HANDS TO WORK
HEARTS TO GOD:
REINTERPRETING THE AMERICAN MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON
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REINTERPRETING THE AMERICAN MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON

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Interior Design

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Art
Corcoran College of Art and Design
Washington DC
Spring 2010
Signature Page

Corcoran College of Art and Design

We hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under our supervision by Ariane Boult entitled Hands to Work Hearts to God: Reinterpreting the American Maximum-Security Prison be accepted as fulfilling, in part, requirements for the degree of Master of Art in Interior Design.

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THESIS STATEMENT

Using the basic tenets of American Shaker ideology--those of order, restrained movement, and work as worship--*Hands to Work Hearts to God* introduces a conceptual system to implement in American prisons that attempts to make the prison experience safer and more effective for prisoners, prison workers, and the general public, and that better prepares prisoners for successful re-entry into society after completing their sentences.
ABSTRACT

Overcrowding, violence, and inadequate programs for deterring recidivism and promoting reform make contemporary American prisons costly and unsafe for prisoners, prison workers, and American society. Criminality and the American judicial system have changed considerably over time, as have systems of punishment, but the current penal system is, nonetheless, outdated, ineffective, and unable address the real needs of prisoners or the public. Hands to Work Hearts to God aims to make the time spent in prison safe, effective, and less costly than the current system.

Using auto mechanics as a case study and the Shaker principle of controlled work as a template, Hands to Work Hearts to God transforms the abandoned Highland Park Ford Plant in Detroit, Michigan, into a maximum security prison, making safe use of the space designated for work and implementing programs that assist prisoners to acquire skills that prepare them for successful re-entry into society upon completing their sentences. Like the American Shakers, who isolated themselves in spiritual and focused communities, prisoners live in secure units, and work plays a vital role in their cognitive and emotional reform. Regulated spaces will establish successful patterns of nonviolent interaction between prisoners and prison workers. Through repeated learned behaviors, implementation of restraint, therapies that address the roots of criminality, health services, partnerships with employers, and the overarching themes of containment and reform through work, Hands to Work Hearts to God will change the atmosphere, daily routine, and ultimate affect of prison life.

The Hands to Work Hearts to God system is based on principles gleaned from Shaker history and architecture, the study of human and environmental psychology, the social and historical context of criminality and punishment, the characteristics of prison life and reform, and scholarship examining other such systems of regulated and contained living as nursing homes and mental health facilities. The concept of work as a tool for reform, self-confidence, cooperation, and personal improvement-- as well as its role in Shaker life-- is also explored. The system described here borrows heavily from principles underlying English prison systems that use work and job preparation as an integral part of the prison sentence and as a method for deterring crime and decreasing the number of people incarcerated.

Research shows that violent criminals are less likely to re-offend when they have steady employment and that they behave better when given more rather than less control over their daily lives. With a degree of personal autonomy and a straightforward and honest reward system, people with a history of violent behavior are able to behave productively and nonviolently. Similarly, when kept busy and given tasks that coincide with an obvious incentive and an attainable goal, prisoners can learn to interact cohesively and with purpose. Today’s “supermax” prisons continue to further contain and isolate prisoners when what they actually need is to learn methods of successful interpersonal interaction and to develop proficiency in marketable and employable skills. This current form of punishment generally fosters resistance in the prisoner, and his/her behavior deteriorates. Thus, Hands to Work Hearts to God addresses the needs of both society and the criminal.

With such a system of authentically confronting the issues that face American society and the American criminal, Hands to Work Hearts to God moves to make the penal system more effective and less expensive, and will decrease recidivism and establish new systems of economic success for reformed criminals.
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Introduction

The American Prison system is overcrowded, overextended, and currently functioning in a social context deeply entrenched in violence. Programs aimed at rehabilitation and reform are limited and under-funded, and adequate and effective strategies for deterring recidivism are lacking. The system is costly to American taxpayers and unsafe for prisoners, prison workers, and the American public. Most problematic, is that this contained criminality, itself the product of an arguably broken system, appears to be getting worse. The current project, entitled *Hands to Work Hearts to God* recognizes this downward trajectory and works with the available resources and the realities of the current prison system to arrive at a conceptual solution to reinterpret the American prison experience. The objective is to honestly address the issues that can ultimately guide both the forming of the spaces that make up the prison environment and the ideals about reforming and training the prisoners upon which that spatial conception will be based. It is a fundamental assumption underlying this project that the reforming activities that go on in a prison and the space in which that reforming takes place are inextricably connected. They must be redesigned together.

The *Hands to Work Hearts to God* system is based on an exploration of the history of the prison system, one that seeks patterns in prisons’ successes and failures, viewing them in terms of recidivism rates and reform. It is also based on an examination of the social history of crime and punishment. Both of these fields are immense and would profit from further historical analysis; however, a distillation of the historical sources suggests that the core problematic issues of the current prison system are violence, idleness, the paucity of options for reform, and high recidivism rates. Based on this synthesis, this project explores possible models of improving behavior.

Because prisons are examples of contained living, mental health facilities and nursing homes—other systems of contained living that share some social problems with prisons—were examined in an attempt to learn what induces successful interactions in their environments. Historical prison systems from other eras and current prison systems in places other than the United States were studied to provide synchronic and diachronic looks at...
the possible forms prison systems can take. Examples of contained living schemes employed in the formation and building of utopias were also examined. Of these utopian models, that of the Shakers seems to provide the best example of non-violent, focused, contained communal living; thus, the prison system conceptualized and described in this project borrows heavily from the Shaker way of life. Because the Shakers were a group who focused explicitly on the reformative merits of work, analysis of their approach to work and work programs is fundamental to this model. This project also focuses on issues of basic behavioral reform. A historical case study of rehabilitating abused pit bulls informs this part of the project. Though the analogy may initially appear surprising, the social roles inhabited in American society by pit bulls and prisoners have striking similarities; they are both marginalized groups about which extremely negative stereotypes and startling ignorance are pervasive, and they both are often judged unfairly, which makes the comparison worthwhile. This is not to say that incarcerated human beings are like animals. The case study does, however, provide insights about the enormous possibilities in basic aspects of reforming and changing behaviors.

While there is much to justify and explain why the American prison system’s development has taken the direction it has, many of the choices made in the course of this development have had serious negative consequences for the environment and conditions in current American prisons. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to address and resolve all of these problems, but many of them are relevant to the project. When discussion of one of these relevant issues arises, this thesis will address why a difficult pattern has been established or how a sub-optimal solution arose. Each of the thousands of decisions that contributed to the formation of the American prison system as it currently exists was one of many possible decisions that could have been made— a single decision among many other possibilities— in the aggregate; these particular decisions formed the American prison system as we now know it.

The various histories of the penal system, crime, and punishment are all extraordinarily complex. Working with information gleaned from those histories, this project will systematically assess the issues that plague the current maximum-security prison and that, as a consequence, plague the community at large. It will reinterpret the concept and purpose of incarceration, and it will attempt to conceptualize a safer, less expensive, and more effective prison experience for all those involved.
The History of Crime and Punishment

The varied and often confusing approaches to crime and punishment in American society say a good deal about criminality, but they say as much, and perhaps more, about the priorities in American culture. The two are intimately related, and studying one almost always demands an analysis of the other. American culture is always in flux, evolving and adapting; our views of the status quo change often, and our concepts of acceptable behavior, and of the appropriate responses of the legal system, do too. The examples of such historically notable prisoners as Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, and Oscar Wilde make clear how quickly the public’s degree of acceptance of people, ideas, and aspects of behavior can change. The names of these renowned prisoners are now generally associated with freedom, equality, and intellectual bravery, but at points in the past, these same names inspired images of terrorism, dangerous political dissent, and sexual depravity. These notables are not all American, and the reason for mentioning them is not to suggest that most people who are currently

incarcerated do not to deserve to be there; in fact, most of them do. What it does suggest, however, is how dramatic the shifts can be in how people perceive threats to society and how readily we change our minds about what justice entails, and about who deserves to be punished.

Change is the most constant and inevitable force in our nation’s history. Conceptions of crime have changed drastically over the centuries, as have our definitions of criminality. One way to visualize the extent of this change is to examine how the emergence of the railroad affected society in the 19th century and transformed notions of crime and punishment. The railroad not only forever altered the pace of American life and the notion of static community; it totally transformed the landscape of American criminality. Suddenly crimes involving mobility were a new and legitimate issue. People could flee after committing crimes much more easily, and they could go farther away faster than ever before. Along with this came a subset of new crimes and, consequently, a new branch of legislation to deal with them. Similarly, such things as the printing press and various generations of machines designed for copying, while transforming the nature of the printed word, also fostered a new set of crimes in forgery, scams, and plagiarism. In fact, almost every technological or social innovation in American society has generated new types of crime in conjunction with its benefits. Imagine, for example, how crime has evolved because of widespread accessibility to the Internet and television. As our society races to accept and interact with a constantly changing world, it inevitably encounters new facets of crime. And in step with such change, inevitably one step behind, the justice system adopts new methods of measuring new types of criminality and determining how to penalize them.

Further complicating the history of crime and punishment is the constantly changing conceptualization of criminality and of notions of justice. Thomas Jefferson, a man whose thoughts on liberty and democracy are still respected today, recommended punishments for specific transgressions that seem barbaric and nonsensical now. He felt that the death penalty was too harsh and proposed eliminating it in all cases but for treason and murder; he equated the two in their degrees of heinousness. For those convicted of rape and sodomy, he deemed castration an appropriate penalty. For a woman convicted of sodomy he suggested, “drilling a hole at least one-half inch in diameter through the cartilage of her nose,” thus effectually branding her. In the case of people who maimed or disfigured others, he suggested that they be comparably maimed and disfigured. Though his reasoning seems crude, it is invaluable for our understanding of what constituted respectable thinking about criminality in Virginia.
in the late 1700s. Such examples are legion, and they are available in just about every historical record relating to crime that we have. Their existence and what strikes us now as their inconsistencies and strangeness not only inform us, but also illustrate how our system has evolved as it has. Such examples also suggest that, as a nation, perhaps we have never truly known how to define real criminality, or how to quantify or delimit real justice.
The History of the Prison and the Penal System

Before there were prisons to speak of, punishment was generally inflicted on the body. An offending member of society would be forced to withstand a direct and public physical assault. This sort of punishment was horrifically savage, and examples included drawing and quartering, stoning, branding and burning people at the stake. Punishment was an open, communal event. If such penalties did not result in death, the offending member of society was subsequently known to his community as a criminal, as was his crime. Punishment was also directly related to a degree of social exposure. Because a criminal had committed a crime, it was etched onto his body and would always be visible to the community. Modern-day sex offenders often deal with a similar consequence. Many are required by law to notify others of their presence, and their particular crime is public knowledge.

In the past, death sentences were also public affairs, and some tended to resemble modern-day festivals; they were, in a way, public performances, a kind of morality play. Such enactments were generally the product of fear and chaos. Something horrible or unexplainable had occurred, something that threw things out of balance, and society chose to right it publicly. Interestingly, even as early American settlers fled from religious persecution in Europe, they enacted some of the most barbaric punishments on their fellow colonists in the name of God, burning men and women at the stake as witches, and branding other offenders. In a direct contrast to public punishment,
exile was also used as a form of justice; rather than making the crime ever-visible on the criminal within his or her community, exile removed both from the community’s sight forever; it essentially expunged them from society’s memory. This perhaps presaged current views about the very real anguish induced by isolation in its various forms.

It is notable that many of the offenses that were once viewed as criminal and immoral, and that were so horrifically and publicly punished, were actions that are commonplace, unpunished, and even accepted today. For example, while adultery or robbery are in many places technically illegal, people are no longer violently and publicly punished for it. Societies are built on rules of social norms, and maintaining those norms, regardless of their arbitrariness, is the cross that almost all cultures bear.

The corporal punishments noted above were enacted alongside laws that forbade women to vote or to defend themselves in court if they were beaten, and that allowed slavery to flourish in America. As a society, we have habitually and callously oppressed the downtrodden, even as we have striven for new definitions of liberty and happiness. When we search for evidence of our progress, we also face our cruelty and our wrongs. Yet the very fact that we do eventually face these wrongs is evidence of the human need of and capacity for hope and progress. Recalling the failings of our past, as well as our advancements, forces us to acknowledge and analyze our own role in cultural change. We live in a country in which freedom truly is a reality and our government allows dissent; in many ways, our culture encourages innovative and-- in some ways-- troublesome thinkers. Our struggle to achieve an adequate balance in crime and justice is a work in progress, but there are grounds for hope in our history-- particularly in the degree to which notions of crime and appropriate punishment have changed already. There is good reason to continue to try to amend a penal system that needs reconfiguring.

Revising the system is an intrinsically American approach to progress. Our respect for democracy is a result of our collective rejection of European oppression and our determination to right the wrongs of the past. Optimistic American colonists strove to develop a new kind of state that accommodated the real needs of its citizens. Such societal visions of democracy have been used to justify much of what has occurred in the American justice system. As the new republic branded itself as a frontier community of true freedom, it began striking Americans as crude to enact savage and public punishments on human beings. Criminality began to be addressed in ways that aimed to be more humane, and apart from the public gaze. The rioting crowds and aggressive demands for visible justice no longer felt appropriate to American citizens. By the end of the 18th century, it began, rather, to
appear excessive, animalistic and cruel. And strangely, people were beginning to identify and sympathize with the criminal. Such sentiments created new respect for social progress; reforms of all sorts were called for by the public and the government. Soon, punishment began to be contained elsewhere, out of sight, and no longer enacted on the body, although it remained very much a part of American life and thought. How we meted out justice became a new platform on which to define ourselves as a just country and a critical element in evaluating how and under which circumstances we felt it was right to exercise authority. In the American 1820s and 1830s, when democratic principles had enthusiastic support and ordinary Americans clamored to participate in politics, incarceration became the central feature of American criminal justice.

While we have no proof that removing criminals from society and containing them in prisons does anything to reduce crime or to deter other criminals, it has become the main method for allocating justice in the United States. The theory underlying incarceration is that keeping criminals confined in one place prevents them from committing further crimes elsewhere in society. This certainly is the case while they are incarcerated, but unfortunately it may be the only benefit of the system. The atrocities that occur within prisons-- between prison workers and prisoners, or between prisoners-- are extreme, and do in fact ultimately infiltrate American society in a number of ways. The problem is that despite the obvious failings of the current system, an alternative to incarceration that suits both the public and the justice system does not yet exist. Throughout history we have explored various methods of meting out justice, and we have yet to find a formula that seems both just and effective.

The historical development of the prison system represents a complicated trajectory of often-conflicting notions of criminality, reform, and the design concepts that best address them. In the early 1800s, prisons were organized around order and regularity, an arrangement that evolved significantly. Inmates were isolated in cells and in total silence. An example of this type of prison scheme was the Auburn method, developed at the Auburn Prison in 1819, which took the idea of isolation to the extreme, even requiring that inmates wear hoods so that they were unable to see other people, let alone interact with them. Inmates were ordered to walk in “lock-step”, a regimented linear pattern of movement that removed any sense of individuality from the prison experience. As a component of the prison sentence the inmate was to disconnect from any sense of personal identity; prisoners were to be part of a collective, repentant whole. The one individuated element of such isolation systems was the belief that if given enough time to reflect in solitude, the offender would eventually see the error of his ways and reform. Unfortunately,
no evidence exists to support this theory. As in so many findings from various prison studies, the system worked for some and markedly failed for many. No variables could be isolated to suggest that one aspect of the system worked better than another. One interpretation of these inconsistent results is that each inmate is likely to respond to, and because of, characteristics of the system in a different way; developing a vast umbrella system to address all criminality is perhaps both too undifferentiated and ultimately ineffective. The Auburn Prison eventually became the site of extreme rioting and a series of reforms. It now houses a work program that has had some promising results, but again, nothing that truly indicates a turn for the better in American prisons.

Following oppressively regimented prisons came penal systems determined to reform. In the early 1900s, prison life was modeled on that of the outside community; prisoners mixed in the yard and in work groups, the latter being seen as a testing ground for readiness for release. The theoretical underpinning of these changes were varied and often contradictory. Such prominent theorists as Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill developed succinct arguments about the inner workings of the prison system and criminality, some of which were widely read. Together, they developed the notion of utilitarianism, which argued for attainment of the greater good for the greatest amount of people, regardless of the depth of personal sacrifices. Other reformers erred too far in favor of prisoners, some even suggesting that no one deserved to be imprisoned at all and that their criminality was only a result of a community that had failed them. Again, despite some breakthroughs and much modification, criminality changed but remained present, and so did the ever-evolving prison.

Through much of the 18th century, the institutions used to sequester people had been unspecialized; people with infectious diseases were housed with prostitutes, criminals, the mad, and even debtors. In the 19th century, prisons became increasingly specialized; facilities were built for juveniles, women, and the mentally ill, for example. Later, within the institutions built for housing criminals, there was further differentiation according to the degree of dangerousness of the criminal, or the heinousness of the crime committed; prisons were divided into minimum-, medium-, and maximum-security facilities. Now further, and ominous, differentiation has spawned maximum-maximum or “super max” prisons, which the system to be described in this thesis aims to discredit and eventually replace.

These latest adaptations of the prison system result from a new trend in thinking about criminality and reform, namely, that reform is ineffective. This idea, coupled with political pressures, has generated the
administering of much harsher and longer sentences to offenders. As noted by the historians of prisons, Norval Morris and David J. Rothman, “As the crime rates escalated, ironically prison reforms and methods of deterring criminality that were not incarceration decreased. The newer idea was that reform was impossible; instead, criminals were locked up more frequently and for longer periods”\(^\text{12}\). Although the current system is, in many respects, a reaction to a culture in which violent crime is an ever-increasing problem, it fails to define the reform systems it discredits. Ultimately this theory alleges that prison itself is ineffective, and that despite the toughening of rhetoric, sentencing, and the prison environment, things continue to worsen. Part of the problem is that never has there been true agreement about the purpose of the prison. If the prison is to be an environment that reforms criminals, it is surprising and discouraging to note that as a country, we continue with this approach in spite of its evident failures. This paradox is best captured again by Morris and Rothman who describe, “if an increasing rate of imprisonment fails to deter criminality, fails to reduce crime rates, that very failure will contribute to a public demand, swiftly echoed by politicians, for still more imprisonment and even less use of community-based punishments. The irony is that the less effective the prisons are in reducing crime, the higher the demand for still more imprisonment”\(^\text{13}\). The threat of a menacing and seemingly unstoppable burgeoning of criminality seems to engender solutions steeped in fear and irrationality, as did the sentiments that justified the cruel and ultimately ineffective punishments of our past.
The Purpose of the Prison

Analysis of the ideas that generated the many steps in the development of the American prison suggest that the purposes and justification for incarceration are incapacitation, deterrence, retribution and reform\textsuperscript{14}.

Incapacitation:

As noted above, the inmate is in fact incapacitated; while contained it is unlikely that he can commit crimes outside of the prison. In this way, incapacitation does have a reductive effect on crime. Pushing the notion of incapacitation further is the fact that generally, the most incorrigible and dangerous criminals are men who commit the bulk of their crimes between the ages of 15 and the late 20s; tendencies to violence usually wane by age 30\textsuperscript{15}. Even though inmates show considerable lessening of criminality and exhibit obvious behavioral changes by this age, it is common for them to still remain in prison for quite some time during which they are enmeshed in a violent subculture that generally fosters more criminality. Given these statistics, it might make sense to incapacitate offenders for this specific age span. Releasing them, after thorough programmatic reform like the system described in this thesis, could cut costs substantially for the American taxpayer and begin to solve issues of severe prison crowding. We now have a large population of aging prisoners, who accumulate chronic diseases while in prison and
ultimately need not only custodial but also extensive medical care; this is a misuse of both money and time for the prison system, as other non-prison programs are better designed to deal with these problems.

Deterrence:

The issue of deterrence remains one of the most disputed aspects of penal studies. While it is apparent that the prison system has a deterrent effect on criminal behavior, it is not at all clear whether minor amendments in any one component of that system have any real effect on any other components or on the system as a whole.

Data about deterrence have been studied extensively, but few clear conclusions can be drawn from them. It remains impossible to attribute changes in rates of crime to changes in the conditions of imprisonment or length of imprisonment; no causal relationship has been established. Oddly, despite these findings, the American justice system continues to lengthen prison sentences with the intention of reducing rates of crime and recidivism.

Analyzing historical correctional trends, New York University Sociology and Law professor David Garland describes, “Generations of research have failed to disturb the commonsensical but false view that increased severity of punishment will produce less crime”16.

The current idea is that by toughening the consequences of criminality, criminals will weaken and become law-abiding. Unfortunately, the opposite occurs; criminals and inmates simply become more resistant to tough repercussions and develop new ways to work around them and in spite of them. This leaves the current system with a peculiar challenge, one that is peculiar only because of the public resistance to appearing “soft on crime”. That is, though there is no real evidence proving that longer and more severe sentences deter criminality, much political rhetoric and popular societal theories claim the opposite. Consequently, the idea of “toughness,” in the form of long and harsh imprisonment continues to appeal to much of the American public. It is discouraging to observe that though an alternative exists, one for which there is evidence of effectiveness, it has yet to be embraced by either the American justice system or the public. Norval and Rothman concur, saying “Neither the lash nor the executioner, neither the psychiatrist nor the psychologist-- and certainly not the prison-- has been shown to provide measurable increments of crime control. Despite the long history of punishment, scholarship has so far failed to establish a link between punishment and crime control, other than in the individual case”17. The one obvious but ultimately unhelpful
conclusion to draw from this anecdotal evidence is that the actual effects of a prison sentence are unknown; incarceration probably deters some crime but also reinforces the criminal tendencies of some inmates.

Retribution:

As previously noted, notions of justice in American culture and within our penal system are never static. Quantifying the amount of time that would be needed to achieve “just retribution” requires consensus about how to measure justice, which we do not have. As our system and society constantly change, our ideas of justice do as well. The only real constant is that the public generally feels that whatever punishment is meted out is far too lenient.

Reform:

Reform is the stated intention of incarceration, but it certainly does not substantiate the current prison system. Politicians and citizens justify the prison experience by assuming that inmates are provided with opportunities and tools for behavioral and lifestyle changes, as well as educational support and decent healthcare. However, rarely does imprisonment prepare an inmate for a subsequent life free of crime upon release. Instead, imprisonment has consistently proven to be an ineffective and detrimental venue for reform. Our prisons are profoundly understaffed and overcrowded. Deficiencies in education, psychological support, basic healthcare, and tools for social rehabilitation are unfortunately, the norm.
The American Prison

The United States currently houses roughly 2.3 million people within our penal system. Each inmate costs American taxpayers about $50,000 per year; this sum does not include health care costs, which generally average an additional $2,000 per year. Among those prisoners, 21,000 inmates are held in isolation and 58,000 inmates are held in “restrictive segregation units”; the latter are more difficult to define but ultimately very much resemble the isolation experience. Similar to solitary confinement, restrictive segregation entails isolating an inmate for much of the day and sometimes allowing him to interact openly with other prisoners in the yard or in supervised group activities. These numbers are staggering, both in the scale of the prison system and in the exorbitant expenditures required for maintaining it. In a later section of this thesis, the issue of isolation will be explored at length. Here, it is mentioned simply to provide the numerical data for its fiscal effect on the system. Keeping an inmate in total isolation is significantly more costly, sometimes up to two and three times more costly, than containing an inmate in a system structured around more open interaction.

The number of American inmates has quadrupled in the past thirty years, surpassing that of any other developed country. Over a quarter of all federal prisoners are not American citizens; this figure does not include those held for breach of immigration or naturalization laws. Thus, we are paying over $50,000 each to keep non-citizens imprisoned, a sum that far exceeds what it would cost to let them stay and work illegally or what it would cost to return them to their native countries. Imprisoning people has become the de facto response to many offenses for which it is not necessarily an effective solution.
Of those incarcerated in American prisons, regardless of citizenship, there are about eight black prisoners and five Hispanic prisoners to every white prisoner. Roughly 60% of incarcerated inmates are imprisoned because of a drug offense; over half of the inmates within the entire system were under the influence of drugs or alcohol when their crime was committed. These statistics are extreme and perplexing. From them, one could surmise that we have a very serious substance abuse problem in our country and that we have yet to rid ourselves of the last vestiges of a culture once founded on an economic system that unfairly favored white men. This project suggests that these deductions are only partly true.

The issue of race in the prison system requires thorough and cohesive study, but such an analysis is simply too massive an undertaking for this project. The statistical data and conclusions drawn from race-related prison studies illustrate some of the worst aspects of our justice system’s dealings with ethnicity. While this project will not exhaustively address that aspect of this issue, the matter of race and criminality must be analyzed to a certain degree. We have a disproportionate number of non-white-- but especially black-- prisoners in this country and the reasons for this should be explored.

One explanation for the current racial disparity in the prison population is drug-related crime. Though this is not to say that drug use is more an inherent part of black than of white American life or even that it is more common among black people than white people. White people too take and sell drugs. One difference between predominantly black and predominantly white communities however, is the presence of the police. Arguably just as many white teens as black teens smoke marijuana, but policemen patrol white neighborhoods less often. Consequently, white people are less often targets of the “war on drugs”. This anecdote is, of course, a simplistic explanation to a very complicated problem, but it is impossible to ignore the disparity in the rates of drug-related arrests and convictions between black and white offenders and their outcomes.

During the 1970s, when drugs came to the forefront of political rhetoric, roughly 300 white and 300 black offenders out of every 100,000 citizens were arrested. In the years since, the arrest rate for white offenders has varied very little; for black offenders, however, the arrest rate now hovers at around 1500. According to data from the United States Census Bureau, black Americans make up only about 12.5 to 12.8% of the population of the United States. Given these data, their predominance in the penal system is staggering. While there may be a legitimate disparity in the presence of drugs among various ethnic communities, that explanation is improbable
on its own. It is more likely that drugs fester in environments of criminality and that such environments generally develop among the American poor. The ultimate effects of these environments are real. Morris and Rothman note that people who are, “subjected to adverse conditions stretching over generations-- if opportunities for a contributing and rewarding life have been denied them by the lack of adequate health care and the lack of reasonable educational and employment opportunities, if their children and youths over generations have been subjected to the culture of the inner-city streets, and if socially acceptable role models are denied to them-- then criminality becomes a much more normal and accepted social adaptation, passed on from generation to generation”⁴. In sum, slum life is dangerous, hopeless and unrewarding. Its conditions create environments in which crime often seems to be the only option for income, recognition, status or survival. Such environments-- and not the ethnicity of those who inhabit them-- should shoulder some of the blame for their potential for fostering criminality. Furthermore, studies show that the children of black and Hispanic middle-class families who have access to good health care, education and a decent income have comparable delinquency rates to those of white families⁵. These kinds of data are vitally important factors in any examination of the ethnic makeup of the prison population.

The inconsistency between the treatment of black and white offenders is an unfortunate reality of the current prison system. A study in 1990 concluded that, “even though less than 30% of those arrested were black, blacks accounted for 47% of those imprisoned, and although whites were nearly 70% of those arrested, only 48% of prisoners were white”⁶. Not only is the possibility of a prison sentence more likely for black than for white offenders, but the sentences for black offenders are often significantly harsher as well. Complicating matters further is the fact that the experience of being in prison often has the effect of making people who have committed minor and non-violent crimes into more hardened criminals. That reality leads to the obvious conclusion that, because more black offenders are incarcerated, more black prisoners become worse criminals while in prison.

On the other hand, high rates of white criminality exist too; a significant portion of violent crime is committed by white offenders. Lawrence Freidman, Stanford law professor, points out, “crime is obviously related, in some way, to oppression and repression; but paradoxically, it seems to flourish most when the repression lifts somewhat. Moreover, crime rates in the United States are so high, compared to most other countries, that even if we excluded every arrest and conviction of a black, an astonishing and abnormal amount of white crime would
still remain, which can hardly be fobbed off on race". These conclusions about race and crime are inextricably intertwined with social categories within our culture, although a deeper examination is impossible in the parameters of this thesis.

Regardless of race and socioeconomic class, crime has increased dramatically in the last forty years, although its climb has been marked by phases of stability. In response to rising crime rates, cultural reactions to the country’s penal system have changed, as have expectations of elected politicians’ capabilities in terms of managing crime. Promises of being “tough on crime” have appealed the American public, despite the actual effects of “toughness”. Fear has fostered faith in the idea of harsher, longer punishments— and politicians have promised to mete them. Yet what the American electorate is truly asking for is that their politicians take their risk of harm seriously, and not simply by making a series of empty promises. Unfortunately the concept of “toughness” somehow became entangled with an overused, meaningless oratory about the prison system. Despite findings that prove that prison systems with adequate resources and programs that address recidivism are substantially more successful than the prisons without them, such systems continue to be described as “soft” both by politicians and in literature about prison. There is nothing “soft”, however, about a system that truly addresses criminality and develops an effective solution for it. The fact that this information fails to placate the American public speaks perhaps of the collective sentiment that we try to hide with notions of political correctness; that as a country we still demand that the guilty be harshly punished, and we find comfort in the promise of severe retribution, regardless of its effectiveness.

As a country we continue to believe and invest in a system that not only continually fails to improve crime rates but also fails to define precisely what effects the prison system aims to produce. The one thing prison does appear to do effectively, however, is to make petty criminals into hardened criminals. Roughly 67% of prisoners are arrested again within three years of release, and yet we continue to cut funding for programs that address recidivism. The more that criminals fail to be reformed by the prison, the more likely they are to return to prison, despite the fact that prison may have made them considerably more dangerous than they were before incarceration.

This project recognizes that simple-sounding solutions are actually quite complicated and very difficult to actualize. Resources are limited, bureaucratic backlash is profuse, and resistance to change is real. However, considering the amount per prisoner that taxpayers already cover, the money required for change is actually
available, although budget deficits are increasing. Recessions tend to prompt changes in the penal system; as each prison is forced contend with a decreasing budget, alternative options are explored. More and more prison systems, for example, are considering privatizing their systems, because they are unable to continue operating them in the way they are currently run. One thing is quite clear, however. Our system is no longer working-- if it ever did.

The current American prison system creates environments that are unarguably daunting. Generally, they are structurally menacing and poorly maintained. They are inadequately ventilated, harshly lit and often, loud and stressful. The social structures that develop within them are based on violence and fear. Prison life is run by prison gangs, who-- despite the existence of teams of cryptologists who analyze their encrypted notes, criminologists who analyze gang behavior, and a costly physical structure that promises to contain them-- still control social interaction within and even sometimes outside the prison.

This thesis postulates that this gang-dominated social structure is not simply a result of a criminal subculture being carried over from outside the prison; it is primarily a result of the design scheme and system of practices within the prison. A form of hysteria about security has enraptured the ethos of recently constructed prison architecture. Prisons are built to crush, secure, and contain crime, but they actually do the opposite. Corrections officers are hugely outnumbered-- the ratio is often up to 400 inmates per officer-- and they are all too eager to leave surveillance and interaction to technology. Such technology, aimed at securing every last square inch of the prison space removes necessary, normalizing social components from daily life in prison, which only gives more power to the violent prison subculture.

Most prisons are designed to appear immediately imposing; aesthetically, they are meant to intimidate and to induce fear. As authoritative architecture, this sort of design conveys a message to incoming prisoners-- and prison visitors-- of impending control and subordination. The success of such a stylistic approach depends on the assumption that a criminal has never been threatened before, which is unlikely. Instead, the criminal is met with something familiar-- violence and the potential of danger-- and reacts to it as he has all his life, by finding protection and company in people like himself. These environments increase this familiar threat, and because survival is based only on proving oneself as dominant, often inmates learn that the only way to protect themselves is to become someone who will fight at the slightest provocation. Very little about current prison structures, and the social systems within them, endeavor to facilitate positive and respectful social interaction between prisoners.
A culture of violence and masculinity means that survival is dependent on defending oneself in a predatory world. Prison rape is a common tool of subordination; roughly a quarter of inmates are raped at least once while in prison. This statistic is probably not accurate, as “ratting out” other inmates is one of the greatest offenses in prison culture and is usually met with extreme violence. Regardless of the percentage of inmates who report it, however, rape, and its implications about power, control and subjugation, are pervasive in prison life. Inmate violence is most problematic among prisoners who feel that aggression is the only alternative to the threat of humiliation—and humiliation is usually linked to internalized reactions to power dynamics. Current prison conditions maximize the potential for such instances, and violence is the unsurprising consequence.

This culture of violence is also exacerbated by prison crowding. The more prisoners there are, the less likely it is that a guard can truly supervise each inmate. It is impossible to know what goes on in one cell when two or three inmates are housed there. Many current prison cells, are equipped with exposed toilets that are not enclosed by walls or proper barriers, as they were designed for just one inmate. Because of severe crowding, these cells now hold two and sometimes three prisoners, which makes it impossible for inmates to use the bathroom privately. This would unarguably be a humiliating situation for anyone; for an inmate who lacks interpersonal skills or the introspection to work cognitively through difficult situations, such a degrading experience could be too traumatic and could very likely result in violence. In order to save face and to compensate for the humiliating ordeal of being forced to use the bathroom publicly, an inmate with a violent past is likely to react to this humiliation violently. This sort of outcome is probable in a number of prison spaces where inmates are not given adequate privacy. Violence rises exponentially when more than one inmate is housed in a space designed for only one prisoner. Unfortunately, this particular housing set-up is all too common in American prisons. Norval and Rothman describe, “Because an insufficient number of new prisons were built to house this flood of inmates, by 1994 cells built for one held two and sometimes three prisoners. All the resources of the prisons were similarly stretched—health services, recreational services, classification of prisoners into manageable and trainable groups, vocational and educational services—and most important, discipline became much more difficult to impose, with the result that gangs began to flourish as never before, drugs to be more available, and brutality between prisoners to be an increasing threat.” Such conditions also optimize the potential for prison riots, which can be detrimental to many aspects of the prison. In their aftermath when they are analyzed, it is clear that strained prison resources are almost always listed as
a justification for inmate violence. Garland describes, “complaints by the prisoners follow a common pattern—
bad food, inadequate medical care, the lack of rehabilitative programs, unfair punishments— but even all these
complaints taken together do not seem a sufficient explanation. It is worthy of note, however, that riots seem to be
confined to the larger, overcrowded prisons characterized by idleness and racial tensions”33. Obviously, prison life
is harsh and often unforgiving. When such environments are coupled with strained resources, crowding and racially
divided social structures, violence is a likely result.
An argument against Isolation

As noted above, 70,000 prisoners are currently in segregation units or solitary confinement within the American penal system. The first solitary confinement cells were built in Marion, Illinois, in 1983. Their purpose was to securely contain the most dangerous and troublesome inmates; it was implicit that they were to be used sparingly. In 1995, Federal courts questioned whether the use of solitary confinement was cruel and unusual, ruling that the total isolation of an inmate did, in fact, “hover on the edge of what is humanly tolerable for those with normal resilience.” However, most inmates are far from embodying “normal resilience”. They are generally unhealthy, often on drugs, and not at all cognitively equipped to endure an environment proven to induce acute psychosis, hallucinations, and mental breakdowns.

Atul Gawande, noted surgeon and medical writer, explored isolation at length and determined that the repercussions of isolation are both physical and very real, “EEG studies going back to the nineteen-sixties have shown diffuse slowing of brain waves in prisoners after a week or more of solitary confinement. In 1992, fifty-seven prisoners of war, released after an average of six months in detention camps in the former Yugoslavia, were examined using EEG-like tests. The recordings revealed brain abnormalities months afterward; the most severe
were found in prisoners who had endured either head trauma sufficient to render them unconscious or, yes, solitary confinement. Without sustained social interaction, the human brain may become as impaired as one that incurred a traumatic injury. Given this information, it is surprising that we subject more of our citizens to isolation than any other country. Criteria for isolating a prisoner can include violent infractions, violation of prison rules, gang activity, and behavior that disrupts order and operations within the prison, although each prison’s guidelines for isolation vary. Additionally, many inmates are put in isolation at the beginning of their sentences as a means of understanding their behavior. The idea behind this is that isolating the prisoner reveals his true character and can help determine where he should be housed within the prison. However, isolation is probably the worst possible environment for deriving conclusions about a prisoner’s behavior. In fact, isolation seems to do basically everything it was designed not to do. Prisoners are not actually separated from each other; they still communicate by shouting, using various hand signals, and passing notes with “fishing line” made from the strings of their clothes. This behavior usually results in a longer period of lockdown for the criminal, but the prisoners persist because they are so starved for human contact. Often this communication is about gang activity, which gives many inmates a sense of purpose. An inmate’s identity and sense of self is partly a result of the social environment in which he lives. They come to believe that they are soldiers within a strange social structure that they are constantly trying to define and uphold; many prisoners in isolation become consumed by fantasies of revenge. Consequently, as prisoners are kept farther and farther from regular human contact, their sense of reality becomes distorted. Many inmates begin to see themselves as combatants whose mission is to disturb prison procedures.

Solitary confinement has also done very little to decrease violence between inmates. Gawande describes, “Perhaps the most careful inquiry into whether supermax prisons decrease violence and disorder was a 2003 study examining the experience in three states—Arizona, Illinois, and Minnesota—following the opening of their supermax prisons. The study found that levels of inmate-on-inmate violence were unchanged, and that levels of inmate-on-staff violence changed unpredictably, rising in Arizona, falling in Illinois, and remaining unchanged in Minnesota.” Remarkably, even if prisoners have only one hour outside their cells per day-- if that-- they can still manage to do major damage within the prison. This is very likely due to the idleness that pervades their isolation experience. Craig Haney, a professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, conducted a study of inmates in solitary confinement at Pelican Bay Prison in California, a prison known for its gang problems and also the site of
one of the most violent prison riots in the last decade. Haney found that prisoners in isolation, “lost the ability to initiate behavior of any kind. He described, “Chronic apathy, lethargy, depression and despair often result…. In extreme cases, inmates may literally stop behaving”\(^4\). Of those prisoners he studied, 90% struggled with “irrational anger” compared to the 3% of the rest of the population. The result of isolation and the anger it often induces, combined with severe boredom, is often extreme violence.

Violence and destructive social interaction are rampant in today’s supermax prisons. Many inmates are aware that their behavior and notions of reality are forever damaged by their experience in prison. Some worry that they will never be able to readjust to normal life and relationships when they are eventually released, that the experience of living in such a violent subculture is so extreme and life-altering that reality and life outside prison is no longer a viable option\(^4\). One unfortunate irony of the solitary confinement experience is that as the isolated inmate grows more starved for human contact, his time in solitary makes him profoundly unfit for healthy social interaction. And the more unfit he becomes, the longer he remains in solitary confinement. Gawande notes, “Prisoners in solitary confinement must be able to withstand long-term confinement in order to be allowed to return to the highly social world of mainline prison or free society. Perversely, then, the prisoners who can’t handle profound isolation are the ones who are forced to remain in it\(^4\).” In 2006 a year long study conducted by the Commission on Safety and Abuse in Prison called for an end to the use of isolation in American prisons. Isolation was criticized for being both cruel and ineffective\(^4\). The absurdity of its continued use is best articulated again by Gawande, “Most prisoners in long-term isolation are returned to society, after all. And evidence from a number of studies has shown that supermax conditions-- in which prisoners have virtually no social interactions and are given no programmatic support-- make it highly likely that they will commit more crimes when they are released\(^4\).”
The American Shakers as a model for Utopian Living

The Shakers were a small sect of radical Christians who eventually established twenty-two communities in the eastern United States. Originally they identified themselves as the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, but because of their uninhibited, theatrical style of dance and worship, they were referred to as the Shakers. The Shakers were celibate, and thus not allowed to marry or have children. They lived as brothers and sisters in a tightly controlled, contained environment that restricted and limited almost all interactions between men and women, even to the point of establishing a set of architectural principles requiring that two entrances, intended to separate the sexes as they came and went, be put into all communal buildings.

While such a system was severe and employed a somewhat backward approach that was difficult for many non-Shakers to understand, the Shakers were also capable of extraordinarily progressive thinking and remarkable craftsmanship. Almost eighty years before the Civil War, Shakers freed their slaves and declared ownership of slaves illegal. They even bought slaves out of enslavement, welcoming them into their communities. Women were given equal rights within Shaker society one hundred and fifty years before the United States government granted them the right to vote. New Hampshire Shakers not only had one of the first cars in their village, but their community ran on electricity while local government buildings, including the state capital, still relied on burning gas. The Shaker religion and lifestyle was arguably one of the most successful utopian structures in American history, one that was lauded by Thomas Jefferson, and one that profoundly influenced Friedrich Engels in establishing his model for communism.
Shakerism was founded by Ann Lee, a poor English woman with divine visions. Although illiterate, she was powerfully compelling, and she eventually convinced eight pilgrims— one of whom paid for their voyage— to move with her to America to escape religious persecution. Lee was convinced that life as a sexually active married woman was not only unbearable, but most importantly, not what God had intended for her. Her pleas for help from the Quaker Church were unanswered, which led her to branch out on her own. Her agony and visions were fierce, and they grew fiercer as her dissatisfaction with her church increased; one source claimed that, while prophesizing, she bled through her pores\textsuperscript{46}. One of her followers was her husband, whom she had been forced by her parents to marry in 1762 and with whom she had four children, none of whom survived childhood. This same husband, who tolerated her cries at night and refusal to share a bed, also followed her to America and was one of the first Shakers. His continued support of her is a testament to both her strength as a person and her competency as a leader.

The first makeshift Shaker community was established in Niskeyuna, New York in 1778. In 1781 Lee and her followers set out on a two-year missionary journey throughout New England to increase their following. During that time, she and her fellow Shakers, while amassing support and new members, were attacked, harassed, kidnapped and jailed, experiences that were not unlike the persecution they had experienced and attempted to flee from in England. Lee was beaten severely, many times. Finally, she was attacked so brutally that her skull was fractured, an injury that eventually proved fatal. On September 8, 1784, at forty-eight years old, Ann Lee died, saying, “After I have done my work in this world, there will be a great increase in the gospel. Souls will embrace it by hundreds and by thousands. You will see peaceable times, and you may worship God under your own vine and fig trees. But I shall not live to see it”\textsuperscript{47}.

With Lee’s prophetic message, the Shakers she left behind constructed the first official Shaker building in 1785 in New Lebanon, New York. It was a simple meetinghouse, designed for order and convenience without any superfluous decoration. It was symmetrical and sturdy, and built to last forever, much like the Shaker philosophy. The spatial design was based on the concept of equal duality, with separate spaces for men and women. The meetinghouse was the prototype for true Shaker architecture, setting the tone for the style that characterized Shaker villages\textsuperscript{48}. Ten identical meetinghouse buildings were built in New England in the years that followed.

Surrounding these meetinghouses, Shaker communities thrived. The Shakers lived simply, far removed from the world and all its temptation, owning nothing individually, practicing celibacy, and devoting much of their
time and energy to the work that defined them. Two elders and two eldresses governed each community, and each community had an appointed pair of deacons and deaconesses who managed interactions with the outside world.

All Shakers were treated as equals; all wore the same clothing, and they were fed and housed equally. Equality also extended to prayer. All Shakers, with their ritualized manual labor complete, would pray together, although men and women worshipped across from each other as opposed to next to each other in order to avoid interactions between the sexes that were too open for the Shaker faith.

The ethos of Shaker life was based on hard work, order and restraint. Lee praised the spiritual aspects of work, taking from it a lasting set of principles that guided all Shakers’ daily lives. Her beliefs were encapsulated in the simple, but lasting order, “Put your hands to work and your hearts to God,” a notion that perfectly captured the significance and reasoning behind Shaker buildings and wares. Work, as much as the untamed dancing on Sundays, was a form of worship for the Shakers. With their labor, the Shakers believed they were redeeming the world, absolving it of sin and endowing it with purity. All their energy went into their work, as they had no familial or domestic ties that took them away from the community. The Shakers practiced a strict regimen of controlled interaction and thinking, believing that “carnal affections must die, that spiritual affections may live, for it is impossible that both have an abiding residence in the soul.”

With this idea in mind, the Shakers set about diligently working, striving for perfection and transforming the world through worship and piety. Their work ethic was profoundly successful. The Shakers lived in beautifully constructed, well-maintained villages, and their workshops were lauded for the reliability of their goods. The Shakers were adept farmers, cultivating more than enough for themselves, with much left over, which they donated to the poor. Shaker villages were brimming with canned goods from their harvests, which were stored for use during the winter. Their orchards yielded produce such as apples, pears, cherries, peaches, currants and plums. Produce was harvested and traded with merchants in places as far as England. In the New Lebanon settlement, a tannery was established, along with a chair factory, a blacksmith shop, a spinning factory, a weaving shop, and an industry for garden seeds.

The Shakers were carpenters, beekeepers, printers, bakers, chemists, merchants and architects. They produced wool, cotton, silk and flax, and on their looms, wove carpets, towels, bedding and clothing. They made pipes, pens, nails, buttons, brooms, buckles, mops, and hoes. They made shoes, bridles, saddles, and whips. They
formed bricks, cut stone, ran lumber mills, and constructed their villages in their entirety. They sold wine, sauces, pickles, jellies, sausages, and medicines. Their medicinal potions, pills, and ointments addressed ailments that ranged from asthma to constipation. They were famous for their finely crafted oval boxes and sturdy chairs, and also for their woolen cloaks. The Shakers were remarkably innovative, responsible for the invention of the clothespin and the circular saw, neither of which they claimed any credit for or patented. They also invented machines for reeling silk and threshing, as well as a steam device. They made a water wheel, enhanced a version of the plow, created a chimney cap, and even developed a working piano that folded up for storage. The Shakers also experimented with dried herbs, fragrant waters and various syrups, and were probably among the first Americans to make evaporated milk.  

With everything the Shakers did, simplicity, order and restraint ruled. The plan of each village was square, with paths that turned at right angles. These paths dictated where the Shakers were to walk; diagonal short cuts were not allowed. Organizational color-coding divided structures according to their use; barns and service buildings were brown, workshops were yellow or ivory, and white was reserved for meetinghouses. Within each building every square inch had a specific purpose. Shelves and cupboards were marked by number for what they were to store. This system preempted the potential for untidiness, as every single item within each building had a specific use, and there was a proper place for storing that item when it was not in use. Shaker furniture was crafted from the finest wood that had been painstakingly treated and prepared. Every piece had a purpose and was without unnecessary ornament. Finely carved wooden chairs, still imitated today, had specific places for their use and pegs on the walls where they were stored afterwards. Built-in cabinets and storage units lined many Shaker rooms, all embodying the simple purity of form and purpose that characterized the furniture.  

Life within each structure was regimented as well. Rules determined when the Shakers woke and slept, which doors were to be left open or locked, when chores were to be done, and even the order and method with which each piece of clothing was to be donned in the morning and removed at night. Shaker men and women could not pass each other on the stairs, touch, or even have an unsupervised conversation, as this could lead to temptation. The Shakers were not allowed to use red ink or to sign their name on any of their creations, as pride and materiality were anathema in the Shaker belief system. Wild dancing was allowed only at Sunday worship and was the one outlet for Shakers whose daily lives were ruled by continuous containment of bodily passions. This
drastic contrast between the inflexible order of life during the week and the unconstrained movement of worshipful
dance on Sundays created an interesting dynamic within the religion. Because of it, a sense of balance was still
possible despite such rigid control, and this equilibrium extended to their design and work ethic. Joy, and much of
it, along with the recognized restraint, came through in a great deal of what the Shakers did. Still, celibacy was the
single most important aspect of Shaker life and the most fundamental facet of their worship and connection to God.
More than anything else, celibacy, not happiness or dance, shaped every component of Shakerism.

This stark belief system turned many away from the Shakers, and many people found their dancing and
adamant celibacy unsettling. Many others, however, saw the Shakers as living idyllic lives. They worked peacefully
and calmly, with spiritual fulfillment an integral aspect of their experience. Shakers were well-fed and taken care
of when sick, and they inhabited communities devoid of crime and poverty. Shaker life allowed women the option
of autonomy and freedom in an age where often the only alternative was marriage, children, and subjugation.
The Shakers survived harsh New England winters, which was more than many local townspeople could manage,
and they often took people in during the colder months even if these people chose to return to their homes and
lives in the spring. The Shakers welcomed true believers, but turned away many who they thought would be unfit
for the admittedly rigorous discipline that Shakerism entailed. They also welcomed orphans, raising them in their
communities as equals.

*Hands to Work Hearts to God* aims to imitate some of the successful social components of the Shaker
way of life, integrating them into the daily lives of American prisoners. It will employ a similar system of duality
and containment in the prison, especially in the areas that are most prone to violence. Communal spaces will have
two doors, allowing for a few different movement patterns that will separate violent offenders from each other
and allow others to interact peacefully. With clearly delineated pathways within the space and repetition of those
movements, prisoners will learn to contain their passion and live nonviolently. Energy will be channeled into work as
they will be living in a safe environment; fear will no longer dictate social structures, behavior or movement. They will
continuously practice safe and successful interaction with other inmates, relearning social norms of behavior. These
methods of nonviolent interaction, as well as the marketable skill the prisoners learn, will be used daily in prison and
carried with them after their release.
Other Models of Contained Living

Nursing homes, mental health facilities and in-patient drug rehabilitation centers all share some of the social problems of the American prison. They are generally insufficiently funded, and working in them can be unrewarding. William Thomas, author of *The Eden Alternative: Nature, Hope and Nursing Home*, studied various work relationships in a number of nursing homes. The intent of his study was to determine how to establish efficient interpersonal work systems that satisfied both patients and employees. One successful solution to the chronic problem of staff turnover among the lowest paid, yet most essential workers, has been to give them something as simple as control over their own work schedules. This option provides employees with a sense of purpose, along with a schedule that is convenient for them. Punching in a time card and being forced to work hours that conflict with other aspects of their lives made many employees feel taken for granted. Often, this affected the quality of their work and their treatment of patients. *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will implement a similar scheduling system for both staff and inmates. Corrections officers will be able to create schedules that are convenient for them and inmates will be able to choose from a variety of work groups and schedules. This will help foster a sense of purpose and respect among staff, and will instill in the inmates a sense of control. It will also allow them to feel that they are a part of their reform experience.

Drug rehabilitation centers use a variety of methods to help drug addicts learn to live without drugs. Perhaps the most effective rehabilitation system is Alcoholics Anonymous, a twelve-step program that promotes recovery through introspection, group therapy and, interestingly, an acknowledgement of a higher power. This approach has been widely successful; it has been employed to address all sorts of recovery, ranging from gambling addictions to eating disorders to a variety of drug treatment programs. Recovering addicts are urged to acknowledge that their addiction has taken over their lives and to accept the help of a higher power of their choosing. *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will use a similar concept in the reform programs in which inmates will participate. The name of this system, *Hands to Work Hearts to God*, a Shaker motto, is symbolic, and does not mean that any one religion will predominate the sacred space or the accepted social sentiments of the prison. Instead, it will be conducive to non-denominational worship, and faith and spiritualism in all forms will be encouraged. Gleaned from the Alcoholics Anonymous system though, will be the sense of unquestioned, personal support that addicts receive from the program. Inmates too will be encouraged to open their minds to both the possibility of reform and to a self-defined higher power of their choosing. Coupled with various therapies, this choice will help inmates develop a set of resources that to help them work through difficult situations as they completes their sentences.
Alternative Prison Solutions

The best argument for the *Hands to Work Hearts to God* method is the documented effect of systematic prison reform currently underway in England. In February of 2006, Her Majesty’s Government implemented a new and somewhat radical approach to problems within the English prison system. The Offender’s Learning and Skills Service developed two programs, a *Five Year Strategy for Protecting the Public and Reducing Re-offending through Skills and Employment*[^56]. These reform systems are based on work partnerships, education, and therapies that address drug and alcohol addictions. The final outcome of these programs are not yet available as it is an ongoing project, but so far, results have been promising.

While *Hands to Work Hearts to God* is a system designed specifically for the unique issues within American prisons, comparison between England and the United States is particularly apt. The violence and behavioral issues that developed in English prisons between English prisoners and incarcerated members of the Irish Republican Army in the 1980s, and later Muslim prisoners, are in many ways analogous to the racial and ethnic tensions in United States prisons.

Because of high costs and public objection to isolation in England, a new system was employed. This thorough programmatic reorganization was based on a proven theory of environmental psychology, specifically that “prisoners who are unmanageable in one setting often behave perfectly reasonably in another”[^57]. Using this principle, prison planners, interestingly, gave the most dangerous prisoners more control as opposed to less. They replaced isolation with work, education and therapy, and housed inmates in individual cells. Aspects of this system have been profoundly successful, specifically in the improvements of interaction between inmates within the prison. In fact, there is no longer a real need for the use of isolation in the English prison system. Inmate behavior has improved so much that, currently, there are fewer prisoners in isolation in all of England than there are in the state of Maine[^58].
Examples of Ineffective Prison Systems

Despite the success of models of prison systems like England’s, the British reforms are still seen as “soft”, and notions of being tough on crime in America remain popular. For instance, Sheriff Joe Arpaio, of Maricopa County in Arizona, established a prison system of outdoor tents and chain gangs in 2005. To mark its creation, “he forced nearly seven hundred prisoners, wearing nothing but pink underwear and flip-flops to shuffle four blocks through the Arizona heat, pink-handcuffed together, to a new jail. When they arrived, one prisoner was made to cut a pink ribbon for the cameras. This elaborate degradation, which is remembered fondly by Arpaio’s fans, was ostensibly in the name of security—the men were strip-searched both before and after the march. Conditions in Arpaio’s prison, Tent City, are brutal, and exploitation of prisoners is rampant. Tent City also allegedly holds people in prison illegally; many Hispanic prisoners who are actually American citizens claim to be held on suspicion of being illegal immigrants. Prisoners are forced to endure grueling schedules of organized labor, including the first all-female chain gang in America, which has brought no economic proceeds to Maricopa County. Though he claims to be saving money, Arpaio brags that he is housing each inmate on thirty cents a day, “less than [it costs] to feed a dog”, his system is actually costing Maricopa County taxpayers $43 million in lawsuits against Arpaio and his prison. Tent City staff have been accused of horrific and violent abuses of prisoners; in one lawsuit, corrections officers are accused of withholding evidence, specifically the crushed larynx of an inmate. Ironically, Arpaio remains well liked, despite the fact that Maricopa County’s prison system now houses ten thousand inmates—double the number from when he took office.

This humiliating, illegal, and cruel system is eerily reminiscent of Abu Grabe, anathema to America’s purported ideals. It also takes a cue from the violent prison culture that this project aims to diminish, and mirrors it by employing methods of punishment intended to emasculate and humiliate inmates. The incorporation of pink underwear, flip-flops, hand-cuffs, and socks as the prison uniform, which Arpaio describes mockingly in terms of its soothing effects, is really a base form of oppressive humiliation— not reform. This sort of “tough” system is both expensive and ultimately ineffective.
Pit Bulls as a Case Study for Reform

In the spring of 2007, authorities raided the Surrey, Virginia, property owned by Michael Vick, former quarterback for the Atlanta Falcons. Their search turned up approximately 50 pit bulls; a later search located graves of other dogs said to have been killed during fights by members of a group called Bad Newz Kennels. These graves revealed the discarded bodies of dogs who had either failed to perform in the ring or refused to fight. These unaggressive dogs had been shot, drowned, beaten to death and even electrocuted. Others were left chained to car axles.

Surprisingly, after thorough temperament testing, only one of the seized dogs was deemed too aggressive for rehabilitation. Another was euthanized because she had been so over-bred that she was in constant pain and was unable to move parts of her body. Authorities suspected that she had been secured to the “rape stand” found on Vick’s property, a device that forces female dogs to copulate, usually to make more money through the offspring they produce. The remaining dogs, all of whom bore evidence of horrific abuse—scarring, broken limbs, poor health (one had even had its teeth removed so that it would be unable to defend itself when attacked)—were evaluated, at Vick’s expense, and sent to a variety of pit bull shelters across the country. Some animal experts called for the surviving animals to be put down. Daphna Nachminovitch of PETA said, “We don’t regard euthanasia as the worst thing for dogs raised to mangle one another in a bloody pit.” Interestingly, PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, an organization that aims to protect animals from cruelty and death, suggested that these dogs all be euthanized, despite the fact that being forced to fight to the death is unarguably an example.
of cruelty in its basest form. While many dogs from the group were under-socialized and wary of people, twenty-
two dogs were quite happy with people and dog-social enough to earn new lives in foster homes with other pets
and even children. For the tireless volunteers who try to protect the image of the American pit bull terrier and to
rescue them from the unimaginable cruelty they suffer at the hands of dog fighters and animal abusers, the only
remarkable thing about this particular fight bust was the attention it received because of its connection to Michael
Vick.

Media hype and negative stereotyping have made pit bulls the most feared and mistrusted breed of dog
in America, to the point where many cities have banned them altogether. Unfortunately, pit bulls, once a beloved
American breed, are now associated with aggression, unprovoked violence and criminality. The truth about this
breed, like the truth about prisoners, is complicated. Historically, pit bulls were bred to fight, but to fight other
dogs, not people. They originated as a sporting breed in England, and they were used to fight recreationally and
then to live alongside their owners as family pets. They were brave, obedient, loyal and very strong. A well-bred
pit bull could be stopped from fighting another dog immediately. It knew the difference between a human hand
and a dog. In fact, pit bulls who responded otherwise when a human broke up an organized fight were put down
immediately because aggression towards humans in any form was deemed unacceptable for the standards of the
breed. Still, examination of the characteristics of the pit bull reveals that gentleness to humans is a huge part
of their personalities -- as is their “pre-disposition” for aggression with animals. This aggression, however, is quite
normal; they are terriers, and all terriers were initially bred to kill. Pointers were bred to point and go after birds;
Dobermans and German shepherds to be wary of strangers; Collies to herd, etc. Most dog breeds were developed
to perform a specific kind of work -- a job. As with any breed of dog, a wide variety of traits make up that particular
breed’s characteristics. There is no one way an American pit bull -- or any breed of dog -- behaves. The behavior of
any domestic dog is a complex fusion of genetics, environmental influence, and human management.

One way to quantify the temperament embodied by a particular dog breed is a test created by the
American Temperament Test Society (ATTS) that examines dog behavior and responses to various stimuli. The ATTS
test analyzes “aspects of temperament such as stability, shyness, aggressiveness, and friendliness as well as the
dog’s instinct for protectiveness towards its handler and/or self-preservation in the face of a threat.” The test
encompasses a normal daily walk where common situations are encountered. The dog experiences a variety of
sensorial stimuli, and is introduced to both friendly and threatening situations to determine whether he is able to distinguish between the two types of situations, and whether his behavior is appropriately watchful or protective. The outlined norms for each breed generally vary but in the annually administered ATTS tests, pit bulls consistently score comparably to Golden retrievers.

Animal behaviorist Karen Delise, has thoroughly analyzed instances of dog aggression. Her findings were compiled in a book entitled *The Pit Bull Placebo*, in which, she claims that there is no record of a well-bred, humanely treated, “fixed”, pit bull ever suddenly becoming aggressive. Further, she contends that most stories about aggressive pit bulls actually have a complicated back-story that is less sensationalistic, and therefore less interesting, to report. This back-story usually involves animal cruelty, neglect, and ignorance—basically a dog being treated appallingly and then behaving badly. The behavior of a bad dog can almost always be traced back to its owners. Yet constant media attention is given to aggressive dogs and they are almost always called pit bulls. “Pit bull” has become a metaphor for irrational aggressiveness. But careful scrutiny reveals that the “aggressive pit bulls” described in the media are often mutts or another breed entirely. In contrast, one hears little of the number of pit bulls used as therapy dogs— one is a former Vick dog -- or how many of them make wonderful family pets.

Pit bulls, more than any other breed of dog, crowd animal shelters in this country. Thousands are put down annually because rescue facilities lack the resources to keep or rehabilitate them. Many shelters are unable to find stray pit bulls new homes, partly because of the current distrust and dislike of the breed. Some pit bulls pulled from neglectful or abusive environments are badly behaved, poorly socialized or too physically damaged from fights and abuse to rehabilitate. The majority of pit bulls in shelters, though, like most dog breeds within the shelter system, are good-natured animals who fare well in temperament tests and are likely to be well-behaved, reliable family dogs. Interestingly, black and dark-colored dogs, especially pit bulls, are the least likely to be adopted, regardless of their temperament and personality.

Pit bulls that get adopted, even those that have been raised without proper health care or training, and that have been neglected and abused, can and do still make wonderful family pets with proper training. It is in this vein that *Hands to Work Hearts to God* aims to prove that the people who are most feared and despised in our society, those who are removed and contained in prison, who have not had the benefit of education or the
privilege of living in a safe, structured environment, could significantly alter their behavior if given the proper tools and placed in a new setting. Similarly to the way psychological studies show that violent people and criminals may behave one way in one environment and altogether differently in another, many pit bulls that have been trained to fight other dogs or have been encouraged to behave menacingly with people in one situation quickly adapt and change with training and consistent direction about acceptable behaviors. *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will explore how a violent criminal or a person raised in an environment of delinquency can learn to behave differently when the external factors that induce criminality are removed and replaced with a system designed to address the issues that often lead people to commit crimes, specifically unemployment and lack of restraint.

Obviously, people are not dogs and the results of reforming dogs will vary significantly from those of reforming criminals. However, the specific methods successfully undertaken to rehabilitate abused and rescued pit bulls have important implications for the rehabilitation of criminals whose previous environments have been violent as well. Some of the principles underlying this kind of rehabilitation-- ritualizing, repetition, learned behaviors-- can be transformed so as to be useful for people.

At Bay Area Dog Lovers Responsible About Pit Bulls (BADRAP) in Oakland, California, the rescue organization that took twenty-two of Vick’s pit bulls, a typical training session involves having pit bulls rescued from neglectful, dangerous, violent or dysfunctional homes, practice walking obediently back and forth, passing other animals and people. The goal is to condition them to be neither fearful nor aggressive, neither overly excited nor skittish; the dogs must stay focused on their task: walking obediently without pulling, staying mindful of direction from their owner. The idea behind this practice is to reiterate ritualized good behavior to the point that it becomes familiar and habitual. Many of the pit bulls that BADRAP rescues had previously been kept as pets but were also used in fights, or trained to be aggressive. Some are simply poorly socialized because their previous owners knew very little about dog ownership. Most of these rescued pit bulls require responsible, vigilant ownership and rigid consistency-- such as the frequent practice of walking back and forth-- in their new homes. Often this consistent and clear regimen results in a completely rehabilitated dog or one whose behavior improves significantly.

In addressing problematic behaviors in an animal, very basic ideas are used, because possible modes of communication are limited. This forces the rehabilitation process to be broken down into its simplest components,
which is helpful in analyzing basic behavioral change. For example, to train a dog not to jump, one could reprimand or correct the dog every time he becomes excited and jumps. This could be an effective way to address such negative behavior, but it is also likely to take quite some time. Another approach is to create a situation where jumping is physically impossible. A dog simply can not jump and sit at the same time; thus, it makes sense to train the dog to sit as opposed to discouraging him from jumping. Each time he becomes excited, have him sit and reward him when he is seated. If practiced consistently, the dog will learn to sit-- and not jump-- when he wants attention, and the owner will save the time that otherwise would have been spent reprimanding the excited dog.

While the complexity of human beings complicates this very basic behavioral adaptation, some principles can be gleaned from the example of the jumping dog and carried over to the rehabilitation of prisoners. Given that boredom and idleness exacerbate an inmate’s behavioral problems, it would be helpful to keep the inmate busy and occupied. If he is busy, it is much less likely that he will have time to deal drugs or fight or participate in gang activity. If the goal for a prisoner’s release from prison is for him to get a job, it is irresponsible to release him with only the money he had on him when he was initially incarcerated and no job skills, and expect him to get a job. A better option, and one that sets the inmate up for success, would be to teach him a marketable skill, help him to establish relationships with employers, and then guide him though his first job. If an inmate behaves poorly in social situations, placing him in isolation will not help him to somehow develop competent social skills, as described above. A better alternative would be to help him to cultivate the interpersonal skills that he lacks.

There are countless examples of such ineffective approaches to behavioral reform in the current American prison system; the pervasiveness of such methods is discouraging and ultimately counterproductive. It may initially appear to be a stretch to compare inmates to rescued pit bulls, but they do have striking similarities, especially in the way that they are perceived by society. Cultural expectations of prisoners are actually not so different from those of pit bulls. Both rescued pit bulls and inmates have to prove to the world that they are not monsters, which is not a simple feat. Both groups would benefit greatly if they were set up for success at each stage of the rehabilitating process.
Work

Work programs in prisons are not new. Similar to almost every other aspect of prison, they have changed considerably over time. Often prison work programs are associated with the idea of chain gangs, which are the antithesis of what *Hands to Work Hearts to God* represents. Instead of physically taxing and cognitively draining work in chain gangs, the auto mechanics program at *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will be varied, interesting, intellectually challenging, and purposeful. There is resistance to prison work programs by different unions and government organizations because they allegedly give good work to undeserving prisoners rather than to law-abiding citizens\(^1\). While this objection probably does have some legitimacy, it does not justify the idleness in prisons or counter the proven effectiveness of work as a tool for reform. Arguably, plenty of jobs are actually available in the United States, especially in the skilled labor sector. Manual laborers such as mechanics, plumbers, carpenters, contractors, and builders are always in demand. Mathew Crawford, who writes of the enriching nature of manual work, notes, “While manufacturing jobs have certainly left our shores to a disturbing degree, the manual trades have not. If you need a deck built, or your car fixed, the Chinese are of no help. Because they are in China. And in fact there are chronic labor shortages in both construction and auto repair”\(^2\). Certainly law-abiding citizens should be able to take advantage of the jobs that these fields offer; but inmates and reformed criminals should not be excluded from these jobs either.
Hands to Work Hearts to God will reinterpret the monotony of manual labor that is generally associated with prison work programs; it will emphasize the creativity and problem-solving skills that are required for being a skilled auto mechanic. The auto mechanic program will provide inmates with a marketable skill for their release from prison. Inmates will also learn the value of work as a tool for personal fulfillment and as a framework for a healthy, productive life. Furthermore, recidivism rates are directly related to employment; people released from prison who have steady jobs are significantly less likely to re-offend than released inmates who are unemployed.

Learning a skilled trade will also help to build the inmate’s confidence, gaining what Crawford describes as, “manual competence, and the stance it entails toward the built, material world”. Since the 1990s, three quarters of mechanical trades and shop classes have been cut from America’s public schools, despite the importance of the skills taught in such courses and the need for such skills in the American workforce. Success in our culture is now associated with higher learning, degrees, and financial and office jobs. But success can-- and used to-- exist elsewhere too. This program will reacquaint society with the value of being able to address a real, tangible problem and having the mechanical ability to fix it with one’s hands.

The current prison system demonstrates how resourceful inmates are in making weapons, codes, and tools to communicate. Such resourcefulness is exactly the mechanical competency that is so lacking in the American workforce. Inmates prove that although they may be uneducated, they are far from unintelligent. Resourcefulness, like that of the Shakers, is actually vitally important when appropriately directed. Hands to Work Hearts to God aims to take the resourcefulness of the current American inmate and redirect it to the auto mechanic discipline.

Manual labor also requires aspects of social interaction that are fading from the current American work environment. According to Crawford, “the economic ties, like those between a borrower and a lender, were once underpinned by face-to-face contact and moral community”; today’s mortgage broker, by contrast, is a depersonalized cog in a financial machine that actively discourages prudence and judgment. Interpersonal contact is a vital component of Hands to Work Hearts to God. Interaction between prisoners, staff and local employers is promoted, as are interactions with residents of the community when they come to the auto mechanics shop to have their cars serviced.

The purpose of work in Hands to Work Hearts to God is to reform, and not to break, the prisoner. The auto mechanics program will be work that is uplifting and cognitively rewarding. Learning the auto mechanics trade will
provide the prisoner with the skills and experience he will need to apply for a job after release from prison. The right kind of work programs will also provide new outlets for inmates’ energy; this will decrease the amount of energy that is currently dedicated to violence. Such a work program would have consequences far broader than simply the teaching of a set of skills; in essence, it will teach prisoners a new way to live and interact.
Implementation

Three main tenets of the Hands to Work Hearts to God system:

RESTRAINT: Establishment of Learned Behaviors
With controlled, repeated interaction, inmates will learn to interact productively & non-violently within a contained, safe space.

ORDER: Simplicity of Form and Action
The system removes the aspect of surprise in daily routine (which is known to induce anxiety in inmates) and replaces it with a pattern of set guidelines of cleanliness, clear-cut rules and a reward system that coordinates with expected, outlined behaviors.

WORK AS WORSHIP: Reform through Productivity
This entails promoting psychological and economic benefits and provides a tool for reducing recidivism. It fosters cultivation of a sense of personal worth and purpose and the development of a skilled trade that is marketable, making the inmate employable after release.
Implementation

*Hands to Work Hearts to God* is a system to be implemented in American maximum-security prisons. The prototype described here will house between 300 and 400 inmates in individual cells. The site will include a healthcare facility, a guarded entrance, a sacred space designated for non-denominational worship, three housing sections within a larger residential unit, a visitor center, a prison library, recreation space, kitchen and dining facilities run by inmates, and a large workspace with a functioning auto mechanic shop that will have a separate security program built within it.

The system is designed for Albert Kahn’s now-vacant Highland Park Ford factory in Detroit, Michigan. Albert Kahn, a prominent industrial architect, built many factories of brick, concrete, and steel. His aesthetic and approach became the model for American factory design, with large open rooms that allowed for efficient use of space and arrangement of machinery. He also used wide windows that provided a maximum of natural light to the work environment, improving the emotional atmosphere of the work space. His buildings were completed before fluorescent lighting was invented; making the most of natural light was crucial to the productivity of the factory. This principle of his design is still useful in that it is both cost-effective, as natural light can be used for much of the day, and emotionally beneficial, as research shows that inmates’ behavior and emotional stability are associated with the amount of natural light they have access to. Kahn’s structures are designed for expansion and for the potential for additions, in order to meet the demands of an increasing industry. This design allows for modifications if new activity rooms or an altered design scheme is required, or if certain areas ultimately require more or less space to function more successfully. Kahn made a point of not restricting himself to one particular set-up. This idea is crucial to the *Hands to Work Hearts to God* system, as it is directly related to social and societal changes, and aims to conform the prison experience to the changing, individual needs of its inmates and workers.

The choice of the Highland Park site has a symbolic meaning as well as a rational one. Not only was Kahn an expert in spatial planning and in creating sound, sturdy structures, but he also helped to engineer a variety of labor systems within his buildings. The Highland Park plant is the home of Henry Ford’s assembly line, which transformed labor systems and dramatically decreased production time for Ford cars. The continuously moving assembly line, though financially efficient and successful, was ultimately unfulfilling for workers and proved to be
relentless. The monotony of the assembly line in the work environment will not be implemented in the prison but steady, habitual work will not be cut out entirely. Repeated learned behaviors of nonviolence and a ritualized work routine, borrowed from both the assembly line system and from Shaker principles about work, will typify the prison experience. In the same way that the assembly line forever changed the landscape of American industry, *Hands to Work Hearts to God* aims to re-imagine the prison experience, the potential of functioning inmates, and the success of a contained community based on honest work.

The Highland Park Plant is located about 4.5 miles from downtown Detroit in a relatively run-down section of an economically depressed neighborhood. Most American criminals are from cities\(^7\), often from neighborhoods similar to Highland Park. Criminals are generally housed in prisons far from home, and their friends and family are often unable to visit because of financial and geographical constraints. This separation constitutes as a form of isolation for the prisoner, and it can affect behavior during incarceration. The Highland Park site allows and encourages prisoners to continue relationships with the outside world. The visitor center is designed to make visitors and inmates feel comfortable and to make the most of their time together. The Highland Park site also promotes relationships with local employers in the auto industry. While acquiring skills in the auto mechanics trade, inmates will be developing relationships with local employers, increasing their likelihood of being steadily employed at the completion of their sentence.

The interactive concept that unites contained criminals with the outside world will be pushed further through the design of the auto mechanics shop. Everyday citizens will be able to have their cars serviced at *Hands to Work Hearts to God* and in doing so, they too will have a small part in the reformative experiences that the Highland Park site aims for. After passing through a security checkpoint and lobby, citizens will be able to walk the length of the auto mechanics shop and watch the process of various cars being repaired and detailed. Similar to a car wash where one can view each stage of the cleaning process, all workspaces and classrooms will be visible to the customer. Each auto mechanic workspace will have dual doors for cars and inmates, similar to the Shaker concept, and will be guarded and supervised. Depending on the inmate’s particular personality and ability to interact with others, he will either be working alone or with other inmates, and participating in either direct or indirect instruction, meaning that an instructor always has the option of teaching from behind glass if it is circumstantially more appropriate for that particular inmate. Creating a design where inmates and customers can interact visually with each
other will help inmates to connect with the outside world as opposed to becoming too heavily involved with prison social structures; it will also help regular people and society to take part in the reforming process of criminals, who were also once “regular people”. Uniting these social categories safely could ultimately help to reacquaint a desensitized culture to the realities of crime and poverty, and also allow them to explore the final destination of their tax dollars.

Like a Shaker village, a prison is contained, and in that sense, it must function as a city. Every necessity for daily life must be available within the structure, especially those resources required for meeting social and psychological needs. Every aspect of its interior space has to be justified, as every inch has the potential for violence; oddly this spatial justification is not currently practiced. Jeff Goodale, a prison and security architect, and Senior Vice President and Co-Director of the Justice business unit at HOK, a global architectural design and services firm, explains, “To be fair, prominent architects aren’t lining up to take on the task of making prisons better. New prison construction is generally parcelled out to a handful of large and more-or-less anonymous firms—a process that discourages innovation. Whoever gets the commission is told how many beds are needed, what kinds of security, how much room for the clinic, the recreation area, the guardhouses. They’re big-box prisons, as anonymous and uninflected as so many Wal-Marts.” Although this project outlines the course for implementing a system within current prisons or already-built spaces, the basic components of it are applicable everywhere. Close attention must be paid to what is done with physical space, as it does affect the inmate substantially. Goodale, notes that in the 1970s, prison design was conceptualized far differently than it is today, “There was an emphasis on creating an environment that would lend itself to rehabilitation—low-rise buildings, more human scale. In the ‘80s and ‘90s, the trend became very much about throwing people in jail, locking them up, taking amenities away from them. We spent a fortune on security, and it did little for recidivism.” Hands to Work Hearts to God will return to the reforming concepts that pervaded prison building in the 1970s, and implement an updated version of them within the Highland Park space.

While Hands to Work Hearts to God will have a space specifically designated for religious worship, no particular religion will be encouraged. The name of the program is taken from Ann Lee’s decree to her followers; it is not intended to be suggestive of Christianity or any particular religion. Notions of God in the Shaker faith were varied and symbolic. Such open-minded approaches to reform and spirituality will be encouraged at Hands to Work Hearts to God.
The Shaker example will also be followed in other areas, because interestingly, Shaker communities and prisons share a variety of traits. Both aim to limit sexual interaction. Shakers believed that intercourse should be avoided because it is ungodly; in prison intercourse must be eradicated because it is used as a tool of violent social control and perpetuates unhealthy power dynamics. At Hands to Work Hearts to God inmates will live in an environment that not only does not allow sexual interaction but that is designed to make it nearly impossible. A focus on work, and actual working will replace the time and space where sexual and physical interactions currently occur in prison. Work will also physically and mentally exhaust inmates as it prepares them for life after prison with a new sense of confidence and purpose, and a marketable skill. Showers, an area where sexual assaults are common in current American prisons, will be supervised, private and organized. The regimented life of the prison will establish a structure of daily work and interaction with which most criminals are unfamiliar.

Another similarity between prisoners and Shakers is resourcefulness. In existing American prisons, idleness is omnipresent. Currently, American prisoners spend between 20 and 23 hours a day in their cells. They are allowed to wash between one and three times a week, usually after activity in recreation areas, which generally lasts a few hours every two to three days. The hours of idleness in cells induces boredom and frustration, generally fostering negative and violent behavior and providing time that allows criminals to continue gang activity and planned violence. Because they have no legitimate outlet for their energy, anger, or brain power, inmates have devised incredibly intricate systems of communication, which often require trained cryptologists and criminologists to decipher and understand. They make weapons out of just about anything, including the elastic used in their underwear and clothing. In about week, if used consistently for twenty hours per day, a piece of elastic will eventual wear away and cut metal. This type of knowledge—and there is much of it—allows inmates to fashion crude “shanks” or other weapons from a piece of a metal bed frame or a structural element in their cell.

The variety of weapons and the ingenuity involved in their creation speaks volumes about the prison experience. Bored prisoners make a wide variety of ingenuously designed weapons and then, when given the chance, use them on other inmates or staff. Inmates are caged and restless, and their energy is used destructively. Yet if this energy could be redirected to a useful task, such as work, benefits to the prison, the community, and the inmate would be enormous. The Shakers redirected contained sexual passion into work, and all their energy was pushed toward their craft. They too came up with incredibly inventive tools such as the clothespin and a
reconfigured plow. They redefined work systems in utopian communities and innovated agriculture and architecture. Emotional benefits were huge, but their economic status was prominent as well.

Because the Shaker lifestyle proved to be so successful, many aspects of it will be used in *Hands to Work Hearts to God*. Shakers spent between eight and twelve hours a day working, six days a week. On Sundays, they prayed and danced for much of the day. They spent a few hours at rest before getting between seven and nine hours of sleep each night. They bathed and prayed every morning at daybreak. At *Hands to Work Hearts to God*, the prisoners’ schedule will closely resemble that of a typical Shaker community. Inmates will work seven to ten hours a day and will be allowed to shower privately for fifteen minutes every day.

Private showers are integral to this model in ways other than decreasing the potential for sexual violence. Prisoners find it humiliating and stressful to be watched while showering. All inmates deserve some privacy, and infringing on that privacy by forcing a grown man to be watched showering can feel emasculating. This can lead the prisoner to feel vulnerable and powerless and then take those feelings out on another inmate. Much of prison culture centers around displays of dominance; proving oneself and being “the man” feels like the only means for respect or survival. Privacy in showering will explicitly disavow that culture that makes an inmate feel that he has to compensate for being humiliated.

Prisoners will be allowed eight to twelve hours at rest; rest includes sleeping, reading, studying, and other planned activities. In place of ordered praying and worship, inmates will be encouraged to participate in a variety of team sports. Physical activities will also focus on healthful interaction between inmates and foster in them a sense of collective sportsmanship. This will replace both the small “dog runs” in current American prisons where inmates pace by themselves, and the focus on weight lifting and solitary methods of exerting physical energy. Weight-lifting requires expensive equipment, and it is geared toward bulking up, which contributes to a menacing appearance. Prisoners in *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will not be encouraged to look or behave more menacingly.

The design and layout of *Hands to Work Hearts to God* is based on an exploration of the relationship between space and violence, of the different types of criminals housed in the prison, of the various triggers for violence, and of the design solutions that aim to address each of these issues. Here, criminals will be divided into categories, and based on aspects of their behavior, they will be further divided into four groups that anticipate their most likely future behavior. The classifications of criminals are first-time offenders; repeat violent offenders;
repeat nonviolent offenders; drug offenders; sex offenders; career criminals (this category encompasses a variety of crimes); and psychopaths. In most prison populations, ten to fifteen percent of inmates will behave poorly, to the degree that they will require extra surveillance and segregation; they are likely never to be reformed. Gang members are a different group, as they are almost always violent but often respond well to work programs. Sex offenders, though generally less troublesome behaviorally while in prison, are generally targets of violence from other inmates. They will need to be protected from other criminals. Psychopaths will receive medical care. If their behavior is deemed too harmful for open social interaction they will either be sent to an appropriate hospital or restricted severely in their movements within the space. All criminals will be assessed physically and cognitively before placement in the program. If they have emotional or psychological problems, they will be provided with therapy. Asylum from gangs and gang rehabilitation will also be available. Focused attention will also be paid to inmates who struggle with addiction. Joseph Califano Jr, chairman of the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University explains, “I can tell a state legislator that if you would only provide treatment for these guys, we’d have the greatest reduction in crime. But those constituents want computers in the schools, better roads, better sewage systems.” Given the role that drugs play in the current crime rate and the rate at which they are used by inmates, it is only reasonable to honestly address drug use within the inmate population and to plan for thorough drug rehabilitation. After preliminary screening, each inmate will be given a place in the appropriate section of the prison. Inmates will be divided into four groups, based on their most likely behavior, and groups will vary in their access to tools, social interaction, and residential set-up. These groups are:

1. Inmates who are likely to respond well to the system and to abide by the rules;
2. Inmates requiring active supervision and guidance but who will behave responsibly in most situations when appropriate controls have been addressed;
3. Inmates requiring active supervision and who can only participate in some regulated activities when appropriate controls have been addressed;
4. Inmates who under no circumstances can be expected to behave nonviolently.

*Hands to Work Hearts to God* examines the issues that lead to violence and develops design solutions to address them. These issues can be broken down into categories: issues in the physical environment, issues in the social environment, and organizational issues. Another category combines all three of these categories and addresses the direst situations of prison violence. Among these issues, the one most frequently described by inmates is stress. Stress can be induced by a variety of factors and can manifest differently in different people. Prison workers, staff and doctors will be on hand to detect when inmates are exhibiting signs of stress and
will attempt to intercede before violence or a negative incident occurs. Aside from the daily stresses trained professionals will detect, it is known that inmates are most stressed at the beginning and end of their sentences. Appropriate assistance will be provided to prisoners at these times.

Another trigger for stress is perceived danger. Even if an inmate is not actually in danger, the fear of danger radically alters behavior. This problem can be substantially decreased with simple design solutions. By creating an environment that is clean, friendly, and conducive to safe and healthy interpersonal interaction, the idea of perceived danger can be almost totally removed from the equation. Just as one knows when entering a restaurant, by the way the room is lit and furnished, whether one needs a jacket and tie and whether to speak in a hushed voice, inmates know upon entering a prison what kind of a place it will be. If the prison has been vandalized and is poorly maintained, full of cold cement, dark steel, and poorly lit, it is immediately clear to an entering prisoner that it is a dangerous place and that one should be on guard. For inmates to whom environments of violence and criminality are the standard, this will be nothing new. These prisoners will simply revert to familiar violent behaviors. They will seek out offenders like themselves and immediately adapt to those behaviors. The Hands to Work Hearts to God design scheme is intended to counter current design trends that implicitly suggest dominance and subjugation, and instead aims to normalize the prison experience. Using basic residential materials, such as wooden doors and furniture, and a soothing color palette in the housing block, and industrial materials as well as wood in the work spaces, the atmosphere can come to closely resemble everyday life. The idea behind this is that the more normalized the environment is, the more likely it is that prisoners will develop “normal” methods of social interaction and behavior. Obviously this idea can only be implemented to the degree that it is safe and effective, but safety and good design are not mutually exclusive concepts. Metal detectors and a series of checkpoints within the normalized environment will help to minimize the potential for violence in each space.

It is part of the human condition to quickly establish safety and to carve out a degree of refuge or home, which can be done almost anywhere. The job of Hands to Work Hearts to God is to define that refuge for the prisoners, and to make the rules and ways of interacting within the space and with other inmates immediately clear. The effects of stress cannot be overestimated. In prison now, the threat of a raid on an inmate’s personal space or the simple movement of furniture in common areas can very easily shake the stability of inmates. So little is theirs, and so little is reliable and stable. The idea of those small constants being altered can be physically painful. Often,
because inmates have no other way of dealing with problems, these subtle changes lead to violence. Maintaining an atmosphere of regularity and reliability, through design and daily routine, is fundamental to the *Hands to Work Hearts to God* system.

Other issues that affect behavior are accessibility to natural light and fresh air. In current American prisons, especially in isolation cells, prisoners have little or no access to either natural light or fresh air. They live in cramped, poorly ventilated cells with small high windows. Availability of fresh air and light is proven to have significant effects on the moods of prisoners and patients in mental health facilities. Similarly, patients in hospitals and nursing home residents often get better more quickly in such environments and also report feeling happier when they have plants in their rooms. While *Hands to Work Hearts to God* has no garden and no grounds that allow for creating a garden, the large windows provide ample natural air and light, and greenery will be included in the space. A double height greenwall will unite the two housing floors and break up the large housing block into smaller sections. Proximity to nature through the greenwall and the views provided by windows will also help to alleviate boredom and stress. Although each cell will have contact with natural light, fresh air and nature, layers of protective material and screen will safely contain the inmate. Each 9x9 private cell block will have two entrances; one that faces a wall of windows and another that faces the greenwall. This duality is borrowed directly from the Shakers. Inmates will have some control over what they want visible because of a customized blind system, in place on both sets of doors and windows, that can be controlled from within and outside of the cell. The two doors will also help facilitate movement and clarify which pathways are safe to walk around. Inmates will learn to move within the space respectfully; most importantly, prisoners will be coming and going from work shifts — safely.

Crowding is also reported as a stressor for inmates, which exacerbates negative behaviors. To plan for optimal results, *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will keep the ratio of staff to inmates between 1:35 and 1:70 and the inmate population between 300 and 400. The prison population will be further divided into work and class groups of no more than 25 prisoners. Establishing these smaller groups will help to foster a sense of close-knit community for the prisoner. At *Hands to Work Hearts to God*, inmates will have individual cells and appropriate square footage for each space. Noise, another stressor, will be addressed with appropriate design and material.

The social dynamics in current prisons are defined by gang subcultures where often the only way to get respect is to prove oneself, often through violence or the threat of violence. This social structure is defined by
masculinity and shows of strength. It is exacerbated by inmates’ being idle and crowded in confined spaces, and having limited interaction with staff and the outside world. In the current system inmates define the social world. They are violent and dangerous, and staff want little to do with them. Staff tend to contain them in spaces and remove themselves from the scene. They rely on technology instead of face-to-face interaction to manage behavior; this only adds power to the criminal subculture. If well-trained staff are safely interacting with them, inmates will feel like human beings, not caged animals. These safely monitored interactions will establish new patterns for the inmates that will carry over to their lives after release. Staff will also be able to monitor growing power dynamics and tension. In some prisons, even those in which open interaction is more widely used, bullying exists in competition over resources like phones and the television. A stronger more aggressive inmate will commandeer one area or dictate what will be watched on television. Limiting open interaction to smaller controlled groups will help diminish this bullying. Also, adding another television or a few phones will help inmates feel that such luxuries are not so scarce and do not need to be fought over. However, idle recreation time will not be a part of *Hands to Work Hearts to God*. Inmates in this system will not have the time or space to develop turf battles that are so problematic in current prisons.

The design of the prison that so powerfully affects the inmates also affects staff. Corrections officers and various prison workers are also locked behind the prison walls. Similar to living in prison, working in one can be an incredibly stressful and often frightening experience. Only a third of prison workers stay in their prison positions longer than a year; the average career in protections rarely lasts longer than ten years. This turnover makes it difficult to establish lasting and meaningful relationships between staff and inmates, which are integral to the *Hands to Work Hearts to God* system.

One solution that addresses the scarcity of prison workers is to assess the needs of both inmates and staff and respond to the feelings of powerlessness that plague both groups. Prisoners often feel totally powerless, something they have probably felt all their lives. Most inmates actually feel that they had no control over becoming involved in criminal activity in the first place-- and that their prison sentence was something that simply happened to them rather than something they could have avoided. *Hands to Work Hearts to God* aims to teach them otherwise. One way to accomplish this goal is to give both inmates and staff a degree of autonomy over their lives. Staff can choose which shifts are most convenient for them, and inmates are allowed to pick among a variety of work
programs and schedules. This helps to give both groups a sense of purpose. It also assists the security program that mirrors that of the Shakers. Those who opt to be in, for example, Group B - detailing, will be moving in the hall between the work (worship) and their rooms at the allotted time for Group B. Those who can interact peacefully will be allowed out one entrance and will walk to the workspace. Those who have trouble behaving nonviolently will use the second entrance. These movements will be monitored and timed so that no violence can occur. The staff members who have chosen to be on duty at that hour will be available to monitor these movements. This will be a ritualized series of movements for inmates; interacting this way will become a habitual aspect of the prison experience.

Prison staff will also have refuge away from the inmates where they can relax and regroup. This space will be designed to best address the needs of weary corrections officers. It will be sound-proofed and light and officers will be provided with telephones and computers so that they are still able to interact with the outside world. They will be able to nap, cook and socialize with other staff. A good, reliable team of corrections officers who genuinely get along will help to make prison operations run more smoothly.
Conclusion

The project outlined here is an immense and complicated undertaking, one that requires thorough
programmatic reformation of many aspects of the current American prison system. Undoubtedly, prisons will always
have the potential for violence and chaos, but these issues can be addressed and amended. The current conditions
demand it. This thesis is not simply about the design of the space or the presumed psychology of the inmates. It is
a total reconfiguration of the many components that make up the penal system. It is based on proven methods of
reform but allows that success does not necessarily equate to the total reformation of all prisoners. Some inmates
will simply behave badly; some will abuse the system. There will always be the possibility of power-hungry or cruel
guards, rude customers, or inmates who refuse to work. But this system will provide the inmates who want a better
life with an avenue for reform and progress. These same resources will also be available to the inmates who choose
to abuse or not take advantage of the system, as well as everyone in between; such a wide range of reactions from
inmates is probable. It is also likely that the reformation methods that work for many will not work for others. It is
unfortunate that no easy solution exists. Yet, as a society, we have no choice but to change. As Friedman has noted,
“For the most part, society depends not on cages and cops but on the inner iron of socialization to keep us in line.
But if inner controls fade and weaken even slightly, then we have to face the bitter truth: socialization as we know it
now cannot cope and contain the emotions that drive people to crime. Or, to be more accurate: it can for most of us,
but not for all. And the uncontainable minority seem to be a growing group”88. The system described here depends
on a lot; it depends on society to do the right thing-- like getting guns off the street, although that is highly unlikely.
Friedman notes, “The appalling number of guns loose in society must shoulder some of the blame—for the murder
rate at least. Real progress in gun control seems politically impossible; some perverse streak in national politics, or
national character, seems to guarantee that nothing can be done”89. Yet even without changes in gun legislation,
progress is possible. It does, however, demand that as Americans, and as a culture, we rise up and reform too. It
is American citizens who kill-- not guns. Both the Swiss and Israelis are heavily armed too, but their societies do not
struggle with the degree of violent crime that we do. We need better structures, inmates who want to reform, staff
who want to reform them, and a society that will embrace them when they are released, and, unfortunately, there
is no way to design for that. What we can hope for is a more manageable crime rate— and this can be attempted through design. We can design a system that sets inmates up for success and reform; and we can hope that our prisoners will work with that system, and that the outside world will too. Regardless of how society or its inmates respond to it, *Hands to Work Hearts to God* will do what a prison is supposed to do— safely contain criminals. At worst, it will keep them locked up, safe from each other and the rest of the community until their sentences have been completed. At best, this system could change the way we think about punishment, reform, work, and the interaction between the contained and the free, and between the offender and the punisher. Change is inevitable; our challenge is to continue to strive for the right kind of change.
3 Friedman, 216.
4 Morris and Rothamn, 178.
6 Morris and Rothamn, 12.
7 Morris and Rothamn, 75.
10 Morris and Rothamn, 234.
11 Morris and Rothamn, 15.
12 Morris and Rothamn, 7.
13 Morris and Rothamn, 8.
14 Morris and Rothamn, 12.
16 Garland, 200.
17 Morris and Rothamn, 229.
19 Alarid, Leanne Fiftal; Paul Cromwell; and Rolando V. Del Carmen. Community-Based Corrections: Edition (California:Thompson Wadsworth, 2005), 211.
20 Morris and Rothamn, 214.
21 Morris and Rothamn, 329.
22 Morris and Rothamn, 215.
24 Morris and Rothamn, 216.
26 Morris and Rothamn, 216.
27 Friedman, 431.
29 Ross, Jeffrey Ian, Ph.D. and Stephen C. Richards, Ph.D. Beyond Bars: Rejoining Society After Prison (Penguin, 2009), 28.
32 Morris and Rothamn, 212.
33 Morris and Rothamn, 222.
34 Gawande, 35.
35 Gawande, 30.
36 Gawande, 36.
37 Mays, 209.
38 Gawande, 39.
39 Gawande, 42.
40 Gawande, 37.
41 Gawande, 39.
43 Gawande, 39.
44 Gawande, 39.
45 Ross and Richards, 88.
50 Burns and Burns, 12.
51 Burns and Burns, 33.
53 Stein, Stephen J., 211.
54 Burns and Burns, 40.
57 Ross and Richards, 75.
59 Finnegan, 215.
60 Finnegan, 217.
62 Finnegan, 217.
71 Ross and Richards, 171.
73 Ross and Richards, 32.
74 Crawford, 17.
75 Crawford, 40.
77 Barkan, 251.
79 Lewis, 21.
80 Santos, 111.
81 Fairweather and McConville, 88.
82 Ross and Richards, 40.
83 Fairweather and McConville, 78.
84 Fairweather and McConville, 82.
85 Fairweather and McConville, 80.
87 Fairweather and McConville, 92.
88 Friedman, 459.
89 Friedman, 461.
Bibliography


SITE: ABANDONED HIGHLAND PARK FORD PLANT
LOCATION: DETROIT MICHIGAN
ARCHITECT: ALBERT KAHN
Movement Study
Implementation of Movement Study

Workspace: Auto Shop & Classrooms

Separate Space: Staff, Visitor Center

Private Space: Housing Block

Common Space: Classrooms, Health Care, Recreation
**Inmate Type & Expectation of Behavior**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inmate Type</th>
<th>First Time Violent Offender</th>
<th>Repeat Violent Offender</th>
<th>Repeat Nonviolent Offender</th>
<th>Drug Offense</th>
<th>Gang Member</th>
<th>Sex Offender</th>
<th>Career Criminal</th>
<th>Psychopath</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Inmate is likely to respond well to system and to abide by rules.

Inmate requires active supervision and guidance but will behave responsibly in most situations when appropriate controls have been addressed.

Inmate requires active supervision and can only participate in some regulated activities when appropriate controls have been addressed.

Under no circumstances can this inmate be expected to behave nonviolently (roughly 5-10% of prison population) or this inmate will be a target of other inmates.

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**Issue That Leads to Violence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solution System</th>
<th>Stress</th>
<th>Thermal Condition</th>
<th>Accessibility to Natural Light</th>
<th>Crowding</th>
<th>Perception of Inadequate Resources</th>
<th>Social Environment Where Survival Depends on Display of Strength</th>
<th>Gang Culture</th>
<th>Lack of Interaction Between Inmate &amp; Staff</th>
<th>Lack of Privacy</th>
<th>Lack of Control/Deprivation</th>
<th>Community Over Resources</th>
<th>Reincarceration</th>
<th>Peer/Staff Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Schematics I**

- **Accessibility to Tools**
- **Social Interaction**
- **Residential Set-Up**

**Issue that leads to Violence**

**Solution System**

- **Stress**
- **Thermal Condition**
- **Accessibility to Natural Light**
- **Crowding**
- **Perception of Inadequate Resources**
- **Social Environment Where Survival Depends on Display of Strength**
- **Gang Culture**
- **Lack of Interaction Between Inmate & Staff**
- **Lack of Privacy**
- **Lack of Control/Deprivation**
- **Community Over Resources**
- **Reincarceration**

**Physical Environment**

**Organizational Issue**

**Social Environment**

 Effects entire system (most important in terms of curbing aggression)
### Schematics 2

#### Relationship between Space & Violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recreation Space</th>
<th>Work Space</th>
<th>Kitchen/Dining</th>
<th>Housing Block</th>
<th>Bathroom Facilities</th>
<th>Sacred Space</th>
<th>Visitor Center</th>
<th>Gate House/Guarded Entry</th>
<th>Segregation Space</th>
<th>Prison Library</th>
<th>Class Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issue or Potential Problem</strong></td>
<td><strong>Design Solution</strong></td>
<td><strong>Type of Supervision</strong></td>
<td><strong>Space Demarcation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sake of bullying, prison gangs, activity, violence</td>
<td>Open yard replaces small activity areas</td>
<td>Direct activity &amp; Direct</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate anger, weapons, territorial issues</td>
<td>Closed points, small groups</td>
<td>Direct &amp; Direct</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate loss of dignity, appropriation at work supervised</td>
<td>Optional space living with single cell living (within group)</td>
<td>Direct &amp; Direct</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence against medical staff</td>
<td>2-checks for communications &amp; meetings</td>
<td>Direct &amp; Direct (inactive)</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No privacy for inmates</td>
<td>2-checks for communication &amp; meetings</td>
<td>Direct &amp; Direct</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoking, drugs, smuggling</td>
<td>Scheduling for communications &amp; meetings</td>
<td>Direct (active)</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate space</td>
<td>Scheduling (within space)</td>
<td>Direct (active)</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td>Scheduling (within space)</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Space Demarcation:</em> Indoor pathways filled with barriers and doors</td>
<td>Semi-Enclosed</td>
<td>Enclosed</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Schematics & Space Planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Space</th>
<th>Recreation Space</th>
<th>Work Space</th>
<th>Kitchen/Dining</th>
<th>Housing Block</th>
<th>Bathroom Facilities</th>
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<th>Prison Library</th>
<th>Class Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Square Footage</strong></td>
<td>40,500</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Requirement of space:**

- **Access to Fresh Air:**
  - Roughly 600 inmates
- **Access to Light** (natural & artificial):
  - Roughly 600 inmates
- **Access to Security:**
  - Roughly 600 inmates

**Notes:**

- 70 square feet per inmate (Between 35-50 doable but not optimal)
- 29 square feet per violent inmate
- 5-10% inmate population - unreformable

**Total Square Footage:**

- 252,000
Conceptual Sketches
ORDER

"IT IS SAID THAT NO ONE TRULY KNOWS A NATION UNTIL ONE HAS BEEN INSIDE ITS JAILS. A NATION SHOULD NOT BE JUDGED BY HOW IT TREATS ITS HIGHEST CITIZENS, BUT ITS LOWEST ONES" - NELSON MANDELA
"The most important single ingredient in the formula for success is knowing how to get along with people" - Teddy Roosevelt

"All labor that uplifts humanity has dignity and importance and should be undertaken with painstaking excellence" - Martin Luther King Jr.

Work as Worship
“When will our consciences grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?” - Eleanor Roosevelt