

Architectures of Harm or Architectures of Hope?

The effects of carceral space on the wellbeing of prisoners

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HMP Wandsworth's 2021 inspection report cited the physical environment as one of the prison's main concerns. Like many Victorian prisons, HMP Wandsworth was originally designed to showcase civic pride and retribution. There has since been a shift in His Majesty's Prison and Probation Service's (HMPPS) stance; whilst prison is still a place of punishment, it is also a place of rehabilitation. This project aims to understand how prisoners experience the physical environment at HMP Wandsworth and how this impacts prisoner wellbeing. Finally, it seeks to understand how the physical environment could be adapted to better support wellbeing. This project recognises that the built environment can either create an environment which triggers and institutionalises prisoners, or one which inspires and provides hope. Research was carried out by conducting interviews and participant-led graphic elicitation with six prisoners at HMP Wandsworth. Findings demonstrated that whilst most prisoners perceived the physical environment as unfit for purpose and oppressive, others displayed an indifference towards design and appeared accustomed to poor physical conditions. The physical environment was said to provoke feelings of sadness and anxiety. When asked how prisoners would choose to adapt the prison environment if they were tasked with creating their 'ideal prison', there was an initial difficulty in visualising anything other than the status quo. When asked to demonstrate ideas visually,

prisoners' sketches demonstrated the importance of spaces of interaction, escapism, productivity, nature, but also design which encouraged mobility, dignity, and autonomy. Whilst trauma-informed environments are beginning to filter into the UK female estate, this research demonstrates that there is also a need for a wellbeing-informed environment in the male estate. Combined with an enabling culture, purposeful activity, positive prisoner-staff relations, and appropriate interventions, this has the potential to produce an environment conducive with growth and rehabilitation.

Literature Review

This review examines the recent shift towards rehabilitative and trauma-informed carceral design and the wider implications of this on prisoner wellbeing.¹

Wellbeing Promotion Through Design

Increasingly, research is promoting the benefits of creating humanistic and generative prison spaces.^{2,3} Research from environmental psychology demonstrates the positive rehabilitative and wellbeing outcomes which result from importing normality and autonomy into carceral design.⁴ Matter Architecture's model (Figure 6) exhibits the clear positive outcomes which derive from fostering an environment which supports prisoner health and wellbeing, resulting in improved individual potential, better engagement with support and training and reduced reoffending.⁵

1. Jewkes, Y. (2018). Just design: Healthy prisons and the architecture of hope. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 51(3), 319-338.
2. Moran, D., Jones, P. I., Jordaan, J. A., & Porter, A. E. (2020). Does nature contact in prison improve well-being? Mapping land cover to identify the effect of greenspace on self-harm and violence in prisons in England and Wales. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 111(6), 1779-1795.
3. Engstrom, K. V., & Van Ginneken, E. F. (2022). Ethical Prison Architecture: A Systematic Literature Review of Prison Design Features Related to Wellbeing. *Space and Culture*, 25(3), 479-503.
4. Karthaus, R., Bernheimer, L., O'Brien, R., & Barnes, R. (2017). *Wellbeing in prison design: A design guide*. <http://www.matterarchitecture.uk/research/>
5. Karthaus, R., Block, L., & Hu, A. (2019). Redesigning prison: The architecture and ethics of rehabilitation. *The Journal of Architecture*, 24(2), 193-222.

Figure 1: Matter Architecture Model



Recent research demonstrates the therapeutic benefits of nature contact in a carceral setting, finding that prisons with a higher vegetation cover have a lower rate of self-harm and violence.⁶ Prisoners also reported feeling calmer, more positive, more communicative, and less mentally fatigued when surrounded by nature.^{7,8}

International 'Good Practice'

The 'principle of normality' has guided the design of prisons in several Scandinavian countries. This logic

purports that the loss of freedom is punishment enough, without further constraints from the built environment. This design provides prisoners with the conditions and resources to lead productive lives upon release.⁹ Norway's Halden Prison, opened in 2010, incorporates natural forest, bar-less windows, sunlight, artwork and communal open-plan living into its design (Figure 2).¹⁰ Inspired by Halden, Schmidt Hammer Lassen architectural firm has designed Greenland's first closed prison, Nuuk Correctional Institution (Figure 8), created with the aim of incorporating nature to reduce the psychological violence of the built environment.¹¹

Figures 2 and 3: Halden Prison, Norway



6. Moran, D., Jones, P. I., Jordaan, J. A., & Porter, A. E. (2022). Nature contact in the carceral workplace: greenspace and staff sickness absence in prisons in England and Wales. *Environment and Behavior*, 54(2), 276-299.
7. Moran, D., & Turner, J. (2019). Turning over a new leaf: The health-enabling capacities of nature contact in prison. *Social Science & Medicine*, 231, 62-69.
8. Nadkarni, N. M., Hasbach, P. H., Thys, T., Crockett, E. G., & Schnacker, L. (2017). Impacts of nature imagery on people in severely nature deprived environments. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 15(7), 395-403.
9. Høidal, A. (2018). Normality behind the walls: Examples from Halden Prison. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 31(1), 58-66.
10. Hancock, P., & Jewkes, Y. (2011). Architectures of incarceration: The spatial pains of imprisonment. *Punishment & Society*, 13(5), 611-629.
11. Jewkes, Y., & Moran, D. (2014). Should prison architecture be brutal, bland or beautiful? *Scottish Justice Matters*, 2(1), 8-11.

The relationship between design and rehabilitative outcomes is clear. Research has found that Norway, which has adopted this principle, boasts recidivism rates of 20 per cent, far below the UK and US's recidivism rates of 46 per cent and 52 per cent respectively.¹² Whilst it may appear that this model offers a silver bullet design, Grant and Jewkes warn against transposing one country's design philosophy to another without adapting it to the new penal and socio-cultural context.¹³

UK-Based 'Good Practice'

Since 2017, 'trauma-informed' training and design have been rolled out across the UK female estate.¹⁴ Trauma-sensitive design minimises environmental triggers, such as excessive security equipment, long corridors, hard surfaces, and bars on windows, replacing them with an environment which provides psychological safety. The Murray House facility, in

HMP/YOI Hydebank Wood Women's Unit was designed to be domestic and private, with a living room, soft furnishings and surrounded by nature, to reduce the feeling of being incarcerated. If properly implemented, such environments can not only avoid re-traumatising prisoners,¹⁵ but can also encourage healing from past trauma.

Some of these lessons are beginning to filter into the male estate. Design at HMP Low Moss uses bold colour and creatively aims to maximise natural daylight, minimising the institutional feel of the environment (Figure 3). HMP Berwyn adorns its walls with landscape artwork, enabling prisoners to 'escape' the sterile environment (Figure 4). Equally, new build 'smart' prison HMP Five Wells boasts bar-less windows and a design centred around promoting decency, autonomy and normality. Such design initiatives are contentious — they go against the cultural and political imagination of what 'prison' is.

Figures 3 and 4: HMP Low Moss (left) and HMP Berwyn (right)



12. Deady, C. W. (2014). Incarceration and recidivism: Lessons from abroad. Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy. https://salve.edu/sites/default/files/filesfield/documents/Incarceration_and_Recidivism.pdf
13. Grant, E., & Jewkes, Y. (2015). Finally Fit for Purpose: The Evolution of Australian Prison Architecture. *The Prison Journal*, 95(2), 223–243.
14. Jewkes, Y., Jordan, M., Wright, S., & Bendelow, G. (2019). Designing 'Healthy' Prisons for Women: Incorporating Trauma-Informed Care and Practice (TICP) into Prison Planning and Design. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16(20), 3818.
15. Miller, N. A., & Najavits, L. M. (2012). Creating trauma-informed correctional care: A balance of goals and environment. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 3(1), 17246.

Despite some examples of more progressive prison design, 25 per cent of the current custodial population reside in Victorian prison,¹⁶ built for the purpose of punishment and retribution. Accompanying this are rising rates of self-harm and suicide within the prison population.¹⁷ The Prison Safety and Reform White Paper acknowledged this, stating that the prison estate requires urgent investment and modernisation if it is to foster a positive culture and improved prisoner wellbeing.

Research Aims

This study explores the relationship between prison design and prisoner wellbeing and investigates how prison design can be adapted to better support wellbeing.

Research Questions

1. What are the lived experiences of carceral space at HMP Wandsworth?
2. What effect does carceral space have on the wellbeing of prisoners at HMP Wandsworth?
3. How might carceral space better support the wellbeing of prisoners at HMP Wandsworth?

Methods

Research Design and Methodological Approach

Whilst a large part of prison 'knowledge' is constructed by those in positions of power, here, prisoner voice is placed at the forefront of knowledge production. This research is grounded in a constructivist ontology and interpretive epistemology, viewing the world as having multiple socially constructed realities which require interpretation.¹⁸

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Semi-Structured Interviews

Six prisoners at HMP Wandsworth were selected via convenience sampling and participated in semi-structured interviews. Interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes and took place in the private space of the chapel. An interview schedule had been pre-prepared, involving questions about how participants experience carceral space, how it affects their wellbeing and their ideas for adapting prison space. Despite questions being pre-written, interviewees were encouraged to voice their thoughts and experiences openly. With prior permission, interviews were recorded using a dictaphone and transcribed verbatim, in order to capture the true words of the participant, rather than my interpretation.¹⁹

Participant-Generated Graphic Elicitation

After each interview, participants took part in a graphic elicitation exercise, producing a sketch of what their 'ideal' prison would look like, where wellbeing promotion is the main priority. This method acknowledged the value of the visual as a medium through which to express ideas and feelings, which cannot easily be articulated verbally.^{20 21} I considered that this would produce richer, more nuanced data and would provide a more

inclusive medium, circumventing barriers posed by language and literacy.

Data Analysis

After interviews had been transcribed verbatim, thematic analysis was conducted to make sense of the data. The interview transcripts were analysed, and latent and semantic codes were created. These codes

16. Moran, D., Houlbrook, M., & Jewkes, Y. (2022). The Persistence of the Victorian Prison: Alteration, Inhabitation, Obsolescence, and Affirmative Design. *Space and Culture*, 25(3), 364-378.

17. Ministry of Justice. (2023). Safety in custody statistics. Quarterly update to December 2022. England and Wales.

18. Beyens, K., Kennes, P., Snacken, S., & Tournel, H. (2015). The craft of doing qualitative research in prisons. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 4(1), 66-78.

19. Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (3rd ed.). Sage.

20. Bagnoli, A. (2009). Beyond the standard interview: The use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research*, 9(5), 547-570.

21. Vince, R., & Warren, S. (2012). Participatory visual methods. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (eds.), *The practice of qualitative organizational research: Core methods and current challenges* (pp. 1-21). Sage.

were further refined into research themes. Unlike interview transcripts, the analysis of images was more challenging, due to visual data being subjective and difficult to categorise. The knowledge produced through graphic elicitation arose out of the interaction between the researcher and the participant, rendering it necessary to conduct analysis within each specific interview context.

Findings and Discussion

Lived Experiences of Carceral Space

Research Question 1, 'what are the lived experiences of carceral space at HMP Wandsworth?', aimed to elicit how prison space is perceived by someone inhabiting it. There were three main themes discussed: unfit for purpose, prison as oppressive, and the expected norm.

During interviews, participants frequently spoke about the old Victorian design of the prison no longer being fit for purpose. One participant described the prison as: 'very archaic, pretty run down, pretty dusty' and 'falling to bits'. Another participant described the building as needing a 'whole new refurb'. Not only was the wing itself considered outdated by participants, so too were the wing's facilities, in particular the showers. Participants also commented on the presence of vermin inside the establishment, including rats, mice and pigeons.

Another core theme was feeling 'oppressed' by the prison environment. Participant 4 referred to the 'narrowness of the walkways' as something that particularly contributed to this feeling. Additionally, the '1s' landing was referred to as a 'dungeon' by participant 3 due to the 'solid ceiling' and presence of vermin. However, Participant 4 expressed an appreciation for the wing's large windows and plentiful natural light, without which the design would be even more oppressive.

Despite acknowledging that the wing is an unpleasant environment, participants appeared to

accept this. Participant 3 stated that it is 'what I would expect because it's just what I'm used to'. Participant 4 discussed becoming 'acclimatised' to the environment because it becomes the new 'normal', no matter how poor the conditions. There also appeared to be a shared opinion amongst participants that prisoners are undeserving of the same standard of living that might be expected outside of prison. Participants 1 and 3 talked about having to 'pay the consequences' of past mistakes, including through design. It was observed that this same justification of 'it's jail' was utilised by several participants as an excuse for the poor prison facilities and environment.

Prison design being oppressive and unfit for purpose was an anticipated finding and is supported by both literature and policy.²² HMP Wandsworth's 2021 inspection report reiterated this, referring to Wandsworth as a 'crumbling, overcrowded, vermin-infested prison'. Prisons were historically designed with the purpose of showcasing retribution, civic pride and the invincibility of the state and therefore look oppressive in design.²³ Since the purpose of prisons is no longer purely to punish, there is now a widespread understanding that this type of prison design is no longer appropriate.²⁴ This argument has also endured in political debate for almost a century.²⁵ Despite repeated promises to shut or reform such

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prisons, Victorian prisons constitute too pivotal a segment of the prison estate to abolish, housing over 25 per cent of the incarcerated population. Not only do the findings demonstrate that carceral space is experienced poorly by prisoners, but that this has become the *status quo*. Participants appeared unsurprised that prison design was outdated and oppressive, nor did they appear to expect better. This finding was unexpected but can be theorised by the principle of less eligibility. This principle states that conditions should not be superior to the conditions of the lowest social class of 'free society' and thus hardship and suffering should be demonstrated by the prison's design. It appears that this mentality of being deserving of less than the average person has been

22. Karthaus, R., Block, L., & Hu, A. (2019). Redesigning prison: The architecture and ethics of rehabilitation. *The Journal of Architecture*, 24(2), 193–222.
23. Hancock, P., & Jewkes, Y. (2011). Architectures of incarceration: The spatial pains of imprisonment. *Punishment & Society*, 13(5), 611–629.
24. Jewkes, Y. (2017). Prison design and the need for reform. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 1(12), 846–848.
25. Moran, D., Houlbrook, M., & Jewkes, Y. (2022). The Persistence of the Victorian Prison: Alteration, Inhabitation, Obsolescence, and Affirmative Design. *Space and Culture*, 120633122110570.

internalised by prisoners, shaping their low expectations of prison design. Previous research supports this finding, arguing that prison design portrays a powerful 'othering' influence towards prisoners, preventing them from perceiving that they are deserving of more. Not only is punishment enacted by taking away one's liberty, but it is then reinforced through the built environment. At a first glance, it appears that HMP Wandsworth's 'oppressive' and 'unfit for purpose' environment is stifling, rather than supporting, HMPPS's aims of providing a prison environment which promotes wellbeing, decency, and rehabilitation.

Carceral Space and its Effect on Prisoner Wellbeing

The second research question sought to understand 'what effect does carceral space have on the wellbeing of prisoners at HMP Wandsworth?'. Participants' responses generally fit within three main themes: anxiety inducing design, depressing design and indifference towards design.

Participants articulated feeling '*trapped*', stating that the repetitiveness of the environment resulted in 'anxiety, stress' and 'uncomfortableness'. Anxiety derived particularly from 'blind spots' in design, areas away from staff or cameras, such as the showers. Participant 3 discussed that some prisoners felt so anxious that they completely avoided these areas. Other participants described the wing as feeling '*claustrophobic*', '*suffocating*' and mentally '*very testing*'.

Generally, participants agreed that the environment was '*dingy*', '*doom and gloom*' and '*depressing*' in design and that this had the effect of '*bringing the morale of everyone else down*' (participant 5). One participant noted that it was the repetitiveness of design which he found particularly mentally challenging '*the kiosk, the netting, the railings, it's all the same. It is a bit depressing*'. However, Participant 6 stated that it was the colour scheme of the wing which particularly affected his mood. He discussed that '*the more colours you can bring into the environment the better it makes your mood*', due to this reducing the feeling of being incarcerated.

Although most participants agreed that prison design impacted their mental wellbeing, one participant purported that this was no longer the case '*Maybe if you haven't been to prison before it might have an effect on you...I've been to prison before, so I know what jail is like*'. He explained that prison design used to affect his mental wellbeing, but now he has come to terms with the fact that '*jail is jail*'. He stated that now, '*if the regime is really really good*' he '*wouldn't really care what the wing looks like*'.

The results suggest that the carceral environment triggers feelings of sadness and anxiety. These findings are heavily supported by the literature, which purports the idea that the physical environment can have a psychologically harmful effect on prisoners. Alongside

this, architectural features such as metal gates, cameras and vandal resistant furnishing contribute to a sense of 'othering' and of being constantly watched. This induces a form of self-governance onto prisoners and heightens prisoners' anxiety and self-consciousness.²⁶ The physical environment not only contributes to poor wellbeing through the affective experience it produces, but also by interfering with many of the Maslow's basic needs, such as sleep, ventilation and privacy.²⁷

What was most surprising was one individual's apparent indifference towards design. Whilst it is possible that this finding indicates that the physical environment is not important to all prisoners, this response was anomalous. Participant 1 was open about spending many years in prison, therefore it is also possible that this response demonstrates a learned indifference towards the carceral environment, which has developed as a result of many years of incarceration. Previous research has offered a possible explanation behind prisoner apathy towards prison design, as it is argued that prison interiors have become increasingly sanitised and mundane 'non-places', provoking feelings of indifference in the eye of the spectator.²⁸ It is possible that the mundanity of HMP Wandsworth's prison wing also elicits this same reaction in prisoners.

So far, the research findings have shown that HMP Wandsworth's prison design does not support prisoner wellbeing, but rather provides an affective environment where wellbeing is tested. Prison is already an anxiety-

HMPPS's aims of providing a prison environment which promotes wellbeing, decency, and rehabilitation.

26. Tartaro, C. (2006). Watered Down: Partial Implementation of the New Generation Jail Philosophy. *The Prison Journal*, 86(3), 284–300.

27. Davies, B. (2019). Rehabilitative culture in a High Security Prison. *Prison Service Journal*, 224, 26-29.

28. Jewkes, Y., Slee, E., & Moran, D. (2017). The visual retreat of the prison: Non-places for non-people. In M. Brown & E. Carrabine (eds.), *Routledge international handbook of visual criminology* (pp. 293–304). Routledge.

inducing environment, irrespective of prisoners, many of whom carry with them significant amounts of imported vulnerability.²⁹ When this is exacerbated by a prison environment, which causes prisoners to feel sad and anxious, there are wider implications of intensifying existing poor mental health and wellbeing. This works against MoJ's wider objectives of ensuring a 'decent, safe and productive environment', where prisoners are 'supported to turn away from crime'.

Adapting Carceral Space to Better Support Wellbeing

The final research question aimed to elicit how participants felt the built environment could be adapted to better support wellbeing. This was encapsulated verbally through interviews and visually through participant sketches. Five themes emerged, including: impossibility for change, spaces of interaction, escapism and productivity, access to nature, and accessibility, ergonomics and dignified design.

When asked how they would adapt carceral space, participants initially struggled to conceptualise what an alternative model of prison could look like. Two participants reiterated their difficulty in visualising change: *'I can't think of any alternatives... I don't know what other design would come to mind'* and *'I should just draw the wing that we are on because it's jail, what do people expect?'*. Most participants' sketches of the wing appeared very similar to the current model, a radial design with cells lining the wing.

One consistent theme across the data was that participants spoke about the positive wellbeing benefits that would result from adding more spaces which encourage socialisation and interaction. Most participants associated such spaces with reduced stress and positive mental health *'If you've got these larger areas where a few people can congregate it's stress free...It's good for your psyche to communicate with people'*. In practice, participants explained that these social spaces could be in the form of a pool table, table tennis, a chess room or simply an area to have a cup of tea. The positive benefits of existing similar spaces were noted *'That table that they've put for the chess, it's been a brilliant thing because it's brought community to it'*. One participant placed several community-promoting design features as central features in his sketch, including a pool table, a kitchen, table tennis

and a games room. These features were common design elements in several interviewees' sketches.

Another common theme which emerged was the desire for design features which enable productivity, or which replicate an escape from the feeling of incarceration. One participant talks about how the current wing design provides little space to decompress *'if you want to... de-stress a little bit, you can't do that in prison because there's no facilities for it and there's no space for it'*. Many design elements in participants' sketches fell under the category of escapism and productivity, including a vision room, which helps prisoners to visually map out their lives, a research room, a chess room, a meditation yard, a relaxation room and a fitness pod. Participants 1 and 6 stated that they wanted design elements which *'take*

you away from being in prison', arguing that this contributes to a positive mental health. Alongside these additional spaces on the wing, one participant spoke about the importance of the colour scheme of the wing, arguing that bright colours can also contribute to escapism and the feeling that you're not 'stuck in prison'.

Another theme which emerged was the positive wellbeing effects of incorporating more open spaces, nature and light into prison design. Participant 2 argues that greenery would make prisoners

feel more optimistic about the future and be *'more prone to connecting with other people.'* Participant 4 also agreed that there would be positive wellbeing effects of a view of nature or a garden, giving prisoners the opportunity to go outside more and access the fresh air. Greenery, fresh air, and light were common design features in participants' drawings. Participant 2 drew trees positioned on the wing itself, whilst Participant 5 incorporated *'lots of natural light'*, a *'view of nature'* and a garden into his design.

The need for more accessible and ergonomical prison design was recognised by participants. One participant raised the challenges for prisoners who struggle with mobility: *'someone who is older might want to go to the 4s but because of the stairs, they might say you know I'm not gonna do that'*. Participant 3 discussed how Wandsworth's design is also inaccessible to vulnerable prisoners. He suggested re-designing the showers on the wing so they are more accessible for staff to be aware of incidents, thereby

MoJ's wider objectives of ensuring a 'decent, safe and productive environment', where prisoners are 'supported to turn away from crime'.

29 Liebling, A., & Maruna, S. (2013). *The Effects of Imprisonment*. Routledge.

making more vulnerable prisoners feel safer. Participant 2 also spoke about design needing to be more anthropometrically generous, with more ventilation, wider doors, and more space on the wing to pass one another. Participants revealed a desire for more spaces which enable autonomy and dignified living. This was suggested through the addition of a cafe or kitchenette area, giving prisoners trust and responsibility, the addition of tables on the landings, allowing prisoners to eat collectively outside of their cells and a clock, allowing prisoners to maintain their own time keeping. Participant 6 stated that these changes would allow him to feel 'more at home'. Several participants articulated a desire to contribute to their built environment. Participant 2 commented that in Norway and Sweden prisoners are able to '*creatively re-design their space*'. Participant 5 discussed wanting to help maintain the environment more by trusting prisoners with painting and re-decorating the built environment. He argued that this 'gets people more motivated' and '*brings up self-achievement*', which have a positive effect on wellbeing. Participant 1 seconded this, suggesting that the walls could be adorned with art created by prisoners. Participant 4 discussed the advantages of a prisoner-led wing design which promotes autonomy and dignity, arguing that this would help prisoners take responsibility for their own future, contributing to positive wellbeing and reduced stress.

Question 3 sought to understand how carceral space could be adapted to better support prisoner wellbeing. Whilst initially many participants found it challenging to visualise a prison environment different from the *status quo*, this struggle lessened when participants were asked to display their ideas visually. What links the above themes is that they import elements of normality into prison design. As already discussed, the 'principle of normality' is a key guiding principle behind much of the design in the Norwegian correctional system.³⁰ The importance of a key component of normality — interaction, was expressed by participants and is supported by the literature which found that implementing certain design approaches, such as enhancing external and communal areas in prisons, encourages communication, mobility and

interaction and promotes the re-socialisation of prisoners.³¹ Previous research demonstrates that encouraging positive social interaction and group ties boosts prisoner wellbeing, by fostering autonomy and reducing social isolation.³² Participants expressed a desire for more nature to be incorporated into prison design, stating that nature contributes to a calming influence, whilst also enabling cohesion and cooperation. This finding is supported by a burgeoning new body of literature which advocates the positive wellbeing potential of nature contact.^{33 34}

Conclusion

These findings build on the literature and practices around trauma-informed design and psychological safety. Many features have already been incorporated successfully into healthcare settings and women's establishments. However, the findings indicate that there is an additional urgent need for them in male establishments. Incarcerated men also struggle with their wellbeing and mental health, in particular in local prisons where the population is often more turbulent and emotionally vulnerable. The findings suggest that in general, HMP Wandsworth's prisoners perceive their current carceral environment as failing to provide them a suitable environment to nurture positive wellbeing and rehabilitation, thus actively working against some of the core aims of the criminal justice system. Some of this has been internalised, resulting in prisoners feeling that they are not deserving of better. When asked what their 'ideal' prison wing would look like, whilst some suggestions related to basic decency and humanity, others were aligned with the 'principle of normality'. Rehabilitative design alone is unlikely to result in positive prisoner wellbeing, however those in custody require certain levels of environmental decency and normality before they can make sustainable change. Combining a more generative prison design with positive prisoner-staff relationships, purposeful activity, and a culture of hope, this is one step towards achieving a prison estate where prisoners are equipped with the skills, support, and environment to lead productive lives on release.

30. Hyatt, J. M., Andersen, S. N., & Chanenson, S. L. (2020). Prison cells as a grounded embodiment of penal ideologies: A Norwegian-American comparison. In J. Turner & V. Knight (eds.), *The prison cell* (pp. 45–70). Palgrave Macmillan.

31. Fikfak, A., Kosanovic, S., Crnic, M., & Perovic, V. (2015). The contemporary model of prison architecture: Spatial response to the re-socialization programme. *Spatium*, 34, 27–34.

32. Kyprianides, A., & Easterbrook, M. J. (2020). Social Factors Boost Well Being Behind Bars: The Importance of Individual and Group Ties for Prisoner Well Being. *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being*, 12(1), 7–29.

33. Moran, D., Jewkes, Y., & Lorne, C. (2019). Designing for imprisonment: Architectural ethics and prison design. *Architecture Philosophy*, 4(1), 67–81.

34. Moran, D., & Turner, J. (2019). Turning over a new leaf: The health-enabling capacities of nature contact in prison. *Social Science & Medicine*, 231, 62–69.