Punishment and resocialization

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Group 12

International Bachelor Programme in Social Science, 1\textsuperscript{st} semester, autumn 2012
Abstract:

Recent controversies concerning the resocialization of criminals by the structures of Danish prisons brought the topic of contradictions between contemporary punishment and resocialization to our attention. We have through a spectrum of personal direct sources and the works of the wideranging theoreticians Erving Goffman and Michel Focault analysed and discussed the concept and reality of resocialization. The relationship between punishment and resocialization, though profoundly enlightened, can not be fully outlined as our data and particularly the definitions of resocialization are highly conflicting. We can however conclude, that a wide range of contradictions exists inside the prison.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem field:
Claus Meyer received equally praise and criticism for his actions on resocializing criminals by running cooking schools in several Danish prisons. The criticism was mainly based on the victims feelings towards their offender being offered something as a normal work situation. This case along with the latest recidive statistics (2011) showing recidive actions for over a third of prisoners released from prison\textsuperscript{1}, brought our attention to the concept of resocialization inside the walls of a prison. It rose the fundamental question of the very purpose of the prison and most importantly the resocialization, or lack of same, carried out in Danish prisons. It strengthens our problem, that statistics shows a notable difference in recidivism measured by legal status. Those under a supervision sentence, as community service or electronic tag, shows a much lower rate of recidivism than those serving their service in prison. Under 25\% for both electronic tag and community service compared to over 35\% for those serving in prison.\textsuperscript{2} Logically, this alerts us of a possible presence of contradictory elements between punishment and resocialization existing inside the prison institution. We must therefore understand why we punish criminals the way we do.

Formally stated by the Danish Prison Service we punish for two reasons. Firstly, punishment is implemented as a general preventive measure, which explains punishment as a method to prevent the general society from committing crime by instituting a common example of the consequences of crime with bad examples along with strengthening the prison’s appearance as an establisher of limits for the society. Hereby comes the need of containing the criminals for the society’s protection. The message that the reaction apparatus send to the society must therefore be clear and understandable and draw clear lines between what is law and what is crime.

Secondly, and the effects and outcome of which we aim to investigate, is the special prevention methods, which aims to prevent reoccurring crime from the individual. Historically torture and even death sentences have been used to secure the convict from reoffending. Contemporary punishment is though more concerned with rehabilitating and resocializing the individual to a life without crime. The convict is hereby punished by society for his own faults, with the aim of preventing recidivism.

\textsuperscript{1} Kriminalforsorgens recidivstatistik 2011, figure 1
\textsuperscript{2} Kriminalforsorgens recidivstatistik 2011, figure 2
We are concerned with the relations, if any proves to exist, between these two aims of imprisonment; punishment and resocialization. Why are we punishing criminals the way we do – from where and on what basis do these measures stem?

1.2 Problem formulation:

What are the relations, if any, between punishment and re-socialization?

1.3 Problem formulation explanation:

With this problem formulation we wish to investigate, if any actual relationship between the two concepts "punishment" and "resocialization" exists. Including the factors that connect or contradict the relation between concepts. If any relationship proves to exist, we must analyze the factors, that might act as a obstruction for the resocialization attempeted by the prison. To investigate our problem we have constructed a line of work questions to help us cover all aspects of socialization inside the walls of the prison, concerning both the emergence of punishment to the contemporary society’s punishment and power forms along with an analysis of contradictive elements of the prisons structure

1.4 Work questions:

1. What is the punishments role in society?
2. What is resocializations role in the Danish prison system?
3. Which factors in the prison construction and methodology can be contradictive to the process of re-socialization?
4. How is the role and content of re-socialization changing, and what do the new forms of punishment tell us about modern power forms?

Work question 1) What is punishments role in society, how and why did the prison emerge and how did it come to take its contemporary form?

Today the prison institution is the universally accepted way of punishing criminals, and it is thought of as self-evident in society, but this hasn’t always been the case. Methods of discipline and punishment have had a long history as means of attaining and sustaining social control in society, but have been practiced much differently then what we see today.

In answering this working question, we hope to gain a better understanding of which functions discipline and punishment have in society, what developments the knowledge within this field has gone through and how it has fabricated the prison institution. With this historical account we hope to make sense of the prison institution’s contemporary form.

Work question 2) What is re-socializations role in the Danish prison system?

The prison institution has undertaken a lot of changes since its emergence, and since its constitution it has actually made research possible, which supplemented the knowledge within the field of punishment. So since the prisons emergence, the methods of punishment and the prison institution have had an interconnected development.

We have observed, that this interconnected development led to the prison institution adopting ideas such as re-socialization, one of the main focuses in our project, which lead us to this working question. We want to find out, what function and purpose the method of re-socialization has in prison, here focusing on the Danish prison service’s criteria, processes and goals as well as explaining how Goffman and Foucault understand the concept.

Work question 3) Which factors in the prison construction and methodology can be contradictory to the process of re-socialization?

For decades the idea of re-socialization in the prison institution has been a highly emphasized and discussed matter. The idea has undergone a large amount of critic and various suggestions and
theories on how to make correctional/re-socialization programs more efficient have been made. This implicates that intentions of re-socializing criminals is a matter, easier said than done.

After understanding the concept, goals purpose of re-socialization, according to the Danish Prison Service, we want to research the different aspects within the prison construction and methodology that possibly causes friction in its process and perhaps makes it somewhat of a hopeless cause.

**Work question 4)** *How is the role and content of re-socialization changing and what do the new forms of punishment tell us about modern power forms?*

By this question we want to discuss the balance between punishment and resocialization.

### 1.5 Project design

In this section we will do a brief introduction to, what each chapter in the assignment consists of. By writing this section we aim to give the reader a better overview of our structural progress and a better foundation for understanding our project.

**Introduction:** This chapter includes a description of our projects aim. What were the things, that intrigued us, when we choose to investigate this specific topic. What are the issues and challenges within this specific area of research. This chapter also includes our problem formulation and our associated work questions with an explanation of these.

**Methods:** This chapter contains our methodological considerations. What research method we used in order to gather valuable empirical data, and how we approached this data. In this section we describe our use of ontology and epistemology in connection to our two main theorists Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman. We argue for our choice of theory and describe the theoretic direction critical realism we include in our project. In addition we go through how we use this theoretic direction and distinguish between its strengths and weaknesses. In the end of this chapter we mention what limitations we have encountered throughout our work with this topic, in gathering data including guidance on how to read the project.

**Theory:** This chapter covers our two main theorists and why they are relevant in our project. We explain how we respectively used Goffman and Foucault’s theories in order to clarify certain aspects of our assignment. We investigate the very concept of their ideas and theories in relation to
our projects progress. In the end of this chapter we decided to do some source criticism of both of our respective theorists.

**Data:** This chapter consists of a general introduction to the Danish prison system’s development. We explain, how Vridsløselille state prison is build, and how the architecture resembles a prison structure. We describe the purpose of the Danish prison system, from the government and the Danish prison service’s point of view. What are the efforts made in order to run a successful prison? At last we talk about why we use interviews from Vridsløselille state prison, and how you, as an offender are introduced to that specific system.

**Analysis:** We divided this section in to two separated parts, where each is written on the foundation of respectively Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman. Furthermore we outline several inmates’ experiences of life within Vridsløselille State Prison. How do the various measures taken by the Danish prison service affect the prisoners submitting to them? What rules exist in a regular Danish prison, and how are they carried out by the authoritative in charge of them. In this section we question if the ambition to re-socialize offenders in Danish prisons are achievable, comparing prisoners experiences of the system in relation to the governmental anticipated effect.

**Discussion:** Discussion: In this section we will discuss our obtained knowledge in a broader sense. A discussion of what contradicts the process of resocialization within prison. The relation between punishment and resocialization, and how they are combined.

**Conclusion:** In our final chapter, we shed light on the different aspects of issues, we encountered through our work with the topic. We will clarify, how the relation between punishment and resocialization exist in our present society. We will give a final, but brief concrete description of the most important elements of our assignment.

**1.6 Definitions of concepts**

In our project it is crucial ,that there is a common understanding of the words/concepts ,we are using. We will therefore in this section explain some of the important terms, to avoid any misunderstandings.
**Prison:** Whenever we employ the word “prison”, we are perpetually referring to a prison as it exists in Denmark, its features and essential qualities enforced by Danish legal policy. We define a prison as a confining institution for custody, convicted criminals and criminals awaiting trial in which resocialization is aimed through certain principles and structures within the institution encouraged by both static and dynamic elements of action towards the prisoners.

**Resocialization:** Resocialization, as it is understood in the conjunction of imprisonment, is the process by which an existing identity or social role is adjusted, altered or replaced, by retraining a person psychologically to fit the expectations and behavior of the common society. We undoubtedly see a connection between the terms ‘rehabilitation’ and ‘resocialization’. We do however acknowledge, that these two concepts are not indistinguishable. We interpret rehabilitation as a part of the process of being resocialized. The two concepts are nevertheless not unfailingly paired or the end result of a served sentence, as we believe it is possible to become resocialized but not rehabilitated.

**Inmates/prisoners:** When we imply the word “inmates” we are referring to the people who are undergoing a process of resocialization inside the prison. Whenever “inmate” and “prisoner” are used instead of one another they are to be seen as interchangeable.

**Measures:** whenever we use the word ”measures” it covers the initiatives and activities the inmate is being forced to participate in.

### 2. Methods

In this section we will outline our methodological approach to our problem along with explanations of why, we are using these. Furthermore we will explain, how we gathered both our primary sources of empirical data in forms of qualitative articles, interviews, data from the prison service and partly fieldwork. We will then briefly discuss our secondary data in form of quantitative
statistics, and why we cannot use these as our primary source. The section will also include, how and why we apply certain theories ans theoreticians. Lastly we will explain the projects limitations.

2.1. Deductive approach

We will primarily use a deductive method in our project. We will investigate our problem-area with knowledge obtained from research of this case. The amount of literature about prisons in Denmark is currently overwhelming, and that’s one of the reasons, we find the topic to interesting. This topic is very relevant because the Danish prison system is a high priority on the agenda both politically and with the media attention.

Our approach to this project is, that our assignment should be based on a theoretic foundation. We achieved our empirical material from theorist such as Foucault and Goffman. We have chosen to use the comparative methodology in order to find differences and similarities in our literature.

2.2. Qualitative and quantitative aspects

We are limited to primarily using qualitative methods, which is a deliberate choice we took by using a qualitative research method, we are able to get more subjective and personal opinions on, how a prison affects its inmates and employees. The government and the Danish prison service publishes articles and statistics about the resocialization process within prison annually, but how do the ones in the middle of this process experience the government’s efforts to change certain criminal behavior. Quantitative research methods are objective hard data, which is not relevant in our aim to discover the individual’s experience. We decided only to use quantitative data in order to emphasize certain statements made in our problem area or other specific parts of our assignment the theoretical importance of interactionism is clear in our project as we rely on fieldwork in order to grasp the perspective of social actors and see the reality from their point of view.

We will gather our qualitative data from articles, interviews, reports and also from the Prison Service. The comparison and possible contradictions between the data from the Prison Service and our other data will by relevant theory lay basis for our analysis section.

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3 D. Silverman, Qualitative Research, 3rd edition, SAGE Publications ltd., 2011, p. 20
Why are we using these statistics in the first place, if it is not useful for our problem formulation? The concept of being resocialized, as portrayed by the prison service, of course primarily focuses on the fact that the punished and hopefully resocialized individual does not reoffend. If however a person who has gone through a system aimed at resocializing does reoffend, then there is ground for us to ask how successful the punishment really is by using quantitative material in form of statistics.

We can however not base our research only on quantitative research. This will therefore only be used to enforce statements and preassumption (problem field) by asking if the punishment measures instituted by the Danish prison system serves as resocializing it is important to define, what is understood by being resocialized. ‘Resocialize’ derives, as might be expected, from the word ‘socialized, which by Heywood’s definition is “the ongoing process whereby individuals learns to conform to society’s prevailing norms and values.” (Heywood, 2007, p. 58)

Being resocialized therefore means that an individual is restored to conform to these sociological norms and values. Being socialized is by this definition the end result of a resocialization. This means, that in order to analyze, to what extend a resocialization process by discipline and normalization has been successful depends solely on the criteria the common norms and value institutes for the characterization of being “socialized”. We have decided to split these criteria in two: The criteria of the Danish Prison Service and the criteria of the society. It is possible, that what we, the society, expects dissimilar social behavior in order to be categorized as socialized or simply “a normal citizen” then those expected by the Prison Service.

The review of the possible successfulness of punishment concerning resocialization can be done without many variables if we only look at the criteria the Prison Service has stated. But as mentioned above – we cannot base our research on what the prison expects, and how the Prison Service defines resocialization, but we need to take into account, what effect the punishment and imprisonment really have on inmates. Numbers cannot explain these processes. This will lead us to use a qualitative research method.

2.3 Ontology and epistemology
We will be approaching our problem with a constructivist ontology. Especially social constructivism is very relevant for our project, as we wish to investigate institutional culture and mindset as mental constructs created by socially constructed entities, where the entity for us is the prison. Opposed to social constructivism, social constructivism deals with the individuals interaction with a social group and the sociological outcome achieved by such an interaction. This will allow us to investigate the social processes that occur during an imprisonment.

The ontological status of the concept of resocialization is hard to determine. Does such a thing as resocialization as a product of contemporary society’s ways of punishment even exist, and if our research proves so, to what extend? We omit a realist approach of doubting a connection between physical existence of a phenomena and their social significance. For our approach it is crucial to study exactly such a connection between the concept of resocialization and its social significance inside the entity of a prison.

We will never be able to conclude the exact and precise reasons for recidivism, but we will however be able to gather a somehow reliable amount of data to explain some of the structures that creates these phenomena. Epistemology discusses how you gather knowledge and if the knowledge can ever be true.

2.3.1 Critical realism

We wish to investigate the different mechanics in a cultural entity that creates norms, rules and shared ways of acting in a certain situation, here the prison. We wish to investigate if the structures within prison collaborate with the government’s aim to resocialize its offenders or if it retains the individual in his/hers criminal career. We believe, that some of these structures are created from social interaction (hierarchy e.g between prison guards and inmates etc.). We have therefore chosen a partly critical realistic epistemology to our problem. The social structures within prison might be able to clarify if punishment and isolation from a given society is contradictory to resocialization. We will though only work critically realistic partly, as we also wish to investigate concrete
examples of current or former criminal’s experiences and analyze these seperated from societies’ norms and structures.

2.4 Choice of theory

To properly understand the goal of punishment and rehabilitation we must first understand the development in different types of punishment and in that context, what modern forms of penalty can tell us about the prevailing idea of dicipline. We will do this by using theory from the theoreticists Focault and Goffman, which will be elaborated in this section.

2.4.1 Michel Foucault

We will be using Michel Foucault’s theories in different aspects of our project. First of all we will use his more historical accounts on how the prison emerged, how it developed and why, supplemented by his three fundamental analytical concepts; power, knowledge and the body; in the attempt to make sense of the prison institution’s and punishment’s role in society.

Then we will use his theories on "the criminal and criminology”, “normalization” and “the panopticon”, to explain the fundamental features of prison, how he understands re-socialization, its role in prison, as well as its setbacks within the prison environment.

Last but not least we will use the abovementioned aspects of his theories in the discussion of the contemporary changes in the use and content of re-socialization and how the new forms of punishment reflect modern power forms.

We have chosen to use Michel Foucault theories of “discipline and punish”, in that it lays the foundational structure and perspective for the project, and will be applied and used as a tool of reference to analyze and explain the methods used in the contemporary penal system in Denmark. His theories give a historical account on the rise of the prison, an understanding of its development through time and furthermore provides a more structuralist mode of mapping out the fundamental techniques and principles of disciplinary power.

In order to apply Foucaults theories we will describe the key features in both the historical and the more structuralist of his approaches. Then we will attempt to emphasize their relevance and connections to our projects problem.
2.4.2. Erving Goffman

Erving Goffman describes the *total institution* in his book Asylum, where his theory describes the violations the prison exercises on its inmates. The book covers the basic fundamental dynamics and logic in a total institution.

The resocialization theory states that a resocialization process is very difficult to achieve, when an individual is feeling insecure and being exposed for violations. We will combine this theory of the *total institution* to the concept of re-socialization to clarify and uncover more specific processes of normalizing behaviour, and dig into whether the prison as a resocializing institution is able to normalize the inmates, who gets every aspect of their life under supervision and control. In an environment consisting of criminal individuals, interactionism is inevitable to mention, to describe the sociological processes an individual placed in a total institution goes through. We will use interactionism as an element to analyse and discuss the identity shaping processes that occur in prison with the self and self-representation. Goffman’s different theories such as *total institution* and *symbolic interactionism* goes into details on how these violations can happen and be explained, and therefore enhances our process to clarify possible relations between prison and resocialization. 4

2.5 Limitations

During the process of gathering data on our specific topic, we have encountered different problems and possibilities. The fact, that we are investigating the Danish prison system, gives us a geographical advantage. We are able to do field work such as interviews, which provides us with the opportunity to include primary sources. We are able to gather a lot of data from both parts of the environment within the Danish prison. With this ability we are able to shed light on the relationship between prison guards and inmates and the environment within prison in general. Thus not to be said that we haven’t had any trouble achieving relevant data, access to the Danish prisons are not granted on an everyday basis. We have been asking a few Danish prisons for access

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4 O. Høiris, Antropollogiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 184-194
in order to do interviews with respective inmates and employees, but been denied most of the time. The difficulties in granting access to valuable primary sources caused us to use quite a lot of secondary sources and re-using of pre-existing data deriving from former researches. Using a lot of secondary sources limits our research and makes our data less reliable.

**2.6 Source criticism of our empirical data**

The book by Torkil Lauesen ”Fra forbedringshus til parkeringshus” which is one of our main sources was published in 1998, 14 years before current date. It could possibly make the data less reliable as the circumstances and structures might have changed slightly since then. One of the elements in our project is the change, and why these changes have been implemented until contemporary time. Therefore it would possibly exclude any recent elements of resocialization used in prisons today and most importantly, how it effect the process of resocialization we are investigating.

**3. Theory**

**3.1 Erving Goffman**

Erving Goffman (1922-1982) is a post-modern social theorist, who was born and raised by a Jewish family in Canada. As many other classical social theorist, Erving Goffman work evolved around how social order was practised, and how social actors interaction ends up in order and harmony instead of chaos and disorder. A great inspiration for Erving Goffman was Georg Simmel and Emile Durkheim, who had different kinds of effect on Goffman’s approach towards his views and thoughts.  

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3.1.1 Total institution

In 1961 Erving Goffman publishes Asylums, which analyses the characteristics of what he calls *total institutions*. A total institution is symbolised with characteristics like barriers against social interaction and non-interaction with the surroundings outside, with for example locked doors, high walls, barbwire fences and etc. A person usually sleeps, works and interacts socially in different places with different participants, under various authorities. A central recognizable factor of total institutions can be described, as the degradation of the barriers that normally segregates these three areas of life. The total institution administrates and controls all aspects of one’s life and all daily tasks are being performed in a group of participants where all are treated the same. All the daily tasks and activities are scheduled precisely, under the supervision of personnel, with the goal to fulfil the official purpose of the total institution. There are 5 different types of total institutions. The first category is institutions who takes care of harmless and helpless people, such as blind, old, poor or orphans. The second category is for people who can’t take care of themselves, and is a danger to society such as state hospitals. The third category is what is considered as a danger to society and is established to protect the community, such as prisons, concentration camps or war criminals. The fourth category is established to pursue working task and justifying themselves through the institution. Examples are camps, boarding schools, and army bases. The fifth and last category is institutions that serves the refugees, but often serves as a place for religious practise. Examples are churches, clusters and etc. 6

3.1.2 Relationship between client and staff

The distance between the client and the staff is often considered hostile, and social mobility between these to be often very limited. The staff sees the clients as being unreliable, bitter, and secretive and feel they themselves are fair and correct. The clients see the staff as being patronizing, superior and vicious and feel they themselves are weak, guilty, inferior, and home to well-deserved reproaches. The staffs control communication between the staff and client, which decides when

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6 Erving Goffman, Anstalt og menneske, Jørgen Paludans Forlag, 2001, p. 12-14
communication is accepted, and what the client has to know. The staff without the client’s knowledge often decides decisions on the client’s behalf.\textsuperscript{7}

3.1.3 Moral Career

The arriving individual who comes to the institution has a mental image of itself, which is enabled by certain social and stabile conditions in your home and safe environment. The institution removes this mental image, because the stabile conditions of the environment outside the institution are disconnected. The individual now starts radical changes in the moral career for the individual, which is a psychological process, combined by the progressive changes in the individual’s belief about itself, and meaning of him for others. Programmes such as cutting all hair off, fingerprints, instructions of rules within the institution, giving an number to either replace the individual’s name or as an identification number to use when functioning within the institution and following the client to its cell. Daily routes schedule planned by the institution for the client to achieve the correct and civil self, is established immediately when the client arrives. The client’s lifestyle and behaviour is radically changed, to fulfil the purpose of the institution. Liberties like having the choice to vote, write checks or seeing your family are removed, and can only be taken back by following the regulations and rules from the institution.\textsuperscript{8}

3.1.4 The system of privilege

As the processes of violations goes further on, the client starts to receive formal and informal instructions in, what we call the system of privilege. The system is build up in three elements. The first is the “house order” which is a set of rules or procedures, which sets the standards of what is expected of the client’s behaviour. The arrival procedure is the entry point for the system of privilege. The second element is the rewards a client can achieve, if complying to the rules and doing what the staff tells the client to do. The rewards can be small things, that didn’t have any specific value in the outside society, but has major value within the walls of the institution. The third element is the punishment, which is the consequence when not obeying the rules set by the institution. The privileges usually get removed, and can seem extremely harsh for the client, since

\textsuperscript{7} Erving Goffman, Anstalt og menneske, Jørgen Paludans Forlag, 2001, p. 12-14
\textsuperscript{8} Erving Goffman, Anstalt og menneske, Jørgen Paludans Forlag, 2001, p. 18-20
the privileges are things that have major value. This action of punishment, is usually only used against animals and children, and not against adult. Therefore the impact of punishment is hard for the adult’s mental image of it self. The combination of punishment and privileges are frequently done through the type of work the client has to do. The type of work can either be a punishment or a reward, and is visible to all other clients. ⁹

3.1.5 How we use Goffman

Erving Goffman describes the total institution in his book Asylum, where his theory describes the violations the prison exercises on its inmates. The book covers the basic fundamental dynamics and logic in a total institution.

The resocialization theory states that a resocialization process is very difficult to achieve, when an individual is feeling insecure and being exposed for violations. We will combine this theory of the total institution to the concept of re-socialization to clarify and uncover more specific processes of normalizing behaviour, and dig into whether the prison as a resocializing institution is able to normalize the inmates who gets every aspect of their life under supervision and control. In an environment consisting of criminal individuals, interactionism is inevitable to mention, to describe the sociological processes an individual placed in a total institution goes through. We will use interactionism as an element to analyse and discuss the identity shaping processes that occur in prison with the self and self-representation. Goffman’s different theories such as total institution and symbolic interactionism goes into details on how these violations can happen and be explained, and therefor enhances our process to clarify possible relations between prison and resocialization. ¹⁰

3.2 Foucault

The following chapter about Foucault’s theories is primarily based on David Garlands explanation of how his theories are to be understood and how they can be connected to a modern context.¹¹

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¹⁰ O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 184-194
3.2.1 Foucault's historical account of the prison’s emergence and its development

If we want to get a better understanding of the modern prison, or the modern penal system more generally, it is important to examine its existence from a historical perspective whilst embracing Foucault's rules of studying, that in a broader sense, examines the phenomenon of discipline and punishment as a form of power.

We will start by accounting for the historical aspects and arguments in Foucault’s theories, to better understand: What is and why prison, what fundamental purposes does the prison serve in society, what caused it’s emergence, which developments has it gone through, why is it so universally accepted, and what challenges does the institution face in modern times?

According to Foucault’s rules of studying punishment, one has to understand it as “a political tactic”, found within the general field of power relations, which developments are linked to the advances in “the human sciences” herein: sociology, phycology, criminology etc.12

3.2.1.1 Foucault’s three fundamental aspects for analyzing any structure of domination

Foucault developed three fundamental concepts, which he meant were crucial for analyzing any structure of domination. These were “power”, “knowledge” and “the body”. Foucault described the human body, as being the ultimate material, which is seized and shaped by all political, economic and penal institutions. He meant, that systems of production, domination and socialization depended fundamentally on the successful subjugation of bodies. By this he meant rendering the bodies within society docile, obedient, and useful through subjecting them to some sort of “training”.14

Subjecting bodies to “training”, as a means to social control is an exercise of power, but how is it legitimized? In the relation between power and the bodies, Foucault explains that it is entirely dependent on a third feature, being “knowledge”.

Exercising power requires a certain knowledge of the “target” or subject at hand. Understanding its reactions, strengths, weaknesses and its possibility for change, is crucial if the operation within the given field is to be successful. The better the knowledge and understanding of the field of operation, the easier it is to be controlled. Foucault strung these intertwined and interdependent concepts into the term “power-knowledge”, and explains their relationship as being internal and intimate and that each of them implies and increases the other. 15

When Foucault speaks of the word “power”, he refers to the various forms of domination, subordinations and asymmetrical balances of forces, which operate whenever and wherever social relations exists. He doesn’t concentrate as much on groups and individuals who dominate or are dominated, or the concrete politics and the people they involve, but how the power relations are organized and the techniques on which they depend.16

Foucault focuses upon power in its material forms, referring to structural relationships, institutions, strategies and techniques.17 A prison and its techniques is a good example of power in its material form.

“The implicit claim seems to be that power-knowledge-body relations constitute the irreducible basis of society and the historical process: bodies caught up in the power-knowledge relations form a kind of physical substratum which serves as a foundation for social relations and institutions.”18

Foucault uses these fundamental concepts as a framework of study, and with it conceives the historical development of punishment, as well as the government behind it, as a set of developing relationships between power, knowledge and the body.

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3.2.1.2 Historical development of punishment and the emergence of the prison institution

In Foucault’s more historical account in “Discipline and punish” his emphasis is on the disappearance of punishment as public display of torture and execution, and to the emergence of the prison as the accepted and general form of punishment that followed. He primarily examines the developments in France.

He focuses upon trying to explain how the “ancien régime’s” practice of public torture and execution worked as a legal and political framework. He then attempts to describe, why these methods were abandoned, which new penal theories occurred in this occasion, and as to how they influenced the new penal style and actual outcome of the prison institution. In the course of this explanation, he stresses upon the political rational behind the penal measures being a significant element in a coherent strategy of domination.

Foucault states that this significant changed happened throughout Europe and the USA between the years 1750 – 1820, a transition that can be called “from the scaffold to the penitentiary”.

3.2.1.3 Punishment in the “Ancient Regime”

Foucault writes, that the method of torture was a carefully regulated affair that was tied to legal doctrines and ceremonies, which controlled its use and gave it a practical meaning. It was a process of judicial investigation with the purpose of interrogating and eliciting confessions from the accused in order to achieve truth to the findings of the prosecution. In most European countries the procedure was kept secret, so that even the accused was unaware of evidence against him. Foucault notes that “knowledge was an absolute privilege of the prosecution.” So when the punishment was preformed publicly, it was to display to the population the truths that had been achieved in secrecy, revealing his confessions and by this justifying the punishment.

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These methods as well as the executions, that went on during the classic age sound very severe and inhumane to the modern person, but Foucault underlines, that there was a different political framework and conscience surrounding the idea of what crime symbolized. In the classic age, crime signified an attack against the sovereign, in that the law embodied the sovereign’s will. Henceforth the public displays of violence were really displaying an act of vengeance and justified by the sovereigns right to wage war against its enemies. It was exercised in order to remind the populace of the unrestrained power behind the law, an affirmation of power.24

The acceptance and use of these methods depended upon certain external cultural and demographic conditions, creating a kind of attitude towards the body, enabling the populace to cope with it. This is an acknowledgement Foucault made, but he was convinced that the enablement of such methods, were more specifically do to political considerations. The scaffold was according to Foucault a support of the sovereign’s power and a method of control, keeping the system in place and aiming, for example to avoid uprisings, threats of civil war and so on.25

3.2.1.4 From the scaffold to the penitentiary

Punishment as a public spectacle of violence was diminishing in the years 1750-1820. A new system of punishment emerged; which suppressed the very elements that constituted the previous system; a system that could be referred to as being more “humane”.26 How could such a profound shift happen, and why?

Though the more severe ways of punishing declined in the abovementioned period of time, Foucault did not view it as a decrease in the quantity or intensity of punishment, but saw it more as a qualitative strategic shift in the methods of exercising power.27 He again insists on explaining the developments in terms of politics and organization of power. He interprets punishment in terms of

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power, punishment being a “political technology” and an instrument of “political tactic” in a wider field of power relations.  

Foucault describes, that the incitement for changing the previous ways of punishment, was do to the public displays of violence, in some cases, actually generating the opposite of its goal of control. These public displays sometimes resulted in disorderly scenes, where the crowds would mock the authority and tend to see the condemned man, about to be executed, as a popular hero. Apparently the populace began to view the severe procedures of punishment as injustice. Foucault states, that it was these occurrences of riot that generated a political fear, on the part of the state power, and made them revise their methods.

Foucault examined the writings of the critics of criminal justice, which were manifested in petitions, tracts, pamphlets and so on. The concern of these critics was to proclaim principles of “humanity” and the rights of man, which even extended to the criminal, in that it attempted to restrain and bring leniency to the penal law.

So in this part of his theory, he outlines the disadvantages of preforming punishment as public torture and execution and explains its diminishment and change into the method of the penitentiary as a strategic shift in the mode of exercising power.

“Foucault invites one to the approach the study of penal institutions on the assumption, that everything that occurs there is fundamentally oriented to the enhancement of control and the maximization of regulatory power.”

3.2.2 The Disciplinary origins of the prison

Michel Foucault generalizes the disciplinary origins of the prison, which helps explaining and mapping out the basic fundamentals of the prison and its operating principles and techniques of discipline and their function in society.

3.2.2.1 Training the Body

Foucault writes of the phenomenon of “training the body”, where he attempts to lay an abstract blueprint, generalizing the methods and principles of discipline.

The body has a long history of being conceived as an object, or target of power capable of being improved and altered.\textsuperscript{31} He sees discipline as “an art of the body”. It is a way of mastering and rendering the body to be obedient and useful without the use of violent conduct.

Foucault notes, that the techniques of discipline were used in places such as the army, hospitals, schools, monasteries and workshops and says that during the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, the techniques began to move on where ever they could be applied.

Discipline is described as a “political anatomy of detail”, operating on a small scale and pays attention to the bodies individual movements and gestures with the aim of increasing it efficiency of movement, develop its co-ordination with others, exercising them individually to furthermore build them up collectively.

The enablement of such a control required certain organizational principles to be developed, which were adapted by specific institutions, but were later on generalized to fit a wider range of circumstances.

“Distributing individuals in space”

The army was responsible for most of the developments in “distributing individuals in space”: ranking them and organizing them in files, which separated them and made it easier to examine the individual in the mass of bodies. The schools, hospital, workshops and so on later on embraced this method of distributing individuals.

Timetable

The monasteries layed the fundament of the “timetable”, which set certain rhythms for the individual to organizing their time and movement, distributing them specific occupations and regulating their cycle of repetition.

3.2.2.2 Normalizing deviance

Apart from being a sanction of punishment, Foucault explains that the prison institution also has the role of reforming and correcting its inmates: “the prison seizes the body of the inmate, exercising it, training it, organizing its time and movement in order to ultimately transform the soul, “the seat of the habits.” Foucault speaks of these techniques as being technologies of self, meant to gain access to the soul of the offender and alter, manipulate and mold him in a behavioristic mode.

Foucault calls this corrective oriented sanctioning “normalization”. Even though his theories of normalization are a bit old compared to contemporary penal theory, they still remain quite similar and lie as a foundational idea of what we know as re-socialization. It has the goal of reducing disobedience and inducing conformity upon the deviant individual by assessing him or her in relation to a standard of conduct. This process entails examining how the inmates preform, watching their movements and assessing their behavior and measuring it against the rule.

Surveillance and examination procedures are used to gather knowledge of the deviant individual, keeping track of his acts of non-conformity to furthermore be recognized and dealt with. The objective of these procedures is to correct the individual on his deviant behavior rather than punish him. The sanctions tied to this method therefore tend to take the shape of exercises and training programs, that in them selves are intended to convey discipline and make the individuals more self-controlled.

The central method of control for this system is the examination of the delinquents, in that it provides the means of close observation, differentiation, assessment of standards and the ability to identify any failure to conform. The case records of the inmates, allows the prison to evaluate the individuals over time and holding them in comparison with each other.

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could this type of surveillance and examination be obtained? This question leads us to look at the foundation of the prisons architecture.

3.2.2.3 Panopticon

In the 16th and 17th century, public punishment was a pre-modern technology of power, which purpose was to visualize the King and God’s power to the people. The punishment method of this technology of power seemed to be ineffective because of the rise of conflicts between the punishment system and the public. The public had influence and power to make the criminal, who was about to be punished, a hero – which made it very hard for the executioner to perform the act of punishment. This laid the foundation for a new and better technology of power in the shape of modern panoptical prisons, which evolved in the late 18th century. A new degree of social control was established through new founded institution, where order and precision ruled. 36

The English philosopher Jeremy Bentham created one of Michel Foucault’s most used models to illustrate the power relations in the penal system.

The Panopticon is a type of institutional building created to act as an all-seeing eye with 24-hour surveillance. The construction is based as an annular building, with a tower as a center equipped with big wide windows, that upon onto the inner side of the ring. The peripheral building is divided into cells, which has two windows. The first window is in correlation to the tower, making observation of the prisoner possible every minute of the hour. The second window gives the prisoner a view of the outside world and allows sunlight to enter the cell. The tower can now by the backlighting see the shadows of captives in the cells of periphery completely.

As Michel Foucault puts it: “They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible”. 37

36 P.S. Smith, Moralske Hospitaler, Forum, 2003, p. 37
37 M. Foucault, Disciplin & Punishment, Gallimard, 1975, p. 200
Each individual is strategically put in his own cell, where the supervisor of the tower has full visibility, and sidewalls preventing him from having any communication or contact with his companions located in the other cells.

The major effect of the Panopticon is the ability to see and recognize the captive constantly, but keeping the person in the unknown.

3.2.2.4 The criminal and criminology

The surveillance and examination of the deviant individuals gave birth to a profound area of knowledge, which was not available prior to these penal operations. The prison practices such as isolation, close observation and the assessment of the inmates made the deviant individual a subject of study:

“offenders were no longer thought of in the abstract, but were instead studied as individuals with their own characteristics, peculiarities and differences. Whereas the law viewed offenders as being no different than anyone else, except in so far as they happened to have committed an offence, the prison aimed to individualize the offenders, to find out, what kind of people they were, and to determine the relationship between their character and their criminality.”

The prison institution and the new body of knowledge it had made possible to acquire created the term and phenomenon of “the delinquent”. The delinquent is a type of criminal whose characteristics, back round and environment classifies him as being different from the non-delinquent. This became a new science of criminology, which aimed to investigate the criminal entity and describe it in all its facets.

Foucault is critical towards this discovery of the delinquent and its criminological science. He meant, that the prisons didn’t actually discover the delinquent, but rather produced them. Foucault explains, that the prison created the conditions for recidivism, do to the offenders being so stigmatized, demoralized and deskilled whilst in prison, that they tended to reoffend after their release. This entailed the reoffenders being reconvicted, thrown into jail again, which worked as a catalyzer, further leading their paths into deviant careers. Apart from this Foucault argued, that the

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prison created the delinquent in a more categorical sense, in that the offenders weren’t delinquents before their imprisonment, but became it after being labeled and treated as objects of intense study and control.\footnote{D. Garland, Punishment and Modern Society: a study in social theory, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago / Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, p. 148}

### 3.2.2.5 Discipline and democracy

"According to Foucault, it was ultimately the generalization of discipline, which underpinned and made possible the generalization of democratic constitutions and the expansion of liberal forms of freedom."\footnote{D. Garland, Punishment and Modern Society: a study in social theory, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago / Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, p. 147}

Foucault connects the development of the prison to the development of democracy and the capitalistic system in the West. He states that the “enlightenment” which found the liberties also constituted the disciplines, and the disciplinary developments prefigured the prison institutions “general form”, which then were adopted by the legal system. He meant, that the extension of “liberty” wouldn’t have been possible without the prison and its infrastructure of power relations, which subjected a societies populace to an orderly and disciplined existence. Foucault suggested that “the dark side” of democracy was its techniques of discipline. The disciplines permit the coexistence of legal freedom and habitual domination in certifying the constraints and controls into society, which the law regards as voluntary.

Foucault locates the prison as an aspect within the bigger historical phenomena of the generalization and development of the theories of discipline. In looking at the modern developments in penology, specifically the one associated with the prison, one can observe a greater emphasis on aspects such as the investigation of the criminal in the attempt to adjust and correct them. Furthermore a larger amount of the workforce within the prison are being employed with the task of observing, assessing and curing it inmates. As David garland writes, on can say that the disciplinary and normalizing concerns can indeed be said to have penetrated the judicial framework and the criminal justice system.\footnote{D. Garland, Punishment and Modern Society: a study in social theory, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago / Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, p. 147}

In the historical account about the prison as a historical problem, Foucault emphasizes the deeper change in the penal technology. First of all he outlines the above-mentioned developments and
generalizations of techniques of disciplines, and how they shaped the prison. Hereafter he puts a particular concern on the new predicaments, which the prison introduced: “to know the criminal, to understand the sources of his criminality, and to intervene to correct them wherever possible.”

Foucault has helped us conceptualize the character and function of prison in society. David Garland explains, that Foucault states, that if one conceives the prison as a disciplinary institution, then its functions of confinement and deprivation of liberty must also include a second disciplinary function, being the transformation of individuals. This is, where Foucault asserts, that the “penitentiary techniques” of isolation, work, individualized treatment, and the adjustment of sentence to reflect reformatory progress are all trademarks of the disciplinary process. These “penitentiary techniques” will be analyzed and discussed later on in the project.

3.3 Criticism

3.3.1 Criticism of Goffman

Erving Goffman constructed his research in the Asylum through fieldwork, where he observed individuals' interaction within a psychiatric hospital. To generalise his views and thoughts to represent the structure and state of all total institutions, might be misleading due to the fact that his field work only evolved around one institutions, which is Saint Elizabeth Psychiatric Hospital in Washington D.C. Erving Goffman also did his research in another historical context and time, which has developed a lot since his the 1960’s, where for example social exclusion from the society outside was total. Today inmates in general have access to limited communication under supervision.

3.3.2 Criticism of Foucault in relation to our project

Most of Foucault’s work is based on French data and analysis of French entities. This means a rather selective area of work, which can effect the research’s validity and it might not be transferable to the danish prisons. The structures of Vridsløselille State Prison are though not

45 O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 185
completely based upon the concept of the panopticon, which some Focault theory is based on. This means that what Focault describes as the result or outcome might not be just as expected in our case.

4. Data:

4.1 Historical development in the Danish prisons

In this section we will focus on the current prison system and its principles. Therefore, we will briefly give an account of how the modern prison has become. However, it is important to emphasize that we only focus on the transition from the former prison system, to the system used in Denmark today. The whole history of prison has no relevance to the project. Therefore, we will in the following sections describe the transition to the modern prison system.

In 1840 "prison commission" was founded, which was the cause of the prison system's modern breakthrough. The commission aim was to combine punishment and treatment to inmates. The task for the staff of the prison was now to create an educational foundation, but at the same the inmates should still have the feeling of being punished. The employees control this balance, therefore, all the programs work with coercion, so the prison system has a social control over the inmates.

In 1842, a series of reforms adopted, compiled by the prison commission. The fundamentals of these reforms were, that they would create a distance between the inmates. The purpose was, that they would isolate the inmates from each other, so they did not have the ability to create criminal networks. The idea of the isolating programs was, that the inmates through remorse and loneliness would become a better person. The isolation idea only functioned in practical for four years. Already in 1846 the Danish prison system acknowledged, that this was not the ideal solution. The prison system is attached by the fact, that interaction between inmates and employees had an effect on the inmates' consciousness, in a positive intention. Therefore the isolation programs lost its previously available position in the Danish prison system.
In 1866 a new revision of the law was adopted. This revision of the law led to a rationalization and simplification of the penalties. The system began to categorize penalties respectively simple imprisonment and forced labor, it was also definitely the end of the death penalty. The law revision led to today’s ideas of the prisons construction, and what measures they offer the inmates. Open prisons and Parole, was one of the initiatives, which became available. Furthermore, the idea arose that the punishment could be reduced if behavior was sublime.

Another initiative which gained ground in the prison system was that to design the prison stay for each inmate. It gave them work, and other activities that matched to their personality.

In 1930, a new penal code adopted. The content of the new Penal Code was primarily to ease the prison system through the adoption of new measures. The Danish prison system focused more on parole, special laws for child delinquent stability, conditional sentences, and special treatment programs for inmates with specific diseases or addictions. These sanctions were adopted in a time ad social heritage and other biological phenomena were put on the agenda. The prison system did not deprive the blame for the crimes, but began to focus on some other aspects that could be the reasons for the crime. This means that the prison system has gone from punishing the prisoner’s crime to punish the prisoner’s character. However, it is important to emphasize that prisoners continue to be subjected to daily routines, surveillance, and strict conditions. However, it has been rationalized through history.

It was a short summary and explanation pointing out the trends, which are the reasons for the prison construction and aims currently

4.2 Architecture in Vridsløselille Prison

In our project we focus on "Vridsløselille" prison. Therefore, we find it necessary to clarify the structure of the prison is based on. The description of the architecture gives a better understanding of the areas, we explain, analyze and discuss. Therefore, the following section covers the prisons architecture. The architecture is the way the prison is designed to meet the prisons service requirements, as described previously. The architecture is different from prison to prison. But since we primarily focus on Vridsløselille state prison, we will explain its architecture, which will give a broader understanding of

46 P.S. Smith, Moralske Hospitaler, Forum, 2003, p. 106-143
the analysis and discussion. We will only describe the elements of architecture that have a relevance to the project.

Vridsløselille was drawn and designed by German and Belgian architects, who found inspiration in the American prison architecture. The inspiration was primarily based on the principles of the Panopticon. The father of the concept of Panopticon derived from Jeremy Bentham. Panopticon consists of a combination of the words “pan”, which means everybody and “opticon”, which means see. Jeremy Bentham suggested that the prison structure should be constructed as panopticons. This means, that this type of architecture and organization enabled to prison guards to monitor many prisoners, from their central position in the middle. Bentham's aim is that the power should be visible and uncontrollable. The idea of the construction was to give the inmates the impression/feeling of being watched constantly. The concept did not work ideally in practice, because the construction also allowed the prisoners to observe the prison guards, and letting them to see when the guards were inattentive. Vridsløselille state prison is not constructed 100 percent after Jeremy Bentham’s perception, but has taken some of his ideas and thoughts.\textsuperscript{47}

4.3. Purpose of the Danish punishment system

The Prison Service’s main purpose is to to execute punishment and contribute to limiting crime. The Prison Service underlines its own limitations for controlling crime, as they are not the only constituent but functions amongst social factors as demographics, family circumstances, the general living conditions and attitudes towards crime in society. But the purpose of the Prison Service is nevertheless to keep crime rates on an acceptable level determined by policy.

The Prison Services main reasons of punishing are divided into two equally valued parts, which is ‘control and security’ along with ‘support and motivation’.

Control and security serves to exercise the control necessary to execute the sentence where the support and motivation is aimed to motivate the offender to, through personal, social and work/education-wise development, live a life without crime.\textsuperscript{48}

To execute punishment with the purpose of treatment and resocialization of the offender, the Prison Service has listed 6 principles to achieve this goal when the offender is serving his/her sentence.

\textsuperscript{47} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 44-52
\textsuperscript{48} Kriminalforsorgens Principprogram, 1993, p. 9
4.3.1 (I) Normalization

Whenever concrete decisions are made and when structuring the inmate’s life on a daily basis, the conditions of the common society must be taken into account. Besides the correctional benefits of the treatment efforts made during a sentence it is also possible that the traditional prison situation contributes to a repeal of these benefits. As the imprisoning and the sideeffects derived from this, such as violence from aggressiveness, is in fact contradictory to the very purpose of the punishment it is important that the situation in which the punishment is taking place is carefully normalized to the outside surroundings. This includes both the psycical aspect of the prison and the legal principles.49 This also makes the transitions from prison to the life in the common society easier.

4.3.2. (II) Frankness

The Prison Service is obliged to organize it’s services so that, the imprisoned remain the opportunity to bond and maintain the connection to their closest relatives, and the society. So the difference between the everyday life in the prison and in regular society is as subtle as possible, while maintaining the punishing element of imprisonment.50

This principle is related to the idea of, that the life in the prison is supposed to be as “normal” as possible. So that the prisoner’s road back to the common life, in the Danish society, is not too far.

4.3.3. (III) Responsibility

The Prison Service will engage in the given prisoners development of responsibility and confidence, and furthermore the Prison Service will motivate the prisoner in the effort of achieving a life without criminality.51

The principle of this program is that with the traditional hotel- and service trade program there was a large lack of independence, which would give the prisoners problems, when they had to rehabilitate and determine their agenda by them self. So this responsibility program gives the

49 Kriminalforsorgens Princippogram, 1993, p. 10
50 Kriminalforsorgens Princippogram, 1993, p. 11
51 Kriminalforsorgens Princippogram, 1993, p. 12
prisoner a bigger amount of autonomy, which will prepare them for their rehabilitation in the society, by teaching them to do proper work by their own free will.52

4.3.4. (IV) Security

The prison service must execute the sentences with particular consideration of the protection of the individual against crime and harmful behaviour from the other inmates.

The question of security serves a big role in imprisonment in that it prevents a tendency to recidivate both inside and outside of the prison. The security aspect furthermore involves prevention of smuggling and selfharmful behaviour; actions that do not match the prison’s code of conduct.

The security acts in both a static (physical security invieroment) and a dynamic (overview and control of the prison) manner. Both serve a controlling purpose and acts overall to prevent reoccurring crime and to stabilize the individual to a crimefree life.53

4.3.5. (V) Least possible intervention

The Prison Service is to choose the arrangement that requires the least possible intervention, which is suitable to solve a given assignment.

This principle is to, as mentioned above, take the least possible action on the problem solving in the prison. By this principle the prisons will proceed the theme where they are containing as much autonomy in the prison as possible. So the inmates are well suited for the life, that awaits them in the society.

4.3.6. (VI) Advantageous use of ressources

The Prison Service must use the resources effectively, flexibly and based on needs. As resources are limited the Prison Service needs to increase the efficiency of the resources with the primary focus on resources as the power of the employees.54 The employees must be assigned tactically to the place and in the manner they are needed in order to secure stability and a development derived from the above six principles in order to achieve individual resocialization of the sentenced.

52 Kriminalforsorgens Princippprogram, 1993, p. 12
53 Kriminalforsorgens Principprogram, 1993, p. 13
54 Kriminalforsorgens Principprogram, 1993, p. 15
4.4 Circumstances in Vridsløselille State Prison

Arrival to Vridsløselille State Prison

When the inmates arrive, they are given a 7 square meter single room. But it can occur, that the inmates are sharing cells.

The inmates belongings are examined so they wont be able to bring along any dangerous items, or items that is just prohibited in prison, items as cellphones, computers, possibly offending items etc.55

In the prison, the inmates are issued with the necessary furniture, towels, and depending on occupation also working clothes.

During the stay

While staying in Vridsløselille State Prison, the inmates are not separated from each other, besides when being in their cells.

As part of the resocialization program, the inmates are to provide for themselves at most occasions possible, in order to normalize the imprisonment.

To be able to keep in contact, and interact, with people outside the prison, it is allowed to receive a visit in at least one hour per week. Furthermore, the prisoner is allowed to speak through a payphone with 10 different approved persons, and to receive and send letters. Only in some rare cases, the interactions are surveyed.

Activity while being imprisoned

While being imprisoned, the inmates are to be employed in some sort of approved activity at least 37 hours per week. These approved activities are generally work, education, or a kind of treatment. – It is depending on the prison, which activities are available.

55 http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/Default.aspx?ID=335 (5/12/12 – 23.00)
4.5 Interviews from Vridsløselille State Prison

A lot of our knowledge concerning life within Danish prison’s is based on a book called ”Fra forbedringshus til parkeringshus” written by a former Danish inmate named Torkil Lauesen. The author’s aim with this book is to describe, how inmates experience life within prison, rather than how the government presents it.

Being a former inmate himself, he claims to have interviewed fellow inmates from an equal point of view that differs from the ‘objective truth’ that authorities proclaim. With this aim, it is possible to outline subjective experiences rather than objective data based on numbers published by the government. These interviews consisting of inmates with all types of criminal background sheds light on a specific paradox between punishment and resocialization, that we want to investigate. Does punishment contradict the very purpose of resocialization?

Tales of inmates going out to visit family and friends on a limited time schedule, just to realize, that their former close acquaintances turned their back on them in light of their current status as a criminal. Their personal experience of being treated as a deviant by close ones, can be extracted from these interviews. The interviews in this book includes several different inmates opinion on the prison as an institution and their view on measures taking by the government in order to re-socialize inmates in the Danish prisons as well as their thoughts on life after prison. Torkil Lauesen did his fieldwork in ‘Vridsløselille State Prison’ which is an open Danish prison placed in Albertslund just outside Copenhagen.

Note: Every quote used from the interviews in ”Fra forbedringshus til parkeringshus”, and every other non-English quote is freely translated from the original language (Danish) to English.

5. Analysis

5.1 The prison and the individual

5.1.1 Surveillance and control within the prison

Does the effects of surveillance contradict the purpose of resocialization? (based on thoughts of inmates within Vridsløselille state prison)
When you get taken into custody the captive is object for an examination. A research on the captives’ background is made. This research may contain several details that might seem irrelevant in accordance to the police work. Details on childhood, education, profession, housing conditions, abusive habits etc. are often made. Torkil Lauesen describes this process as a duplication of the individual as a subject and object. The personal things that occur during this research becomes’ an objective matter of observation and knowledge, meanwhile it automatically causes a loss of identity, considering that the subjective data becomes something, that others organizes and controls. This is a process where the individual’s private sphere gets exposed. Torkil Lauesen explains, that during this examination process there’s a creation of a ‘documented individual’.

When Torkil Lauesen asked a prisoner, whether or not he was comfortable with the process of examination and the surveillance within prison in general, he replied;

"I have an idea about the system. They know what i eat for dinner, they know when i shower, they know which songs i sing to my son on the phone, they know... yes, I have an idea that they now everything. ‘Big brother watching you’. To begin with, I was paranoid just when I was just looking in the mirror, is there a camera? I think all prisoners feels the same way to begin with, there’s just so much... they run around, searching and visiting your cell all the time, and if you’re going to have a visitation after a visit and a visitation here and test control there, then why shouldn’t you in your private life? Of course they’re keeping an eye on people, it’s not a coincidence that there’s cameras everywhere. So yes, they know me."

This perception of the prison system is common among the inmates within’Vridsløselille statsfængsel’. Torkil Lauesen states, that the prisoner is object for information, but never subject in this communication. There is no dialogue, just the systems list of files and notes concerning ones private life and behavior.

Foucault describes, how inmates through observation are categorized and the whole process of adding a label on an individual describing a specific behavioral pattern that enables the authoritative system to predict the outcome of certain actions. Foucault focused a lot on how the government oppressed its citizens to act in certain ways, which contradicts his belief that every person is unique.

His major theme of power and domination is reflected in the relation between the prison institution and criminals serving within them.

“For Foucault there was no higher purpose than being your own unique person. The ideas forced upon us by society do not allow this to happen. Even as a social philosopher, Foucault’s ideas about government’s role in oppressing people’s behavior and true identity have been related to why people commit crime”\(^{58}\).

5.1.2 Distribution of time and space as control

The discipline is organized by the planning of the inmate’s movement in time and space. The control of time and space insures control over the individual. For example the inmates are let out of their prison cells at 7:00 am and have to be at their workplace at 7:45 am. If the inmate is not present at this specific time, he can be punished by being put in to a punishment cell. The inmates are bound to a work contract which is a page in the prisons collection of rules\(^ {59}\).

If a prisoner doesn’t submit to this contract, the authorities are able to sanction him. Depending on how many times they stay away from work, they can be sanctioned by not receiving their salary, receiving a fine and in the worst case scenario, the inmate will be filed in a ‘yellow report’ to further put the offender in an isolation chamber.

In case of the inmate being ill, he is to report to the department of health to be evaluated and concluded capable or incapable of attending work. At 15:45 pm the prisoners return to their respective department and the possibility for free time in the yard is at 16:00-17:00 pm. At 21:25 pm they are to be locked in their cells again. The prisoners can buy groceries at in certain times of the day and visiting hours are planned. Everything in prison happens within a prefigured schedule dictating, where and when the prisoners are to be at certain locations.

Every prisoner is individually assessed into routine within specific geographical areas, in given timespans, and is given definite rules for, what he is allowed to do herein. The prisoners have no autonomy. They do, what they are told, and when they told to do it. This system rationalizes the

\(^{58}\) http://www.criminology.fsu.edu/crimtheory/foucault.htm (7/12/12 - 12.30)

\(^{59}\) T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 72-73
surveillance, makes the bureaucracy more efficient and this frame of discipline is said to educate its subjects\textsuperscript{60}.

When Torkil asked a prisoner how he felt about submitting to certain time schedules proclaimed by the prison he replied;

“They do have a terrible amount of power over me because I have a daily schedule, I have to fit into, where there’s some times where I for example have to be in my working place, and where I can be in the department, and then there’s some times for yard walks and some times where I am allowed to visit other departments. In there I can get in all kinds of situations where a short forgetfulness can lead to an exclusion to some things obs mening.”\textsuperscript{61}

Torkil Lauesen emphasizes, that the control of time and space that the inmates have to submit to is very uncomfortable. It’s very decisive in how the inmates experience life within prison, and illustrates the feeling of powerlessness the inmates constantly experience.

When Torkil asked another prisoner how he experience the power the prison institution possess, in relation to scheduling unpredicted visitations, visiting hours, transfers etc. He replied;

“They have 100% power over me, they can from one minute to another, outside my control, remove me from the institution. Send me somewhere else. They can at any time claim something, and send me in isolation, beat me, and I will be helpless, so yes, they clearly posses power, but so far I have only had one or two bad experiences with that type of power. They came and claimed ,I had trown something out of the window, I hadn’t, and that I could get a punishment - 10 days away from the institution, ”and there I would feel the power”, and the power also exists in that now you have to go to bed, and then you need to do this, because you know there will be retaliations? if you don’t…”\textsuperscript{62}

By reading these to interviews, it becomes clear, that inmates can feel helpless and dominated by authorities and circumstances, that they have no impact on. Some of the prisoners Torkil have interviewed ,feel they have become less capable of acting in ways, that are required by the society outside the walls. By submitting to time schedules, certain coercive workplaces, visitations etc. all

\textsuperscript{60} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 74
\textsuperscript{61} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 74
\textsuperscript{62} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 74-75
of which they have no impact on whatsoever, they feel violated. There is a common feeling of helplessness and loss of identity.\textsuperscript{63}

Is it possible to re-socialize offenders, when they are forced to submit into an environment, that undoubtedly consists of coercive and prefigured boundaries, which doesn’t teach or reflect the crucial elements of self-efficiency, -responsibility and –determination, one in most cases, is required to possess in order to function properly in society?

5.1.3 Visitation

Visitation is a process of control within prison, frequently performed by the staff. The staff is able to perform a visitation at any time during the day. The prison guards usually resort to the element of surprise when doing visitations. The whole idea of doing these inspections is to keep track of drug selling, inmates carrying weapons etc. \textsuperscript{64}

When Torkil asked one of the inmates on his opinion about visitation, after returning from visits outside the prison he responded

“…. And when you return from there, you are going for a naked visitation, that’s a pretty sad affair. It ruins the whole visit. Sometimes I don’t know if I would rather be without a visit. I often sit under a visit and think that now there’s only half an hour until I am going to a visitation”.

The fact, that the prisoner experience visitations as a sort of meaningless humiliation, illustrates the relationship and the distance between the prison as an institution and the inmates. The institution represents the society, and when measures such as visitation takes place, it creates a distance between the imprisoned and the society. This distance between society and the imprisoned does ironically enough contradict the very aim of the modern prison, which is resocialization. When an inmate feels physically and psychologically humiliated by the measures of ‘society’ it can affect the prisoners’ hopes for the future.

Torkil asked another prisoner, how he felt about visitations in his cell.

“It annoys me terribly, because they treat the cell very, very poorly, because they never find anything, so they trash it and send their dogs in the bedsheets, it looks like... yeah, I once had my papers and books in nice order, but I have completely given up after the visitations, it is very

\textsuperscript{63} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 70-85
\textsuperscript{64} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 76
degrading that they don’t clean up afterwards, and if you mention it to them it makes them even madder.\(^{65}\)

The cell is, what the inmates consider as their private sphere, especially for convicts with a long sentence. In their cell they are more or less separated from the institution. That’s why it bothers the inmates when the prison guards have unlimited access and authority to do visitations on a daily basis.\(^{66}\)

In general the inmates consider visitation after visits outside prison reasonable to some extent. They agree, that in order to keep a drug-free and safe prison environment, it’s necessary to do visitations, even though they feel violated. When the prison guards perform cell visitations and other visitations that seem meaningless they feel insulted in most cases. Visitations reminds most inmates, that they have no actual influence on the events that take place within prison, and have to submit to the system against their will.\(^{67}\)

While the Danish prison service consider visitation as an important feature in keeping a safe prison environment, with a foundation for resocializing its inhabitants, many inmates feel violated by this measure.

From Foucault’s point of view resocialization is about changing the individual with personal guidance and not through physical measures. The positive changes in a certain criminal should arise from within, and that’s why physical humiliation such as visitation can create disbelief in this process and generate hostility towards the efforts made by the Danish prison service in order to resocialize.

5.1.4 Diciplinary systems

The life in prison is constituted by a substantial system of rule. Apart from rules for the day’s course, there are rules for personal behavior, word use, rules for how the prisoners are to adjust and arrange their cells. The purpose of this disciplinary system is to ensure order, punctuality and to some extent minimize the prisoner’s own will and self-determination. It’s apparently seldom, that the prison officers have to use physical force against the inmates, in that the inmates are aware of

\(^{65}\) T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 79

\(^{66}\) T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 78

\(^{67}\) T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 77-79
the constant surveillance and consequences they have to face if they break the rules. A discussion with a prison officer, which leads to inappropriate word use, can result in the inmate being put into a punishment cell. If the inmate doesn’t cooperate and willingly follows into the punishment cell, the prison officer will use the force necessary to place him there. As said, the inmates are well aware of the sanctions that follow breaking the rules. Exercising power doesn’t need a direct physical use of force. The power relations in prison can alone be sufficient enough to generate its subject’s the motives of orderly behavior. This entails that the prisoners practice self-discipline.68

Despite the rules in order maintain peace and order within prison, there is a general reluctance towards the amount of rules applied within the prison system. Torkil Lauesen states, that the high amount of rules complicate the everyday life in prison. Many of the rules seem unreasonable to the inmates, and are experienced as additional sentences on top of the deprivation of liberty.

Torkil Lauesen asked a prisoner if the amount of rules felt excessive.

“Yes, I think, because no matter what you’re doing, I often tell a joke that is closer to reality than I like to think about; If you go and ask an officer what time it is, then he will say: "Just a moment”, and look it up in the rules to see if i have the right to get that information. Generally there’s a rule for almost everything you do in here.”.69

Torkil further asked the prisoner further if it was reasonable to compare the way inmates are treated with the way one you treat a child.

“Yeah, they would probably not treat a child so harsh, ha ha. Yes the comparison is there, but I would actually claim it is more glaring than that, there’s more rules for us than there is for a child. To a child you have some kind of trust, you don’t have that for a prisoner.”70.

Torkil concludes, that the inmates are constantly reminded of the power relationship. The prison guards carry tear gas, cudgels, handcuffs etc. so the inmates know, what might happen if they act against the rules. It’s not the actual means of the materialistic power that bothers the inmates, but the fact that the prison guards take advantage of their position. If the inmates experience the rules to be reasonable they can adapt, but if they perceive the rules as meaningless and degrading, they lose

69 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 82
70 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 82
respect for the system and authorities\textsuperscript{71}, and their attempts to re-socialize them. Do the rules within prison reflect the rules in the Danish society?

Can some of the rules, perceived by the inmates as being rather disproportionate and excessive, generate disrespect and anger towards the authority enforcing it, and by this weaken the inmates belief, that the authorities also have intentions of helping/re-socialize them?

5.1.5 Diciplinary punishment

When inmates violate the rules in prison an internal punishment system is initiated which consists of warnings, fines, punishment cells, isolation from the fellowship and transfers of inmates to other institutions. In case of vandalism towards the prisons inventory or an up rise, several inmates are isolated in their cells to maintain order and security. Most of the inmates experience this as a sort of collective punishment. The initiation of isolating prisoners in these cases is often something, that affects every inmate.

In the process of giving the disciplinary punishment to the inmates a report is written documenting the violation at hand. The inmate is questioned about the given episode by a so-called disciplinary caretaker and has the chance to give his explanation of the matter. This questioning decides the case. There are not the same requirements for proof as in normal lawsuit. Sometimes inmates are accused and punished for violations they haven’t committed, especially in conflicts where its important for the prison authorities to statute an example.

Torkil explains an experience he had, where he was pulled out of his cell at 2:00 am and thrown into a punishment cell for 10 days, because he supposedly had thrown garbage out of his prison cells window. Since that episode the prison officers had made further attempts to collect him form his cell to place him in the punishment cell on the background of a similar accusation. He says, that they failed in their attempts, in that he wasn’t even in his cell, which meant, that was actually physically incapable of committing the crime, he was accused for. Torkil states, that there doesn’t exist a great respect for the internal punishment system.

The prisoner’s fellow spokesperson comments on the matter:

\textsuperscript{71} T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 82
“It’s completely crazy. It’s told that you have to go an interrorgation, and that you can give an explanation, and then a decision will be made, but it seems like the decision is made in advance, and you are sitting in the office for no reason at all. They don’t listen to, what you have to say and do not reconsider it.”

Torkil asked the spokesperson to comment on if he feels that his legal safeguards are violated with this disciplinary punishment system.

“No, totally and completely, I have experienced it concerning collective punishment. I was accused of throwing paper out of the window, I were not even interrogated, I were just brought to Vestre Fængsel to another cell. There were no proof, and it was actually physically impossible for me to do, what they accused me of, but there was nothing to do…”

Torkil emphasizes, that he perceives the disciplinary punishment system as a means of how the society takes revenge against it offenders. It functions in a dictatorial way due to the fact, that the inmates doesn’t have a genuine chance of protecting themselves.

Torkil describes a tendency, that the disciplinary rules, causes a reluctance towards the system, rather than getting the inmates to behave.

Torkil asked a prisoner if the system kept him from doing illegal things within prison.

“No not at all, you are caught by the mood and you are saying that, now we are going to do something crazy, just to annoy them. I think there’s alot of people who think like everyday, now we are we are really going to annoy those cops, because it’s almost turning into a sport – If they are annoying us, we have to show some kind of resistance. We are people, damn it! We don’t accept everything, so I think it does more harm than good.”

Torkil believes the disciplinary punishment system is based on abuse of power.

Does the prison create criminals instead of re-socializing them? Does treating the inmates with coercive violent force, teach them to comply to the laws, or encourage them to the opposite?

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72 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 84
74 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 86
5.1.6 Isolation

One of the main purposes of the imprisonment is to prevent the prisoners from being reabsorbed into the life of a delinquent. And the mean of the prison is to isolate the prisoners from their deviant habits. Isolation from the criminal environment, and the possibility to reconsider your illegal actions, without distractions from other deviants, is one of the steps that should help offenders, towards resocialization.

Cell isolation is best known, when an offender is remanded in custody, while authorities investigate a certain crime, but it’s also disciplinary measure within prison to punish the inmate, when rules are breached. Isolation is used to keep peace and order within prison. If an inmate is considered unsuitable to engage in social interaction, or violate a prison guard he will be transferred to a punishment cell. In addition to forced isolation there is a special section for voluntarily isolated inmates. Some of the reasons for inmates to volunteer for isolation are that they can’t pay a certain depth, enmity with another inmate, trouble with adapting to the prison life and its environment.75

An inmate, that has resorted to violence during attempts of escape, can be transferred to the so-called ‘supercells’, which is a particularly restrictive type of isolation. The isolation takes place in Spartan decorated cells in specific sections of the prison. The courtyard time is shorter and limited to a ‘cage’ of 5.5 x 8 meters.76

An inmate can be sentenced to a certain amount of days in this punishment cell, or receive the message ‘isolation for an indefinite period’.77

In average there are 10 prisoners serving time in the specially designed punishment cells in Vridsløselille statsfængsel.

The fellow spokesman comments on the use of isolation within Vridsløselille. “At the moment, we have a man sitting in the hole, who is “so far” mentally ill, and needs treatment, and they fill up him with medicine and let him sit downthere and rot. Persons who have been there...uhm... There is one person who has been there for 9 months “unfitted for

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75 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 89
76 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 87
77 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 87
company”, not for a hard crime but for minor incidents. Half a year of imprisonment inside 4 closed walls. I think that has a negative mental and harmful effect right? And you feel a little powerless. The system has made its decisions and think it is the right, maybe to protect the officers, but they don’t take into consideration them harm it does to him personally.78.

Some of the consequences of forced isolation are increased bad mood/depression, hostility towards the system, less favorable terms and a minimum of social interaction. Does isolation slow down or block the process of re-socialization. By forcing a person not to engage in processes that should encourage legit behavior will we see a less engaged and prepared individual when the time of release approaches?

5.1.7 Work obligation in prison

The work obligation within Danish prisons is an important feature, when it comes to the Danish prison service’s aim to re-socialize inmates.

Work in prison is in many cases a deficit business, but is by the government considered as morally constructive79.

Foucault states in his major work “Discipline and punish”, that coercive work in prisons helps the prison guards to maintain law and order, as well as it affects the inmates behavioral patterns.

"work obligation is principle for order and regularity... The work obligation excludes turmoil and abstractedness, creates a heirachy that is much more accepted and affects the inmates behaviour in a greater way.80."

Paragraph 35 in the Danish penal code states that work is obligated in the Danish prisons, the work obligation can only be replaced by educational courses specified by the individual prison.

In Vridsløselille state prison there is about 175 inmates connected to a workplace and around 25 to the prison-school. The work places consist of wood industry, smithy, routinely assembly work, cleaning and various service and maintenance work81.

78 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 87
The inmates receive a salary of 325 kroners each week, and have to attend 7 hours of work a day. Even though the wages are low, the prison work in Vridsløselille is not profitable. In 1995 the deficit of the working operation was around 2 billion kroners. Many of the working places within Vridsløselille perform poorly. There is a minimum of genuine work, maybe an hour or two each day in general. The prison suffers from a lack of external orders, and maintenance work on a larger scale would be too costly. Another reason that the prison suffer a deficit is the inmates lack of interest in routine tasks with no greater economic incentive. A third reason is that many of the inmates aren’t used to work and has a history of a life characterized by bad habits such as alcohol and drug abuse.

Torkil asked a prisoner to explain how a regular day at work in prison progresses.

“... Here i am a blacksmith, it says on my sign. But i though never seen or touched a tool. Instead i have found a table where I roll out my sleeping bag and my blankets after I have brushed away the excrements from the mice. Here I fall asleep. Even though the air is rotten, because there is no fresh air or windows. I would rather sleep next door, but it is occupied. Here people sleep on homemade mats of cardboard. Here I will later eat my lunch...”

The same prisoner stated, that he had never been working during his 8 months of imprisonment. Torkil explains, that it’s not like the prisoners won’t work in general, but the work has to catch their interest in some sort of way. If the work seems meaningless and degrading, they lose all interest. The inmates feel uncomfortable with just being parked at the workplace with no real intensions of actually working. What is more surprising is that the ones responsible and the experts in the specific workplaces don’t seem interested in increasing the efficiency of the work obligation. They seem satisfied with the fact, that the inmates show up at work and stay passive and calm in the given work area. The aim of work as a profitable and re-socializing process seems abandoned. A prisoner comments on the work obligation rule; “I dont think it is a positive thing, that there is forced labor, but I think it would be good if there was work for those who wanted to work.”

Other prisoners are deeply in need of work to keep their mind of personal things and to kill time. Torkil asked an inmate working in the cleaning staff if he was satisfied with the distribution between breaks and work, he replied;

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83 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 95
84 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 93
“I can not complain, no. But I can honestly admit that if I did what the others did I would write a complaint about my head of the workplace, over what the hell I am sitting here for and staring, I could then just as well sit and scratch paint off the windows or...”85

How is your perception of the work obligation?

“I think it is ridicolous, when there is no work it is ridicolous.”86.

In broad terms there is a common incomprehension towards the work obligation rule, since there is no real work to do, and you can’t focus on your preferred profession.

Does the work obligation within prison support the inmates morally and socially as intended or does it encourage reluctance and dissatisfaction?

5.2 Prison as an istitution

5.2.1 Prison as a total institution

To understand prison as a total institution, its fundamental to understand the characteristics, that defines Goffman’s theory. When individuals are placed in prisons, they are according to Goffman derived from their freedom to choose for themselves where they work, sleep and interact. In the world outside, our actions are separated from each other, so that we can use the “self” in the way we react in a situation, in contrast to another. All these areas of life are placed under the territory of the total institution, which means, that it is the same authority that assesses all of ones self-representations. This is one of the tools a total institution manage by removing all possibilities for an individual to perform interaction technique or form behavioural options. Decisions are taken on behalf of the prison inmate collective and from the top of the organisation, without taking the individual’s need into consideration, because they are to fulfil the purpose of the institution.87

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87 O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 187
5.2.2 Arrival

When becoming imprisoned, a lot of practical processes evolve around the sentenced. Processes such as taking fingerprints, clothes being handed, and a physical search of the body by the prison, to make sure, that the prisoner is not carrying any objects, that aren’t allowed by the prison service. Occasionally the prisoner can be told to strip off all clothes, even though it is against the prisoner’s religion. Certain items are accepted to carry in, but no communication objects, such as cell phones, computers or televisions. Accepted items are clothes and pictures to a certain extend, but everything is up to the institution. The prison and its staff will consider these situations of violations necessary, to maintain order in a bigger prison. Urine-test to check if any on the inmates is taking drugs or room searches for forbidden items are an everyday option for prison inmates serving time in Danish prison. Communication with the society outside the total institution is strictly supervised and letters are being checked for not containing any drugs or inappropriate information for the prisoners’ stay.

The inmate serves time in a single cell of 7 square meters, surrounded by other fellow inmates in similar cells, with the purpose to achieve a social community that could represent some form of real society according to the prison service.

The intro process is showed in two videos distributed and made by the Penal Service, where a newly sentenced criminal Simon goes through the total body search. The police officer tells him, that every time Simon has to go between departments of the prison, a total physical search of the body is mandatory. In the other video named “åbent fængsel”, we see a criminal getting his bags checked to see if he has anything forbidden. The police officer ask if he has anything with him, that’s now allowed by the prison, the criminal answers with a clear: “no”. Thereafter the police officer checks the bags anyway, because it’s a must to maintain order and peace through these safety measures.

Summarizing these processes of entering the prison, the prisoner’s self image and the identity supportive measures he could take use of, are being demolished, according to Goffman. The visual parts of these processes are for example through the change of appearance through new clothes for prison use. The mental processes of these are the non-existing opportunity for the inmate

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88 http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/Nær-du-ankommer-335.aspx (9/12/12 - 14.00)
89 http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/Praktiske-forhold-326.aspx (9/12/12 - 14.30)
90 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CjkqU4S_ccM (9/12/12 - 14.45)
91 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KD0IMRU4NV0 (12/12/12 – 12.00)
92 Erving Goffman, Anstalt og menneske, Jørgen Paludans Forlag, 2001, p. 19
to decide which information to be shared, and which not. You see this interference, when the Police
officer investigates the criminal’s bags, even though the criminal said he didn’t have anything with
him that was against the rules.

Theses measures are used to “break down” the inmate, to maintain order and peace within the walls
of the prison. Goffman calls these measures that blurs the individuals’ identity for personal
undressing. 93

5.2.3 System of privilege

When entering the penal system, the prison establishes a personal plan for the inmate. The goal of
the plan is to create the best conditions for a future release. Through the process of imprisonment,
systematically and coordinated actions and measures are being performed against the inmate, to
make sure that the future of the inmate is non-criminal. The plan can consist of different treatments,
education or gaining job experience through different job activities the prison supplies. 94

Goffman describes this entering of the prison system, the start of reconstructing the individual. This
happens by the institution ruining the individuals understanding of himself, by denying certain
activities and forces him to certain activities supplied by the institution. This is the start of the
reconstruction of the individuals self – which Goffman calls the system of privilege. The right for
an adult to choose by itself, it completely removed and can only be gained through following the
rules and measures by the institution. Punishment is the alternative, if the individual doesn’t want to
follow the rules given by the prison, which is in most cases extremely harsh and rough. 95

In a video produced the Danish prison service we see an inmate named Mads, who works as a
carpenter and earns 1000 kroners a week to use in the prisons grocery store. He says he works
because it makes time go by easier, which understates Goffman theory about system of privilege.
The prison has teared down the world of Mads from when he was a criminal to now being a hard
working citizen of the prison. Small treats such as socializing and cooking food with other inmates,
which happens because he if functioning within the area of work. By doing work and receiving
treats and options, the institution gives the criminal’s broken “self” a path to develop it into the

93 O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 188
94 http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/Handleplaner-1344.aspx (14/12/12 - 18.00)
95 O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 190
5.2.4 The relationship between guards and inmates

In all forms of total institutions a distance between the staff and the client is created. An “us” against “them” situation is also created in the prison between the institution and its inmates. According to Goffman guards see the inmates as unreliable and untrustworthy, ready to escape if the option is there. The will see the guards as mean and condescending, controlling every aspect of their daily routine. A collective view is created from both sides, seeing the staff and inmates as groups and not as individuals.

5.2.5 Erving Goffman and barriers

In this chapter we will take Erving Goffman’s theory about the total institution to analyse, what barriers there are in the prisons construction and methodology to achieve re-socialization. We will use data described earlier in this project on resocialization and punishment, combined with interviews of inmates serving time in Danish prisons. Our primary focus will be on the violations of the individual, combined with Goffman’s different theories. Erving Goffman research on the asylum is done through observations in a state hospital and crazy houses in the 1960′s. Since that time, prison has changed a lot and resocialization has become a very important subject of discussion in the Danish society and prison service. So it is important to bare this in mind, when analysing and discussing Goffman’s theory on prison and its ability to re-socialize. His idea of the total institution is suitable for an analysis and discussion, but cannot be used without having criticism to it. Also, our project evolves around Danish prisons; where there are two kinds of prisons, open prisons and closed prisons, where criminals serve their sentence. So the theory of the total institution and its overall exclusion from society doesn’t completely translate to the Danish prison system, but can definitely be used to uncover contradictive measures. Through Goffman’s theories we will combine them with interviews to analyse, if there are any contradictive paradoxes between what the inmates think about re-socialization, and what the prison

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96 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0ijVAgg24 (10/12/12 - 22.00)
service believes.

5.2.6 Disempowerment

Through our empirical material there are several examples of disempowerment as Goffman calls it. Through how the prison receives the criminal, informs and corrects his behaviour through different processes, and finally how they reconstruct his self. In the article from Information, we read about Thomas Hansen, an ex-criminal who describes how his life was, when he was in prison. Thomas mentions how rough it was, when inmates in the middle of the night weren’t allowed to go to the bathroom, so they shitted themselves, or left their remains in a plastic bag for the guards to pick up next day. Personal hygiene is a strong independent factor, which in prison is empowered by the staff and not the individual criminal. As described in the system of privilege, person hygiene is considered as a “normal” part of your daily routine, which in the prison is controlled by the staff through a schedule that decides, when and where they can use the bathroom. Thomas mentions how the staff was about to close down the prison’s fitness centre, because of drugs being traded within the prison walls. A example of privilege and punishment where the individual is being denied access to personal training which is a daily routine for many in the society outside. Thomas has spent over 4 years in prison, and in the start he wasn’t allowed getting visits from his family and friends, which made it hard for him to maintain his social network. A result was loneliness and becoming fragile, and anger towards the system who denied him access to the persons he loved.

“Your girlfriend, wife, kids and parents disappear. Friends, that you also care a lot for disappears. It is only for a while, people say. Yes, and in that timeframe your feelings for them doesn’t change for those you care about. But their feelings for you change when you get out.” 97

Thomas describes the effect and consequence of being imprisoned. The constant distance between family and client, results in a loss of family, even though the client has no chance to achieve a stable and constant relationship. A power the institution has, to deny access to communication and family visit, which is the third element of the system of privilege according to Goffman. Thomas

97 http://www.information.dk/140452 (2/12/12 - 9.00)
mentions, that there are several examples of punishment within prison, such as isolation cells, transferring between prisons with fewer privileges, and fines.
Thomas understands the purpose of the institution to “re-school” inmates, but describes how the prison’s economy isn’t there to make it happen. Everything is saved because of politics, and all there is left is the time and punishment.
Thomas overall evaluation of the prison with the purpose of normalizing is being uncovered in the last part of the article and can be states very simple by this quote.

“I have never experienced something that can create a violent criminal like a prison.“ – Thomas Hansen, former inmate

According to Thomas, prison is an institution that creates criminals just as Goffman describes in his book the asylum. The institution creates the client they wish to service, because of the measures and violations aimed towards the client. The client’s view on its self is being reconstructed by the societies view on the client when being institutionalized. The prison makes a criminal more violent, and fills him up with more aggression than he had before entering the institution, which is a clear indicator of Goffman’s theory about the institution can’t re-socialize when the institution creates the criminal self. 97

5.2.7 Prison as a total institution

To understand prison as a total institution, its fundamental to understand the characteristics, that defines Goffman’s theory. When individuals are placed in prisons, they are according to Goffman derived from their freedom to choose for themselves where they work, sleep and interact. In the world outside, our actions are separated from each other, so that we can use the “self” in the way we react in a situation, in contrast to another. All these areas of life are placed under the territory of the total institution, which means, that it is the same authority that assesses all of ones self-representations. This is one of the tools a total institution manage by removing all possibilities for an individual to perform interaction technique or form behavioural options. Decisions are taken on the behalf of the prison inmate collective and from the top of the organisation, without taking the
individual’s need into consideration, because they are to fulfil the purpose of the institution.  

5.2.8 Arrival

When becoming imprisoned, a lot of practical processes evolve around the sentenced. Processes such as taking fingerprints, clothes being handed, and a physical search of the body by the prison, to make sure that the prisoner is not carrying any objects, that aren’t allowed by the prison service. Occasionally the prisoner can be told to strip off all clothes, even though it is against the prisoner’s religion. Certain items are accepted to carry in, but no communication objects, such as cell phones, computers or televisions. Accepted items are clothes and pictures to a certain extend, but everything is up to the institution. The prison and its staff will consider these situations of violations necessary, to maintain order in a bigger prison. Urine-test to check if any on the inmates is taking drugs or room searches for forbidden items are an everyday option for prison inmates serving time in Danish prison.  

Communication with the society outside the total institution is strictly supervised and letters are being checked for not containing any drugs or inappropriate information for the prisoners’ stay.

The inmate serves time in a single cell of 7 square meters, surrounded by other fellow inmates in similar cells, with the purpose to achieve a social community that could represent some form of real society according to the prison service.

Summarizing these processes of entering the prison, the prisoner’s self image and the identity supportive measures, he could take use of, are being demolished, according to Goffman. The visual parts of these processes are for example through the change of appearance through new clothes for prison use. The mental processes of these are the non-existing opportunity for the inmate to decide which information to be shared, and which not. In some prisons numbers are given to the prisoner to be used instead of calling the inmate by the name. Theses measures are used to “break down” the inmate, to maintain order and peace within the walls of the prison. Goffman calls these measures that blurs the individuals’ identity for personal undressing.

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98 O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 187
99 http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/Når-du-ankommer-335.aspx (9/12/12 - 14.00)
100 http://www.kriminalforsorgen.dk/Praktiske-forhold-326.aspx (9/12/12 - 14.30)
101 O. Høiris, Antropologiske Mesterværker, Århus Universitetsforlag, 2007, p. 188
5.2.9 Blueprint

When entering the penal system, the prison establishes a personal plan for the inmate. The goal of the plan is to create the best conditions for a future release. Through the process of imprisonment, systematically and coordinated actions and measures are being performed against the inmate, to make sure that the future of the inmate is non-criminal. The plan can consist of different treatments, education or gaining job experiences.

5.2.10 Interviews from Vridsløselille Statsfængsel

A lot of our knowledge concerning life within Danish prison’s is based on a book called ”Fra forbedringshus til parkeringshus” written by a former Danish inmate named Torkil Lauesen. The author’s aim with this book is to describe how inmates experience life within prison, rather than how the government present it.

By being a former inmate himself, he claims to interview fellow inmates from an equal point of view that differs from the ‘objective truth’ that authorities proclaim. With this aim, it is possible to outline subjective experiences rather than objective data based on numbers published by the government. These interviews consisting of inmates with all types of criminal background sheds light on a specific paradox between punishment and resocialization that we want to investigate.

Does punishment contradict the very purpose of resocialization?

Tales of inmates going out to visit family and friends on a limited time schedule, just to realize that their former close acquaintances turned their back on them in light of their current status as a criminal. Their personal experience of being treated as a deviant by close ones, can be extracted from these interviews. The interviews in this book includes several different inmates opinion on the prison as an institution and their view on measures taking by the government in order to re-socialize inmates in the Danish prisons as well as their thoughts on life after prison. Torkil Lauesen did his fieldwork in ‘Vridsløselille State Prison which is an open Danish prison placed in Albertslund just outside Copenhagen.
When Torkil Lauesen asked two different inmates on how they experience the prison in Vridsløselille’s efforts to re-socialize its inmates, the answers came out to be quite similar. Torkil Lauesen states, that even if the original idea of prison was to re-socialize its inmates all points to the contrary. He points out, that life in prison creates a desocialization of the individual, which aggravates their possibilities of dealing with a regular life in the Danish society in the future. Instead of re-socializing the offenders, Torkil Lauesen considers prison as an institution that removes its inhabitant’s social abilities.

Prisoner 1: “I don’t believe in a negative experience as upbringing the individual. I rather believe in a positive experience. I don’t believe that throwing a man down in a basement will create a better person. You might accomplish it in spite, but then your reaction will also be in spite.”

When he was asked whether or not he considers prison to have a negative influence on its inmates he replied, “It is 100% certain that if you want to accomplish any new results then you have to work from your victories, not your failures. And no matter how you look at it then it is a failure to end in prison.”

The second prisoner’s response to, whether or not he considers the prison to have a negative influence on its inmates came out to be quite similar.

Prisoner 2: “The prison itself is no pain, you can easily live well in a prison. The worst part is that you get pulled out of everything. You automatically lose friends, family, job, career and reputation, really everything. It is a punishment inside a punishment. Everything is ruined for you in the future. It is the worst.”

These responses underline certain skepticism towards resocialization in prison and a future in the Danish society as a former convict. Their answers illustrate a prominent hopelessness, and a deep loss of familiar relations. They don’t believe that prison, as an institution will ever be able to do its inmates any good. They will remain stamped as criminals by society, friends, family, workplaces etc. even though the government proclaims they can develop otherwise.

103 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p. 112-113
104 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p.113
105 T. Lauesen, Fra Forbedringshus Til Parkeringshus, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 1998, p.113
Does the prison resocialize?

The first part of the discussion we will elaborate and debate how the mentioned aspects of the prison construction and methodology contradict the re-socializing processes.

In our observation of Vridesløselille prison and The Danish Prison Service’s 6 principles of achieving their goal of re-socializing their inmates, we can see that they in many ways are similar to Foucault’s generalization of the prisons fundamental disciplinary origins. The purpose and goals of attaining as affective a correctional institution as possible and the complexities herein have also echoed through our research of the contemporary Danish Prison.

The Danish prison service with their 6 principles, state many intentions and goals of trying to re-socialize their inmates as best possible, but from what we have learned form our research they seem quite farfetched. The virtue of re-socialization is a matter easier said then done, in that the practice and actual outcome of the programs, processes and intentions put forward by the Danish Prison service don’t seem to reflect their goals entirely.

Examining the prisons inmates achieved by the means the Panoptic architecture and its 24-hour surveillance over the prisoners seems to be a quite uncomfortable process and has a demoralizing ad stigmatizing affect on the prisoners, as one of the prisoners from Vridesløselille prison states. The documentation and profiling of the inmates, which infiltrates their private life almost completely, is done beyond the prisoners control and sight. They have no clue what is being written about them, but the fact that this examination is being made implicates that there is something wrong with them. Like Goffman states, these procedures of control, acts as repetitive reminders for the inmate’s mental image about how society see’s him.

The interview of the prisoner in Vridesløselille revolving this conflict supports Foucault’s theory. Like Foucault says in the part about “the criminal and criminology”, the process of surveillance and examination in prison produces “the delinquent” in a conditional and categorical sense. Even though these examinations are made in order to treat the prisoners individually on the back round of
their personal, the process make them feel violated and offended. This type of total surveillance and documentation of individuals would never be accepted in a free society.

The statements made by the Danish Criminal Service in their 3rd principle about teaching the inmates responsibility and self-determination, doesn’t add up with what we observed from the part in our analysis revolving Vridesløselille prison’s distribution of time and space as control and its disciplinary system. From what we could understand from the interviews connected to these aspects, the prison had very strict rules and schedules for the inmates. These rules and schedules dictated their movements in time and space and left very little autonomy for the prisoners. Furthermore there were sanctions and punishments if the inmates did not follow the set of timetables and behavioral regulations.

These strict boundaries got our attention. It made us ask whether it was possible to re-socialize prisoners when they found themselves in an environment which consisted of forced and coercive rules of conduct and prefigured and decisive timetables. We had a hard time seeing how this could teach an individual self-determination, -efficiency and –responsibility, and we would argue that the mentioned characteristics are very crucial for an individual to be able to operate properly in a free society.

If the prison is fundamentally a total institution, it’s impossible for it to reflect the dynamics of the free society outside the walls, and inevitable that it rather reflects a totalitarian and authoritarian form of government. This displays in the prison’s internal punishment system. As Torkil from Vridesløselille prison explains, the decisions made in cases of judgment in the internal punishment system, don’t require the same proof as in normal lawsuits. Torkil also interviews a prisoner that says that it in many cases is hopeless for a prisoner to defend himself against the accusations made against him. The prison authorities can punish a prisoner even though accusations aren’t followed by proof, which would be conceived as substantial enough under normal circumstances, outside of prison.

In the interviews about the forced labor in Vridesløselille prison show us that the prisoners aren’t to fond of it. Whether it’s because it’s forced or because its straight out boring, the forced labor doesn’t seem to produce any substantial results. If the inmates have no interest in participating they do what they can to avoid work. There isn’t really a ladder of success in prison. By this we mean
that there is a lack of economic incentive, no significant possibility for working themselves up to promotions and evolving within a career. Because the inmates earn such a low income on their assigned work, they tend to partake in some of the illegal activity like drug dealing in that they earn a significantly larger profit from it.

The forced labor they undertake is characterized by routine and less challenging assignments, and there isn’t really incitement for putting in a genuine effort. These working conditions amongst others are what end up deskilling the inmates, as Foucault argues. The lack of incitement and voluntary participation in the work doesn’t help them in generating useful habits for functioning in societies voluntary atmosphere of work.

Some of the prisoners already have careers or businesses outside of prison and therefore view the forced labor, which the prison views as educative, as useless in this sense. Another matter worth noting is that the work they have undertaken in prison, cant exactly be used in a resume, unless of course the prisoners hand it in to an employer who doesn’t mind the fact that they have been in prison.

Apart form the prisons strategies and techniques of discipline there is also the problem of the social life in prison. When being imprisoned, all communication and contact to the environment outside is out of range and not easily accessible.

“Og det virker så umuligt og ulykkeligt for dem, som forsøger at holde fast i hinanden. Langt de fleste bliver forladt, når de kommer i fængsel.” – Thomas, Information

If the inmates want to see family or friends they have to ask the prison authorities for permission, and these visitations are limited and fully controlled by the prison.

One of the major consequences when isolating the prisoners form society is that, the inmates in most cases don’t keep their relationships from outside prisons intact.

The problem occurs when cutting of friends and family on the outside, and placing the inmate into a social environment of other criminals that have been incarcerated due to their deviant behavior. When the prisoner finds himself in an environment of other criminals it confirms his identity as a criminal and he furthermore generates a network within this social environment.
More focus and priority on Re-socializing methods and programs

The combination of re-socialization and prison and its punishments seem to be very contradictive of each other, but why then do the attempts of combining them persist? Should the prisons decrease their aspects of punishment to help the methods of re-socialization in achieving their goals? What recent developments of the role and content of re-socialization can we see?

The next part of the discussion can’t avoid becoming a bit political. We will discuss some examples of relatively new developments associated with bettering the re-socialization process.

Many today are being sentenced to an open prison, which according to the Danish prison service offers are more human, less brutalizing and more re-socializing. This should be a more preventive act of punishment, where the criterias of the total institution is modified. Typical factors that describes Goffman’s total institution such as high walls, 24/7 control and locked doors are removed or diminished in open prisons, to resemble conditions that the prisoner could live in, within society. By giving inmates are daily life that resembles the life they could have lived in society, can exclude Michel Foucault’s theory about the delinquent, and that the prison produces them in a conditional sense, since there is a higher chance, when serving in an open prison, not to re-offend. A problem can occur when a criminal has the opportunity to return to his old environment every third weekend, since there’s no supervision or control at that time. So, the question is, if the Danish prison service does enough to enhance and strengthen the criminal’s network, and if it’s even possible to do so. Another controversy is the society’s feelings towards the open prison as an institution of punishment and re-socialization. Many in society wishes more tougher conditions for the inmates to serve under, so that they wishes they never has to endure such an experience again, and therefor doesn’t commit a crime again. Tougher and longer sentences are supposed to work as a preventive measure, so that individuals doesn’t wishes to do crime, because the consequence of the action is to big. A paradox is created, when society wants to punish the criminal harder with bad conditions and longer sentences, and also re-socialize the inmate not to re-offend again. These two goals punishing harder and re-socialize criminals are not correlating with each other.

But the questions that are to be asked is not just; when the offenders are ready to get back and legally operate in society, but it is also: When is the society ready to welcome the former offenders?

106http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/Peter_Skaarup_Hårde_straffe_for-barske_forbrydelser_virker_præventivt.asp (13/12/12 - 14.50)
A case, which is touching this particular question is the one with Claus Meyers resocialization program concerning about giving former offenders another chance, by offering them to be trainees. This program came under a lot of criticism when the victim of one of the trainees in Claus Meyers program wrote a reader's letter concerning that the offender was treated better than she. She felt that the society was taking more care of resocializing her assailant, than with her wellbeing. He, the assailant, was sentenced a six year sentence for the violent assault made on her, but he was set free after only three, and actively participating in Claus Meyers program, where he is given “another chance”.

In the reader's letter in the Danish newspaper Politiken, she argued that it was not fair that her assailant was given another chance, while she was fifty percent disabled. This is a case that raised the above-mentioned question, and created a lot of debate in the Danish society.

Was the caretaking of the offender becoming more important than the help to the victim? In this case the assailant was in a position as a chef trainee after just serving half of his sentence, whilst the victim, by the doctors, has been declared fifty percent disabled. Is the re-socialization of the offenders becoming too high of an priority and weighing out the punitive aspect of dealing with criminals?

There are divided opinions about whether the more re-socializing friendly methods are a good thing. Some people think that they are too soft in their approach, and want the penal measures of dealing with criminals to be stricter. After all aren’t criminals supposed to be punish for their crimes, and not just be sent social institutions or programs for the sake of helping the criminals to a better and more functional life in society?

In Foucault’s part about “discipline and democracy” he states that the prison and the fear of it is essential for free democratic societies to function and even exist. The prison institution has the function of incarcerated an removing criminals form society in order to create security in the community. Furthermore it attempts to discipline and normalize the criminal as much as possible, so when released is less likely to reoffend, but it also has a preventive function. The prison deals directly with criminal offenders, but also indirectly stands as a threat to the rest of the populace, reminding them that there are sanctions for breaking the rules in society. It creates incitement for citizens in society to abide the law. Punishment also serves in achieving justice, which is a sort of
satisfactory factor for the general populace, especially for the persons who have been victimized by criminal acts.

**Conclusion:**

As we have learned through the projects course, punishment and re-socialization are both techniques of discipline and have their purpose in society. From the Foucauldian perspective, dominative in our project, they both have the means of attaining and sustaining social control in society. The prison institution has the goal of decreasing crime in society. Re-socialization having the supposed role of correcting and normalizing the criminals of their criminal entities and making sure they function properly in society when released to hence reduce the chance of recidivism. The punitive aspects have the role of removing the criminals from society for the security of the community, ensuring justice of their crimes, sending a message to the criminal whilst simultaneously standing as a deterrent threat and example for the general population.

The problem in the relationship between the re-socialization and punishment is that they are very contradictive of each other. There is an ongoing struggle between the two and is a highly discussed matter wherever the prison institution exists.

The attempt of re-socialization, though having constructive and progressive intentions for its subjects, has a very complex and paradoxical placement inside the total institution of prison. Re-socialization in itself is a disciplinary method and can easily be conceived as punishment by prisoners, in that it in many of its aspects operates coercively within the prison institution. The prison institution, its implications, its very structure and methodology and its unavoidable aspect of depriving criminals of their liberty are atmospherically constant reminders of punishment for its prisoners. Punishment and re-socialization are not to be thought of as independent of each other in that they overlaps when combined in prison. For re-socializing methods not to be viewed as another aspect of punishment by the prisoner, it would require that the prisoners accept the need to be treated and participate by their own will.

We have concluded that the Danish Prison service’s intentions and goals of re-socializing criminals are fairly optimistic and hard to achieve. On the contrary, it seems necessary to work towards as
effective a balance between resocialization and punishment as possible despite the two having a very complex and paradoxical relationship.

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When we first began our project it was clear that we had different ideas of how to approach the problem. We were split between the political aspects of punishment and resocialization and the more sociological aspects. We soon realized that our empirical material were much stronger on with the sociological aspect. This first meant a focus on the structures and collective processes of the prison. But after a various redifinitions of our problem formulation,
including only the two theoreticians Goffman and Foucalt, we ended up with a focus on the individual and its development under punishment.

Furthermore we needed to replace our main sources of empirical data from quantitative data in form of statistics and reports to only qualitative data in forms of interviews and journals to fit our problem definition. In the end we ended up with a project much more consisting and manageable because we, through a clearer use of our theoreticians, were able to structure both the very research but also the chapters and sections more easily. The constant change of our problem definition though meant that we had to delete a lot of sections that were of no use and apart from that we wasted a lot of hours which could have been spent more intensively on one final problem definition. But we agreed that it weighed more to have a good problem definition.