

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 2017 No 231



Special Edition
The Future of Prisons

Prison Planning and Design:

Learning from the Past and Looking to the Future

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Introduction

This article offers a brief discussion of the ‘new for old’ prisons policy currently being implemented in England and Wales, in the context of previous waves of expansionism and in light of some of the well-publicised problems that have taken hold of the prison system. It draws on the views of experts who voiced their criticism (in the *British Journal of Criminology*, published in 1961) of the architectural stagnation that characterised prison planning and design during the last major prison construction programme, and repeats their exhortation that we must stop looking to the past when designing new custodial facilities. With a prison population that has almost trebled in the half century since they wrote their critiques, and new prisons being built with a capacity of over 2,100 prisoners, compared to establishments with 400 beds being considered ‘very large’ in 1961, there has arguably never been a more pressing time to radically re-think what prisons are for and how they might be designed differently — to hold prisoners more safely and offer them genuine hope of rehabilitation, but also to support a substantial reduction in the prison population.

A time of crisis and reform

In November 2016 the Government outlined plans to make prisons ‘a place of safety and reform’, and ‘create a modern, fit for purpose estate which offers hope, empowerment and opportunities to offenders’.¹ One month later, disturbances occurred at HMP Birmingham so serious that they reminded many of the riots at Strangeways a quarter of a century earlier. As prisoners were moved from Birmingham’s trashed wings to over-stretched prisons elsewhere in the country, those of us who have been awaiting further news about the planned new additions to the estate could not help but wonder if the disturbances (not only

at Birmingham but at other establishments, including HMP Bedford and HMP Lewes) would be an obstacle to radically new thinking about what the new prisons should look and feel like. Back in July 2015 the Secretary of State for Justice, Michael Gove, had boldly stated that the prison estate would be modernised ‘to design out the dark corners which too often facilitate violence and drug-taking’.² His stated desire to build a prison estate ‘which allows prisoners to be rehabilitated’ was reinforced by then Prime Minister, David Cameron who, in February 2016, pledged to support his minister in the ‘biggest shake-up of prisons since the Victorian era’, and announced that in addition to the new facilities, a further six existing establishments would become ‘reform prisons’ with executive governors given greater autonomy over the financial and operational management of their prisons. Conceiving of the new establishments as places of care, as well as punishment, both Gove and Cameron acknowledged the extent to which the buildings and spatial design of prisons are conducive to rehabilitating offenders and helping them ‘find meaning in their lives’.³

However, following Gove’s doomed leadership campaign, the Justice minister on whom so many reformist hopes were pinned was unceremoniously sacked and replaced by Liz Truss, whose promises of continuing her predecessor’s reform agenda have been inflected with a hard-line edge that suggests the new Conservative administration might be returning to business-as-usual in matters of criminal justice (while Home Secretary, current Prime Minister Theresa May said ‘Prison works but it must be made to work better’).⁴ Ms Truss’s similarly uncompromising approach was laid bare in her statement following the disturbances in December. ‘Violence in our prisons will not be tolerated’, she said, ‘and those responsible will face the full force of the law’.⁵

Many commentators have vehemently criticised the minister for her obdurate stance, especially in the context of record suicide rates in prisons in England and Wales in 2016. 119 people killed themselves; an

1. Ministry of Justice (2016) ‘Prison Safety and Reform’ policy paper available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prison-safety-and-reform>

2. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-treasure-in-the-heart-of-man-making-prisons-work>

3. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prison-reform-prime-ministers-speech>

4. *Guardian*, 14th December 2010, cited in Moran, D., Jewkes, Y. and Turner, J. (2016) ‘Prison design and carceral space’ in Y. Jewkes, J. Bennett and B. Crewe (eds.) *Handbook on Prisons*, revised 2nd edition, Abingdon: Routledge.

5. *Guardian*, 17th December 2016.

increase of 29 (32 per cent) on the previous year and a doubling of the prisoner suicide rate since 2012. To put it in further context, in 2016, suicides in our prisons occurred at a rate of one every three days.⁶ While a causal relationship between the architecture, design and spatial layout of prisons and the human misery experienced within their walls is difficult to establish, numerous prisoner autobiographies attest to the impact that the environment has, not only on suicide ideation, but on drug dependency, mental health problems, bullying, self harm, violent assaults and poor prisoner-staff relationships.⁷

The topic of new prison building is, of course, highly controversial. With multiple crises currently blighting the system, many criminologists, pressure groups and other commentators have called for a moratorium on prison construction.⁸ The other side of the prison estate transformation plan, as reported by Cameron in 2016, involved relinquishing the parts of the estate (mostly some of the establishments built in the nineteenth century) that are no longer adequate to their task. Such prisons, he commented, were barely fit for human habitation when they were built, and are 'much, much worse today'.⁹ While it is highly debatable that 'old' necessarily means 'bad' (and even more questionable whether 'new' equates to 'good' prison design), it is certainly the case that those earliest prisons, built for a 'separate system' of total solitude, are among the bleakest and most inhuman, for that was the intention when they were designed and built. For example, even as the last bricks of HMP Pentonville were being laid in 1842, social commentators of the day were expressing their views that the new prison would be 'unnecessarily cruel' and that 'madness will seize those whom death has spared'.¹⁰

Yet in the six years following Pentonville's construction, 54 further prisons were built to the same radial template and, nearly two hundred years later,

many are — in the words of the former Prime Minister — 'ageing, ineffective, creaking, leaking and coming apart at the seams'. And certainly we might speculate that the architect of Pentonville, Joshua Jebb, would be surprised that his prison remained in operation 175 years after it was built and that his influence is still to be seen in the radial wings, galleried landings, cellular compartments, and other design features of prisons constructed in the 21st century.

A once-in-a-generation opportunity to design prisons differently

The White Paper published in November 2016 announced plans for six new adult male prisons and five new community prisons for women.¹¹ At this point, we simply do not know what these new prisons will

look like, but it is hard to feel optimistic, especially since it has recently been announced that the previously mothballed HMP Wellingborough site is to be redeveloped with treble its previous capacity (taking it to 1,600 beds). With an investment of £1.3 billion to build up to 10,000 new adult prison places in the next four years, the current Government seems committed to building warehouse-style 'mega-prisons', despite a multitude of academic evidence and Inspectorate reports showing that small prisons are more

operationally effective and are better than larger facilities at housing prisoners in safe and secure conditions, providing them with meaningful work, education and training, encouraging purposeful activity, and fostering healthy relationships between prisoners and prison staff.¹²

One of the most depressing aspects of the current prison modernisation plans is that they represent a once-in-a-generation opportunity to build facilities, not only that are 'fit for purpose', but that genuinely offer the hope of prisoner rehabilitation, and yet we do not seem to learn from the mistakes of the past. In theory,

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6. *Guardian*, 26th Jan 2017.

7. See, for example, Hassine, V. (2010) *Life Without Parole: Living and Dying in Prison Today*, New York: Oxford University Press.

8. <https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/news/reclaim-justice-network-calls-moratorium-prison-building>; 'Building more prisons is not the answer', Letter to the *Guardian*, 26th Jan 2017.

9. Cameron, D. (2016) *op cit*.

10. *Times* 20th May 1841; cited in Johnston, H. (2015): 109) *Crime in England, 1815-1880: Experiencing the Criminal Justice System*, Abingdon: Routledge.

11. Ministry of Justice (2016) *op cit*.

12. For example: Liebling A. with Arnold, H. (2004) *Prisons and Their Moral Performance: A Study of Values, Quality, and Prison Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Johnsen, B., Granheim, P.K. and Helgesen, J. (2011) 'Exceptional prison conditions and the quality of prison life: prison size and prison culture in Norwegian closed prisons', in *European Journal of Criminology* 8(6): 515-529; Madoc-Jones, I., Williams, E., Hughes, C. and Turley, J. (2016) 'Prisons: "Does size still matter?"', *Prison Service Journal* (Sept) no. 227, pp. 4-10.

the reform plans offer an opportunity to debate and perhaps entirely re-assess what prisons are for and how their design might assist with the philosophies that underpin them. Yet, we need look no further than an early special issue of the *British Journal of Criminology* devoted to the theme of 'prison architecture' to witness how the concerns of current critics have been previously rehearsed. Published in 1961 at the time of the then 'largest [prison] building programme to be undertaken in this country for a century' (Editorial), these early BJC articles — written by Chairman of the Prison Commission, AW Petersen, sociologist John Madge, architect and professor of architecture Norman Johnston and architectural theorist Leslie Fairweather — persuasively argue that new prison buildings should reflect both the most up-to-date academic scholarship and the most progressive penal philosophies of our European neighbours. As Jewkes and Moran¹³ intimate, that seems enlightened in 2017,

let alone in 1961. So why is it, that 56 years later, the future of prisons looks ominously like the past? Why, when Fairweather and his fellow contributors were lamenting the failure of prison planners and designers to learn from previous mistakes, are we still failing to absorb the lessons of poor prison design? And with prison reform now very much on the agenda, what are the chances that those politicians and policy-makers with the power to bring innovation and creativity into the prison design process will do so?

In a forthcoming chapter for the *Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, Yvonne Jewkes and Dominique Moran highlight some of the points made by the distinguished contributors to the 1961 issue of the *British Journal of Criminology* that remain unresolved over half-a-century later. To take just a few examples; all the BJC contributors emphasize the importance of enabling as many prisoners as possible to serve their sentences within a reasonable distance of their home; an argument still being made by contemporary desistance theorists and commentators on the 'collateral damage' inflicted on prisoners' families when a parent is incarcerated.¹⁴ The question of why the use of small institutions should be economically prohibitive is another concern that has become even more salient since Johnston and Petersen raised it in 1961, when the

maximum number of prisoners envisaged for any given establishment was 450. The fallacy of creating standardized prison designs, with only minor differences applied (e.g. to strength of construction materials) depending on the level of security required is an issue raised by Fairweather and Johnston, anticipating current concerns about 'value engineering' and 'future proofing' prison designs. Relatedly, the need, identified by Fairweather, to build custodial facilities that meet known demand, rather than future projections, speaks to actuarial assessments of risk and is a perennial concern to criminologists who write about the tendency of the media to exaggerate potential threats in times of particular sensitivity to risk. The 'moral panic' had not yet been named in 1961, but scaremongering news reports inflected political debates about how the prison estate should respond to the abolition of the death penalty in the early 1960s, just as, arguably, they continue to do today, with possible terrorist attacks uppermost on media and political agendas.

As Jewkes and Moran observe, these examples from volume 1, issue 4 of the *British Journal of Criminology* (and there are many others within its pages) underline that the history of imprisonment is characterized by continuity and consistency. Every

major prison expansion programme of the last two hundred years has been a knee-jerk response to predictable problems — rising prisoner numbers, chronic overcrowding, buildings that become dangerously outdated, and prisoner frustration and despair that has resulted in serious disturbances and suicides.

New era, old ideas

In his BJC contribution, Leslie Fairweather condemns the prison estate as 'an embarrassing legacy of extremely permanent buildings expressing an outdated and outworn penal philosophy'.¹⁵ This statement arguably goes to the heart of the current debate about the new planned prisons — what they should look like; what materials they should be constructed from; what form the living accommodation should take; what kinds of work,

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13. Jewkes, Y. and Moran, D. (2017) 'Criminology, carceral geography and prison architecture' in A. Liebling, S. Maruna and L. McAra (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Criminology* 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

14. See, for example, McNeill, F. and Schinkel, M. (2016) 'Prisons and desistance', in Y. Jewkes, J. Bennett and B. Crewe (eds) *Handbook on Prisons 2nd edition*, Abingdon: Routledge; Scharff Smith, P. (2014) *When the Innocent are Punished: The Children of Imprisoned Parents*, London: Palgrave.

15. Fairweather, L. (1961) 'Prison architecture in England', in *British Journal of Criminology* special issue on 'Prison Architecture' 1(4): 339-361 (p. 340).

education and health spaces should be designed; how the architecture might shape modes of interaction between prisoners and staff; and where the prisons should be sited. Having now conducted research over the last three years on prison architecture and design,¹⁶ and had the opportunity to speak to and/or work with numerous prison architects (in Norway, Denmark, Spain, Australia, New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland, as well as England and Wales) I have often found myself wishing that I could erase all prior knowledge of 'what prisons look like' and 'who prisoners are' from their memory and cultural repertoire, and give them a blank sheet of paper, along with some alternative perspectives about what prisons might achieve if a different philosophy underpinned them. Even the most well-intentioned and socially responsible architects who are prepared to challenge commissioning authorities about the level of humane, 'normal' or imaginative design content they can include, tend to fall back on designs they have tried and tested previously, with the result that evolution in prison architecture and spatial layout occurs at snail pace.

Richard Wener astutely observes that the design process is 'the wedge that forces the system to think through its approach and review, restate, or redevelop its philosophy of criminal justice'.¹⁷ Yet it appears that we are destined to keep building prisons that look very much like their forebears — only bigger. A case in point is the newly opened HMP Berwyn in North Wales, built in a similar style to, and with the same capacity (2,106) as, HMP Oakwood in the English midlands (opened in 2012); itself a faithful reproduction of many prison establishments that came before it. In fact, one of the astonishing features of new prisons is how similar they look and feel to their Victorian predecessors. The paint might be brighter, the ceilings higher and the sanitation more hygienic, but wings and cells remain the preferred living arrangement (and are not materially altered by the new preferred terminology of 'corridors' and 'rooms'), the windows (where there

are windows) are still needlessly barred, the workshops remain stuck in a time when there was a plethora of manufacturing jobs awaiting people when they finished their sentences, and there are few, if any, spaces for quiet reflection, aesthetic/sensory pleasure or even just tuning out of the institutional culture. In 1961, Leslie Fairweather wrote of the newly constructed prison at Everthorpe Hall in Yorkshire that, like its Victorian predecessors, it consists of 'long, noisy, open halls with banks of cells rising on each side' which are, he says, 'abhorrently familiar features of our prison system [that] need no further description' (1961: 340). This narrative might just as easily have been written about any of the prison house blocks constructed in the last five years.

Must history repeat itself?

Given the conservatism that characterises the commissioning, planning and construction of new prisons — a pervasive cautiousness perpetuated by an intricate network of individuals, companies and capital, and driven primarily by concerns for security, cost and efficiency¹⁸ — perhaps we should not be surprised that 'history repeats itself', as Fairweather says. Commenting on Everthorpe he laments that it is 'hardly surprising... but bitterly

disappointing, that the first new prison of major importance to be built in this [the 20th] century ...should be a very close imitation of the type of prison erected during the previous century'. It was, he states, 'completely out of date before it even left the drawing board'; and 'a depressing reminder of the consequences of architectural stagnation'.¹⁹

Concurring with this view, President of the Prison Reform Trust, Lord Douglas Hurd denounced the prison designs of the post-war decades as 'shoddy, expensive and just a little inhuman';²⁰ a description that could equally be applied to the sterile prison warehouses erected in the current century.²¹ As Home Secretary (1985-89) Hurd said he was never asked to adjudicate on matters of prison design, nor was the subject raised

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16. ESRC Grant ES/K011081/2: "'Fear-suffused environments" or potential to rehabilitate? Prison architecture, design and technology and the lived experience of carceral spaces' (with Dominique Moran, University of Birmingham and Jen Turner, University of Liverpool).
17. Wener, R.E. (2012) *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails: Creating Humane Spaces in Secure Settings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (p.7).
18. Moran, D., Jewkes, Y. and Turner, J. (2016) op cit.
19. Fairweather, L. (1961) op cit. (p. 340).
20. Hurd, D. (2000) *Memoirs*, London: Little Brown, cited in Moran, D., Jewkes, Y. and Turner, J. op cit.
21. Jewkes, Y. and Moran, D. (2014) 'Bad design breeds violence in sterile megaprison' *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/bad-design-breeds-violence-in-sterile-megaprison-22424>

in official reports or by pressure groups. Now, however, we have the opportunity to try something different. The Government have promised a shake-up of prisons and it would be nice to think that Ministers would take notice of the growing clamour for a radical reduction in prisoner numbers (which is not confined to the voices of academics, activists and reformers — even former Home Secretaries Ken Clarke and Jacqui Smith and ex-Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg have joined in the calls for a halving of the prison population²² — though it rather makes one wonder why they did not do something about it when they were in power).

Looking forward, then, there is now an opening to radically alter the prison estate over the next four years or more, as the proposed modernisation programme brings the opportunity not only to radically reform the prison landscape, but in doing so, to nurture a different philosophy of punishment in the minds of politicians, policy makers and the public at large. One aspect of this might be to look at examples of good practice in prison design in other parts of the world, especially those with lower rates of recidivism and lower numbers of suicides, self-harm and violent assaults than those that blight our own penal system. Once again, those who are sceptical about political will to embrace truly reformist ideas might point to Petersen's article in the special issue of the *BJC*, which notes that the Prison Commission had taken account of 'recent work in foreign countries... [including] several Scandinavian establishments'.²³ Unfortunately, their influence is difficult to determine in the facilities that were built.

One of the most significant factors in not following the lead of our Scandinavian neighbours in applying to the design of new prisons architectural and aesthetic principles that encourage personal and intellectual creativity, is the perception — fuelled by the popular press — that there is no public appetite for it, and therefore no votes in it. Politicians habitually employ 'public opinion' and 'public interest' to justify Draconian policies and, while prison designers in Norway, Iceland

and Denmark have experimented with progressive and highly stylized forms of architecture, and internal prison spaces that explore more open, flexible and normalized spatial planning, with comfortable furnishings, attractive colour schemes and a maximum exploitation of natural light, even tentative discussions about how to humanize prison environments in England and Wales have met with concerns from politicians and civil servants about whether they would pass the 'Daily Mail test'.

Interestingly, both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland are proposing a more progressive design agenda for future prison planning, while Scotland has three new prisons established since 2012

— HMP Low Moss, HMP Shotts and HMP Grampian — all of which are relatively striking in appearance and are viewed as a 'nod to Scandinavia'²⁴ Of course, the idea of a new prison simply being a bold design statement or architectural vanity project would be as unpalatable as the deliberate designing-in of bleakness or ugliness as a punitive aesthetic. But in the Scottish examples, their progressive, 'community-facing' designs signal an explicit commitment to the principles of desistance. Moving away from a traditional 'deficits-based' approach of identifying what's wrong with offenders and trying to fix it, towards an 'assets-based' model of identifying offenders' strengths and building

on them (rhetoric which was echoed in David Cameron's speech in February 2016), HMP Grampian et al have been characterized as a statement of Scottish separatism — the ambition of a Nationalist government seeking to 'do punishment differently, and specifically, differently from England'.²⁵

In England and Wales, meanwhile, two-hundred-year-old discourses of legitimacy and non-legitimacy have resurfaced in criticism of modern prison warehouses that do little to rehabilitate the offender and arguably do even less to engage the public with questions about the purpose of imprisonment and the harms that prisons do. Their high-security architecture

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22. Letter to The Times, 22nd December 2016.

23. Petersen, A.W. (1961) 'The prison building programme' and 'The prison building programme: a postscript', *British Journal of Criminology* special issue on 'Prison Architecture' 1(4): 307- and 372-375.

24. Armstrong, S. (2014) 'Scotland's newest prison is another nod to Scandinavia', *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/scotlands-newest-prison-is-another-nod-to-scandinavia-24145>

25. Ibid.

(to hold medium-security prisoners) might be regarded as a barometer for understanding the methods and parameters of state power, as security in prisons has run parallel to its rise in prominence in an increasingly risk-attuned and retributive society.²⁶ Such changes as have occurred in penal architecture and design over the last two centuries have reflected evolving penological ideas, from John Howard's philosophies about reform and 'healthy' prisons, to a Victorian emphasis on order, discipline, deterrence and repression, through a faith in individually-tailored treatment and rehabilitation in Fairweather et al's time, to the challenge of an administrative focus known as the 'new penology'.²⁷ As the aesthetics of carceral spaces have reformed and rationalized the delivery of punishment, resulting in 'deeper', 'heavier' and 'tighter' experiences of incarceration,²⁸ a resurgence of the doctrine of less eligibility has led to public acquiescence and apathy about the conditions that prisoners are held in.²⁹

Nonetheless, a growing recognition that our bloated penal system is unsustainable (in both human and financial terms), and is failing in numerous respects, has precipitated a change in government rhetoric. The notions of 'reform' and 'healthy' prisons are once again in common currency, in ways that might even be recognizable to John Howard (1726-1790). Moreover, for those who believe that 'building more prisons is not the answer',³⁰ one might respond that it depends on the question. Advocating a more progressive prison design agenda is not akin to applying lipstick to a pig, as a colleague recently put it, nor is it about creating 'softer' or 'prettier' prisons, while doing nothing to challenge the institution of the prison itself. Rather, a focus on designing smaller prison spaces for a reduced prisoner population that supports rehabilitation and desistance could be a vital component in achieving radical justice reform, including de-carceration. Put

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simply, prisons that are designed to be hard, ugly and either sensorially depriving or sensorially overloading (which prisons often are simultaneously), support a view of the prisoner as deserving of such brutal environments. However, when a prison communicates positive attributes (e.g. decency, hope, trust, empathy, respect), the design challenges the cultural stereotype of what a prison is — and through this — who prisoners are, and it becomes considerably harder to hold the view that prisoners 'deserve' to be held in inhuman(e) conditions. Taking this a step further if, through design, the idea of housing people in a 'prison' is not significantly different from housing people in a well-designed hospital or student hall of residence, it may not be a huge conceptual leap to connect the prison to notions of justice that can be achieved while convicted offenders remain in the community.³¹

Learning from past mistakes

Although a few of the prison closures already made by the Government have been criticised because the prisons in question were operating effectively (HMP Shrewsbury, for example), it is undeniable that some of the oldest prisons in the estate are experiencing crises that are exacerbated by their antiquated design and worn out fixtures. For example, a recent HMIP report on HMP Exeter (built in 1853) describes the situation at the prison as 'fragile' with a marked decline in positive outcomes for prisoners and a significant rise in numbers of violent assaults, self-inflicted deaths and self harm incidents since the last inspection.³² While shocking, none of these findings are especially surprising when placed in the context of first night cells that lack basic facilities and are dirty (para.1.8; p.20); a 'segregation unit that is 'dark and grubby' (para.1.51; p. 25) with damaged, poorly furnished and graffitied cells adjoined by two 'cage-like' exercise yards; and some residential

26. Drake, D. (2012) *Prisons, Punishment and the Pursuit of Security*, London: Palgrave.

27. Feeley M. M. and Simon, J. (1992) 'The New Penology: Notes on the Emerging Strategy of Corrections and its Implications', *Criminology*, 30(4): 449-74.

28. Crewe, B. (2009) *The Prisoner Society: Power, Adaption, and Social Life in an English Prison*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

29. Jewkes, Y., Slee, E. and Moran, D. (2016) 'The visual retreat of the prison: non-places for non-people', in M. Brown and E. Carrabine (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Visual Criminology*, Abingdon: Routledge.

30. Letter to the *Guardian*, 26 Jan 2017; *op. cit.*

31. Jewkes, Y. and Lulham, R. (2016) 'Provoking criminal justice reform: a presentation in the Empathy "Things" Workshop', 50th Anniversary Design Research Society Conference – "Future focused thinking", June 27-30, Brighton, UK.

32. HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2017) *Report on an unannounced inspection of HMP Exeter 15-26 August 2016* (p. 5).

wings that the Inspectorate describes as 'very poor-quality accommodation' (para.2.2; p. 29) with window fittings 'often consisting of a piece of Perspex propped up against the window frame' which fail to protect prisoners from the elements (para.2.2; p. 29).

Perhaps even more shocking is that, though built relatively recently (1994), HMP Doncaster has also come under heavy criticism recently by HMIP for its high rates of violent assaults, incidents of self-harm and deaths in custody; all of which also may be a partial consequence of poor environmental conditions, including cells 'in a terrible state, with filth, graffiti and inadequate furniture',³³ stinking, unscreened toilets, broken windows, exposed wiring, dirty bedding and areas that were littered and contained vermin.³⁴ One might take this as a sign that, if prisons continue to be designed as they have been over the last 150 years, 'modern' prisons will continue to inherit 'Victorian' problems, as Fairweather predicted in 1961, and as has been documented by the Prisons Inspectorate numerous times since.

Given the wealth of evidence that has been accumulated in the half century since Fairweather, Madge, Petersen and Johnston were asked to comment on the last major wave of prison expansion, it is hoped that, as they continue the process of

transforming the prison estate, government ministers will take notice of the opinions of experts with 'open, fertile and creative minds'³⁵ and accept that our recent history of building 'huge impersonal blocks of cells where the individual is dwarfed by the overpowering size of the structure'³⁶ has had profoundly negative effects; and on staff, as well as prisoners. Just as in 1961, when Madge warned of the futility of preserving established practice, given all the evidence that prison avowedly does not 'work', and appealed for a 'more adequate prison architecture' in a time of experimentation, the planners, architects and designers currently working on the template for the new facilities that will provide 10,000 beds indisputably have a decisive influence on the success or failure of imprisonment for several generations to come. It is hoped, then, that the designers of the new prisons employ aesthetic and spatial values and practices to support a different model of criminal justice than the one that has, over the last two hundred years, singularly failed to achieve any of the aims of imprisonment, other than (usually) temporary incapacitation and retributive punishment. A new approach to prison architecture and design is at least 55 years overdue. As Jewkes and Moran urge, let us finally learn from the mistakes of the past.³⁷

33. HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2016) *Report on an unannounced inspection of HMP Doncaster 5-16 October 2015*, London: HMIP (p. 5).

34. *ibid* (p. 17).

35. Madge, J. (1961) 'Trends in prison design', *British Journal of Criminology* special issue on 'Prison Architecture' 1(4): 362-371 (p. 371).

36. (Fairweather, L. (1961) *op cit*.

37. Jewkes, Y. and Moran, D. (2017) *op cit*.