ARCHIWUM KRYMINOLOGII
Archives of Criminology

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The translation of humanity into prison design: How do the new, standardised "Model 2015" prison buildings meet normative demands in Norwegian crime policy?

Przełożenie zasad humanitaryzmu na projektowanie więzień. Jak nowe, wystandaryzowane zgodnie z „Modelem 2015", budynki więzienne spełniają normatywne wymogi norweskiej polityki karnej?

Abstract: Prison architecture reflects the ideas and values of a penal policy, providing insights into punishment philosophies. In Norway, normalisation, resettlement and dynamic security norms have shaped correctional care. Based on a mixed method study, this article examines how these norms are translated into "Model 2015" prisons. Despite spaces for positive prisoner relationships, the design faces challenges in escaping pervasive systems of control and discipline. Architectural boundaries obstruct dynamic security and impede the staff's involvement in resettlement. Inadequate facilities for prisoner progression and daytime activities further undermines these processes. While some architectural and technological initiatives aimed at normalising prison life have proved successful, they tend to normalise not only the prison environment, but also the prisoners. The study demonstrates architecture's critical role in realising humane prison conditions and emphasises the need for humane design.

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Abstrakt: Architektura więzienna odzwierciedla idee i wartości polityki karnej, dostarczając wglądu w filozofie kary. W Norwegii normy normalizacji, resocjalizacji i dynamicznego bezpieczeństwa kształtują opiekę karną. Niniejszy artykuł opiera się na metodologii mieszanej i zawiera analizę, jak wspomniane normy, są przekładane na więzienia typu „Model 2015". Pomimo przestrzeni sprzyjających pozytywnym relacjom między więźniami, model nie pozwala uniknąć wszechobecnych systemów kontroli i dyscypliny. Ograniczenia architektoniczne utrudniają praktykę dynamicznego bezpieczeństwa oraz zaangażowanie personelu w procesy resocjalizacji. Niewłaściwe warunki dla postępu więźniów i aktywności dziennej dodatkowo osłabiają te procesy. Niektóre architektoniczne i technologiczne inicjatywy mające na celu normalizację życia więziennego okazały się skuteczne, przy czym normalizują one nie tylko środowisko więzienne, ale także samych więźniów. Artykuł ukazuje kluczową rolę architektury w zapewnieniu humanitarnych warunków więziennych.

Słowa kluczowe: architektura więzienia, jakość życia w więzieniu, normalizacja, resocjalizacja, bezpieczeństwo dynamiczne, humanitarność, metody mieszane

Introduction

Over the span of five years, from 2016 to 2020, Norway witnessed a substantial growth in high-security prison bed capacity. This notable increase may be attributed to 1) the need to replace old prisons where the maintenance of the buildings had been neglected for years and 2) efforts to get rid of the "prison queue", i.e., the waiting list to enter a prison and serve one's prison sentence (Meld. St. 12 2014–2015). A standardised design of what is known as "rapidly built prisons" (Jewkes 2018) was developed by the initiative of the Conservative–Progress Party coalition governments (2013–2017 and 2017–2021). The position of Minister of Justice was held by members of the Progress Party (the most conservative and populistic political party in Norway) during most of the government's rule, and one of their election promises was to get rid of the "prison queue". While the prison queue has been presented as a symbol of a humane criminal policy, because people have time to plan their lives before going to prison and because prisons are never overcrowded (e.g. Pratt 2008a; 2008b; 2022; cf. Laursen, Mjåland, Crewe 2020), the Progress Party wanted to get rid of the queue as a part of their politics of "getting tough on crime" (Todd-Kvam 2019).

The standardised prison design, finalised in 2015 and known as "Model 2015" (M2015), comprises 96 beds. Over the course of a five-year period, five M2015 blocks were built to house adult men. The model features a four-pointed star-shaped block with three floors separated from each other, both at the wings and in the central component of the building. The wings are divided into eight units of 12 cells on the first and second floor. Workshops and the school are located on the ground floor. The design yields several benefits, according to the guideline for

implementing it, such as increased efficiency in the planning and construction of prisons, leading to cost and time savings. Moreover, it would enhance the cost-effectiveness of prison operations and create well-functioning prisons that maintain high quality at a low cost (Agder Fengsel n.d.). Notably, the building processes based on this design have consistently proved to be both cheaper and faster than initial estimates (see e.g., Oslo Economics 2023).

Architecturally, the M2015 may be interpreted as a "typical repressive, old[-fashioned] prison" (Moran, Jewkes 2014: 351), embodying the principle of "form follows function" (Möystad 2018: 44). The design of the M2015 has faced criticism from Norwegian scholars, with Yngve Hammerlin (2021) arguing that the emphasis has been placed more on austerity, cost efficiency and predictable planning and engineering processes, rather than prioritising the well-being and experiences of prisoners. According to Inger Marie Fridhov and Linda Grøning (2018: 284),

> In model 2015 profoundly ideological considerations seems to be, in a large extent, absent. Except for security considerations, it is difficult to find deeper reflections about how a prison should be constructed in order to satisfy legal requirements regarding rehabilitation and satisfactory conditions for the inmates. It seems unclear how these important principles should be realized architecturally.

Hedda Giertsen (2021: 164) follows up this critique writing: "for the first time since 1850, ideas on prison policy are absent in public documents, while the building and operations of prisons are presented as the main objectives."

Despite the criticism of M2015 for its lack of penal ideology and emphasis on cost efficiency and streamlined construction and operation, the Norwegian crime policy continues to prioritise humane prison conditions, guided by norms such as normalisation, resettlement and dynamic security (Meld. St. 12 2014–2015; cf. St.meld.nr 37 2007–2008).[1] Norwegian prison conditions are considered as exceptionally humane, especially in comparison with Anglo-American prisons (Pratt 2008a; 2008b; 2022; Pratt, Eriksson 2013), but this has been disputed – especially by Nordic scholars (e.g. Barker 2012; Ugelvik, Dullum 2012; Shammas 2014; Smith, Ugelvik 2017; Crewe et al. 2023). Even if the prison conditions described in this article can be understood as exceptional compared with those in other countries, we will follow the Nordic tradition of critical penological research.

The article presents a study on how the concept of humanity translates into the physical design of the M2015 prisons. The study was inspired by Ferdinando Terranova (2018: 288), who uses the concept of "designers' ethics", writing that "the task of architects is to translate concepts such as humanisation, dignity and solidarity into the architectural project; to find how to transfer the principles of European constitutions into the physical structures where sentences are meant to be served". Through a mixed-methods approach, we have empirically studied the prisoners' quality of life in three prisons built according to the M2015 design

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[1]   These norms also constitute central aspects of soft law, such as the European Prison Rules and the Mandela Rules.

– Eidsberg, Mandal and Froland[2] – investigating the influence of architecture and design on prison life.[3] This article explores how the M2015 aligns with the norms of normalisation, resettlement and dynamic security.

The article is structured as follows. First, we give a brief introduction to theory and the ideology of prison architecture throughout history in Norway. Then, we give a description of the M2015 prisons. Thereafter, we present our methodological approach, before presenting and analysing the data. Finally, we discuss the findings in the context of normalisation, resettlement and dynamic security, and conclude.

1. Ideology and theory

A brief review of history shows that Oslo prison, Norway's first cell prison was established in 1851, constructed following the Philadelphia model that features a central hall and radial prison wings. The design drew inspiration from the panoptic model, an institutional design with an inbuilt system of control and discipline, in which prisoners were divided, separated, isolated and monitored without any knowledge of when they were being observed (Bentham 1995; see also Foucault 1979). At the time, the panoptic idea, centred around repentance and spiritual reconciliation achieved through solitude and isolation, was considered a humane penal approach. Throughout the 1860s several smaller prisons (less than 50 beds) were built, mostly consisting of a single wing. They all followed the principle of solitude and isolation, but as the detrimental effects of isolation became apparent, alternative designs, including socialisation areas for the prisoners, began to replace the panoptic concept.

Along with the development of the welfare state (see especially Pratt 2008a; 2022; Pratt, Eriksson 2013; Smith, Ugelvik 2017), Ullersmo – known as the "industrial prison" – was built in 1970 with a focus on *resettlement* and social integration as its central principles, that is, supporting prisoners in leading law-abiding lives upon their release. Emphasising the importance of work, the prison incorporated large workshops, while also featuring an open department. The aim was to provide educational work opportunities that closely resembled ordinary working life.

In 1990 Bergen prison was opened, its design not only incorporating work and social integration, but also prioritising dignity and civil rights. Even if "dynamic security" was not a direct objective in the design of Norwegian adult prisons, the lack of guardrooms for the prison officers in units of this prison foster social interaction between staff and prisoners. Dynamic security is about relationships and the proactive impact of creating good relationships based on respect and trust

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[2] Another M2015 block has been built to expand the capacity at Ullersmo prison, while a fifth is under construction there to expand the capacity even further.

[3] The main descriptive results from this study have been published in a Norwegian-language report (Johnsen et al. 2023).

(Normann 2022; Kilmer, Abdel-Salam, Silver 2023), and exercising this kind of "soft power" (Crewe 2011) is central in the professional role of a Norwegian prison officer (Pratt, Eriksson 2013; Kikas et al. 2021). In a Norwegian context, the concept includes an overall understanding of relationships in a prison, including the relationships between prisoners. In building Bergen prison, the concept of progression also emerged as a central tenet, where good behaviour would be rewarded with benefits such as leaves and finishing one's sentence in an open unit just outside the prison.

Humane prison conditions, emphasising normality, were pursued in the construction of Halden prison. This prison, together with Bastøy prisons – "the prison island" – have become the material expressions of what has come to be understood as an exceptional humane prison system (Pratt 2013; Johnsen 2018; Moore 2020). Opened in 2010, the key focus was on creating an environment that fostered "normalisation", on making prison life resemble life outside prison (Engbo 2017; De Vos 2023). This objective is reflected in the architectural design by the physical separation of the living units and the workshops/school facilities. Prisoners leave the living units in the morning for work and return in the afternoon, resembling a typical day-to-day routine. Aesthetic considerations also play a significant role in the design, with attention paid to factors such as lighting, outdoor areas, art and materials. Despite being a high-security prison, but one with an open unit right outside its gates, Halden prison is often characterised as the world's most humane prison (cf. Jewkes 2022; Abdel-Salam, Kilmer 2023), and according to John Pratt and Anna Eriksson (2013: 2),

> the investment in what is acclaimed as humane prison design in Norway is celebrated by prison management, staff, and the highest state authorities. All the usual indicators of prison existence have been variously camouflaged, hidden or removed. No expenses have been spared, it seems, to make this prison look 'as much like the outside world as possible'.

With a capacity of 227 beds, Halden prison is classified as a large prison in Norway. While small in an Anglo-American context, and in this regard exceptional (Pratt, Eriksson 2013), the fact is that in addition to expanding prison capacity, the opening of Halden prison replaced mostly small, "old fashioned" and worn-out prisons where maintenance had been neglected for decades. This is also the case with the building of the M2015 prisons.

2. M2015 prisons – location, size, architecture and design

As with Halden prison, Froland and Mandal prisons are located in the outskirts of cities (Arendal and Mandal, respectively), on sites dominated by commercial enterprises. Eidsberg prison is located in a residential area of Mysen. The relatively

central location of Eidsberg is most likely due to the M2015 block being built on the site of an existing small prison. Eidsberg and Mandal consist of one M2015 block each, with capacities of 100 and 102 beds, respectively. Additional wings, featuring four beds in Mandal and six beds in Eidsberg, are specifically designed for vulnerable prisoners. Froland prison has two M2015 blocks, jointly providing a total capacity of 200 beds, including an eight-bed wing for vulnerable prisoners.

In the central component of the M2015 four-pointed star-shaped block, there is a guardroom on each floor in a barycentric position, which is separated from the units. Outside the guardroom there is a hall, which the officers must traverse to reach the units. However, the units are visible to the officers through glass windows, which surround the whole guardroom and the part of the units closest to the hall. Officers also maintain control over the units through video feeds transmitted to computers from cameras installed in various areas. The guardrooms on different floors are connected by an internal staircase, facilitating communication and movement between them.

**Figure 1.** Illustration of second/third floor in M2015 with central component
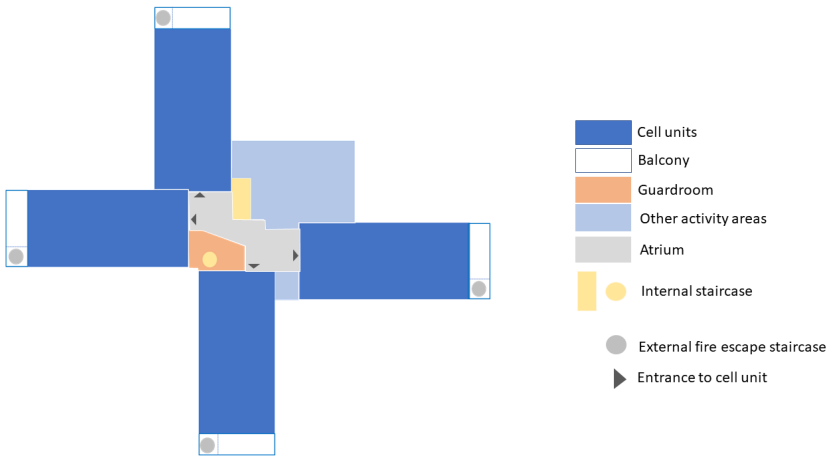
Source: Statsbygg and the Norwegian Correctional Service plan, Francesca Giofrè.

All units include a kitchen, a dining area and a common area with a sitting arrangement of couches closest to the hall and the guardroom. The cells are situated in a corridor that spans the entire unit, with six cells on each side. At the end of the corridor is a balcony with a fire escape staircase in a closed section. Most cells are designed for single occupancy, although a few may be used as double cells. Each cell has a bathroom. Additionally, each cell is equipped with shelves, bed, desk, notice board, television set, chair, fridge and a telephone panel. The windows in the cells, as well as throughout the prison, do not have bars. The windows cannot be opened, but each cell has a valve beside the window to allow fresh air in and

a movable curtain. The interior is inspired by "Scandinavian design", using light wood materials and light colours. However, to create contrast, other colours such as deep green and blue are also used.

Figure 2. Illustration of a wing second/third floor and central component
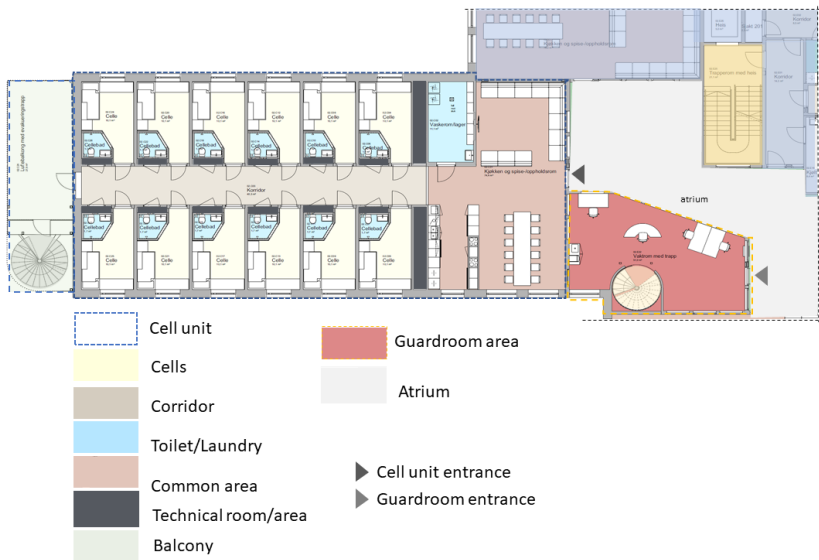
Source: Statsbygg, Correctional Service.

During the construction of Mandal and Froland, a project to digitise some of the services for prisoners was undertaken, and certain parts of the project were operational. Computer screens (labelled "blue-boxes" by prisoners and staff) were installed in the corridors outside the units and the school facilities/workshops, so the prisoners can request appointments with medical staff, for example, and can read the responses electronically.

Photo 1. Computer screens

Source: Author's private collection.

The visiting rooms, special units for vulnerable prisoners, the gym and the library are not located in the M2015 block, but in other buildings within the prison complex. In Mandal and Froland, the grocery shop and the religious room are also situated in separate buildings. Mandal and Froland also have large, green outdoor exercise yards.

Photo 2. The yard at Mandal

Source: Author's private collection.

3. Methods

The mixed-method approach involved a rapid, site-switching ethnography (Armstrong, Lowndes 2018; Pink, Morgan 2014), team ethnography (Erickson, Strull 1998; Liebling et al. 2021b) and survey research. An interdisciplinary team (penologist, anthropologist, sociologist, psychologist and architect) conducted a series of intense ethnographic fieldwork visits (2–3 days) in each of the three prisons in August/September 2022. This enabled data collection in a short period while leaving enough time to investigate the local contexts and acquire enough knowledge to compare the three prisons. Information about the study was distributed to the prisoners before we arrived. The quantitative and qualitative data were collected simultaneously, but analysed separately and independently (Creswell, Clark 2018). All data were anonymised.

3.1. Qualitative data

Upon our arrival at the prisons, we received access cards, which granted us relatively unrestricted movement within the facilities. This enabled us to interact with prisoners and staff members, who willingly shared their experiences of the buildings and various spaces within the prisons. These "field conversations"

provided important insights since they were less structured around a set agenda and instead emerged from incidents or ongoing situations. We responded quickly to invitations to participate in various activities, such as preparing and/or eating meals or playing ping-pong or bingo. We were especially inspired by the concept of "walking interviews", as it reduces the power imbalances by facilitating conversations/interviews while walking or engaging in shared activities (Kinney 2022; Kusenbach 2003; Clark, Emmel 2010). This approach encouraged spontaneous dialogues and provided a deeper understanding of participants' routines and their immediate reflections. Additionally, it offered an opportunity to observe other activities and interactions among participants (Carpiano 2009; Kinney 2022). In total, over 180 hours of fieldwork were conducted across the three prisons. We had conversations/interviews with around 80 prisoners (in Norwegian, English, Polish and Italian) and 30 staff members.

The field notes were written throughout and somewhat after the fieldwork. They included "close, detailed reports of interaction" and "records of actual words, phrases or dialogue" (Emerson, Fretz, Shaw 1995: 14, 32), as well as notes from conversations/interviews. The first stage of analysis took place simultaneously with the data collection, as we stayed together throughout the whole fieldwork period. We discussed observations and findings continuously at meeting points inside the prison and over meals and recreational walks outside the prison (Erickson, Strull 1998; Liebling et al. 2021a; 2021b). The second stage of analysis was conducted by thematic coding.

3.2. Quantitative data

We collected survey data by means of paper-and-pencil questionnaires that included the *Prison Climate Questionnaire* (PCQ) (Bosma et al. 2020).[4] The study population comprised all prisoners residing in the M2015 block across the three prisons; the study group included the 181 (62%) prisoners who responded. The bulk of the respondents had solid knowledge about life in prison based on experience: 59% had been imprisoned previously, 69% had been imprisoned more than a year in their life and 52% had spent more than six months in the prison at which they were currently incarcerated. Due to a lack of data, attrition analysis could not be conducted. However, it is likely that the non-responders had poorer perceived quality of life than those who participated, which should be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

The PCQ items are formulated as statements that the respondents are asked to evaluate on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Drawing on Anouk Bosma and colleagues (2020), we constructed six dimensions by adding up and averaging the responses to items that captured the prisoners' relationship with other prisoners (e.g. "The prisoners here help and support each other"), their relationship with the staff (e.g. "The staff members in this unit are kind to me"), independence (e.g. "There is much I can decide for myself here"), reintegration

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[4] Permission to use the PCQ was obtained from its creators.

(e.g. "In this institution, I can prepare well for my return to society"), activities (e.g. "I am satisfied with the work") and visits (e.g. "The visiting rooms in this institution are pleasant"). The dimensions included 4–8 items each and their internal consistency was high (Cronbach's alpha ≥ 0.80).

We also assessed how strongly the prisoners felt the burden of punishment in different spaces in the prison. Again, the response scale ranged from 1 (very much) to 5 (not at all). The prisoners in two prisons (Froland and Mandal) bought and prepared their own food, and we assessed the extent to which they were satisfied with this self-catering arrangement (scale: 1–5).

All variables are coded such that the higher the scores, the more positive the evaluation. We report descriptive statistics, including the percentage whose scores on the PCQ dimensions indicated a predominately negative evaluation (scores below 2.5) and the percentage with a predominately positive evaluation (scores above 3.5).

4. Results, observations and analysis

4.1. The PCQ dimensions – an overview

As displayed in Table 1, the total score capturing the relationship with co-prisoners had the highest mean value (3.8), followed by the relationship with the staff, the activities in the prison and receiving visitors (mean: 3.2). The evaluations of issues related to independence and measures aimed at facilitating reintegration were both moderately negative (mean: 2.9 and 2.7, respectively). The percentages with a predominately positive evaluation and a predominately negative evaluation varied accordingly. Only one fourth (26%) of the respondents had high scores (>3.5) on the reintegration dimension, and a similar proportion (24%) perceived the level of independence as satisfying. The percentages of prisoners expressing dissatisfaction (score < 2.5) were 38% and 31%, respectively. In contrast, three in four (74%) expressed that they got on well with other prisoners, whereas only 6% did not.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the prisoners' scores on the PCQ measures

	Mean score[1] (SD)	Positive evaluation[2]	Negative evaluation[3]	n
Relationship with fellow prisoners	3.8 (0.8)	74.4	6.4	172
Relationship with the staff	3.2 (1.0)	39.0	22.8	164
Reintegration	2.7 (1.1)	25.8	37.7	164
Activities	3.2 (0.9)	36.6	24.7	159

Independence	2.9 (1.0)	24.6	31.0	171
Visits	3.2 (0.8)	36.0	12.5	150

[1] Scale: 1 (i.e. negative evaluation) – 5 (i.e. positive evaluation)

[2] Percentage with scores >3.5

[3] Percentage with scores <2.5

Source: Own elaboration.

The qualitative data provide insights into many other aspects of life in the M2015 prisons than those captured by the survey. Our fieldwork also adds context and meaning to the survey results. Thus, we elaborate on the findings in Table 1 in the further sections and the discussion of the qualitative data. We also report on how the participants responded to a few particular questions in the survey.

4.2. Space and relationships between the prisoners

The architectural layout of the units in a M2015 block appears to facilitate social interaction and friendship among the prisoners. The living room with the integrated kitchen area allows the prisoners to share meals, watch TV together and participate in indoor activities (e.g. chess and card games). The spacious balcony also serves as an important gathering space. This may be part of why a solid majority (74%) evaluated their relationship with fellow prisoners positively (Table 1). These results align with our observations, as we witnessed prisoners socialising in these common areas, aiding and supporting one another. However, we also encountered prisoners who experienced exclusion and difficulties in forming connections, though very few (6%) survey participants had a predominately negative evaluation of their relationships with co-prisoners.

Upon arrival at an M2015 prison, prisoners are assigned to a reception unit, where they stay before being transferred to other units. The officers decide on the placement, taking into consideration available cells and their assessment of the prisoners; they try to compose units where individuals are likely to get on well with each other. Prisoners who were not functioning well were often placed in their own unit. Staff members said this could be because they did not meet the hygienic standards. A certain standard is required because of the self-catering system, but we also observed that these standards were influenced by the prisoners' own expectations.

Officers also decide who is the "unit-runner" (*gang-gutt*), that is, the prisoner in charge on the unit. Particularly in Mandal and Froland, these prisoners played an important role, including taking care of other prisoners. This was partly due to the self-catering system, where they helped other prisoners buy and make food, but also because the officers in these prisons maintained a somewhat "hands-off" approach. For example, in Mandal, when we asked officers how prisoners convicted

of sexual crimes were accepted and included in the "prisoner society", the most common response was, "It'll be OK, just give it some time and they'll work it out". This indicates that the officers relied quite heavily on the prisoners themselves to establish and negotiate norms and rules for social interaction among them (cf. Album 1996), and their advice to prisoners who struggled for acceptance was to stay where they were, be patient and give it time.

Eidsberg prison, which houses a significant number of young gang members, faced specific challenges. The staff explained that they had to keep members of different gangs separated to prevent fights from breaking out when encountering each other. The logistics of composing units and moving prisoners around without their paths crossing was demanding. Due to the officers' involvement in managing prisoners' movements and the vigilance displayed by both prisoners and officers in maintaining the separation regime, we observed a generally more tense atmosphere in Eidsberg compared to Mandal and Froland. The material as well as immaterial borders represented potential conflict lines, and in the confined space of Eidsberg these lines were plentiful. Even the outdoor yard was divided by a fence, allowing prisoners belonging to different gangs to be outside simultaneously on either side of the fence. In this way, the prison design highlighted the conflicts between prisoners, focussed on separation and gave little encouragement to friendly coexistence.

The yard in Eidsberg contrasted with the large, green yards in Froland and Mandal. According to one officer in Froland, "this yard does something with the prisoners". Dominique Moran (2019) and Dominique Moran and colleagues (2019, 2023) have documented the relationship between green spaces and well-being in prison, but we found that the size of the yard also has an impact. When prisoners want to avoid conflicts by maintaining distance from one another, a spacious and open design can be beneficial. One prisoner articulated this perspective by stating, "It's nice to have such a large space. Then you can avoid those you don't want to meet. If they're on one side of the yard, I can just go to the other side" (see also Liebling et al. 2021a; Giertsen 2021).

4.3. Relationships between prisoners and staff

The prisoners evaluated their relationship with staff far less positively than their relationship with each other, but a significant minority (39%) reported that it was good (Table 1). A smaller proportion (23%) had a negative evaluation of this relationship. One factor hindering the development of an organic relationship between prisoners and staff was the placement of the guardroom.

The guardroom was designed to eliminate the need for officers to be physically present on the units to maintain visual control. In addition to windows, the guardroom is equipped with a console displaying images from cameras on the units. However, relying solely on cameras poses limitations. The cameras react to events after they have occurred, meaning that important cues may be missed. One officer highlighted the limitation by emphasising that "we don't hear anything".

This reliance on cameras restricts officers from utilising their senses to pick up on important cues, such as changes in atmosphere, tone of voice or the content of conversations. Multiple officers expressed that cameras fail to capture every aspect of an interaction or incident. "It can be too late when we see things on the screen", remarked one officer.

The officers referred to the guardroom as the "guard box", reflecting on its lack of flexibility, limited space and enclosed nature. We observed staff spending a significant amount of time inside the guardroom interacting with each other rather than the prisoners. The officers themselves acknowledged this and stated that the design clearly separates a "staff area" from a "prisoner area". This physical division created a higher threshold for prisoners to approach the staff and reinforced the sense of distance between them. Consequently, the physical layout became a social barrier.

Some officers expressed their dissatisfaction with this design, emphasising how it disrupted workflow and created sharp divisions between the two groups. Referring to the architectural aspect, one officer claimed it "could have been done 100% better". The multiple doors separating them from the units and other parts of the building are impractical and lead to unnecessary logistical challenges, especially when combined with understaffing. Navigating through these doors consumed a significant amount of time and energy.

Paradoxically, while the staff are very close at hand and visible from the units through glass walls in Mandal and Froland (in Eidsberg, the windows are covered with a brown film), they are not accessible for direct communication. Prisoners commented on this visibility, often perceiving officers as "doing nothing" when they were observed inside the guardroom engaged in paperwork or conversation: "Look, look, what are they doing? Talking to each other and not working", "just sitting together in there". The visibility allowed for heightened monitoring and an extreme focus on the officers' use of time, which often caused misunderstandings over interpretations of how officers actually spent their time.

The intercom as the sole way for prisoners to get in touch with the officers, apart from body language visible through the glass, intensified the perceptions of the officers' inaccessibility. Sometimes, prisoners could not reach their designated officer because the officer was occupied with another task and unable to respond immediately. In combination with other officers being present and highly visible in the guardroom just a few centimetres away, the prisoners perceived the intercom as unnecessary, dehumanising and causing a sense of distance. Many prisoners resorted to knocking on the glass for communication, which disrupted the expected silence of the guardroom. The officers perceived the continual noise of knocking and the buzzing intercom as out of place (Douglas 1966), disturbing their workflow and the expectation that the room is "theirs". The liminal (Turner 1969; van Gennep 2019) nature of the guardroom, simultaneously perceived as belonging to both the officers and the prisoners while truly belonging to neither, undermined the relationship between them.

The architectural layout that discourages staff–prisoner interaction complicated the establishment of mutual respect between the two groups: "To have respect, I need to be inside [the unit] and talk to people. And it goes both ways" (officer). The distance between staff and prisoners seemed significant, and while several prisoners desired more contact, they were also sceptical towards the officers. According to one officer, "I want to be there [on the unit], but they [the prisoners] don't want me there". The limited facilitation for contact exacerbated the challenge of making meaningful connections: "When you are rarely present on the units, it becomes harder to be there. It's a vicious cycle" (officer). The lack of physical presence by staff members on the units created a sense of communication breakdown, making interactions a disruption. The emphasis on physical boundaries were translated into relational boundaries, limiting the development of organic and less exhausting interactions and conversations. The lack of staff presence on the units also affected the resettlement work and resettlement measures. The high threshold for staff to be physically present on the units hampered their involvement in these efforts, contributing to prisoners' poor evaluation of reintegration measures (Table 1).

4.4. Spaces for resettlement and activities

The prisoners' evaluation of the reintegration efforts was not encouraging (Table 1), as indicated by the low mean score on the PCQ dimension (2.7) and the high proportion (38%) who expressed dissatisfaction. We encountered both prisoners and staff who were deeply disappointed by the inadequate provision of rehabilitative activities and follow-up support for prisoners, primarily due to cost-saving measures.

However, some limitations in the availability of daytime activities were also attributed to the architecture. In Froland and Mandal, both staff and prisoners expressed the need for open units, emphasising how crucial they were for motivation and progress in the resettlement process, as the prospect of being transferred to less stricter regimes served as an incentive. The only possibility for progression within the prisons was moving from the second to the third floor in the M2015 block when prisoners became employed or were enrolled in educational programmes.

In addition, cost-saving measures have reduced the number of workshop staff members and thereby decreased the possibilities for well-planned and pedagogic activities. Moreover, the combination of limited workshop staff and impractical design limits the number of prisoners in the workshop:

> We move on to the carpentry. Here [staff member] tells us that the space is very narrow. Because there is a lot of machinery installed in the room, there cannot be many in there. If a person moves around with a plank and turns, he might push someone standing beside one of the machines. If this person loses his balance and falls over the machinery, he might hurt himself. They must therefore be careful. (fieldnotes)

When prisoners could not attend work, the staff would call upon other prisoners to take their place so as to maximise the utilisation of the available capacity.

Most often, even if a prisoner received the offer while still in bed in the morning, they would usually respond promptly. We met several prisoners who wanted to work but were unable to do so because of a lack of employment opportunities. Consequently, when not at work, the prisoners were locked up in their cells during the daytime. The questionnaire revealed that 66% of the prisoners in Eidsberg spent the majority of the day locked up against their will.

The primary function of a cell is to separate and isolate individuals, representing "the monolithic values of the prison" (Turner, Knight 2020: 7). It symbolises penalty (Foucault 1979) and is recognised as the most intimate and private space within the prison environment; it is here where the prisoner rests, sleeps, eats and is alone with their thoughts (Gramsci 2011). The survey shows that the cell was where the prisoners felt the burden of punishment most intensely, as reflected in the mean score of 2.4. When confined to their cells, 38% felt this burden "very much". In contrast, the percentages were lower for other areas such as the unit, yard, visiting rooms, library, religious room, gym and workshops/school, ranging from 6% (visiting facilities) to 11% (the wing).

Despite the staff and prisoners' concerns related to employment, the PCQ dimension "Activities" received a slightly positive mean score of 3.2 (Table 1). This dimension included the prisoners' evaluation of employment, indicating a fairly high level of satisfaction (mean: 3.5). Qualitative data suggests that prisoners are content with the quality of the employment activities provided, but express dissatisfaction with the limited extent of these activities. On the other hand, the prisoners were least satisfied with the opportunities for leisure activities, despite the presence of well-equipped facilities, particularly in Froland and Mandal. This dissatisfaction can be attributed to the "TimeSpace" regime (Moran 2015), which imposes strict schedules on prisoners, limiting their time in the gym or yards for leisure activities. In Mandal and Froland, the prisoners could only spend 1–1 ½ hours in the yards every day. The large, green yards in these prisons are therefore mostly "a pleasure for the eye".

4.5. Level of independence

Table 1 showed that the mean score on the PCQ dimension "Independence" was in the mid-range (2.9), and that the proportion reporting a low level of perceived autonomy was slightly higher (31%) than the proportion reporting a low level (25%). This PCQ dimension included an item about freedom of movement, and the results show that a sizable minority (44%) were dissatisfied (scores of 1 or 2) with this aspect of prison life. As the M2015 prisons are high-security facilities, a strict "TimeSpace" regime is implemented to regulate the prisoners' movements throughout the day (Johnsen 2023).

Prisoners' movements between separate spaces in the prison were accompanied or supervised by staff. While some spaces had fixed borders that prisoners could not cross without permission (e.g. leaving the unit), other borders were more

fluid, allowing spaces to overlap. For example, during designated socialising time, prisoners freely moved between their cells and the communal areas within the units, illustrating that the prison cell was both open and locked, connected and disconnected (Fransson, Giofrè 2020).

The digitalisation of Froland and Mandal aims to enhance prisoners' independence and participation by facilitating the use of technology, including communication with external public services. This "technology of independence" enables prisoners to communicate with, for example, health staff without needing the assistance of officers to forward messages. This streamlines the officers' use of time and eliminates their need for involvement in the prisoners' health-related matters. It also protects prisoners' privacy and simplifies the health staff's adherence to professional confidentiality. However, in consequence, the informal conversations between officers and prisoners during requests for services, including the opportunity to solve various emergent problems right away, have disappeared: "The small talk is gone" (officer), "The emotional contact isn't there. I miss it. I don't need them to know everything, of course, that's between me and my doctor, but now there is no contact. We are emotional beings, we are humans. I miss it, this is challenging" (prisoner).

While the computer screens, or "blue boxes", have increased prisoners' independence in requesting services, the placement of the guardroom has made them more reliant on staff to fulfil various other tasks, referred to as "hotel functions" (Crewe 2011). To obtain their medication, prisoners had to call upon staff to either bring the medication to them or to allow them out into the hall to receive it. The same procedure was repeated when prisoners needed goods such as yeast or sugar, which could not be stored on the units but were kept in the guardrooms. Officers frequently moved between the units and the guardrooms, providing prisoners with these goods and emphasising their role in fulfilling these tasks.

4.6. Physical and digital visiting rooms

In Norwegian prisons, prisoners receive visitors in separate facilities where they can have privacy. Conjugal visits are allowed. The visiting areas in all three prisons are located outside the M2015 block, but still inside the prison complex and situated near the main entrance. This pragmatic arrangement allows prisoners to receive visitors without moving beyond the prison's security measures, while visitors can enter the prison without venturing deep into it.

Dominique Moran (2011) describes visiting areas in prisons as liminal spaces, albeit temporarily, as prisoners move in and out of these spaces. Here, the prison's outside and inside worlds become blurred as visitors, representing the outside world, enter the prison. In these spaces the prisoners construct situated temporal identities (Muedeking 1992), as they become husbands/partners, sons, fathers or friends (Johnsen 2023), allowing them to escape their identity as a prisoner for a while. Positive emotions, such as love and tenderness, may also be displayed in these spaces (Crewe et al. 2014). This could explain why a minority (28%) of the

participants reported they felt burdened "very much" or "much" by the punishment when in the visiting rooms.

Several prisoners had digital visits with their families and friends. These digital visits were implemented as a response to the COVID-19 pandemic when regular visits were suspended. To compensate, the Norwegian Correctional Service invested in several hundred iPads, enabling prisoners to connect with others remotely (Johnsen 2022). This arrangement has continued, and one can expect this to be quite extensive, particularly in "digital prisons" such as Froland and Mandal. However, in Mandal and Eidsberg, digital visits could only take place in the visiting rooms due to personal protection, since prisoners filming others through their cell window was considered a risk. The prisoners must book a visiting room for these visits, which limits the potential flexible arrangement and puts a lot of strain on the visiting rooms. This means that both physical and digital visits happened in the liminal space of the visiting room at Mandal and Eidsberg, while in Froland the cell may sometimes turn into a liminal space as well.

Table 1 showed that the prisoners' overall evaluation of visits (both physical and digital) was slightly positive (mean: 3.3), but quite a few skipped these questions. Moreover, the responses to the single items that were embedded in this PCQ dimension varied markedly, with mean values ranging from 2.5 ("The visiting hours in this prison are long enough") to 4.3 ("I enjoy receiving visits").

4.7. Self-catering

According to the guidelines (Directorate of Correctional Service 2019, para 2),

> [t]he principle of normality is a basic principle in the operation of the Correctional Service. As far as possible, life during the execution of one's sentence should mirror life in society in general. The purpose of the self-catering system is to develop and strengthen the prisoners' skills to handle daily life in society. Self-catering increases the possibilities for knowledge about cooking, nutrition, personal finances and social skills through social interaction with others on the wing. This will strengthen the principle of normality, reduce the unintended harms of the punishment and ease the return to life outside prison.[5]

Our survey showed that 86% agreed strongly or moderately with the statement "I am satisfied that this prison is self-catering." Only 8% disagreed more or less strongly. This positive evaluation supports Minke's (2014) study of self-catering in Danish prisons. In both Mandal and Froland, several officers were initially sceptical of implementing self-catering practices. They were concerned that it would increase their workload in terms of assisting and monitoring prisoners when cooking. However, both officers and leaders told us that they were pleasantly surprised by how well the self-catering arrangement worked.

An important finding in the study is the amount of energy, consideration, collaboration and care the prisoners put into cooking. Examples of prisoners

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[5] Authors' translation.

speaking about cooking in positive terms include "men are generally better than women at making food", "many prisoners make good food" and "prisoners come from all over the world and bring their culture into the food". The making of food can be read as a space where prisoners construct masculinities and identities (see also Vanhouche 2022; Minke 2014; Ugelvik 2011; Earle, Phillips 2012). Several prisoners appreciated the good atmosphere that cooking created and many cooked together: "The prisoners find each other, see what others are cooking and like to join forces" (prisoner).

Photo 3. Kitchen facilities at Mandal

Source: Author's private collection.

The prisoners themselves organised food groups which collaborated to purchase, cook and share meals. This process varied, with one prisoner occasionally taking charge of the purchases or the group collectively creating lists and assigning responsibilities. However, there were instances where certain prisoners were not invited or "chose" not to participate in food groups. This raised delicate issues about hygiene and could also be associated with the nature of their sentences, such as sexual crimes: "Those who do not fit in here are those who struggle with poor hygiene" or "if you don't fit in, it has to do with you" (prisoners) (see also Minke 2014).

During weekends, the prisoners are locked up in the afternoon and must choose "between food or being physical" (prisoner), that is, either staying on the wing and cooking or being outside in the yard. Logistics due to time pressure could also generate conflicts, as there are not enough hobs for everyone to cook simultaneously. Furthermore, while some prisoners knew how to handle the kitchen utensils, others lacked experience and were in danger of destroying frying pans or other utensils. As they were used a lot, it could be a problem that broken items were not replaced: "There is a big difference between two using one frying pan and twelve" (prisoner).

5. Discussion

Despite changes in penal policies and architectural advancements over the years, the design of Oslo Prison in 1851 and M2015 bear a striking resemblance in their star-shaped constructions, with radial prison wings extending from a central building component. Perhaps more surprising is their panoptic nature, evident in the windows separating the guardroom from the units and the hall. Besides observations made by the human eye through these windows, which in Froland and Mandal actually go both ways – from staff to prisoners and prisoners to staff – the staff also surveilled the prisoners by the use of technology, that is, cameras. The architectural structure with its embedded technology reinforces a static security approach, emphasising surveillance and distant observation and eliminating the need for direct contact between staff and prisoners.

The quality of interaction between prisoners has recently gained recognition as an important part of prison life (Fransson 2018; 2023; Bosma et al. 2020; Johnsen et al. 2023) and hence important for dynamic security. Designing spaces that foster quality interactions between prisoners is crucial, as these interactions contribute to overall security within prisons. The M2015 design has rather small units incorporating spaces for prisoner interaction in the kitchen, living room and the balcony. Furthermore, prisoners interact with each other in various areas of the prisons, such as the school, workshops and exercise yards. The size and flexibility of these spaces play a crucial role. However, it is equally important to provide spaces that allow prisoners to maintain distance and avoid contact when necessary, recognising individual needs and preferences.

The compact design of the M2015 block proves to be somewhat effective when there is available capacity to relocate prisoners, allowing the establishment of well-functioning units that can accommodate the needs of different prisoners. This flexibility enables officers, with the assistance of responsible unit-runners, to navigate the hierarchical society of prisoners (Sykes 1958) and create cohesive units. However, challenges arise when conflicts occur between prisoners from different units, as the design of the M2015 lacks the necessary flexibility to handle prisoner movements outside the units without constant staff interference and vigilance.

While the M2015's design facilitates social interaction between prisoners, it poses challenges in terms of interaction between prisoners and staff. The relationship between prisoners and staff is at the heart of prison life and is crucial for the officers' dynamic security approach. To create proper relations (Liebling 2004; 2011; Beijersbergen 2016), the officers must build rapport and trust, which is an ongoing, demanding and complex process in prisons, characterised as "low-trust environments" (Liebling 2004: 246). It is crucial to reduce the asymmetrical power dynamic, which may be achieved by creating relationships where officers and prisoners get to know each other (Normann 2022). According to Laura Kikas and colleagues (2021: 12) to this end it is crucial to structure prisons "in such a way that prison staff are present and interact with prisoners throughout most of the day".

This structure is almost non-existent in M2015. This aligns with the findings of Karin Beijersbergen and colleagues (2016) from a large-scale Dutch study, where prisoners in panoptic-designed prisons evaluated their relationship with officers significantly less positively than those housed in other kinds of prisons.

Building relations and trust requires time (Normann 2022). However, due to staff shortages resulting from cost-saving measures and the need for staff to exercise hotel functions in M2015 prisons, there is not enough time to develop these relationships strategically and patiently. The physical separation between the "staff area" (the "guard boxes" – even liminal) and the "prisoner areas" (the units) also poses challenges in establishing relationships. As the contact between these areas primarily occurs through technological measures or by crossing the borders of locked doors, prisoners and staff mostly approach each other when they have an inquiry or an errand. Prisoners contact the officers when they need their assistance with something, and officers respond to these requests. In this setup, staff members, who have the power to regulate the interactions, may sometimes face delays in responding to prisoners' requests, leaving prisoners suspicious and interpreting the delays as an inappropriate exercise of authority (Sparks et al. 1996). This is counterproductive for building trust between officers and prisoners. Attempts by either party to establish contact outside the defined communication lines, such as knocking on the windows or sitting together in the socialising area, are often considered intrusive and lead to exclusion rather than inclusion. This creates distance, which hampers the officers' opportunity to do what they perceive as a good job and reduces the prisoners' trust in the officers' professionalism.

The design of the M2015 lacks spaces where both staff and prisoners feel a sense of shared belonging. Such "shared spaces" facilitate a kind of interaction between officers and prisoners, where jokes can be made and everyday chats about, for example, football matches can take place. Such interaction aligns with normality, as people having daily interactions get to know each other better. In prisons where officers and prisoners dine together, the dinner table serves as such a shared space (Fransson 2018), but becomes challenging to achieve with a self-catering system unless staff and prisoners make food together. This interaction may also occur in "the spaces in-between" (Grønvold, Fransson 2019), which could be related to place (e.g. officers accompanying prisoners to appointments with health care providers) or time (e.g. officers engaging in small talk with prisoners during lock-up time or while waiting for prisoners to enter their cells). However, the efficiency-driven architecture and technologisation of M2015 have erased many of these spaces.

In the context of dynamic security, prison officers also engage in dynamic observations, utilising all their senses to observe and assess the interactions between individuals within the prison environment (Halvorsen, Khawaja, Storvik 2019). This work highlights the importance of physical presence, as officers rely on their sensory perceptions to identify potential security threats. Familiar sounds or the absence thereof can be as significant as unfamiliar sounds in determining the nature of a situation. In these moments, the "magic" of prison officers' work may

occur (Hay, Sparks 1991), as they can recognise and address potential security risks. From a Deleuzian perspective, the officers interact with both human and non-human bodies (Deleuze, Guattari 1987), where deviations from "the normal" make the officers react. These deviations can be manifested as a handle in the wrong position or an unfamiliar smell, for example. However, their limited presence on the units and the dependence on technology deprive the officers of the affective and sensory components of communication and interaction with the prisoners.

Within the concept of dynamic security, staff involvement in prisoner resettlement work is crucial (Drake 2008; Kikas et al. 2021; Santorso 2021; Normann 2022; Kilmer 2023). Building trust is essential, as prisoners need to understand that officers are genuinely concerned about their well-being and have their best interests in mind. It is equally important that the officers trust the prisoners (Fransson, Brottveit 2015; Ugelvik 2022). However, this kind of professional work also suffers in M2015 prisons, as architectural borders translate to relational borders between officers and staff.

Considering the ambitious goals of resettlement and desistance (Norwegian Correctional Service 2021, cf. Act relating 2001: para. 2), the lack of activities to prepare prisoners for life after imprisonment in M2015 prisons is striking. In addition to the absence of facilities for interaction between officers and prisoners, other crucial factors are missing from the resettlement process. Firstly, unlike in the establishment of the Ullersmo, Bergen and Halden prisons, no open capacity was included in the building of Froland and Mandal. This means that the possibility to progress from closed to open units, which is considered important regarding resettlement in previous prison constructions, was not emphasised in designing and building these prisons. This may be a consequence of the populistic crime policy that prevailed during this process.

Secondly, the small workshops in M2015 prisons result in insufficient capacity to keep prisoners meaningfully occupied during the daytime. Work and purposeful daytime activity were fundamental principles in the design of the Ullersmo, Bergen and Halden prisons, tailored to accommodate these human activities. However, in the M2015's design, it seems to be the other way round: the single-block design becomes a premise for these activities. The design dictates the size of the workshop, and this size – along with the machinery installed – determines the level of activity that can take place. When the level of activity is inadequate to meet the needs of human engagement, the solution is not to add new space but rather to limit the scope of human activity. According to ESA para. 3, prisoners have a duty to work; as Yngve Hammerlin (2021) points out, however, the prisons' responsibility in this regard has received little attention or scrutiny.

The inability of M2015 prisons to fulfil the need for activities is also related to cost savings and limited workshop staff. Consequently, a significant number of prisoners are locked up during the daytime, particularly in Eidsberg. Such an inactive, isolated existence has been proved harmful (Smith 2006; Smith, Engbo 2012; Shalev 2014), as supported by our findings. Being locked up alone in a cell

was perceived as the harshest and most challenging aspect of life in an M2015 block. Even if the rather extensive locking-up regime cannot be categorised as solitary confinement (locked up for more than 22 hours a day), it hampers resettlement efforts.

Unlike the workshops inside an M2015 block, the facilities for leisure activities and visits outside the block, especially in Froland and Mandal, are spacious and accommodate a significant degree of human activity. Prisoners appreciated these activities, but due to "organisational security",[6] such as strict daytime schedules enforcing a rigid "TimeSpace" regime with detailed and narrow boundaries for keeping bodies in the right place at the right time, the time prisoners were able to spend in these places was quite restricted. The yard, together with the visiting rooms, library, workshops/school and religious rooms, were identified as the spaces in which the prisoners least felt the burden of imprisonment. These spaces resemble environments or activities outside of prison, such as a park, spending time with family or friends, engaging in intimate relationships, being at work/school or cooking in the kitchen. Consequently, these areas represent a normalisation of the prison environment and conditions, allowing prisoners to temporarily assume different situated identities (Snacken 2002 in van de Riit, van Ginneken, Boone 2023). As highlighted by Kristin Bronebakk (2012), Helene De Vos (2023), Hans Jørgen Engbo (2017), van de Riit (2023), and Vollan (2016), normalisation also entails a responsibility to facilitate resettlement. Creating "normal" spaces and providing opportunities for prisoners to spend time in these spaces serves the purpose of both resettlement and normalisation.

Due to the import model (see Johnsen, Fridhov 2019 for a description of the Norwegian import model), some spaces in the prisons, such as the religious room, classrooms, library and medical centre, are managed by externally employed professionals. The role of the Correctional Service is to provide material support and act as hosts for these services. For the teachers, health care staff, librarians and religious practitioners, when entering these spaces prisoners are primarily seen as students, patients or individuals borrowing books and films or seeking religious advice or assistance. Being in these places and interacting with professionals who perceive them differently than just prisoners may explain why some spaces were perceived as less burdensome than others.

Unlike the Halden and Ullersmo prisons in particular, the design of M2015 prisons does not operationalise a normal daily routine, such as leaving the house for work in the morning and returning in the afternoon. In theory, prisoners can spend their entire sentence inside the M2015 block without needing to leave. However, in the construction of the Froland and Mandal prisons, other architectural modifications have been made to encourage normalisation. In addition to facilitating digital solutions, the kitchen area on the units is designed to accommodate a self-catering system. The design approach that diverges to meet

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[6] Organisational security "includes the organisation of security work, responsibility and authority. It involves staff planning, training and emergency plans, written routines and procedures. Furthermore, it involves how measures and resources are managed" (Kikas et al. 2021: 6).

different aspects of normalisation of everyday life in prison reveals a fragmented, inconsistent approach to normalisation in Norwegian prison policy. Rather than having a cohesive strategy where architecture reflects a progressive development towards increased normality, prison life is rendered normal in varying ways across different prisons. The lack of strategic coherence seems to relegate normalisation to a mere checkbox in the construction of new prisons, rather than a commitment to steadily enhance efforts to normalise prison life.

"The technology of independence" aims to enable prisoners to communicate online with public services and individuals outside the prison. Not having to rely on others to make requests to the medical department and others aligns with normalisation. However, this independence, for some prisoners, has severed a central communication channel with the officers. For the officers, it has eliminated a central source for exercising dynamic security. This suggests that when technology serves the purpose of efficiency and replaces human contact and communication, two important humane norms in prison become conflicting issues.

Self-catering is a concrete example of how prison design expresses normality through well-equipped and inviting kitchen areas. Both An-Sofie Vanhouche (2022) and Linda Minke (2014) highlight the normalising potential of this activity. A self-catering regime requires a normalised day routine with sufficient time for all prisoners to be in the kitchen and cook. Moreover, it requires new investments when utensils are broken, which is a normal practice. Apart from the activity of making food itself, which is something most people do, our study shows that this activity has a potential to somewhat normalise the relationship among prisoners. Creating a positive atmosphere and engaging in group cooking appears to alleviate some tensions among prisoners. However, the regime generates mechanisms of both inclusion and exclusion, with one excluded group being the officers since they do not participate in food preparation and consumption. Consequently, an important arena for dynamic security work is closed off. Without a legitimate presence in the kitchen area, where cooking and eating take place, officers find it difficult to intervene and facilitate the inclusion of excluded prisoners in cooking activities.

An interesting aspect in the guidelines for the self-catering arrangement is the dual interpretation of the principle of normality. The guidelines initially state that the principle of normalisation means to normalise the prison conditions, but then it claims that the self-catering system serves the purpose of normalising prisoners. This interpretation aligns with the description provided by Marianne Vollan (2016)[7] and discussed in Hans Jørgen Engbo (2017) and Helene de Vos (2023). In their discussions, they rightly argue that this interpretation implies that normalisation becomes a means rather than an end, but that Norwegian crime policy combines these two interpretations: normalisation is both a mean and an end.

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[7] Marianne Vollan is the former Director of the Correctional Service in Norway.

Conclusion

The construction of M2015 prisons reflects a greater emphasis on neoliberalist ideas rather than humane ideals. This does not imply that humanity is absent in the M2015. Despite the focus on cost savings and efficiency, elements of humane prison policy that were reflected in earlier prisons designs, such as social interaction, normalisation, meaningful daytime occupation and resettlement, are still present. However, operationalising these ideas within the framework of the M2015 has proven challenging. The purposes of supervision, isolation, separation and division, reminiscent of the panopticon system employed in the Philadelphia model, seem to reemerge in M2015 prisons, albeit unintentionally. It appears as though these purposes are embedded in the architecture, making it difficult to escape their influence. This underscores the significance of architecture in the realisation of humane prison conditions and emphasises the importance of carefully considering how to translate humanity when designing prisons, even in a country known for its exceptionalism and commitment to humane prison practices.

Declaration of Conflict Interests

Funding

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