulation which provides access to communal activities.

4.2.4. CONCLUSION

The building does not simply act as a container for detention, but is also an active variable supporting the prison service programme and outcomes. Most attributes are particularly commendable and relate to the balance of autonomy and control. Robust forms are balanced by soft natural features, social

interaction is encouraged while the privacy of its users are respected and freedom of control within confinement is allowed for.

4.3. BORONIA PRE-RELEASE CENTER

4.3.1. BACKGROUND

The Boronia pre-release center is located in Bentley, Western Australia ten kilometres from the Perth central business district. It is owned by the Department of Justice and has been in operation since May 2004 (Bgconstruction, 2015). It is located close to services for offenders, including public transport for visitors and to other residences (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, (2012). It currently accommodates for ninety-five offenders (Government of Western Australia, 2015) and has become popular for its alternative approach to correctional services attracting national and international interest. Boronia works closely with its feeder prison Bandyup and it is expected that offenders entering Boronia have completed their offender treatment programs at Bandyup. Offenders with a sentence of six months or more are eligible for an individual management program at Boronia and will therefore have their specific program needs identified.

The department was tasked with having to convince the nearby residents that the new prison would be a positive for the community. Community involvement has allowed trust relationships between the centre and the community to be formed. Positive relationships with local community participants and organisations was maintained throughout the process and in reciprocation the offenders did reparative work for the local community organisations (UTS library, 2012).

The projected outcomes of Boronia include a 'reduced rate of reoffending and the improved education, training, work and health of the women'. It is important to note that offenders are only placed at Boronia after a rigorous screening selection process which includes assessments regarding any risk to children, mental health status and general suitability. Offenders must also formally sign up to the centre's values. If the offenders fail to conform to the expected behaviour of the facility they can be deported back to Bandyup Women's Prison (which maintains a much harsher environment for maximum, medium and minimum offenders).

4.3.2. MOTIVATION AND JUSTIFICATION OF PRECEDENT

The Government of Western Australia, Department of Corrective Services has moved away from treating women as 'offenders who happen to be women, to acknowledging their special needs' (Spence, 2010). The new regime embraces family and children, and acknowledges the mothering role by commissioning non-correctional architects to consider a child's perspective in the design process, and take inspiration from other child focused buildings to embrace a 'non-institutional' feel with a community based design (Spence, 2010). The Boronia Pre-release Centre is an example of their achievements.

Unlike most of the twenty-first century prisons it considers reintegration on a much more meaningful level. It is therefore more likely to succeed in combatting re-offense whilst tackling issues of stigmatisation and institutionalisation. It seeks to promote community engagement assimilating prison life with the community in an attempt to ready offenders for release. This creates an opportunity to develop positive relations with the community. Specific attention has also been given to its spatial logic, positive environment as well as integration of built form and outside spaces. The center is based on a 'village' concept of multiple dwellings in a park-like setting.

Positive feedback through social indicators of progressive behavioural change and reduced reoffending rates has confirmed that Boronia is 'working'. The centre helps offenders to find employment and ensures that they have a stable home to go back to after release, reducing offenders' anxieties about leaving and coping with life after prison. Apart from its reintegration strategy, Boronia is designed as a women's only prison and seeks to recognise women's specific needs. Boronia allows up to six children under the age of four to reside with their mothers (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, 2012). Recognising the need for mothers to maintain close relationships with their children.

4.3.3. ANALYSIS

4.3.3.1. HARD ARCHITECTURE AND SOFT ARCHITECTURE

The center is located in a suburban area, landscaped with plants and trees allowing the buildings to maintain a close relationship with nature thus promoting a soft, therapeutic environment. Pathways which snake throughout the site lead the offenders to their single storey residential units offering choices and remove the idea of having to travel in single file straight lines as in traditional prisons. The units are clustered in a garden setting with particular emphasis placed on normalization: small front yards, pitched roofs, porches and letterboxes take inspiration from the architecture of the surrounding context. The structures have been constructed to regular government housing standards but with slightly increased

robustness. Face brick serves as a hard material while corrugated metal cladding and roof sheeting is used to give the building a softer feel. Although the houses are identical in design individualisation is created through the use of different paint colours differentiating one from the next. The environment is child friendly and engaging. Play facilities are provided in front of the units allocated to mothers with children, allowing mothers to watch over their children easily. Entry into the center and visitation area is non-confrontational, with a shaded wide walkway and clear glass doors giving the building a sense of permeability. The visitation area is made to be an attractive and pleasant space and the adjacent outdoor areas provide room for small children to play, encouraging family and friends to stay for longer periods of time. It is evident that great care has been taken to make the environment a non-threatening one that is congruent with its surroundings.



Figure 33 (UTS library, 2012) showing aerial view of clustered residential units between garden areas and winding paths.



Figure 34 (Author, 2015) showing exterior facades and letter boxes.



Figure 35 (UTS library, 2012) showing children's playground outside living units allocated to mothers with younger children.



Figure 36 (UTS library, 2012) showing children's play area outside the family visitation area.

4.3.3.2. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

The prison is deliberately small to permit a more personal and individualised focus on women's needs. The women are given privacy within their own rooms which do not facilitate the need for surveillance in the form of closed-circuit television or officers. Officers visit the residential units and their presence can be felt throughout most common areas which are regarded as semi-public for staff and offenders. The public areas that allow outside volunteers and visitors make use of implements considerable amounts of glass allowing for transparency and supervision to be maintained. Since the building is open to community members, issues regarding intruders have arisen. Public and private areas have not been demarcated well enough and the use of signage provides little deterrent for intruders. Active measure in the form of physical barriers and the combination of increased signage, additional detection systems, improved cameras as well as the proposed additional staff member on night shift, should significantly impact the number of intrusions, and thus increase the safety of the staff and the residents of Boronia. (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, 2012).



Figure 37 (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, (2012) showing the visitation area with its transparent glass windows from ceiling to floor.



Figure 38 (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, (2012) sign providing little deterrent to opportunistic or unknowing trespassers

4.3.3.3. ISOLATION VS COMMUNITY LIVING

There are twelve residential living units accommodating up to five women. The women are encouraged to be self-efficient, and are expected to participate in household responsibilities. The environment closely mirrors life outside of prison attempting to encourage a less traumatic transition back to normal life. Boronia's self-care facility, expects residents to prepare their own meals in their shared houses. Each

house has a communal budget from which to make their purchases (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, 2012).

Staff help to facilitate the training of the offenders for normal life as well as try to arrange employment upon their release in conjunction with local trades as a measure to prevent recidivism. Boronia being a pre-release centre provides programs with a particular re-entry focus to assist with the resident's reintegration into their communities (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, 2012). Boronia's education center offers education and training courses. Cognitive skills program covering self-control, critical reasoning, problem solving, and interpersonal perspective taking and relapse prevention are done in groups (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, 2012). Apart from the community living within the housing units, interaction through education and re-entry training is also promoted.

The transition for new arrivals at Boronia is a difficult one. New arrivals are said to be treated with decency and respect, given a tour of the site by peer support residents, and surveyed within two weeks to ensure that they have accessed the services available to them. While the reception and orientation processes in place at Boronia are supportive, when women first arrive from Bandyup the period of their transition is often still extremely challenging. It was suggested that a designated self-care unit act as a 'transition unit' for women on the transfer list to Boronia. In addition extra guidance could be provided for newcomers by allocated mentors at Boronia for a period longer than what is currently delivered.

4.3.3.4. SECURITY VERSUS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Bandyup, Boronia's feeder prison, is a maximum-security environment surrounded by razor wire, in which offenders are under constant surveillance. The rules and expectations of appropriate behaviour are very different to those of Boronia. At Bandyup, offender behaviour is largely managed by the rules and procedures of the maximum-security environment, while at Boronia residents are expected to manage their own behaviour according to a model of personal responsibility.

The number of searches currently conducted on women entering and leaving the center appears to be appropriate for the risk associated with a women's minimum-security facility. However, departmental compliance standards reflect the stipulations requiring compulsory searches of all residents entering and leaving prison, meaning that Boronia consistently fails in this area in terms of its compliance with the states rules.

'It is mandatory that offenders are strip-searched: on first receipt and discharge from any prison'. However Boronia does not strip-search women transferring in, as the process would have already taken place prior to their departure from Bandyup. Security checks in the form of strip-searches are only conducted as part of the urine testing procedure, upon return from home leave, and on the occasion that intelligence identifies a need. This Office believes that Boronia's practice of strip-searching is conducted in a manner and frequency which is appropriate to the risk associated with minimum-security women. (Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services, (2012).

The facility includes high tech security systems, including a monitored perimeter fence incorporating polyphonic cabling, controlled video surveillance and infra-red detection beams. This system is integrated with supplementary systems such as fire alarms, duress buttons (Bgconstruction, 2015). Freedom of movement is largely liberal within the prison with officers present more as a means of safeguarding offenders than as a measure of control. Offenders carry out their daily duties in an unstructured environment within the prison but are supervised at random. The front reception area has a distinctly non institutional feel, and is also the offender reception point, making offenders feel like they are being treated with the same respect as regular citizens, saving them the humiliation of being escorted through a separate entrance just for offenders.



Figure 39 (Paddick, 2015) showing front entrance reception counter at Boronia, where women entering the facility are received, as well as visitors.

The perimeter of the center consists of a tennis court fence with a microphonic detection system. This enables the community to see in, and the residents to see out, thus eliminating the major solid barrier between community and residents like many correctional facilities have. The security on the site consists of closed-circuit television surveillance using low light sensitive cameras, and monitoring is from a 24/7

control room. The vegetation prevents clear lines of sight, however the positives of incorporating greenery were said to outweigh any disadvantages. The houses are 'locked down' nightly, and are able to be electronically scanned if required. Significant emphasis is placed on Dynamic Security similar to many new generation facilities. (Paddick, 2015)

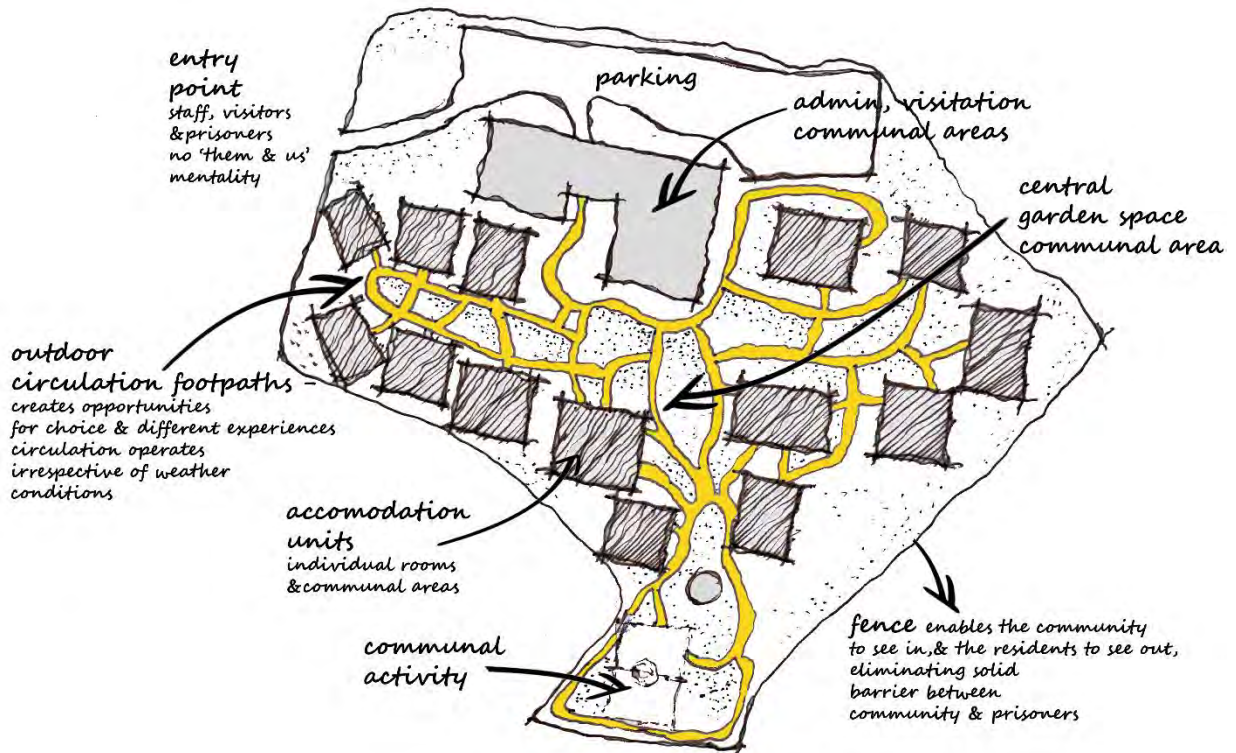


Figure 40 (Author, 2015) showing housing layout, entry points and activity zones with circulation highlighted in yellow

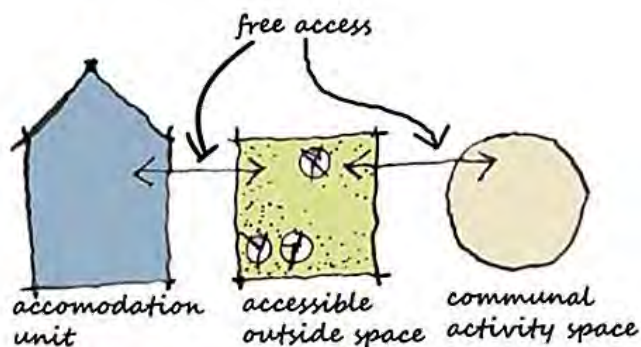


Figure 41 (Author, 2015) diagram showing movement of offenders.

4.3.4. CONCLUSION

Despite its reasonable cost and positive recidivism reduction results, Boronia still fights to stay open as it seeks to provide a benchmark for Women's Correctional facilities in Australia and worldwide (Paddick, 2015). The main positive attributes regarding the centres design acknowledges that it is family friendly and seeks to reduce stigmatisation by allowing the community to interact with the prisoners. The typology of pre-release centre also a new concept and targets the specific need to aid individuals in the crucial re-entry phase.

4.4. LOCAL PRECEDENT MALMESBURY CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

4.4.1. BACKGROUND

The Malmesbury Correctional Centre is located in Malmesbury, a town in the Western Cape farmlands. Its maximum-security facility that houses approximately 912 offenders costing R173 million to build (Women24, 2004). The prison comprises of eleven housing units and one cooks housing unit. Apart from the housing units, it also comprises of the following units: visitation, admission, hospital, counseling, kitchen, general stores, workshops, class rooms and an administration section (secelec, 2015). Dayrooms are the central feature of the units and reserved for the inhabitants of that unit alone. Malmesbury prison is a pilot project, therefore its success will determine whether the Department will build more facilities of its kind (issafrica, 1998).

The brief from the Departments of Correctional Services and Public Works saw the project as a simple refinement of previously existing prison plans that had been passed for the construction of prisons in Goodwood and Porterville. ACG Architects was opposed to being ordered into design choices using and wanted to showcase the shift in political and ideological governance in South Africa. Their aim was to design an institution that would form part of a national effort at social reconstruction. The Departments stated that their aim for providing this brief was to 'ensure a more humane environment for offenders as well as direct supervision.' However the amalgamation of the two older prison designs, although both post-apartheid prisons, was not going to achieve this (Gillespie, 2010).

Malmesbury prison was apprehended a flagship prison of the post-apartheid era (Hancock & Jewkes, 2001), but is this the standard that all new prisons should be built to? Although the prison strives to meet international standards it still falls short in many ways. South Africa seems to fall behind when compared

to contemporary prison systems throughout the world. The only way that it can be seen as an improvement is when it is compared to other local prisons.

4.4.2. MOTIVATION & JUSTIFICATION

The Department of Correctional Services has, since the end of the apartheid regime, proposed mechanisms to help the reintegration of offenders in South African prisons. The Constitution of 1996, the Correctional Services Act (Act No 11 of 1998) and the integrated justice system which abolished racial segregation and torture in prisons inform the new white paper on corrections in 2005. This white paper forms a final break with the past archaic penal system and places rehabilitation at the center of penal design (Department of Correctional Services, 2015).

Malmesbury prison was opened in December 1997 as a 'new generation prison' (Gillespie, 2010 & Issafrica, 1998) and the first South African prison that explicitly claimed to be a post-apartheid facility. Its acclaimed status meant that it would be required to question the validity of celebrating the improvement of the techniques of incarceration developed in the late 1990's. The majority of prisons around South Africa were built to incorporate the traditional intermittent surveillance technique of management, however, the newer strategy called 'unit management' the 'concept that changed corrections' was adopted. Unit management drove the design process compelling the subdivision of a typically large facility into smaller units that function as semi-autonomous groupings of guards and offenders.

Despite the architect's attempts to incorporate newer design strategies with the intention of creating a more humane environment, the facility is still not successful in accomplishing the goals of rehabilitation and reintegration. Due to overcrowding many of the specialised facilities are not used for their intended purposes.

'We are supposed to be a flagship institution, but we haven't been trained sufficiently to know how to use it', Say the wardens at Malmesbury prison (Gillespie, 2010).

'The wrong offenders are in the wrong sections'- (architect & project manager of Malmesbury, 2015)

Little privacy, hard architecture, feeble attempts at Community living and high-tech security systems do not make for a progressive design. Female offenders are neglected and their special needs overlooked as the male and female pods are identical in structure and security. Pregnant women and children are not considered in the design therefore they are not typically housed here.

4.4.3. ANALYSIS

4.4.3.1. HARD ARCHITECTURE AND SOFT ARCHITECTURE

Malmesbury Correctional Centre was designed to function as a 'flow diagram'. Offenders enter the facility at the assessment centre where warders devise individualised 'sentence plans', offenders are then designated a cell and an institutional programme which unfolded through a particular series of units, classrooms and workshops, finally offenders are to depart at the administration block where they originally entered from, displaying a full circuit of which stages diagrammatically signify the process of subject transformation (Gillespie, 2010). The program and circuit enforces a disciplinary regime which is intended to become an indicator for behavioural action. The formal layout of spaces that move offenders from one stage to the next exemplifies the theory of institutionalisation, where social order encompasses subjective experiences. Repetitive building forms although kept at a human scale display a single hard material throughout, exhibiting robustness.

Face brick exterior walls are punctured with openings larger than most of the other South African prisons, but still maintain the grills as an escape prevention measure. The double volume dayroom allows for much natural light to enter which is seen as a positive although good intentions somehow got lost in the unit housing section where the dayroom was substituted for an open courtyard. According to the architect and project manager (2015), in the winter offenders cells are not warm enough because of the open nature of the design, these cells are now used as a punishment feature for badly behaved criminals. Soft architecture is scarce, in the form of landscaping between cell units and the grassy football fields. Long length tables and fixed benches were intended to encourage interaction between unit members although spacious and naturally illuminated, the hard immovable furniture and materiality of the interiors seem unwelcoming.

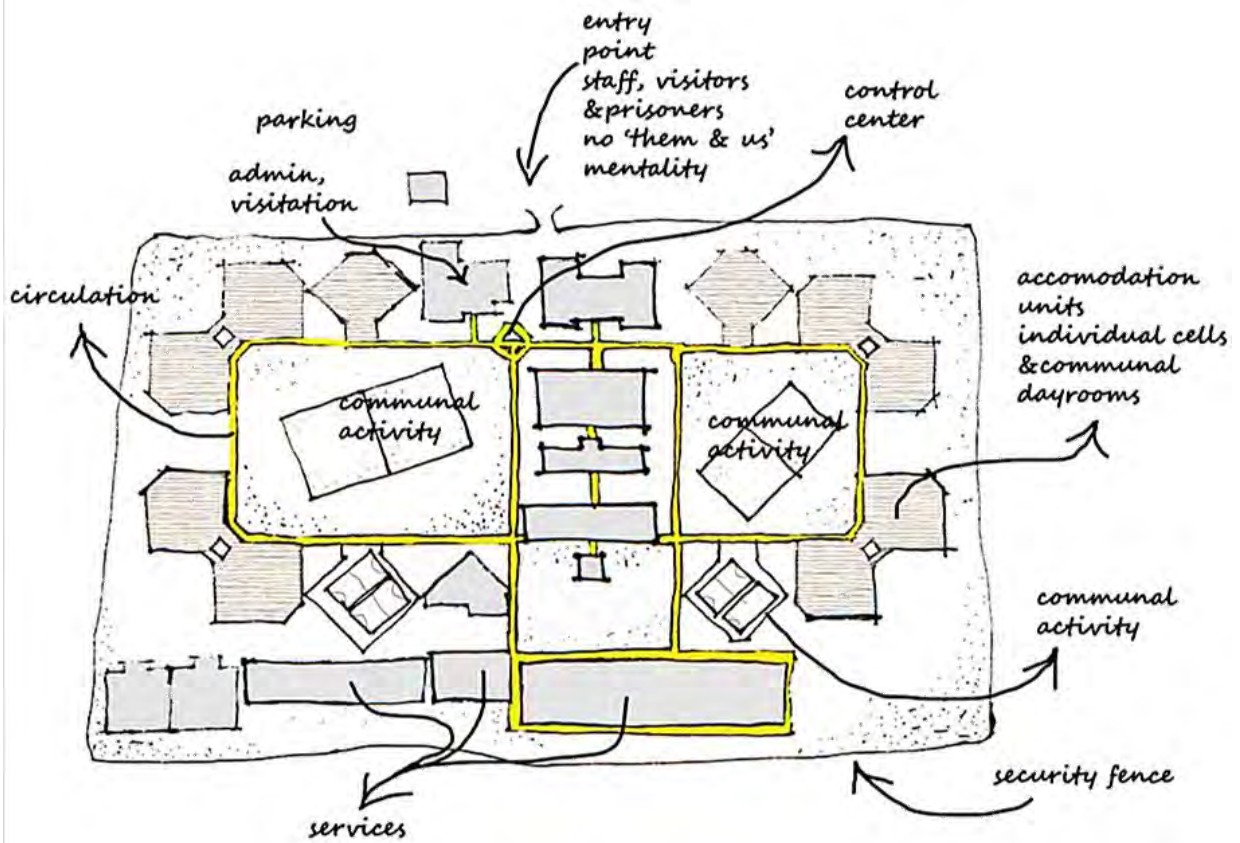


Figure 42 (Author, 2015) Plan showing podular layout, entry points, control centre and activity spaces and continuous circuit route in yellow

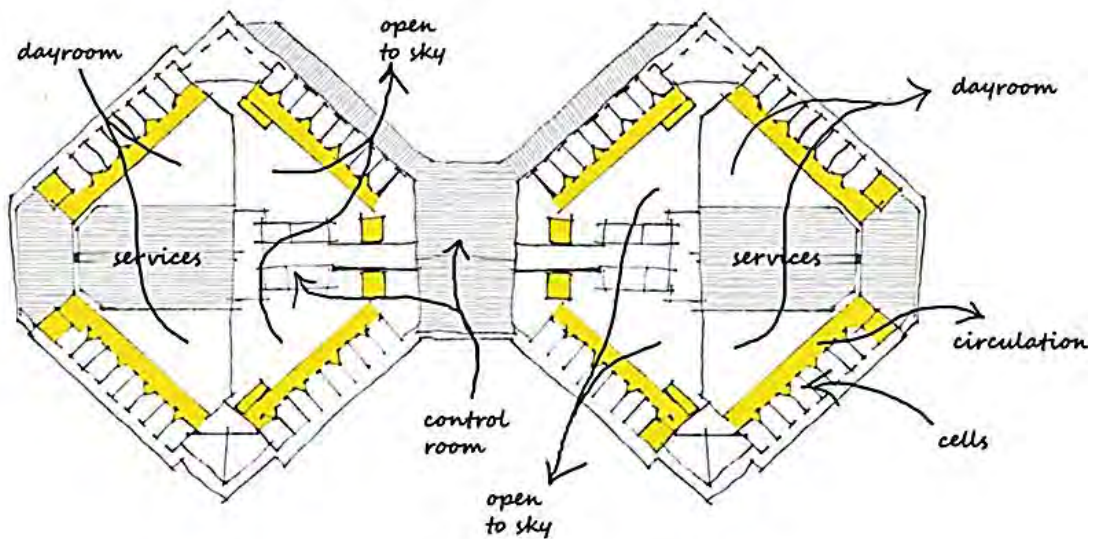


Figure 43 (Author, 2015) Plan of conjoined living pods showing cell layout with open to sky dayroom



Figure 44 (Qunu Consulting (Pty) Ltd , 2009) aerial view of Malmesbury Correctional Centre showing living pods and ordered design

4.4.3.2. PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE

The sections consist of double and single cells (Fig. 45). The cells have beds, lockers, desks and chairs, as well as wash hand basins and toilets which are situated behind the door as opposed to in front of the door, thus providing some privacy for the offender (Issafrica, 1998). Unfortunately overcrowding has forced cells to house more offenders than they were built for, consequently, less privacy is obtained. The in-cell sanitation although not visible to the corridors is not concealed nor separately enclosed in the cell and therefore it's acclaimed humane status can be questioned. The doors to each cell have a small glazed opening for supervision by wardens which allows privacy to some extent, which is an improvement to the traditional grilles. Public areas such as the dayroom and communal activity areas are public although men and women have separate pods and are not permitted to intermix. This is ensured by physical barriers and wardens.

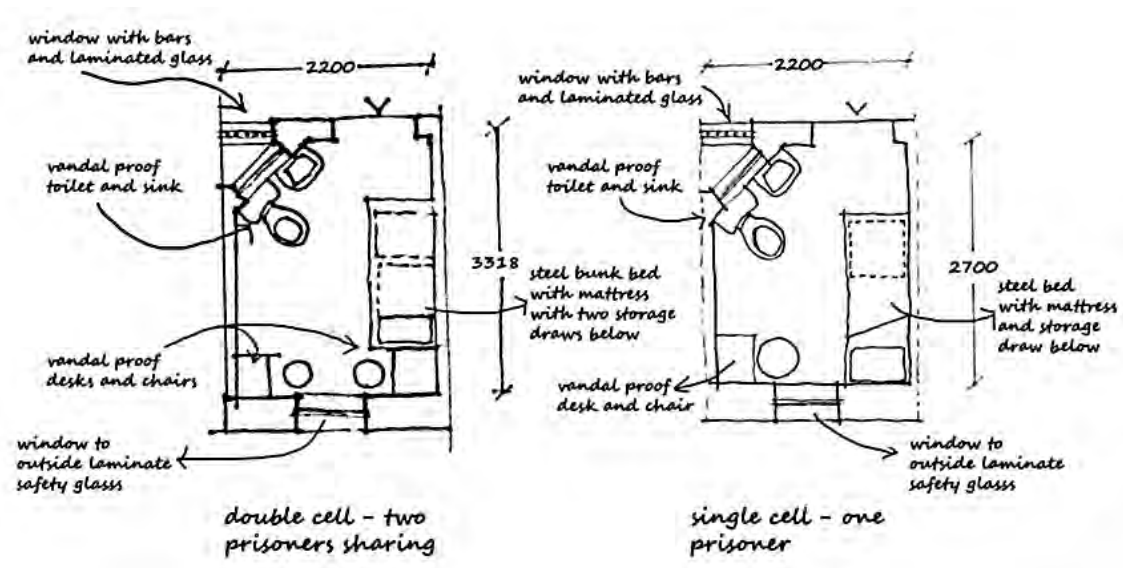


Figure 45 (Author, 2015) Double and single cell plans

4.4.3.3. ISOLATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

The housing units are self-contained with a kitchen, dining area and laundry room. The cook's pod provides all the sections with food prepared daily, this kitchen is run by the offenders. Such a design helps to group the offenders into standard living environments and help them to take on daily responsibilities (Issafrica, 1998). Other facilities such as the education centre, workshops, entertainment centre (including rooms for psychological counselling and a chapel), and football fields encourage the self-development and education of offenders (Issafrica, 1998). Unfortunately women are not considered separate to men and all facilities are general with sports facilities mainly designed for men and masculine sporting activities. While women prefer privacy these facilities are open and can be viewed by all. Cells are small to promote offenders to leave their cells when they can. The dayroom is provided as the primary place of interaction although the feeling of being watched would be apparent with reflective mirrors and CCTV cameras viewing this space. Within the unit, offenders and warders are meant to exist as a small community.



Figure 46 (Gillespie, 2010) A Malmesbury 'pod', with cells overlooking dayroom where social interaction is encouraged. Offenders have free access to Long tables with benches inspiring large groups of offenders to sit and eat together.

4.4.3.4. SECURITY VERSUS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

One of the main defining features of the centre is how it is managed. Each unit consists of self-contained offender accommodation, staff office area and control room. The control room displays each pod diagrammatically and the main control room, displays the entire prison. This is where all access points in the prison can be monitored from. The cameras allow the warders in the control room to watch and control all movement around the prison. Functioning as a 'high-tech panopticon', the CCTV system allowed the control room user to see and hear the prison without being seen or heard him/herself.

The units have one unit manager and four case management supervisors who are responsible for the various sections within the units, as well as twenty-eight case officers who interact and supervise with the offenders on a daily basis. This structure was intended to encourage ownership of the task and better supervision of the offenders (Issafrica, 1998). The central control room sits in the administration offices at the entrance to the centre and the smaller control rooms are situated in the various units. More than half of the budget allocated for the prison design was spent on security and yet Malmesbury still has security issues, 'the CCTV cameras were not able to prevent cases of assault and corruption by warders' (Issafrica, 1998). The Panopticon merely relied on its form to attain the kind of results necessary to achieve control over all its subjects while other designs rely on people as well as the design, therefore even if the design is faultless the users are not.

Malmesbury is much more complex a system, than a 'straightforward high-tech panopticon.' Within the broader surveillance technique, warders inside each unit are tasked with 'direct supervision' making Malmesbury a remote surveillance model as well as a direct supervision one (Gillespie, 2010). Malmesbury's security strived to be in line with the latest of international designs with 'dignified accommodation in an environment facilitating movement, interaction and change is conducive to rehabilitation'. However, the creation of a penal institution can rarely, if ever, approximate the kind of architectural determinism that Foucault ascribed to the panopticon.

The ring of independent pods, arranged around sports fields allows for a ring of semi-enclosed circulation to be formed. This is a sheltered walkway with wire netting on either side that allows various cross-routes between facilities. The entire walkway is monitored by CCTV cameras. At the entrance to each building, as well as at various points along the corridors and within buildings, electronic doors restrict both offenders and warders. The doors do not operate with keys but are opened and closed via a central control room.

Apart from the CCTV cameras and intercom system located at every door in the prison, including the doors to each prison cell, the presence of the control room is entirely obscured. The dark room accommodates for two wardens who sit in front of computer screens, television monitors, speakers and microphones. When an intercom is pressed anywhere in the prison, including in any cell, the computer screens alert the warden. The warden responds by clicking the message which enlarges a diagram of the section where the alert is coming from and activates the corresponding intercom audio allowing the warders in the control room to communicate with the person at the door (Gillespie, 2010).

The physical structure of a prison does not alleviate the various problems of managing such an institution. Due to the decentralisation, areas are separately managed although officers are not trained sufficiently and many of the tasks left in their control are not fulfilled.



Figure 47 (Gillespie, 2010) Inside control room in cell unit/'pod', looking out onto the dayroom with cells in background

4.4.4. CONCLUSION

New generation prison spaces such as this one, may at first sight appear to be humane alternatives to the traditional forms of imprisonment, but if the attention is returned to the theories of Panopticonism and Rehabilitation this interpretation is not wholly accurate. Rather, what is suggested is that simple forces of surveillance and constraint have been replaced by advanced technologies of subjection orientated towards the production of a new form of model law-abiding citizen. The centre is an institution that may be celebrated for its focus toward rehabilitation but still falls short in many aspects. It seeks to keep offenders in and the community out representing total institutionalisation, and the reintegration of offenders to society is almost non-existent with the visitation privileges of any other older prison model.

The Malmesbury project helped to initiate a set of changes within the Department of Correctional Services that gradually built momentum and was given full expression in the 2004 White Paper on Correctional Services, a document that has unit management and the case officer at the center of its agenda for the transformation of South African prisons and the rehabilitation of South African criminality (Gillespie, 2010). However this is still inadequate and better attention needs to be given to the design of prisons.

The current policies of the Department of Correctional Services see the work of post-apartheid prisons as contributing to the development of social alternatives for offenders, with prisons themselves becoming a vehicle for the reconstruction of South African society. They claim to be 'going all out to rehabilitate

those seeking opportunities for change' and to be 'fully committed to a caring and just society.' (Ministry of Correctional Services, 2012). Correctional centres are meant to uphold the policies developed to transform society, yet what kind of policy uses enhanced security features as its central feature to achieve that? What kind of policy validates the massive cost of overdesigned new centres while basic services to law abiding citizens are withheld? And what is the real outcome of rendering these institutions ever more sophisticated in their management and design techniques? Malmesbury's renowned status exists subsequent to the bleakness of other local prisons but in comparison with structures that permeate the reforming institution worldwide, South Africa has made less progress than what should be expected (Gillespie, 2010).

CHAPTER 5 CASE STUDY, ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

5.1. CASE STUDY: DURBAN WESTVILLE FEMALE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

5.1.1. INTRODUCTION

The degrees of banality and bleakness that are embodied by correctional facilities extend beyond the physical architecture into everyday aspects of life within: from the low-grade food to the unflattering uniforms, weakly lit cells, polished institutional corridors and the repetitive and routine work doled out by authorities - the Durban Westville Correctional Centre is no different. It reveals an archetypal penal aesthetic through both its exterior and interior workings.

Early prison designs built in the nineteenth century such as the Westville Correctional Centre have not been consigned to the history books but are still largely operational with thousands of offenders living, sleeping and working in these monoliths. Although programmes of renovation and refurbishment have sought to improve their functionality, these institutions are overcrowded and remain largely inadequate (NICRO, 2014).

5.1.2. BACKGROUND

The Durban Westville Correctional Centre is one of the largest correctional centres in South Africa, established in 1985 as a result of the amalgamation of the Central and Point prisons. It is the only Centre located in the Durban area twenty kilometres inland from the Durban city centre. The layout resembles the intermittent surveillance model with long corridor and cell plans. The Durban Westville Correctional Centre comprises of five sections or Correctional Centres namely: Durban Correctional Centre A (which houses un-sentenced awaiting trial offenders); Durban Correctional Centre B (which houses sentenced male maximum security offenders); Durban Correctional Centre C (which houses sentenced medium security offenders); Durban Youth Correctional Centre (which houses youth who are in conflict with the law and have been sentenced); and Durban Female Correctional Centre (which houses female sentenced and un-sentenced offenders). Since women in incarcerative facilities are the focus of the research, the female centre will be analysed in detail below.

5.1.3. MOTIVATION

In keeping with the mission of the Department of Correctional Services to place rehabilitation at the centre of all Departmental activities in partnerships with external stakeholders, the Westville prison is currently running a: cool and fit for life youth programme; Sisonke-marriage programme; the family care and relationship programme, the sexual offender treatment programme and a pre-release programme. It is evident that the Department is attempting to transform the image of its centres toward rehabilitation rather than punishment, as the name, correctional centre suggests. Unfortunately new programmes and new names do not detract from the outmoded penal designs incorporated into the centres. The women's section which was previously designed for whites only still has some features associated with its apartheid past, showcasing just one of the features attached to its dated design.

Apart from the security grilles at the entrances to the separate wings large steel doors attached to them were used to protect the identities of white offenders from black staff. The security design in the female center is not very much different from the male centres says Jannet, an HIV counsellor at the Centre (and my tour escort at the centre). The aim to create a more positive environment is evident in some areas of the building such as the mother and baby units, however the rest of the female section is still not devoid of harsh and dehumanising features showing a general lack of concern for individuals' emotional state.

5.1.4. ANALYSIS

5.1.4.1. HARD ARCHITECTURE VERSUS SOFT ARCHITECTURE

Bland and nondescript in appearance with vast expanses of face brick and rows of slit-like vertical windows reveal a low maintenance and hard exterior facade. The Centre represents the typical hallmarks of a nineteenth century reformatory. The building's form is heavy and domineering relayed by its choice in materiality and compact form. Archipelagos of identical living blocks clustered around a communal sports field form an expansive layout, housing the different categories of offenders. The youth and female correctional centres are the only ones with distinctive mural art on their front façades, forming a brief visual retreat from the other standard, bare walls. The Centre posits a prescriptive design ensuring that there is a lack of covert places and recesses for evils to take place in. Since the new democratic legislation, the Centre has overcome the need to enforce physical punishment, instead the building itself can be described as a passive instrument for maintaining control. Bars on windows, grille gates to

entrances of cells, high razor wire fencing, perimeter walls, and steel doors are built to promote security and discipline.

The interior spaces are claustrophobic while the exterior is sprawling and overbearing. Vandal proof furniture only features in the visitation room preventing contact visits between offenders and family members. In the standard cell, furniture ranges from scant to non-existent. Standard steel bunk beds adjacent to most cell walls sit amongst the clutter of the inhabitants belongings. Some cells do not have beds, so that offenders sleep on mattresses on the floor, these cells belong to the “mentally unstable”, Jannet explains. The hard furniture is removed to prevent self-harm. Inside, the restrictions of cellular confinement remain as they were during apartheid, offenders are accommodated in cells which were designed for sole occupancy, however overcrowding has been accommodated for with the stacking of two or three bunk beds on top of each other. A social worker at the prison states that “two is the maximum stacking number” since three has been known to fall down.



Figure 48 (Author, 2015) showing the prison exterior, characteristic of nineteenth century prison design.



Figure 49 (Author, 2015) showing the colourful mural art on the façade of the youth and women's Centre

The lack of consideration for the human psyche in the cell design is apparent. The single cells measure 1.8 meters wide by 2.4 meters deep and hold two or three offenders (Fig.50). The cells are designed in order to prevent escape or vandalism and the elimination of potential hiding places for contraband. Cells face the backs of other cells in an attempt to prevent communication between offenders. Hardly any space has been allocated for the storage of personal belongings. Economic efficiency is apparent in the long rows of cells however oversized and underutilized spaces have been transformed by offenders to create makeshift seating and exercise areas.

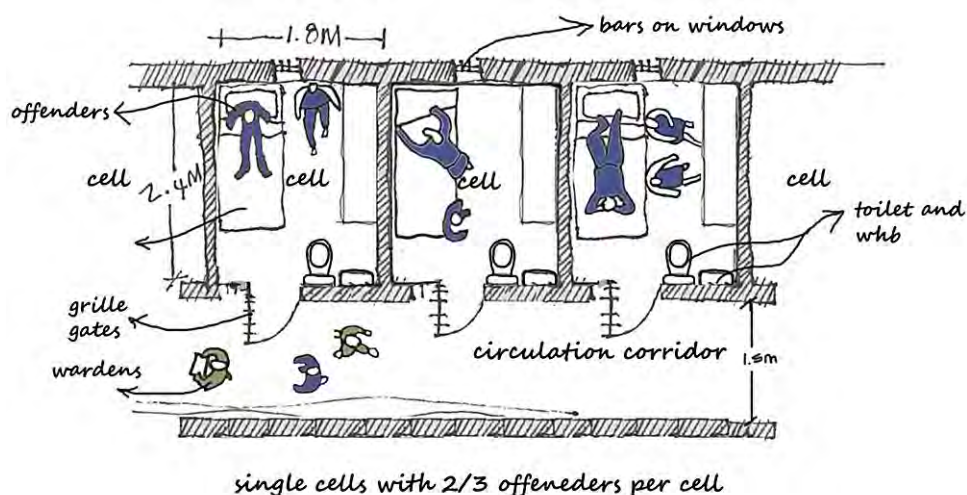


Figure 50 (Author, 2015) showing cell plan, representative of the cell layout within the Westville Female Centre.

The Mother and baby units are placed on the uppermost floor. There is a clear attempt being made in the mother and baby units to soften the furnishings and make it less prison-like. Durban University of Technology students were tasked with making wooden shelves, cots and desks with draws for the MBU's. These cell rooms do not include ablutions but communal ones are available on the floor. Cell entrances are fitted with regular doors instead of grilles and walls are painted in pastel colours. The floor also has a communal area equipped with large sinks, tables an oven and a washing machine as well as a small crèche area where the mothers can leave their children and go to work.



Figure 51 (Author, 2015) showing mother and baby cell room

5.1.4.2. PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE

Hancock and Jewkes (2011) describes incarceration as 'invisible' to society , done in part to calm fears about offender escapes and an intrusion of the 'undesirables' settling into the community after release. Westville Correctional Centre although placed in close proximity to the suburban residential area, is completely hidden from view. The centre is submerged amongst foliage with a lengthy winding road inland, suggesting the attempt to counteract the controversy or NIMBY-ism that arose when the proposal was announced. The built form itself displays small windows with bars making it impossible to see in from the outside. Two types of cells at the female Centre are apparent, single cells housing two to three offenders and mother and baby units housing a mother with her baby (new-born to eighteen months). Single cells are built with grille gates allowing visibility into the cell, a toilet faces the inside cell but can

still be seen by passers-by, allowing little privacy. The shared tight space allows for little personalisation of the space although the lack of storage places all of the offenders' personal items on display. Showers are communal and provided on each floor away from the cellular area -open to allow for some visibility by a female warden.

5.1.4.3. ISOLATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

Due to the high security nature of the design and its bias toward the male majority some sacrifices concerning the quality of life for female offenders is apparent. The activity service spaces including classrooms (Fig.52) and the sports field are located far from the female center, requiring staff to escort the women there but because this is not a practical option and since the centre is short-staffed, the women make-do with the available space within the female section. Within the facility makeshift communal spaces providing the same functions can be found. One example being the landing on the mother and baby unit floor which has become a visitation area. According to social worker Mrs Tuli, offenders are provided the choice to eat in their cells where trolleys of food could be delivered to them on trays or at a small dining area on each floor. The women gathered at the ends of corridors and sat on chairs placed in intimate circles, a larger group sat in the kitchen area in the same fashion, only gathered around a television. Many socialised while crafting intricate African beadwork projects, the women were proud of their designs and eager to show them off. Although the Centre was designed for isolation, the offenders are never actually isolated, even during lock-up, due to the extreme overcrowding conditions.

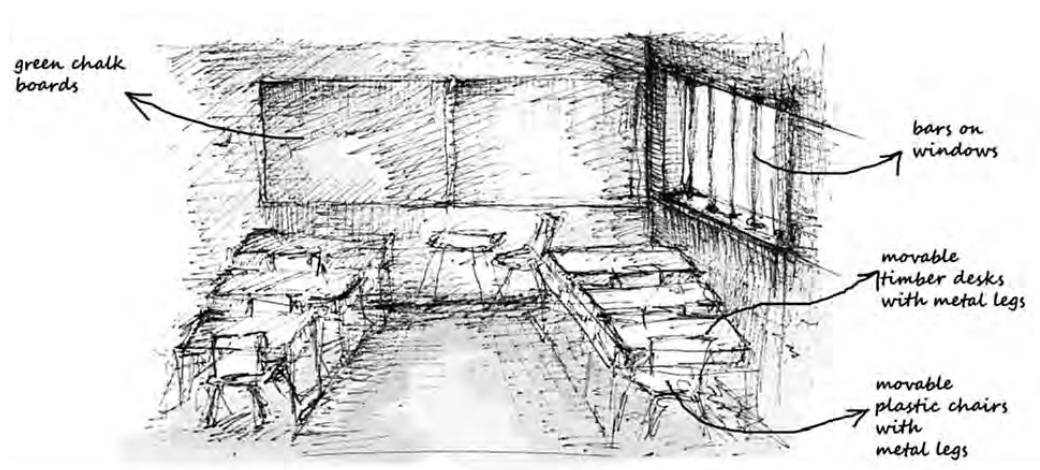


Figure 52 (Author, 2015) Cells converted into a Classroom within the Centre

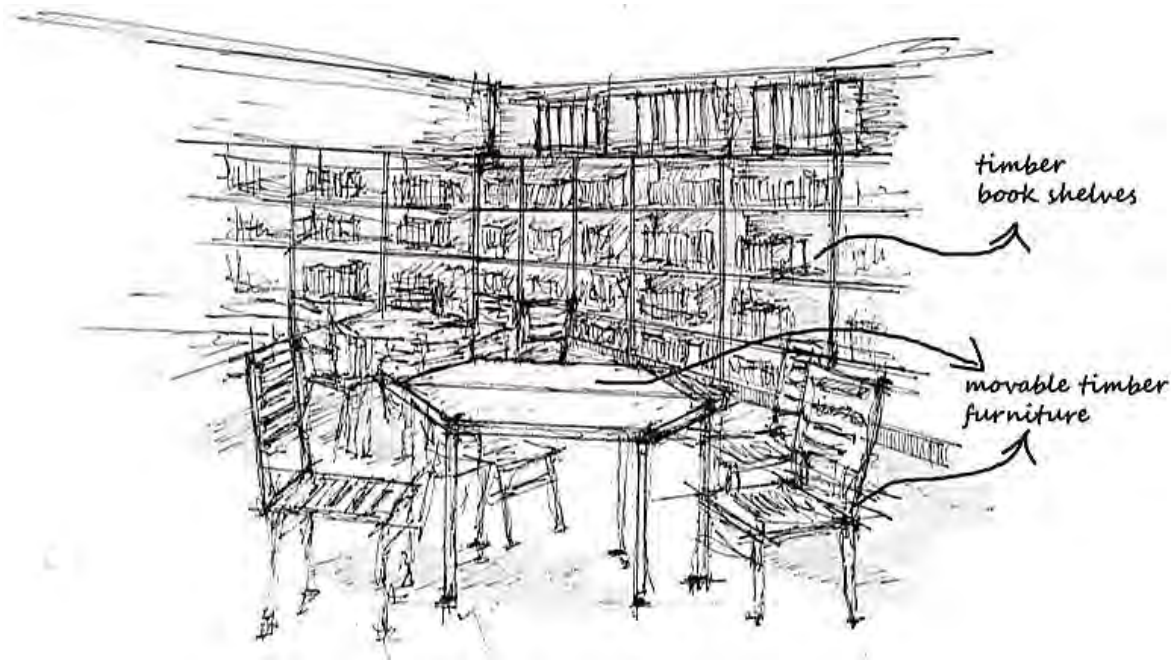


Figure 53 (Author, 2015) Library within the youth
Centre rarely accessed by the adult female offenders

5.1.4.4. SECURITY VERSUS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The design of the Centre driven only by a rationale to keep the offenders from escaping, encompasses a succession of multifarious layers. The Entrance to the centre follows a long and winding road to a small parking space, where a visitors waiting area is visible. The main boom gates adjacent to this are manned by a group of guards after which follows a series of boom gates with guard houses assembled at the entrances to each offender-category section (Fig.55). The female and youth centres are located not far from the main entrance being deemed as a low security risk. The female section is surrounded by a low scaled wall. Multiple high fences run around the entire prison separating it from the thick vegetation of the surrounding Westville area. Unlike newer post-apartheid models the centres physical barriers are still manually operated. Internal grille gates (Fig.54) divide the female Centre so that the women in each section are confined and monitored by wardens in charge of that particular section. Physical barriers for protection against unruly offenders are relied on and no cameras are visible which leaves the wardens more responsibility to oversee the actions of the offenders. With the new rehabilitative objectives, the women are in charge of manually locking their own grille gates to the entrances of their cells in the aim of securing their personal belongings kept within.

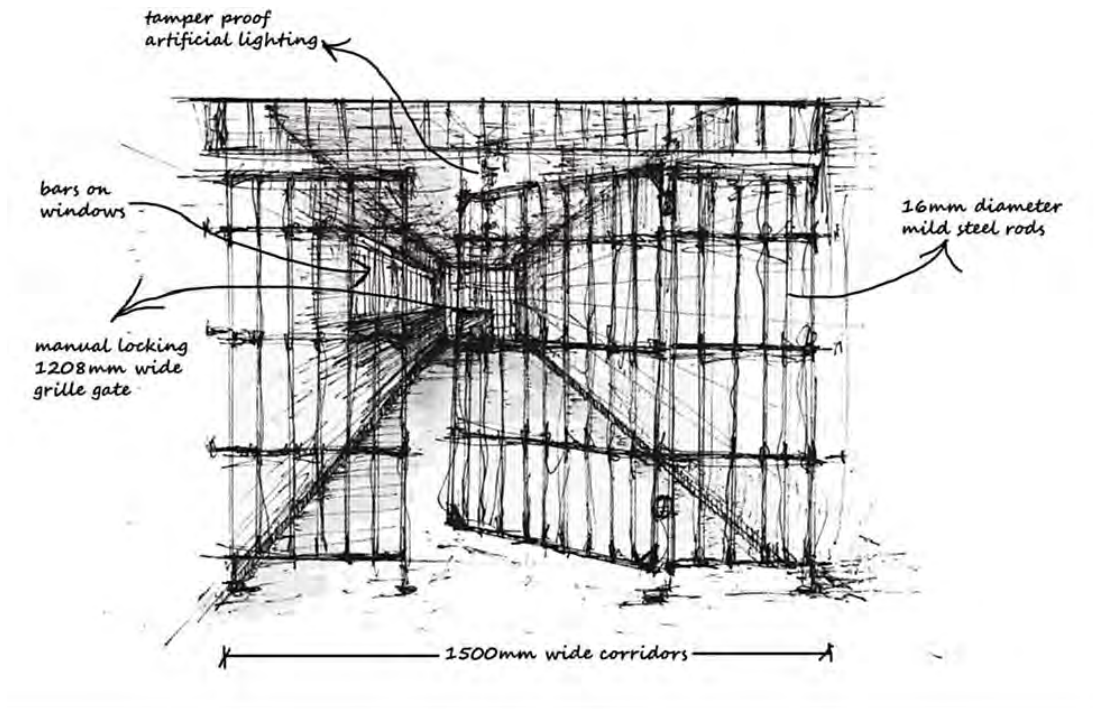


Figure 54 (Author, 2015) security grilles compartmentalizing the various sections of the female Centre

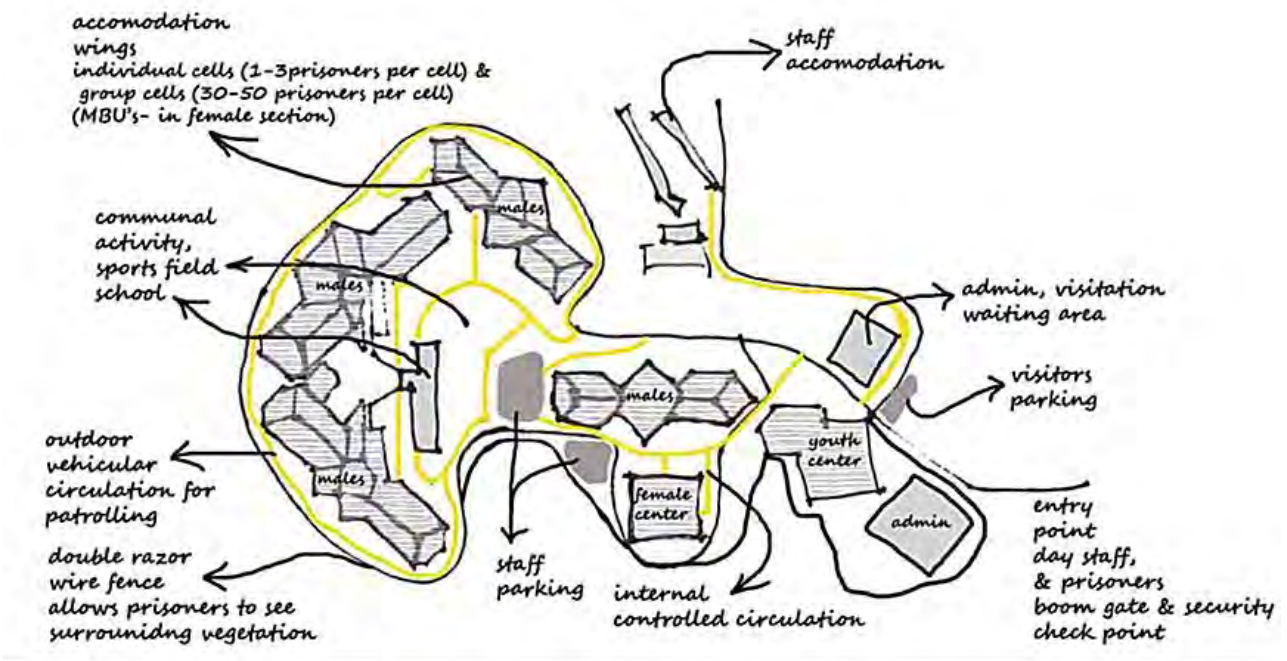


Figure 55 (Author, 2015) showing the Sprawling layout of buildings housing the different categories of offenders

5.2. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The qualitative study was introduced, in the form of interviews and focus groups with fifteen voluntary participants: six social workers and eight wardens from the Westville female correctional Centre and the project manager and architect of the Malmesbury and Empangeni Correctional Centres. The wardens and social workers were chosen because of their daily contact with the offenders and their own experiences in the building. The project manager was chosen because of his knowledge on the most recent correctional centre models in South Africa. Observational analysis was also undertaken through a series of visits to the centre. The schedules were used to collect data for the following purposes:

1. To collect data on the current incarcerative situation regarding female offenders
2. To compare the opinions of the wardens and social workers on the psychological effects of the correctional environment.
3. To evaluate the attitudes of the wardens and social workers toward the effectiveness of the rehabilitative and reintegration processes conducted by the facility

5.2.2. GENERAL ANALYSIS

The findings proved insightful with regards to the current situation on incarcerated women and confirmed most of what the secondary research put forward. Additionally, it was found that the wardens held a sense of patriarchy towards the incarcerative system and its endeavours. They also focussed more on the social workings of the Centre rather than the architecture while the social workers developed a closer relationship with the offenders and were more critical towards the system and by default, its architecture. The project manager and architect confirmed the downfalls of the new correctional centres although he was of the opinion that they were far better than the older models.

The research makes an important contribution to the current knowledge data base on incarcerative facilities by focusing on women in these centres who are a minority that are overlooked in most research data concerning incarceration.

The research question regarding whether correctional environments (such as the one analysed) do more harm than good, was answered through the participants common agreement that punishment is an

intrinsic part of the Centre's inner workings, and though the new system of incarceration is more focused toward rehabilitating the offender, strict order; control and rigid routine (Table 2) maintains an air of institutionalisation in correspondence with its harsh appearance. The psychological impact of such environments are damaging to both the staff and offenders. Further research can be done involving recent habitual-offenders views on the rehabilitative environment in correctional centres and reasons for their recidivism.

5.2.3. DATA FROM INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

5.2.3.1. REGARDING FEMALE OFFENDERS

Through observation the centre has made attempts to provide mothers and babies with adequate and humane living conditions however, the majority of the female offender population is arguably living in inhumane conditions, where no privacy is maintained. The wardens explained that a part of the new daily routine, in keeping with the centres "humanitarian" image was asking the offenders what their complaints were every morning. The wardens chuckled as Ramroop said: "they complain about everything". Thereafter she relayed that they complain about missing their families the most. "That's what gets them through the days ... knowing that they have people at home and children."

Despite family ties and support having major rehabilitative benefits, visitation is considered a privilege and a luxury at the centre. The lengthy visitation process and multiple invasive searches also makes visitation an unpleasant experience. According to the social workers, the families of the offenders also feel the strain of their loved ones imprisonment, visitation usually takes place once a month, and the offenders are allowed to get contact and non-contact visits." Mrs Tuli, a social worker at the centre explains: "Lots of the offenders have children that are in the care of grandparents...it's hard for them to bring the children and go through the whole process." The participants agree that before a family visit the moods of the women are uplifted and positive.

There were three pregnant women and eight women with babies in the female Centre. It was explained that the pregnant women would be transported to the hospital at the time of labour. They were housed in a room together crammed with six mobile beds rendered immovable due to the confines of the space. A similar arrangement was provided for sick patients. These rooms were badly ventilated and the stale air was filled with odours of food and body sweat. The women sat on the edges of their beds chatting while making beaded necklaces to pass their time. According to the wardens the women received doctor's

check-ups although the regularity of these were unknown. It was also explained that if a women went into labour a midwife was available to deliver the baby in the Correctional centre. "We have had a few births here" states Jali.

Unnecessarily high security in the female section requires much maintenance thus infringing on cost budgets which could be put to better use. In the workshops aimed at developing offenders' skills for post-release, the women are taught "sewing and laundry". A warden, named Shez mentions that the centre is short staffed because of the large offender population, "there is not enough staff supervision to allow offenders to work and build skills."

Contrary to one of the mission statements of the Department of Correctional Services which states that It strives to promote the 'rehabilitation ... of all offenders' (DCS Annual Report 2012–2013), some of the offenders were of the opinion that their imprisonment had been devoid of rehabilitation. On the word of the wardens the rehabilitation programs were effective although not everyone chose to participate. In contrast, a general criticism from the social workers was that, even when the rehabilitation of female offenders was put in place, it did not address their specific needs in terms of the crimes that they committed. As a result, proper rehabilitation does not take place. For example violent behaviour resulting in crime was addressed through an anger management class not applicable to all. "Only certain programmes could be made available during the offenders' sentences and sometimes it didn't apply to everyone". Other activities included the maintenance of the centre and child-minding which were pass-times with no rehabilitative value.

A new rehabilitation programme called the Victims-Offender Dialogue Programme is a part of the restorative justice treatment in the centre. It allows offenders to come face to face with their victims and community to apologise for crimes committed, this was noted as healing by all wardens and social workers for the offenders that chose to participate.

According to the wardens and social workers, the MBU's were better cared for, "Mothers don't want to leave the MBU's after their child turns two because of the better environment." The mother and baby units were visibly pleasing with cells painted in pastel colours and provided with handmade wooden furniture and adequate storage space so that the rooms looked more spacious and were well cared for by the women. Toilets were found along the passage and not inside the cell, creating a more humane environment that was normalised in appearance. The cells on other floors held a double bunk bed and little storage space. The social workers pointed out that this has forced personal property to be kept at

a minimum, resulting in an increase of disputes among offenders. Most participants agreed that personal space can be positive as it will seek to reinforce the offender’s ability to exercise some control over her own environment. Although others were of the impression that the offenders needed to learn to “share.”

Another complaint discussed by the social workers during the focus group was that, the multi-faith center does not work. “The church leaves much to be desired” says social worker, Leah. “They cannot personalise the space or set it up for mass”. The “Muslims don’t pray in multi-faith center, only the Hindus and Christians use the space.” The space has been a source of conflict for the women.

The women play a variety of sport at the Centre, rugby, soccer and netball are some of the most talked about. According to the wardens, women are not permitted to intermix with the male prisoners during sporting activities and the women have to be closely supervised, sports areas are out of bounds outside of the hours allocated to sport each week.

TABLE SHOWING THE “DAILY STRUCTURE” THAT THE OFFENDERS MUST ADHERE TO DURING THEIR TERM OF IMPRISONMENT AT THE CENTRE

TIMES	4am	5am	5-6am	7am	8am	9am	11:30am	3:30 pm	4-4:30 pm
ACTIVITY	Offenders are counted and “Unlocked” From their cells by officials	Served Breakfast (meal includes a protein, carbohydrate and a vegetable/ fruit)	Offenders Shower, pray and are asked about their complaints (eg. referral to a social worker, psychologists, or hospital)	Offenders Go to work at the Workshop (allocated to sentenced mediums and maximums – although maximums are kept separately) – here they learn how to sew and do laundry Some work in the Offices, they do filing / clean others go to school	School Programmes/courses allocated to sentenced offenders – these include Matric, ABET and Majuba college and Unisa courses	Offenders escorted to Outside appointments scheduled by the Centre Doctors (at St Aidens/ King Edward)/ Or Court appointments They also attend social worker appointments in the Centre at this time	Lunch (offenders have lunch at their place of work/learning)	Supper is (Served At the dining hall in each section)	“Lock up” (offenders are locked in their allocated cells)

Table 2 (Author, 2015) Daily structure offenders must adhere to at the centre

5.2.3.2. REGARDING PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CORRECTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

A warden speaks of her first impression of the Centre when she began work in 2004. It was established that the building itself has not changed much.

“It’s a huge building with small windows you feel scared, high walls and all those things make you feel like you’re in a different world”

It was noted that the staff also spent more years in the Centre than the offenders themselves and therefore also need a place of retreat “the environment can get depressing” says Ruvarasha, a warden at the centre for eleven years. Another concern was uncomfortable thermal conditions that affected offender’s productivity and make it an unpleasant environment for staff as well. Through observation it was noted that corridors and cells were dark and not well lit by natural light providing a sombre setting that affected the disposition of the user. Laundry hung to dry over the windows bars exacerbated the lighting and ventilation conditions.

The buildings internal structure is complex and confusing for a newcomer but after numerous years of working at the Centre the wardens have gotten used to the environment and the users within it. Among the wardens in the female section there was a general consensus that offenders had to be constantly watched, when probed further it became apparent that this was what they were tasked to do and not something they all particularly felt was necessary. “They are harmless” says Dudu a warden in the facility for over twenty years. Contrary to this however, Harripasad claimed that wardens need to identify the offender and “know what crimes they are in for so that [the wardens] could be alert.”

Overcrowding in prisons have led to disproportionate ratios between staff and offenders and in some cases more wardens per section have been employed to compensate for the large number of prisoners. This has proven to be ineffective as the ability of the warden to know the offenders and deal proactively with problems is diminished. Harripasad in charge of seventy-two offenders says the task is “not easy”. Through observation it was noted that many of the offenders were free to move around within the section they were confined to. Wardens were not as they had described in the interviews “always watching” in situations with more than one warden present, they tended to spend more time talking to each other, than to the offenders limiting the effectiveness of staff-offender contact. A section of the Centre was

locked and marked *violent offenders* which was deemed unsafe for the researcher to enter. In this case, the staff relied on physical barriers for control.

The roles of the disciplinarian and the disciplined were reinforced by the uniforms worn by the different users of the building. The offenders wore denim uniforms because of the hardwearing nature of denim. The cooks were the only offenders that wore white while the wardens were distinguishable in khaki uniforms. Social workers wore their own clothing.

It was apparent that the Centre maintained order through a daily structure routine. This set aside times for all activities no matter how mundane even eating and showering had to be done during a certain time. This added to the strict institutional atmosphere and increased control (Table 2). Incentives and earned privileges were also enabled to ensure good behaviour amongst offenders. "Each offender is monitored over a period of six months and they can gradually move up the scale from F to A or down depending on their behaviour" says Ramroop.

According to the wardens the physical security in the female section in terms of grilles and bars or other physical barriers was no different to the male section although the relaxation of security was allowed by the wardens themselves, grille gates to cells were controlled by the offenders and large steel doors that seemed like unnecessary additions were not often used. Entry to the female section was properly secured. A series of barriers in close succession followed the main entry point with a male security guard at the front office. Cell phones and bags containing valuable items were not allowed passed the entry point. The researcher was not searched by the male guard although a male entering the female section would be. The discovery of illegal contraband was commonplace therefore security was heightened at this point. Newer models as explained by architect and project manager, were designed exactly the same as the male's section much like the Westville Correctional Centre.

In terms of mental health needs the wardens felt that the offenders were well accommodated for with an in-house psychologist and psychiatrist that frequented the facility. Stress, anxiety and depression were raised as common concerns amongst female offenders, and the treatment recognised for these symptoms was typically antidepressant medication.

Due to the effects of total institutionalisation the social workers agreed that the women serving long term sentences had lost touch with the outside world. They spoke of ex-offenders and their hardships with re-entering society, social worker Brenda says: "a woman I know wanted me to attend a function with her

because she was afraid of what people may say since she had served time.” It was gathered that when nearing release the women, were anxious and afraid to re-enter society, they felt “unprepared”.

5.2.3.3. REGARDING METHODS OF REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION

As said by the wardens’ programmes that involve education, social skills and sport form the key spheres of rehabilitation in South African correctional centres. In terms of the models the active apartheid prisons are also called “correctional centres” due to some modifications and add-ons which supposedly make them equipped to correct rather than punish. Classrooms and MBU’s are some of these changes however the design largely remains a structure built for isolation and torment. The project manager and architect on Malmesbury confirmed that newer models use high-tech equipment to enforce control and power over the offender and that the buildings are costly and “overdesigned”. The newer correctional models, including “super-max” facilities, were influenced by the united-states prisons.

The missing link between the centre and society is apparent and problematic. The correctional centre is focused toward rehabilitation but reintegration of the offender into society is sorely lacking. A social worker explains: “some women have nowhere to go after release, NICRO used to have halfway houses... but these closed down due to funding issues, now they just run programmes at the centre and track ex-offenders” It was also said that “the women are nervous and afraid to re-enter society... they are ashamed of having been in here, they think they will be judged by their communities” another participant that kept in contact with the ex-offenders added: “finding a job after release is difficult, they need more help getting back on their own two feet again.”

5.2.3.4. CONCLUSION

The Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013–2017 notes the tripartite composition of rehabilitation in South Africa as follows: Correctional programs, offender development, and psychological, social and spiritual services.

Prisons harsh environments are not favourable toward rehabilitation although the programmes found in the centres could be deemed as helpful. It is clear that the department is making such efforts to improve rehabilitation in centres although on some levels the process falls short. The environment still suggests

punishment despite the department's efforts to transform centres from punishment to rehabilitation. Newer correctional models as described by the project manager of Malmesbury have placed an emphasis on high-tech systems, the cost of these facilities are therefore inflated. The female section is designed exactly the same as the male's much like the older models showing the lack of concern for female specific needs.

There is a large gap in transition between prison and the outside world and the uncertainty of employment and accommodation after release has fuelled the vicious cycle of crime. The pre-release programme should be recognised as an imperative link between the centre and the outside. Prison environments have adverse psychological effects in the form of depression, anxiety and stress. Furthermore low-esteem and fearfulness regarding stigmatisation after release is of concern. Female prisoners are a minority that are not accommodated for within the programme and structure of the prison. Although some attempts have been made to accommodate mothers and babies, the women's section is designed the same as the male's.

With regards to the focus groups, among the wardens, it was observed that the women rarely contested each other's views, although they often debated those of the social workers. Because they were employees of the department they seemed to agree with almost all the processes and programs without challenging why it had to be done or if it could be implemented better. Through this observation they seemed to lack empathetic intelligence with the offender regarding them as clients they were tasked with assisting.

In terms of minimising the impact of the researcher's presence on the behaviour of those being observed, it can be noted that the offenders were unaware of the researchers scheduled visits therefore with the element of surprise on the side of the researcher, the offenders were in their natural environment and performing their usual behavioural routines. The researcher did not seem to influence the offender's behaviour in any way. Ethical issues also provide limitations, as anonymity has to be maintained, the women's names mentioned in the research findings are purely fictitious. It is to be noted that voluntary informed consent was acquired before the research began.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION, SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. CONCLUSION

Most prisons were built during a time when supportive rehabilitative programs and policies were not in place and therefore are still designed as places of punishment based on outdated prison models. Newer correctional models still fail to achieve the level of rehabilitation and reintegration requirements needed for the successful re-entry of offenders into society. Females have not been adequately accommodated for in prisons due to their minority status, and custodial security as well as activities are both designed with male offenders needs in mind. The rehabilitative programs available to women are not always effective and due to extreme overcrowding in prison, sometimes do not take place at all or do not address the specific rehabilitative needs of its users.

Offenders are still punished mentally and physically in correctional centres through harsh environments and strict routines, which can lead to mental disorders and behavioural defects. Since offenders are not permitted regular contact with their families and community they feel cut off from society and often struggle to fit in after release. Offenders are stigmatised and labelled by society as deviants and are thus influenced to behave as their label suggests. A percentage of female offenders also have fragmented family histories, and come from backgrounds of violence and abuse. It is therefore critical that women feel safe and supported during their journey toward rehabilitation. There also exists a large gap in transition between the inside and the outside and ways to reduce this gap should be implemented into prison design and pre-release centres to aid the offender with re-entry, thus ensuring a lesser chance of re-offence. Changing public perceptions toward offenders that are willing to be rehabilitated, to positive ones is essential, and not something that has been emphasised in current South African correctional models.

It is not viable to design a *one-size-fits-all* correctional facility, since it will be influenced by contributing factors such as economic and human resources, political status of a country, location, and the biological, emotional and criminogenic characteristics of those who will reside within it. However, the research has helped to attain a set of guidelines commonly identified as vital to the successful rehabilitation of female

offenders in the aim of preventing habitual re-offense. These guidelines can be used for facilities with a similar aim, while taking into consideration the other influencing factors.

6.2. SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter practical solutions and recommendations that will begin to introduce the design response are identified. The three contributing themes of gender responsive design, addressing psychological effects and creating rehabilitative environments through a balance of the paradox are used to classify the solutions and recommendations aligned with successful rehabilitation and reintegration. The guidelines for each theme are as follows:

6.2.1. GENDER RESPONSIVE DESIGN FOR WOMEN

6.2.1.1. INTRODUCTION

Gender responsive design deals with providing women in correctional centres with adequate services that enable their successful re-entry. Women from maximum to medium security facilities should be the target population. The location of the facility should be for the convenience of its users and their family and friends that will frequent the facility. The smaller the scale of the building the easier it will be to manage, therefore a few small facilities should be located around the city to avoid a single, large, building of unmanageable size. The accommodation of women and children; maintaining family ties, respecting the women's privacy and allowing for customisation through flexibility will also ensure a gender responsive design.

6.2.1.2. WOMEN'S CORRECTIONAL CENTRES – WHO IS THE TARGET POPULATION?

The practicality of creating alternatives to imprisonment for minimum security offenders is apparent, community service alternatives are more cost-effective than constructing and managing a minimum-security correctional centre, even if it is just a portion of the whole. Therefore medium and maximum security facilities with adequate degrees of control should be the target of new correctional facilities.

Since women have such varying needs to men in terms of security, women's only Centres designed as entirely separate structures from men's facilities should be created. This also eliminates the need to design further barriers protecting women from potential harm that could be caused by male offenders.

The facility that will be described in the design part two is motivated by the large gap in transition between the Centre and society providing a need to create a women's pre-release center which will aid in the reintegration process of medium security offenders.

6.2.1.3. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION – WHERE SHOULD THE FACILITY BE LOCATED?

Bartels (2011) suggests that prisons should be located in urban areas or on the outskirts of, especially if that is where the bulk of the offender population is from, however Salomone (2004) has maintained that this centralised location is critically important, as it permits access by women to locally available education, training institutions and employment opportunities as well as community-based health services, public transport and other necessary amenities. Therefore also benefiting women with no family home base, as establishing themselves in a metropolitan area after release would be the most opportune. Its easy accessibility will also make it more convenient for visitors to travel to the prison encouraging frequent visits so that family ties can be easily maintained.

6.2.1.4. SIZE – WHAT SHOULD THE SIZE OF THE FACILITY BE?

The optimum size of a women's Centre is one that will provide for the facilities predicted populace, this depends on the criminal population and release and intake rate. In South Africa 575 female offenders are released each year while the female prison population sits at 4118 offenders (SABC, 2013). Good management practices, have shown that 500 beds should be the maximum size for a female facility, while pre-release centres should be smaller to allow for individual attention to be paid to its offenders.

New prison models suggest that smaller Centres allow for easier management also reducing the risk of standardisation and promoting a stronger community life. A maximum of forty-eight beds per unit is regarded as a manageable size. Common issues with regards to space availability indicate that cells need to be better designed to allow for compact living. Passages or walkways need to be wide enough for a mother and child to walk hand in hand at visitation or for an offender to walk next to the warden instead of in front of her, avoiding the development of a 'them and us' mentality (McCartney, 2006, Van Kreiken et al., 2006). Human scale should be reflected in the interior and exterior of the facility appearing as normalised, or residential an environment as possible.

The centre should:

6.2.1.5. ACCOMMODATE FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Many mothers are the primary custodian of young children therefore many children will be frequent the centre to visit their incarcerated mothers. Family friendly environments should also be a part of the building image. Penal design should be sensitive toward to the mother and child relationship in an attempt to understand the difficulty surrounding a mother's separation from her children. Pregnant women should receive proper prenatal care and access for these women to be escorted to a state hospital at the time of labour, should be well thought out.

6.2.1.6. HELP MAINTAIN FAMILY TIES

Since family has been noted as the main stimulus behind a female offenders desire to re-enter society and improve behaviour, maintaining contact with family and friends throughout the graduated re-entry programme needs to be emphasised. The visitors' area should be located close to an entry point so as to allow for convenient access. Open counters and the use of glazing rather than solid partitions between screening areas should be incorporated so that visitors feel comfortable in a non-threatening environment. Visitation areas should not have imprisoned mothers leaving the area through a solid door to 'who knows where?' they should have vision from the visitation area to normalised inside areas, letting visitors feel comfortable with offenders returning to their environments (Paddick, 2015). The area should make provisions for visiting children to engage with their imprisoned mothers and provide semi-private meeting spaces for adults, incorporating a normalising element such as a café to encourage visitors to stay longer. Scheduled access may apply here allowing each unit to see their registered visitors during the times and days allocated to avoid overpopulating the friendly space.

6.2.1.7. RESPECT WOMEN'S PRIVACY

Overcrowding in prison may evoke fewer violent responses among women than men, however these conditions create tension and stress. While men avoid crowded rooms by being drawn to outside activities, women spend much more time in their rooms (Wener, 2012). Women have shown distress while sharing the two to three person rooms and would prefer their own space. Although the 'buddy- cell' concept used in the design of the Learning Prison would be a positive as it allows for the option of a two or one person room. Operable hatches on doors instead of a viewing panel for wardens also enables

supervision when necessary but still maintains some level of privacy. Toilets should be communal and placed outside of the cells to create a dignified living environment.

6.2.1.8. ALLOW FOR PERSONALISATION THROUGH FLEXIBILITY

The interior should bear a resemblance to the home or workplace as this promotes a less institutional setting. Due to the fact that women pay more attention to the aesthetic of their environments than men, aesthetic features such as colour and furnishings may be more critical to the women. The facility should allow for as much autonomy as possible in the arrangement of cell furnishings and customisation of personal space through flexibility, choice of colours and layout. Natural light and timber can be used to establish a softer environment that encourages care-taking. While rounded furniture with no handles and recessed lighting ensure a safe setting. Creating a high degree of freedom space with variability is suggested, providing an environment that can adapt to a variety of educational curriculum and development skills will ensure that the facility remains resilient and can adapt with the times.

6.2.2. ADDRESSING PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES

6.2.2.1. INTRODUCTION

In order to address psychological issues the Centre should facilitate an effective programme configuration to prepare the offender for success in the real world. Major components which form the program should include education, sports, and accommodation. The centre should facilitate a positive environment that empathises with the users of the building aiming to promote positive behavioural effects. The image of the building is extremely important and should seek to reduce the effects of stigmatisation and total-institutionalism through a non-threatening design, thus encouraging public integration. Lastly the design should provide for mental health services to combat matters that cannot be solved through the environment alone.

The centre should:

6.2.2.2. FACILITATE AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM CONFIGURATION

'The more educational programs successfully completed for each six months confined, the lower the recidivism rate' according to Harer (1994). The ABET system and Unisa diploma courses currently used in South African correctional centres are working well and should therefore form a major education and

vocation component of the rehabilitation process. With corresponding educational schemes across the centres, offenders will be able to transfer to a new facility and continue with the same course if they so desire. Workshops should provide the women with a variety of skills training taking care to avoid conforming to stereotypical female activities. A career centre should further aid individuals with career options and guidance toward favourable employment opportunities. In an attempt to boost offender's self-image and transcend the stigma surrounding offenders, the offenders should be permitted to maintain their appearances, for example get decent haircuts and wear their own clothing, in pre-release centres.

Sport encourages socialisation, reduces stress and boosts self-esteem. The sports component should allow for adequate privacy and should be flexible to accommodate a variety of sporting activity to provide the users with choice. By allowing community members to engage in sporting activities with the offenders, barriers between the 'inside and outside' can be broken. Since this may involve potential risk, the wardens should be encouraged to participate in sport with the offenders rather than just supervise, to prevent conflict situations.

'The smaller the difference between life inside and outside the prison, the easier the transition from prisons to freedom' (Adams, 2010).

The accommodation component in progressive prisons is seen as a method of teaching practical life-skills, preparing individuals for the outside world. They contain normalised household functions that enable regular daily activities to be carried out by the offenders, simulating living environments outside prison. This encourages the practice of independence and promotes community life avoiding infantilisation and structural dependence. According to Cottam (2002) free access should be given to secure outside spaces. This also avoids offenders having to rely on staff escorts for smaller needs such as food, laundry or fresh air. A flexible multi-purpose room in the unit can be used for other activities involving house members only. This could be particularly useful to pregnant women who prefer to exercise in a more private environment. Data findings reflect a strong desire for women to have their own private spaces and control over their immediate environments. Therefore cells that allow for personalisation should be considered.

In order to address the issue of stigma the ground floor programming can provide controlled access to the public, as well as provide visual access from the street thus reassuring the community of its normality and encouraging them to partake in community involvement activities. The upper floors should remain private for offenders and wardens, therefore strict access control is necessary.

6.2.2.3. CREATE A POSITIVE ENVIRONMENT

The institution studied revealed temperature and ventilation as a source of grievance as the small, inoperable windows proved problematic. Molitor (2012) states that thermal discomfort is also associated with increases in aggression as well as depressive moods (Rettner, 2012). Individual room temperature controls are costly and an unhealthy alternative to passive cooling techniques that can be used to provide adequate ventilation. A more positive atmosphere can be created with more glazing and operable windows. The removal of bars which reduce the effectiveness of windows to let in light is also preferable although security then needs to be considered with the use of laminated polycarbonate glazing. Gardens and low lying shrubs allow for some visual retreat and can uplift moods as well as reduce stress while maintaining clear sight lines for surveillance. Productive roof gardens should be considered for their thermal properties as well as encouraging self-sustainability, community-life and care-taking. As the building is located in an urban area, roof spaces can be utilised for larger sporting activities (instead of using valuable ground space) so as to maintain the density of the urban fabric.

6.2.2.4. BUILDING IMAGE - WHAT SHOULD THE CENTRE LOOK LIKE?

The appearance of the facility is extremely important as it has the ability to influence public perception, particularly if the facility is located in an urban area. Care should be taken to design a non-intimidating exterior and avoid bland facades that characterise typical correctional facilities. An architecture that is congruent with its surroundings will be less inclined to be the source of trepidation for the offenders and the community.

Hard vandal proof architecture challenges destruction while fragility in design encourages caretaking and responsibility for ones surroundings. This could be achieved through layering and movable facades which also enhances the user's ability to adapt the space to their needs. Normalised furniture and fixtures relay that normal behaviour is expected in the environment and that vandalism and destruction are not.

The centre should ...

6.2.2.5. PROVIDE FOR MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

The research shows access to mental health services is vital to women's incarcerative institutions. Complete psychiatric staff and dedicated space for counselling and other therapeutic activities would be a beneficial component of the building. Transferring cases beyond the centres ability to provide care, with regards to very troubled or ill women, to hospitals as there would not be enough of these patients to provide in-house care. Therefore, the Centre should be located in close proximity to a government

hospital. Wardens and social workers should be skilled to support and identify emotionally troubled women according to their level of need and prepare the offenders for return to the community.

6.2.3. CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT CONDUCTIVE TO REHABILITATION THROUGH THE BALANCE OF THE PARADOX

The centre should...

6.2.3.1. ALLOW FOR BOTH HARD AND SOFT ARCHITECTURE

In order for the facility to deliver on the intention of individualisation, instead of standardisation as most centres do, each of the buildings could be given their own expression. The architecture could alternate form hard to soft depending on the level of security encouraging the use of disciplinary architecture to let the offenders know where they should be without imposing external constraints upon them. To ensure both autonomy and control, the buildings hard materials could represent confinement, contrasted with soft materials associated with rehabilitation and growth. A change in levels, varying heights and sizes of the forms as well as the individualised facades gives it human scale, preventing it from becoming a dominant mass. Trust formation with the use of breakable materials employs the method of reverse psychology to cause a shift in prison dynamic. For example the extensive use of glass can be associated with the attitude that suggests *we trust you therefore act with caution*.

6.2.3.2. ALLOW FOR VARYING LEVELS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Varying levels of public and private should be maintained as explained in the program configuration, to avoid total institution and reduces stigmatisation. An urban area with a strong sense of community and residential population will allow for the infiltration of this community atmosphere into the building and allow for long-lasting trust relationships to form between members of society and the offenders. Allowing the public in also permits offenders to keep up with the times through observation and interaction. Privacy is maintained in the appropriate areas such as ablution zones creating a humane environment.

6.2.3.3. ALLOW FOR ISOLATION AND ENCOURAGE SOCIAL INTERACTION

The development of smaller housing units should be a priority as women show preference toward more personal settings (Liebling, Price and Shefer, 2011). Women are inclined to be more content within smaller social circles, as the findings suggest, therefore larger spaces should be subdivided into smaller

purposeful areas that allow for specific activities to take place. Cells can be adaptable to afford offenders the choice to withdraw from stressful situations, avoid conflict and prevent violent outbursts. Private spaces allow for self-reflection while communal spaces encourage socialisation maintaining social skills needed in society.

This recommendation has implications on the type of form that needs to be created as well. The building should not be a continuous mass but rather be made up of smaller parts to elucidate a less intimidating structure.

Principles of the direct supervision model reflect consideration for open communication between wardens and offenders. The unit manager and their staff have specific decision making authority, over offenders assigned to the unit allowing it to function like a mini-centre within the greater Correctional environment. The research has indicated the need for wardens to be specially trained to understand the type of relationships that need to be maintained between themselves and the offenders, as well as the new management techniques. The staff-offender ratio and number of staff per living unit plays a major role in the kind and quality of their contact. One staff member per housing unit of forty-eight offenders is the ideal ratio. According to Wener (2012) each warden still needs to recognise and be familiar with all offenders in the living unit. Staff selection, supervision and training are critical to effective management operation. According to Zupan (1991) because staff cannot rely on physical barriers in the direct supervision model, they are required to possess leadership skills to maintain control.

Staff should be located in or close to the housing units. Other important services such as counselling should also be placed in proximity to the offenders. This organisation of facilities enables the interaction between staff and offenders, which results in a better functioning relationship.

Assignment of offenders to housing units is rationalised. Houses are designed according to the characteristics of the populations allocated to them. The system of gradual re-entry requires that new offenders who are in need of more supervision and are given less liberties and can be housed in the transition units representative of step one of the pre-release process. This step encourages self-reflection and progression allowing the newcomer to adapt to the new system and choose their path forward with the help of the staff and prison programmes. Step two is the subsequent phase which promotes socialisation, acknowledging the need for offenders to reconnect with the outside community and improve societal skills as well as independence. Offenders are allowed more freedom and the ability to actively look for employment and or accommodation outside the facility.

The overall facility should reflect a decentralised approach. Each housing unit should incorporate communal facilities, which are clearly accessible to the offenders of that particular house. Organising communal activity and living spaces together will encourage an everyday communication between staff and offenders. It also seeks to minimise the escort function. This management approach also allows for decisions concerning the offender to be made by the staff most acquainted with those offenders.

6.2.3.4. ALLOW FOR SECURITY & FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The need for expensive high security systems including automated locking and robust building materials is lesser in a women's facility. Economies can be recognised in these areas. In a facility such as this, access control at entry and exit points and perimeter safety for the protection of the offenders needs to be enforced. Women can also be trusted with the securing of their own spaces in an effort to teach them responsibility.

The facility should promote safety, adequate security, ease of supervision, and circulation. These demands prescribe the use of simple designs that provide clear sightlines throughout the facility while enhancing way-finding and orientation. At the housing unit level, security through visibility needs to be accomplished by organising the spaces for "direct supervision", with the warden's open counter strategically positioned inside the living area with clear, direct lines of sight to common areas proactively allowing for the identification of potential problems and addressing them before they escalate. Visual openness should be maintained in common areas making it easier for the warden and other offenders to see, hear, and supervise their surroundings. Direct supervision not only aids informal surveillance but also promotes direct interaction and communication between staff and offenders. A foundational premise of this approach is that offenders are not restricted in their rooms all day, but rather participate in communal activities and programming, and are free to use the resources available to them within the housing unit, under less obtrusive security.

Allowing offenders a measure of control over their surroundings results in an environment conducive to change and self-awareness, by encouraging them to manage their own behaviour and make responsible choices regarding their participation in daily activities. Removing paraphernalia of security gates and grills is intended to improve the prison experience for both staff and offender. The design encourages the building of relationships and dispenses the notion of prison officers as mere 'turnkeys' (Liebling, Price and Shefer, 2011). However this positive experience is not universal as old habits die hard among

offenders and staff, some of whom feel comfortable in the custodial atmosphere they are used to (Jewkes, 2007). It is therefore suggested that prison officers go for specialised training as their roles in new generation prisons have become 'varied, testing and specialised' (Liebling, Price and Shefer, 2011).

6.3. CONCLUSION

Preparing current and future offenders to be productive members of society upon release through programmes and design will benefit both the individual and society, and ultimately aid in breaking the vicious cycle of crime. The solutions and recommendations uncovered through the research, play a major role in establishing guidelines for developing centres that will reduce the gap in transition between the centre and society to better facilitate re-entry. It also explicates how female offenders' specific needs can be accommodated for within the programme and structure of the facility; and seeks to address the psychological issues caused by penal environments. Current systems of rehabilitation and reintegration that employ the balance of the paradox: autonomy and control, can be executed through design to effectively reduce recidivism.



Figure 56 (Author, 2015) showing the tripartite solution to rehabilitation

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