January 2017

The Tower: Prison architecture and the verticality of carcerality

Jordan Frazier
Eastern Kentucky University

THE TOWER: PRISON ARCHITECTURE AND THE VERTICALITY OF CARCERALITY
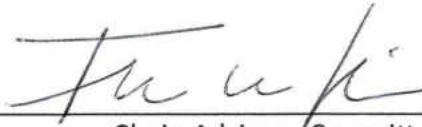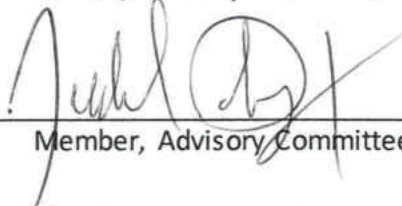
By

Jordan Frazier

Thesis Approved:

_____

Chair, Advisory Committee

_____

Member, Advisory Committee

_____

Member, Advisory Committee

_____

Dean, Graduate School

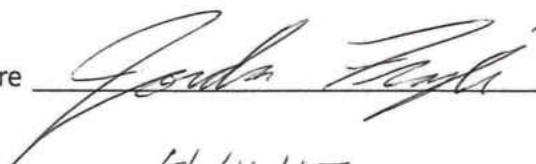## STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Science degree at Eastern Kentucky University, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of the source is made. Permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this thesis may be granted by my major professor, or in [his/her] absence, by the Head of Interlibrary Services when, in the opinion of either, the proposed use of the material is for scholarly purposes. Any copying or use of the material in this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature _____

Date _____ 4/11/17 _____

The Tower: Prison architecture and the verticality of carcerality

By

Jordan Frazier

Bachelor of Science
The University of Virginia's College at Wise
Wise, Virginia
2013

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
Eastern Kentucky University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 2017

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those who dared me to succeed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

The architecture of incarceration has undergone many well-documented changes since the late 18th Century. However, one of the constants has been the architectural symbolism of incarceration itself, and the role it plays in communicating ideas about punishment and control. In this thesis, I examine one of the most fundamental logics of control within this architecture that has largely gone unquestioned: verticality. Specifically, my interest lies in the role that verticality plays in the form of the prison gun tower, which I link to other measures of vertical dominance, such as the aerial drone, and the fortified hilltop. To better situate this, I consider the ways in which space has been employed within and outside of punitive institutions both historically, and contemporarily. This examination of verticality and space utilizes the framework of cultural criminology, and engages with various news media publications, song lyrics, art, and literature in order to make sense of carceral space as it exists in the cultural imagination. Of particular interest is the way that the gun tower has been presented as an anachronistic, yet comforting symbol in some cases, and as a tool of power in others. I conclude by proposing a reframing of the gun tower within punitive space that places it within the larger discourse of control, as opposed to viewing it as merely a given feature of prison-building practices. I then contend that such an approach provides an effective "launch point" for similar engagements in the future, particularly where broader questions of culture are concerned.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1991, the rap artist Ice-T (Tracy Marrow)—often considered the pioneer of the gangster rap genre—released his fourth full-length studio album, *O.G. Original Gangster*. As with Ice-T's previous works, the album invokes a world wrecked by racism, poverty and inequality, where the violence of drug trade is met by the violence of police. One song however, escapes the thematics of South Central's ghettos, and speaks to themes of violence and power as they circulate inside prison walls. *The Tower* considers the pains of imprisonment and the struggle for power between prisoners divided along racial lines and the state itself, represented by the monolithic gun tower.

> *They call me a lifer*
> *Cause I'm good as dead*
> *I live in the hole, so the floor's my bed*
> *And I ask myself again*
> *Who has the power*
> *The Whites? The Blacks?*
> *Or just the gun tower?*

-Ice-T, *The Tower*

As the song shows, rarely do questions of power escape even the most vernacular discourses of the prison. Clearly then, academic works which endeavor to think through the imagery and implications of discipline and control of American prisons are by no means novel. In fact, even the most basic discussion of penal institutions whether past or present, necessarily engage with questions of dominance and power, which is often enforced through violence. The guard or gun tower operates as a dramatic and vertically

1

imposing symbol of the state's monopoly on violence and its willingness to kill, and as such, is a useful vehicle to explore these dynamics. The lyrics above set the stage to engage with this from a distinctly cultural perspective that places emphasis on the architecture itself, and the ways in which this architecture communicates power and authority. What The Tower illustrates is the concentration of power into a distinct space. While the nature of what constitutes this space, and indeed what constitutes "punishment", has shifted and morphed along an impossibly vast timeline, architectural developments in spaces of Western confinement since the late 18th century will be the focus of this thesis, though earlier extra-legal methods of punishment, and their institutions, will also be considered, specifically as they relate to confinement. It should be noted that this is not meant to be a chronological engagement with one set of bureaucratic institutions called "prisons", and another set of institutions called "jails", and yet another called "detention facilities", where definitions are bound by entangling legalese and shifts in usage according to offenses committed, and global location. In short, this is not a legalistic approach. Rather, my aim is to examine the relationship between the physical structures of these spaces, and prevailing attitudes toward punishment, broadly defined.

By its very nature, the study of punishment is an interdisciplinary project, demanding attention from the perspective of not only social and legal theory, but also of architecture, philosophy, visual studies, geography, and other more nuanced sets of knowledge. It is for this reason that this work will attempt to engage with these spaces of confinement and control in a broad manner, rather than in a narrow, technical, or specific way, in hopes of excavating threads of commonality that wind their way throughout the

established carceral timeline, beginning with the late 1700s, and bind seemingly different philosophies of punishment.

Beginning at this seemingly arbitrary period in history is no mere coincidence. Rather, it has both a symbolic and very tangible function. Since the late 18th century, developments in prison architecture have represented a departure from the historical norm; specifically, the prison of this era was not solely an expression of an art form, but an expression of methodological rigidity and geometric precision (Evans, 2010). Furthermore, architects of this era designed prisons that were distinctly communicative in nature, meaning that a passerby could discern the purpose of a prison simply from its outward appearance (Johnston, 2000). This development in architecture also coincided with the beginning of prison reform movements in some European countries that would later spread to other parts of the world (Johnston, 2000). Examples of this are England's1778 Penitentiary Act, and The Gaol Act of 1823, the latter of which brought about the use of a system of categorization for prisoners (Johnston, 2000). In part, this neatly illuminates the path of bureaucratic normative approaches to punishment in general along the carceral timeline, and effectively foreshadows the modern hyper-medicalization of punishment within the prison today where, in the most extreme cases, a lethal cocktail of drugs is injected tidily into the veins of the condemned (Foucault, 1995). The point in this comparison is, the brick and mortar of confinement are more than the accouterments of the building trade, rather they are objects inscribed with philosophy and method, bearing tangible results. Therefore, an examination of such a link could have valuable implications for the future.

The overall goal of this thesis then is to examine the process of "constructing" spaces of confinement, as it currently exists, in both the physical sense of location and presentation, as well as the way in which these spaces animate the cultural imaginary, from the orientation of cultural criminology. Here there will be a particular focus on landscape and topography, control through vertical architecture, and the allocation of space within the walls. The primary utility in undertaking such a project is to engage with, and perhaps help to expand upon, the current body of literature dealing with carceral geography, cultural criminology, and the sociology of punishment more broadly. As mentioned above, this thesis will necessarily engage the topic from a decidedly interdisciplinary perspective in order to make sense of the peculiar amalgamation of architecture, environment, and philosophy that currently colors carceral space, and feeds into the wider discourse of punishment. It should be noted in brief, that in discussing "philosophy", I do not seek to measure out specific philosophies and directly apply them to a particular correctional institution. For example, I am not interested in the architectural method of the "utilitarian prison", rather, my use of "philosophy" here is far more general in nature, and can be taken to mean current practices in correctional design that are, for instance, more attuned to ideas such as human rights, or even "Not In My Backyard (NIMBY)" approaches to prison or jail construction.

Chapter II

Culture, Imagination, and Space

Theoretically and methodologically, the aim is to engage with, and bring various aspects of cultural criminology to the study of the prison guard or gun tower and prison architecture more generally. At its core, cultural criminology strives to inform the study of criminology with insights from the field of cultural studies, with the goal of exploring the intersections of "the criminal" and "the cultural" in modern social life (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995; Ferrell, 1999). In this approach, there is a very strong tradition of the incorporation of a pastiche of various forms of media. I have attempted to continue this tradition by drawing together a relatively eclectic collection of news media publications, song lyrics, art and literature. Through the lens of these cultural texts, my hope is that more sense can be made of carceral space—whether it be the confining limits of the prison walls, the imposing architecture of a penitentiary's gun or guard tower, or the physical landscapes of incarceration—themselves mapped and demarcated by dynamics of power and violence. The overarching goal of this approach is to apprehend a subjective understanding, contextual immediacy, or *verstehen* (Ferrell, 1998; Young, 2012) of these institutions and spaces as kinetic entities, rather than mere backdrops, or simple "containers" of a type of collective social experience. Prison spaces, even the monolithic tower are as much the product of those that traverse them as they are the product of steel, mortar, and calculated engineering. There is a ghostly presence of power found in the tower, —one that is often violent and contentious—which I contend must be understood as the condensation of a broader police power—a power that pervades

everyday life. For instance, the ghostly presence of the state's power is readily apparent

in the exasperated shouting of Black Flag's Henry Rollins in the band's, *Police Story*:

> *This fucking city is run by pigs.*
> *They take the rights away from all the kids.*
> *Understand we're fighting a war we can't win.*
> *They hate us, we hate them.* (Ginn, 1981)

Make no mistake, "the city", as with most other enforceable environments and

spaces, is subject to a power structure, that is indeed "run" by the state and its police.

Interestingly, the language of "war" is often invoked as it relates to policing the wars on

crime and drugs, but also the prison (Steinert, 2003). In many ways, the two share a deep

commonality that extends far beyond a clever turn of phrase, or a sensationalist headline.

Some of the first recorded instances of human confinement prior to the prison as we

understand it today, came out of war; for example, prisoners of war were often used as

captive labor in the ancient and medieval eras (Morris, 1995). While the use of prison

labor continued and even flourished in some instances (Oshinsky, 1997), the primary

focus of my inquiry in this thesis is neither prison labor, nor "war" per se, but the

inherent power within our contemporary spaces of confinement, and the often-violent

representation of this power. The application of a cultural criminological framework to

the study of space as it exists in this thesis is not a new venture by any means, as past

work in this same vein has taken an interdisciplinary approach to a spatial analysis of

both criminology and cultural geography to examine the construction of meaning (Ferrell,

1997; Hayward, 2012). This said, my intention within this thesis is to expand upon this

already rich tradition, and lend a cultural lens to specific facets of carceral space. The

value of such an approach is that it allows us to tease out certain expressions and

representations of power, even in the most micro of forms, for instance (and to continue with the example of the gun tower), verticality as it exists within the gun tower does much of the same symbolic work as the drone in that both are fundamentally policing technologies of creation, rather than destruction, and recall the divine, which is a statement that perhaps might run counter to previously established notions of the tower and drone, respectively (Feldman, 2004; Wall, 2013). Additionally, cultural criminology's avowed focus on qualitative, textual analysis provides what is perhaps one of the most useful tools in capturing the "imagination" of the criminological (Young, 2012). While a good deal of research has been done in the past highlighting, in particular, the internal machinations of the built carceral environment—including the various modes and methods of prison-building, the evolution of construction materials, the progression of architectural design, and so on—it is my belief that such analyses would benefit from an imaginative reengagement such as the one I seek to evoke here. In saying this, I am most certainly not being obtusely critical of the approach outlined in past works on the subject, rather my hope is to enliven them in a manner that is distinctly colored and informed by a cultural criminological approach. When I speak of "imagination", I am of course referencing the subject of Jock Young's *The Criminological Imagination* (2012). The discussion of culture therein places a strong emphasis on what culture is *not*. Specifically, it is not a positivist concept that can be precisely measured, nor even held up as a wider norm, as when measuring "deviance", for example (Young, 2012). Rather, "culture" can be said to constitute, at least in part, both the material that holds society together, as well as leads to patterns of inequality or strife—it is not a separate entity from society (Young, 2012). Cultural criminology then, can locate much of its value in

the ability it has to capture "the phenomenology of crime" (Young, 2012). Necessarily, this encompasses much more than strict notions of what constitutes "the criminal" in the sense of legality, instead, reaching into the daily and often nondescript experiences of life in the late modern era (Young, 2012).

An Account of Punitive Space

In order to understand the prison, it is necessary to establish a working definition of what constitutes space. Firstly, space should not be thought of as some limpid container, defined by what fills it (Lefebvre, 1991; Hayward, 2012). Relatedly, space cannot be thought of as absent meaning, in short, space is not simply empty, but instead composed of various markers, which can actively be read (Lefebvre, 1991). As Foucault similarly noted, the space in which we exist does not take place inside of a void, but rather, a very complex and tangible network of relations (Foucault, 1986; Soja, 2010). Oftentimes, however, when dealing with sites of state power and control, such as a correctional facility, these relations are characterized by violence, or the threat thereof. Applying this logic of spatial relations to various permutations of carceral architecture, such as prisons and jails yields several peculiar features. In brief, an example of such an institution may proceed as follows: A large urban county jail labeled as such, complete with appropriate signage, yet physically constructed and designed to resemble an office building, albeit clad in barbed wire. It is the familiarity that lies at the heart of this image that is especially disturbing. Where once an onlooker could have recalled the spiritual or divine whilst gazing at a penal institution, today such an act would conjure up mundanity. The distance between the punitive building and subject, then, is not so distant at all. The

representational power here is of an almost clandestine variety. Rather than project an absolute picture of correction, punishment, and forceful rehabilitation, the image recalls the familiar confines of the cubicle, the boorish manager, and hum-drum production. The very real roots and practices of violent control here are relegated to the nondescript, the normal. The confluence of space and the carceral state is no mere coincidence, as the very act of creating space is an exercise of political power, not only involving the accumulation and utilization of vast amounts of capital, as is required in the construction process of a prison, jail, or otherwise, but in the very mechanics behind that act—namely the ability to manifest a physical area where control and domination can be exercised under the color of law (Lefebvre, 1991). In any conversation dealing with a space of confinement as a site of state power, it would be a gross oversight to neglect those under the most direct control—in this case, the prisoners within the institution. What architectural machinery subjugates the captured? Here, I am thinking in terms of literal physical restraint. Following a narrative of rebirth, the cell (especially in the context of solitary confinement) may symbolize a sort of concrete tomb—dark, aphotic, and somehow separate from the regiment of time and circadian affairs. The prison walls themselves are an extension of this same spatial concept. After a period, the prisoner – who is disciplined to live by the state's norms and rules—is expelled back into society, a purportedly "fixed" or "reborn" person. The same logic would hold true in the perpetuation of the redemption narrative, especially where terms such as "reborn" are concerned. This concept goes far beyond the popular "Jailhouse Protestant" trope, and even further than the establishment of the Pennsylvania and New York Penitentiaries. Rather, we must look to the Catholic Church's use of imprisonment as a means to bring

9

about pain and suffering, and therefore retribution for sins committed, as described by Johnston (2002) in *Forms of Constraint*. Because sins were thought to weigh on the "heart" of the sinner, the miserable, crushing solitude of confinement would lead to prayer, meditation, and thus, personal betterment and spiritual growth of the imprisoned (Johnston, 2000). The rationale behind this was an argument for the "greater good," which in this case was the immortal soul of the sinner. Ecclesiastical judges, then, concluded that pain and suffering would evoke the spirit of penance within the "heart" of the imprisoned, thereby saving that individual (Johnston, 2000). This same logic of deprivation is seen elsewhere in the early Church, especially in the case of religious hermits and monks—and particularly anchorites. Much like prison cells today, anchorite cells were quite barren. Torrid in the summer and glacial in the winter, individuals seeking penance through deprivation and solitude would voluntarily wall themselves away during an often-elaborate ceremony (Johnston, 2000). Of course, the symbolism of the tomb here is no accident. For the duration of their interment— be it one year, thirty, and even up until death—anchorites sought spiritual salvation through physical suffering. Here, I should like to point out that even amongst monks, not all confinement was voluntary, as was certainly the case involving confinement within a penitential cell, which was a space just over two feet wide, and just under six feet long (Johnston, 2000). Rebellious monks at Cluny (Johnston, 2000) often found themselves confined in a *carcer*, a sepulchral room accessible only by a ladder, lowered down into the vault via a hatch overhead. For all intents and purposes, those confined were all but forgotten; dead to the outside world, much like the social death of disenfranchisement experienced by prisoners today. The mere association with death here (being cloistered away in a lightless vault,

accessible only from above) was, in itself, meant to be a psychological punishment (Johnston, 2000). Should we transplant ourselves to the more modern era of the early 1800s, we see the same logic fueling the ideology and construction of penitentiaries in Pennsylvania and New York. Of course, even the term "penitentiary" has "penitence" as its root, as is evident in the much older "house of penitents." The implication here is that the penitentiary was a solemn and stoic structure, meant for reflection and salvation. This especially holds true for Eastern State Penitentiary in Pennsylvania. While individual prisoners were not meant to be overtly tortured in order to enact vengeance, they were meant to endure forms of selective suffering, which would change their lives. The isolation (which is a hallmark of this system) was specifically meant to punish and cause pain, because humans were reasoned to be social animals by their very nature. In addition to this, because prisoners were deprived of interaction, it was thought that a space for reflection would be created, much like the anchorites in times past. Even for that period, Pennsylvania's notion of isolation drew some criticism, most notably (and unsurprisingly) from proponents of the Auburn model. Specifically, it was argued that isolation, to the degree that it was utilized in Eastern State Penitentiary, for example, was so barbarous and extreme that it would render inmates mad, undermining any meaningful attempt at salvaging the human beneath the "criminal" (Morris, 1995). Tangible human pain seems to be the thread linking these structures and ideologies together. In this way, the architecture of confinement whether the rhetoric aims to save the soul, or correct the man, is a distraction from the transformative pain, that the prison, and especially the cell, relies. Because pain in this sense is a technical qualifier, a tool, it must be understood in terms of degrees, and on a continuum—it must be useful in its ability to produce.

Production in this sense refers almost exclusively to the production of political subjects. In a Foucauldian sense, if pain produces docility, an individual that can be controlled, and therefore, used (Foucault, 1995). While this ignores the literal interpretation of production as it relates to labor, and the means by which a subjugated body can be used to this end, the image of a body under institutional control is key. In short, we should think in terms of potential, rather than kinetic, energy. As Foucault noted, the human body—by being punished—was effectively transformed into "an economy of suspended rights" (Foucault, 1995). The word "suspended" carries a particularly important notion of immobility in this regard. While the physical body of the prisoner is stationary, so too are his rights. Through the use of razor wire and heavy steel doors, the body is deprived of movement, true enough. However, the deeper implication here is the suspension of liberty itself, and because liberty is often thought of as an inherent right, or something naturally owned or possessed by the individual, and thus intertwined with the human experience, the act of depriving or suspending it effectively renders the body an intermediary item (Foucault, 1977). Here, the use of *item* is important, as it denotes an inanimate object that has the potential to be owned, therefore, using it in terms of the human body, renders an animate and autonomous individual a shadow of humanity. This concept is rather crass, but it is not entirely alien. Consider, for instance, the rhetoric around being a "ward of the State", or the issuance of a number upon intake into a facility. In both situations, as well as others, state ownership over the individual is implied. This is especially apparent in prisons, where the panoptic function of both human and technological surveillance permeates an entire space. Importantly, said technology serves a political function in transforming every living body under its view,

casting suspicion upon prisoner and officer alike. It is an entirely policed space, paranoid in accumulating authority, exerting control, and manufacturing enemies. Quite literally, to quote Allen Ginsberg's *Howl,* the tower is "the vast stone of war" (Ginsberg, 2010). Privacy as it relates to liberty is an intermediary by which pain can be inflicted, specifically when it is razed by sovereign surveillance. It would be beneficial, then, to understand privacy as existing on a spectrum of varying levels of intensity, with optimal privacy being an even blend of contact wanted and contact available (Wener, 2014). Because optimal privacy is dictated by control (on the part of the individual) in order to keep a desired balance, and imprisonment by its nature results in a loss of individual control, it is to follow that prisons cannot be "private" environments (Wener, 2014). Isolation as it exists on this spectrum is a failure of privacy in that an individual cannot exert enough control on his or her environment to bring about a desired level of contact and interaction due to physical--and more often than not-- architectural restraint (Wener, 2014). This of course echoes the logic of the Pennsylvania model, under which isolation was used to inflict pain. Crowding, of course, also plays a role in the correctional setting, though the effects are somewhat more nuanced. Crowding in this sense does not necessarily mean "overcrowding" within correctional settings, although this is certainly a possibility. Rather, we must take its definition in this context (which is "more contact than desired") and expand it in relation to the prison's panoptic viscera (Wener, 2014). Unwanted contact with State authority as it exists in the prison is a given, whether that authority exists in terms of uniformed correctional officers or a closed-circuit television camera perched in the corner of a cell. In any of its permutations, crowding can be used as a tool to leverage the psyche just as much as isolation can. Let us, for a moment,

consider "solitude" (as it relates to our established spectrum) as a necessary environmental facet to decompress, especially in an emotional sense. Fear, grief, and anger are strong emotions that exist within the walls, just as they do on the outside. The difference is, in an environment such as a prison where strong emotions tend to be discouraged, there is no outlet through which a prisoner can discharge these feelings. Therefore, without a physical space under which a prisoner can voluntarily experience "solitude", a measure of psychological pain is caused by the institution, via our concept of crowding (Wener, 2014). To better understand these machinations as they relate to the architectural structure of the prison itself, let us think in terms of calculated space, rather than simple enclosures (see figure 1). For instance, a rec yard, while within the walls, is not "enclosed" in the same sense that an administrative segregation unit is. Despite this, the space itself is still highly policed via heavy electronic gates, powerful cameras, and of course, the prison gun tower, all of which carry a greater capacity for surveillance than do the lone naked eyes of an officer on the yard. In sum then, the prisoner on the yard is just as "knowable" as the prisoner in the cell (Foucault, 1995).

Figure 1 a cell at Eastern State Penitentiary.

This engagement with the experience of the "inner" prison is key to exposing the counter-narrative to a projected instance of "hope theming" (Boddy,2008). To summarize, though a space of confinement may boast a particular façade, there is an underlying current that dictates the rhythm of the institution—namely one of control (Jewkes & Moran, 2015) Though a specific institution may distance itself visually from a popular, or commonly held mental image of a prison, jail, detention center, or other, it remains that there is still the authority of violence present within the structure. In this context, an opening, no matter how aesthetic, is at its core, still a calculated space, both architecturally and tactically.

A Question of Topography

It is not enough to merely acknowledge who we imprison, and the design by which we do it, we must also ask how the work of what constitutes the carceral landscape has been carried and constructed up to this point. The history of the map and what it contains, twins another history of monstrosity, one marked by writhing sea beasts, and half-human terrors which lurk at the periphery of civilization (Wright, 2016). "Here be dragons" which adorned many a map was not necessarily fantasy then, rather, the "monsters" beyond cities and towns of antiquity were quite visibly and tangibly, components of ancient cartography (Rafter and Ystehede, 2010). The catching point here is, the monsters of the cartographic imagination never quite went away. If the criminal is the monster of our day, as writers such as Foucault (2007) and Canguilhem (1962) have argued, then the prisons and jails often positioned in "blank spots" outside cities and towns, mark in no uncertain terms, boundaries of the monstrous, the normal and abnormal (Paglen, 2009). If space, and its production, is caught up in a network of power, then it would not be a stretch to claim that the act of map-making, is also caught up in that same network of power. Indeed, a contemporary example of this could be the proclivity (often a product of positivist crime-mapping tactics) to name a particular neighborhood as "bad", "high crime", or a "hot spot" thereby creating what David Sibley (1995) called a geography of exclusion, marking both the topography and those that inhabit it. This is not a new notion by any means, and in fact, a similar point was raised by Foucault who posited that otherness alone is not necessarily "monstrous", yet it is deemed so when it interacts with, or overturns, the law (Sibley, 1995). Yet, there is an inherently spatial logic to where the "borders" and "boundaries" of power must be

"crossed", or interacted with—their sacred space polluted. In short then, the site of the contemporary correctional institution is a facet of this cartography, and its inherent power dynamics, even if it only functions as a consequence.

Today, when imagining a site of institutional correction, it is not at all uncommon to picture a vast swath of defoliated land with a squat, but expansive octagonal prison occupying its center space, complete with deadly grey-faced prison towers surrounding it. We may even imagine the less imposing or obvious outline of the urban jail, which is often positioned, even hidden within city centers. While such sites are by no means a seldom-seen wonder, there is much more at play in the relationship between land and institution than first meets the eye. For example, in his early writings on the penitentiary house, Jeremy Bentham observes that the *contractor*, or warden, would eke out a meager living upon waste land owned by the crown, to say nothing of the prisoners housed there (Bentham, 2011). The implication here is that both the contractor and the *boarder*, or prisoner, were considered to be somewhat expendable in terms of amenities and occupied derelict land. It has been documented that many prisoners at the time survived without running water or other "luxuries", however, the importance here is the specific mentioned relationship between land and prisoner/warden, where both are expected to "make do" with rough conditions, and in less-than-desirable environments.

Similar linkages between land and people often play a role in carceral discourse today, though with much more regional nuance, and not always in such explicit terms. For instance, institutions of confinement, especially rural prisons, are often portrayed as a sort of boon to floundering local economies (Gilmore, 2007; Schept, 2014; 2015). An

example of this process can be found upon any general inspection of the rationale for prison building in central Appalachia, which paints prison construction on top of former extractive mining sites as the savior of small towns in a post-coal landscape (Ryerson, 2013; Schept 2014), though similar processes have been noted elsewhere, such as California (Gilmore, 2007). But more than this, is the distinct pairing of punishment and landscape, that oftentimes borders on a conscious aesthetic. The topography that encloses a physical space of constraint is no less a calculation than the institution itself.

This process has been noted by Judah Schept and Jill Frank (2015). In examining the "layers of industry" that accumulate when the accouterments of punishment mingle with the dream of economic stability, they pull back the veil of the hollow promise of progress through the expansion of the carceral into the heart of Appalachia. Indeed, an examination of the dialectical image between the residue of coal extraction and Appalachian prison building yields not the fruit of progress, but rather that of replacement, the same dull march that tepidly pursues a nonexistent future (Schept & Frank, 2015). In this way, the very landscape and culture become structured by the prison, which serves as a crude and mocking suture not only for hopes of future economic prosperity, but a topography already ruptured by extractive industry.

Fortress-like prisons such as Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania that dislocate the surrounding urban space are for the most part relics of the nascent years of American prison building, have given way to newer, more aesthetically pleasing prison design that couple the scenic with the carceral, and perhaps even reflect changing philosophies regarding the treatment of the prisoners housed within. In an

examination of prison building in England and Wales, Yvonne Jewkes and Dominique

Moran have noted that in some ways, institutional rationality and practicality reign, as

prisons have been designed with security features that are greater than the potential

"threat" posed by the prisoners housed within them; a process which is referred to as

"future-proofing" (Jewkes & Moran, 2014). For example, they note that HMP Oakwood,

a relatively new prison built to house Class C (lower security risk) prisoners, was built to

the standards of a Class B institution, where "Class B" denotes those prisoners considered

to be a higher security risk (Jewkes & Moran, 2014).The spartan, if not peculiar,

reasoning behind such a move is quite straightforward: should prisoners of a higher threat

status need to be housed at a given facility, the design will allow for it without having to

be retrofitted (Jewkes & Moran, 2014). A similar but opposite link between philosophy

and architecture has been noted in several northern European countries, especially

Norway, where an inclination toward the respect for human rights has lead Halden

Prison, a supermaximum security facility, to be named the "world's most humane prison"

(Jewkes & Moran, 2014). While the exact parsing out of the differences between

Scandinavian prison design, and prison design elsewhere in the West is not the focus of

this thesis, this difference does illustrate a sort of continuity in the application of

philosophy to architecture. With this in mind, it is prudent to examine other instances of

carceral institutions that seek to mitigate inhumane experiences on the part of prisoners—

or at the very least mask such occurrences behind visually appealing architecture. In

order to do so, it is useful to apply the concept of "hope theming" (Boddy, 2008) to such

institutions. Essentially, the concept of hope theming describes the process by which a

certain space is imbued with a particular narrative—in the case of a visually appealing

correctional facility, perhaps it is a narrative of "hope", "compassion", "renewal", or similar ideal (Boddy, 2008). Like all security measures built into the prison, hope theming effectively illustrates how the built environment has a particular and inherent communicative value. The issue lies within the item or structure itself, and the way in which it is meant to be interpreted. In this way, the architecture of correctional facilities has a particularly advantageous position—it could be considered a tactical "high ground" of sorts—in that it sets the visual parameters by which an institution of discipline and control is defined, viewed, and understood. Writing on the Mas d'Enric Penitentiary in Catalonia, architectural engineer Roger Paez states:

> Architectural design transforms the physical environment through the definition of spatial, temporal, relational, or perceptual frameworks. It is in architecture's nature to create limits. The first sacred gestures that remit back to architecture—a city's foundational furrow, the enclosed image of paradise—are gestures of separation (Paez, 2014).

Conceptualized as a sort of alternative to the fortress-like prison that haunts the imagination, the Mas d'Enric Penitentiary makes use of both the landscape, and a more "critical" approach to prison design on the part of the architects (Paez, 2014). This is manifested in the way that the structure contours to the surrounding topography—a stark contrast to the elephantine designs that permeated prison-building practices, particularly in the late 18th century. In fact, even the buildings themselves boast a degree of awareness of topography, with some of the structures sporting a multi-toned green façade that seems to pay homage to the natural surroundings in the immediate vicinity of the facility (Paez,

2014). The narrative here is more bucolic than punitive, insofar as the physical space of the penitentiary itself is concerned and is clearly designed with those peering from outside its walls in mind.

Chapter III

The Verticality of Carcerality

  As recent prison riots in the US and UK suggest, in the 25 years since its release

the question of "who has the power" posed by rapper Ice-T in *The Tower*, remains largely

unanswered. While racial conflict and struggle within prisons is a topic worthy of

discussion, my concern lies in the state's power forcefully articulated by the looming gun

tower and specifically the cultural logics which render it an immediately recognizable

symbol of careral power from the outside and to those not directly subject (see figure 2).

In untangling this issue, the aim is not to merely outline the tower as a tactical facet of

correctional architecture, but rather to link its architectural and symbolic power to

scholarly discussion concerning verticality and air power, as they operate as mechanisms

of control and order-building (Neocleous, 2014; Wall and Monahan, 2011; Wall, 2013).

Figure 2 A guard tower at the Penitentiary of New Mexico.

Source: Piorkowski, K. (2012). Penitentiary of New Mexico—Guard Tower. Online Image. Retrieved fromhttps://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Penitentiary_of_New_Mexico_-_Guard_Tower.jpg

I draw my concept of verticality primarily from the work of Eyal Weizman (2002; 2007). In his introduction to *The Politics of Verticality*, Weizman describes the vertical ordering of Israel's West Bank as a "a large threedimensional volume, layered with strategic, religious, and political strata" (Weizman, 2002). This understanding of verticality as a unique and powerful political tool is key to excavating the logical

underpinning of the prison tower. Here the verticality of the prison tower or gun tower

offers the threat or promise of violence and death and is thus a key instrument in the

production of institutional order. As Mark Neocleous (2014) has shown, just as

warplanes, helicopters and more recently drones (unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs)

produce, articulate and animate the state's *air power* as a means of order-building, with a

clear view of the bodies and territories under its command, the tower stands as a

monolothic instrument of scopic verticality and lethality and is thus the prison's analogue

to police air power.

In my view, the tower simultaneously occupies two symbolic spaces (Bender,

1987; Sloop, 1996; Jarvis, 2004, Jewkes, 2014), from the outside state subjects might

recognize the tower as a symbol of benevolent security, a structure meant to keep them

safe, while from the inside the tower is a condensation symbol of carceral power *par

excellence* (Fairweather & McConville, 2000; Johnston, 1973; Johnston, 2000; Evans,

2010). No doubt, this meaning is a malleable and shifting thing that takes on the

subjectivities of the individual arguing for or against it; however, this does not entirely

negate the utility of analyzing it here. In fact, such an endeavor provides an invaluable

"map", or "cartography" of sorts; a lens through which to view the construction of the

tower as a theoretical and cultural component.

Since the advent of new technologies of carceral control such as motion-detecting

cameras, and fencing that sounds an alarm if it is disturbed, the utility of the prison gun

tower has often been called into question. Recently, news reports have touted the closure

of prison gun towers in Illinois, Massachusetts, and others, all with the promise of cutting

costs. In the case of Illinois, that projected figure hovers at about four million dollars annually, with no jobs lost, as corrections officers will be moved to other areas of the prison. While this may seem a new and wondrous development for both prison administrators and the American taxpayer, the reality of such reports is often quite misleading. Though the cost-saving measures may in fact ring true, the issue here is of the dubious proposal to close the gun tower, which is a measure that has been implemented, and retracted, many times before.

In the burgeoning crime control era of the early 1990s, similar measures were proposed across the United States, with a few notable examples in Pennsylvania and Connecticut. After having been deemed to be "unnecessary", there was an effort to close the gun towers at the State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh (Barns, 1996). Unsurprisingly, this was primarily the result of an attempt by state officials to cut costs at the facility by eliminating both the cost of upkeep, and the jobs associated with staffing the towers. This was met with a large degree of organized protest on the part of employees at the facility, many of whom would be directly affected by the closure of the towers (Barnes, 1996). Interestingly, upon examining the statements of the protesters, the rationale was less about job loss than it was overall safety; more specifically, the consensus was that if towers were closed, "it would be harder to keep inmates from escaping" (Barnes, 1996). While such statements must be evaluated within their contexts, this concern is quite common, and not entirely unfounded insofar as the cultural imaginary is concerned. For example, four years prior to the proposed closure of the gun towers at the State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh, there was an escape from a prison in Somers, Connecticut. In this instance, the prison's gun towers were left

unstaffed at the time of the escape, which left many members of the community with doubts about the wisdom of closing the institution's towers (Gorman, 1992). In fact, the result of this concern was the involvement of Senator Frank Barrows, then the chair of the General Assembly's Public Safety Committee, who recommended that the gun towers be re-opened, despite being told by corrections officials that even if the towers had been manned, the prisoners might have still escaped (Gorman, 1992). In a statement to the Hartford Courant, Barrows explained his position, saying that despite the actual ability of a manned tower to deter escape attempts, "that did not sway him from believing that the towers would improve safety" (Gorman, 1992).

The implication of such statements, is that without an armed officer in the tower to enact violent control, the structure is limpid and lifeless, and puts communities at risk. To put it simply, there is a desire for violence to keep the "monsters" in the "blank spots", and away from the "innocent" public. The gun tower's architecture then, is not simply a tool of surveillance, but one of killing, should it be deemed necessary.

In the movies, it's the prison guard perched in the perimeter tower who spots the escaped prisoner and sounds the alarm. In reality, video cameras and electrified fences are replacing the watchful, pacing corrections officer. As prisons across the country look to reduce manpower and cut costs, those favoring monitored cameras and sensors over staffed towers are drawing the ire of unions who say officers and prisoners are being put in danger. "No camera has ever stopped someone from being beaten up," said Ed McConnell, executive vice president of

the Pennsylvania State Corrections Officers Association. "When you need help, a man with a gun does it. A camera doesn't help you." (Walters, 2010)

As illustrated above, even the reliance on the armed officer, and certainly the image thereof is a useful cultural production, to usher in feelings of safety and protection. In many ways, these feelings of safety stem from the willingness of the penal spectator to engage in the imagining of danger and insecurity as they relate to the prison, and the act of punishment (Brown, 2009). The armed officer perched in the gun tower then, symbolizes a sort of division between civilization, and the unexplored edges of the map where monsters lurk. The gun tower and its ability to kill and discipline prisoners allow the spectator to be shielded from the infliction of punishment and pain, while simultaneously guaranteeing that punishment is in fact taking place (Brown, 2009). Indeed, the tower allows us to see a visible symbol of armed punishment, without having to enact that punishment ourselves (Brown, 2009). These embedded notions are often reflected in statements from both corrections personnel and members of the public, despite the lack of concrete evidence that the prison tower does in fact contribute to a safer environment, both within the prison, and outside of it. Consider the statement below concerning the closure of gun towers at another state prison in Pennsylvania:

"Think about what they're saying. We're going to cut the last people protecting the community from the inmates to save money," said Roy Pinto, president of the Pennsylvania State Corrections Officer Association. "That's why those towers were built - to be manned. We, as officers, have a comfort in knowing there is a

guy up there watching our back. For a neighbor, to know nobody is in those towers at night, would make me sleep a little different." (Kalinowski, 2010)

It is especially important to note the description of the corrections officers in the tower as being "the last people protecting the community from the inmates", as well as the mention of the neighbor outside of the walls. In taking this into account, we can see that the gun tower is not a mere two-dimensional construct belonging solely to the prison. Rather, it is a cultural and political interface that possesses both volume and gravity in the imagination. The image of a derelict and unmanned gun tower is the image of insecurity; by removing the officer from the tower, the state loses a set of eyes that don't malfunction during a storm and that have access to a weapon in the event that one is needed (Kalinowski, 2010).

While the prison gun tower remains largely unquestioned in its ability to provide safety and deter criminal activity in the cultural imagination, the same cannot be said for its status within empirical studies. In 1996, the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel published a story covering the proposed closure of prison gun towers at Kettle Moraine Correctional Institution in Plymouth Wisconsin. The logic behind the closure was, of course, economic in nature, with the study citing a savings of over a half million dollars annually. The issue in this circumstance was that a similar measure proposed five years earlier ended in failure, after a protest by corrections officers and residents of the community, who cited safety concerns as the reason for their protest, and it was speculated that the new proposal would meet a similar fate.

Although the study recommends closing five towers, it indicates that since the early 1980s, when the last three towers were built, there has been only one inmate escape-- a minimum-security prisoner who was already working outside the perimeter. Before the seven towers were in place there were 20 inmates involved in singular or multiple prison escape attempts. Climbing or cutting the fence was a common approach, the study states, including two cases of ramming the gates with a prison vehicle. In 1991, the Department of Corrections backed off plans to close two towers at Kettle Moraine after guards and nearby residents protested, citing safety concerns. Bailey said the state could expect to get the same treatment after word of this proposal was made public. "This shows a total lack of regard for those who live in surrounding communities around Kettle Moraine," ("Study Challenges Need For Prison Towers", 1996)

It is primarily for this reason that political promises to close gun towers should be met with some degree of skepticism, as tales of their impeding closures due to being outdated are a relatively typical occurrence. In short, the image of relative safety, and the willingness to exert violent control that is projected by the tower is not something so easily dispensed with. The mistake on the part of officials eyeing potential savings is the failure to recognize that the gun tower belongs to more than a specific prison or state. Rather, it is a vestment of the cultural imagination, tailored from layers of belief, being, and anxieties that cannot be divorced from the physical structure itself.

In some cases, this lesson has been learned, but slowly. In 2009, Louisiana began a measure to slowly phase out the armed officer in the prison gun tower, and instead,

install powerful video surveillance equipment (Millhollon, 2009). The gun tower is only one aspect of this measure, that also includes the installation of "shaker" fencing that can detect disturbances, and the implementation of "video court" to reduce the cost of transporting prisoners to brick and mortar courthouses (Millhollon, 2009). However, there is a caveat in the state's plan that allows for the gun towers at Louisiana's two death row facilities to remain occupied:

> LeBlanc [the state secretary of the Department of Public Safety and Corrections] said he wants to install video equipment at all prisons, once funding becomes available. The high turnover in corrections officers should eliminate the need to lay off workers because of the switch in surveillance techniques, he said. The towers at the state's two death rows - at Angola and St. Gabriel - will continue to be manned by guards, LeBlanc said. "That's more perception than anything else. … The public would feel more comfortable with that," (Millhollon, 2009).

The last point made in LeBlanc's statement is particularly illustrative, and lends to the recognition of the gun tower's position in the imagination and cultural vernacular. Despite potential savings gained through closing the towers, the state is leaving two gun towers, located at death row facilities, which are often considered to be the "worst of the worst", open. Within this statement lies the acknowledgement (and on the part of a state official no less) than the gun tower indeed functions as a valuable symbol, despite its economic cost, or the ability of technology to carry out similar functions.   The point in unpacking the perceived inherent "safety" of the prison tower is to link it back to a central objective of air power more broadly, namely, the "moral" or "civilizing" effect of

"air policing" (Neocleous, 2014). In short, the gun tower is communicative through its potential for violence, thus providing an enforcement mechanism (or at least the appearance thereof) for the established order—which is, of course, a boon to those working on the side of power. With this said, it should be noted that the tower and its promise of safety in the eyes of some, has an inverse in that, to others—most precisely, prisoners— "safety" is not necessarily the first association that comes to mind. Recalling the lyrics which introduce the paper, the question of "who has the power" (Bashir, Marrow, 1991) is a much more apt association. With this said, there is still a certain communicative spectacle irrespective of the particular viewer's opinion. In a similar article "At California Prison, Relics Recall a Grisly Past*"*, author Leef Smith covers the newly opened museum at San Quentin (Smith, 1992). After a brief catalogue of some of the museum's attractions, including a blindfold used to execute an inmate, and a large cage that was used to execute a pig during an early test of the gas chamber, Smith makes a reference to the museum's most popular attraction for both staff and inmates: A 30-caliber machine gun that was, at one time, standard equipment in prison gun towers (Smith, 1992). While there is certainly much to be said for the engaging in penal tourism and related practices, in this particular circumstance, my interest lies within the popularity of the machine gun. Again, there is a particular communicative value to the accouterments of the gun tower, even when decommissioned.

It is also useful to consider the ways in which the tower has been portrayed in vernacular imagery, for instance what it means to "tower above" in the sense of authority, ability, or morality. The value in such an examination is to make sense of the vertical power dynamic as it relates to the production and representation of order, and thus the

ability to "tower over" landscapes and subjects "below". An immediately recognizable example of such imagery is the famous frontispiece from Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Designed by Abraham Bosse in 1651, the image is an anamorphic rendering of Hobbes' understanding of the sovereign king comprised of a conglomeration of political subjects bound together by the social contract (see figure 3). Important here is the looming position of sovereign power, armed with sword and staff, the king offers death and destruction to the unruly and security to his pacified subjects.
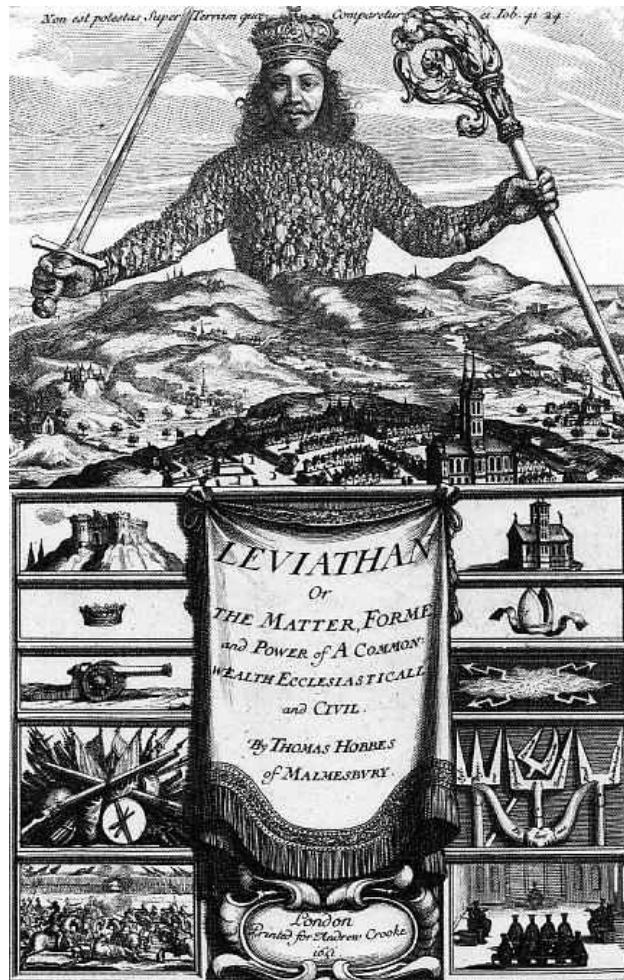

Figure 3: Abraham Bosse' illustration for Hobbes' Leviathan (1651). Source: Bosse, A. (1651). Frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan. Online Image. Retrieved from https://www.college.columbia.edu/core/content/frontispiece-thomas-hobbes%E2%80%99-leviathan-abraham-bosse-creative-input-thomas-hobbes-1651

Relatedly, as Tyler Wall (2011, 2013) has shown, just as the tower looms over its prison landscapes, the aerial drone as a technology of scopic verticality provides sovereign power the ability to view, hunt, capture and kill its subjects and reign down violence from afar. In other words, contemporary understandings of air power help hold the symbolic and material force of the tower in sharper relief, illustrating how the physical space of the prison is from stem to stern a technology of violence. The tower is a redoubtable figure that has, over the years, been featured quite heavily in film, literature, and other forms of art— often representing a sort of authority, or obstacle to be overcome. While there are undoubtedly examples of such authority or obstacles in contemporary media that do not necessarily adhere to this statement, nor feature the tower as a motif, for our purposes here, it would be most useful to focus on the instances that do. This is not to prevent the tower from being unchallenged in this context, rather, such an exercise blurs the larger conversation to be had regarding the tower as an interface of control and discipline. Examples of this abound in popular media, such as the malevolent and formidable towers featured in Peter Jackson's 2002 film, *The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers*, and the lighthouse (a type of tower by definition) in Martin Scorsese's 2010 film, *Shutter Island*. Another particularly useful example is Robert Browning's (1855) *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came*. In this poem, the protagonist traverses a hellish landscape, laden with violent and nightmarish imagery, his consciousness is fraught with doubt and misery. Here the *Dark Tower* shares an important relationship to the protagonist and the surrounding landscape, described in the following:

What in the midst lay but the Tower itself?
The round squat turret, blind as the fool's heart
Built of brown stone, without a counterpart
In the whole world. The tempest's mocking elf
Points to the shipman thus the unseen shelf
He strikes on, only when the timbers start.

In Browning's imaginings, that the Dark Tower is "without counterpart", certainly alludes to the volume of the structure itself, but also the monopoly the tower has on verticality, which is foreshadowed earlier in the poem when the protagonist notices that "*If there pushed any ragged thistle-stalk above its mates, its head was chopped; the bents were jealous else*" upon observing the landscape (Browning, 1855). This observation is useful in our broader analysis for two reasons: First, because the "head" of the thistle is "chopped", there is a direct implication of violence and death of an almost human quality—in short, an authority, or at least ability and willingness, to kill. Second, this imagery neatly parallels the contemporary practice of leveling foliage around rural prisons, both during and after construction (say nothing of the defoliation practices enabled by "Agent Orange" during the Vietnam War). In unpacking this imagery, it should be noted that there is a broader, though perhaps more fragile, suggestion that the Dark Tower, itself a tool, or otherwise an artifact of production—having been "*built* of brown stone" (Browning, 1855 emphasis mine)—is able to bend and discipline the surrounding *natural* or *living* landscape (see figure 4). This idea is further supported through the protagonist's experience, as he takes note of "such starved ignoble nature", and leaves that were "bruised as to baulk all hope of greenness" as he draws nearer to the Dark Tower (Browning, 1855).

Figure 4 Moran's (1859) Dark Tower.

Source: Moran, T. (1859). Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came. Online Image. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thomas_Moran_Childe_Roland_to_the_Dark_Tower_Came_1859.jpg

Indeed, an examination of Thomas Moran's 1859 work of the same name (Figure 4) provides a powerful visual aid in thinking through the Dark Tower of Browning's poem as a tool of control and oppression. Imaginative musings of powerful freestanding vertical structures to be used for control certainly did not begin with Browning's poem. In fact, an earlier example—and perhaps one slightly more aligned to the topic of this thesis—can be found within Jeremy Bentham's ruminations over the panopticon (Bentham, 2011). While there is no specific mention of a tower per se within his letters— the structure was simply described as a "rotunda" (Bentham, 2011)—in subsequent years, attempts at building a panopticon often resulted in a central tower, rather than a less

vertically imposing structure. Particular manifestations of architectural nuance aside, the raw utility of the panopticon was the ability of the structure to present the façade of near-limitless surveillance, though the actual ability of the structure to do so rested on the dedication of the contractor within that structure (Bentham, 2011). There is a certain logic here, however, that seems to dictate a type of environmental control through representation, where the controlling entity (in this case, a structure) is "without counterpart", much the same as the Dark Tower from Browning's poem. Interestingly, this same practice of exploiting a vantage point, particularly a vertically superior one, while denying its use to others will make an appearance in our examination of the aerial drone below (Neocleous, 2014).

In the current moment, some suggest that the unmanned aerial vehicle or drone projects a vertical superiority of police/war power bordering on the divine (Valiaho, 2014). Indeed the link between police and military is no mere coincidence, as the drone very distinctly carries the threat of violence which it also employs to create and enforce social order from above. Because the primary reason for engaging air power and the drone in this context is to examine the role it plays in order building, it would be highly beneficial to untangle the ways in which this process has manifested so far. Most obviously, air power has historically been used to crush rebellions and make the possibility of resistance a remote and fragile dream—especially in the context of maintaining colonial rule (Neocleous, 2014). This gets to the heart of the link between the carceral and the appeal of vertical superiority—the possibility of order building, as opposed to simply engaging in "crude" destruction. The creation of order is achieved through the disruption of life, rather than the taking of it, though the latter may indeed be

a consequence (Neocleous, 2014). For example, conducting an aerial bombing via drone may have the effect of halting mundane yet necessary daily activities such as tending crops, or denying the local populace access to water, which effectively places said populace under the control of the entity carrying out the campaign (Neocleous, 2014). With this said, perhaps the greater utilitarian value in the drone lies with the constant reminder of its *ability* to kill—rather than simply the act of killing itself. Much like the correctional gun tower, the drone's promise of violence is a key element in the maintenance of control. Alongside the killing potential, the drone and gun tower share another commonality in their respective roles as tools of surveillance. In the case of the drone, there is a sense on the part of the surveilled that the aircraft is looking at him/her specifically, and thus, a particular impression is manifested where the individual in question structures his/her movements and actions accordingly (Neocleous, 2014)—leading to a discernable capillary effect (Foucault, 1977).

Verticality as a strategic consideration has a history that is seemingly as long as memory—once imposing medieval towers in central Greece, now crumbling ruins—stood along roads and other strategic points of interest, observing and constricting movement (Lock, 1986). What is more, with regard to these same towers, there is evidence that settlements cropped up at some point in their shadow no doubt seeking to take advantage of such an opportunity for tactical superiority, or at the very least, for want of safety. Today, the question of how best to obtain and utilize the verticality of high ground remains a question of strategic importance. Verticality then, whether viewed from the carceral or the military perspective, is a valuable commodity, with the United States Air Force asking itself how best to conceptualize and control the "ultimate high

ground" of space (Lambeth, 2003). Indeed, for some time in the organization's history, the vertical continuum was just that, with no discernable separation between the sky, and space, hence the term "aerospace" (Lambeth, 2003). In many ways, the prison gun tower is a facet of that same continuum of dominance through vertical superiority, which is a position denied to prisoners.

Again, Eyal Weizman (2002) offers powerful insight into the importance of "verticality" to contemporary politics and state power. Weizman has shown the intricate process of planning that goes into creating space, both in relation to the natural topography, and the built environment. Specifically, terrain possesses the ability to define the focal points of a conflict (Weizman, 2002). In a 1978 publication, Matityahu Drobless, the head of the Jewish Agency's Land Settlement Division urged the government to begin settling mountain ranges in so-called "Judea" and "Samaria" for this very reason (Weizman, 2002). The strategic underpinning of this plan was to physically choke and divide the minority Palestinian population, eliminating the possibility of territorial continuity (Weizman, 2002) thereby making it much easier control. As Weizman notes:

> The Drobless masterplan outlined possible locations for scores of new settlements. It aimed to achieve its political objectives through the reorganisation of space. Relying heavily on the topography, Drobless proposed new highvolume traffic arteries to connect the Israeli heartland to the West Bank and beyond. These roads would be stretched along the large westdraining valleys; for their security, new settlement blocks should be placed on the hilltops along the route.

He also proposed settlements on the summits surrounding the large Palestinian cities, and around the roads connecting them to each other. (Weizman, 2002)

Importantly, the idea of achieving political objectives through the control of space, is also a fundamental logic of correctional institutions, though here it is presented in the very blatant language of conquest and colonization. These hilltop settlements share an intrinsic commonality with the prison gun tower, and other ancient tower designs in that they have an undeniable strategic element, which can be broken down into tactical strength, self-protection, and a wider view (Weizman, 2002). Echoing the thought process animating Bentham's panopticon, settlements were constructed with the idea that a calculation of openings, and an unhindered vision were the greatest defense against would-be attackers (Weizman, 2002). Because these settlements were primarily located *above* Palestinian villages, they also managed to project a Hobbesian authority over the landscape. While the settlements occupy the hilltops—the terrestrial high grounds—it is also worth mentioning that the settlements also colonize the heavenly air space above. Much like Neocleous's (2014) assessment of the logic of air power relating to the drone and order building, Weizman points out that though airspace eludes neat categorization on the political maps, it is of prime importance, as it maintains a vantage point that is totally denied to others (Weizman, 2002). In short, this is a question of access as much as the physical constraint of the punitive facility. It would seem then, that one of the hallmarks of a system of power informed by verticality, whatever the particular manifestation, is the control of movement.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

In closing, I would like to take the time to summarize and briefly reflect upon the sections of this thesis, and restate my case for examining them through the lens of cultural criminology—a feat that I have endeavored to show throughout this work. Before I begin in proper, I believe that it is worthwhile to say that even in contemporary times with their thoughtful and refreshed engagement with various systems of confinement, and the carceral network more broadly, there is still much work to be done. This is true, in my opinion, particularly where interfaces between the carceral as a legal framework, and the carceral as physically manifested space crop up—in other words, in the realm of cultural imagination. Beginning with an analysis of the physical landscape, or cartography of punitive space, my goal was to think through how natural surroundings often structure punitive reality. Whether this exists as a sort of appeal to job creation in a rural community, or the conscious projection of a particular "philosophy" or belief about human captivity, the façade and placement of an institution within the natural environment has a particular effect that influences notions about that institution. Importantly, this same mastery over topography can be seen as a mechanism of control even outside of the modern correctional institution, as per my engagement with hilltop settlements in Israel, covered above. Landscapes are often inscribed with meaning, and control over these landscapes has vast political potential (Weizman, 2002), as does the process of mapping landscapes—in essence, by engaging in "cartography", one engages in the construction of a type of meaning. The largest section of this work covers

40

verticality, as it exists within systems of control, whether that takes the form of a prison gun tower, a fortified hilltop, or an aerial drone. There are two reasons for such a comparatively detailed engagement with this concept in particular. First, the untangling of verticality as it exists within this section was the catalyst for the rest of this thesis. In short, it is the catalyst for everything else that has been written here. Second, it is my belief that the work in this particular section provides the most useful "launch point" for the possible future direction of similar research. In any case, I hope that I have adequately scratched the surface of the fascination that surrounds verticality, and vertical superiority as it relates to the process of order building, and exerting control. While there is an undoubtedly symbolic element to the vertical, it would behoove one to keep in mind that the drone, gun tower, or fortified hilltop have a very tangible ability to structure the lives of human beings—to be precise, they are more than a simple theoretical question. The gun tower, for example, represents a certain Hobbesian sovereign within the carceral, in its role of shooting and killing prisoners—it is a structure that perhaps truly 'has the power' within a given punitive space. When attempting to excavate the dynamics of punitive space, as they exist within the carceral, my primary focus was on the ways in which movement is commonly restricted and observed, whether the facility exercises this power through "standard" means, such as walls, bars, and doors, or by a system of visibility, where openings and spaces allow one to be seen. In the case of the latter, there is often a peculiar aspect of "hope theming", or camouflaging at play, where the prison, jail, or otherwise, seems to visually mitigate the experience of pain and confinement. Though I am certainly not trying to paint such institutions with a broad brush, I think there is some value in examining the old underlying logics of confinement as a concept,

rather than the ways its experience can be lessened through design or the addition of green space. As to the proposed framework of cultural criminology that was utilized throughout my analysis—I hope that I have indeed done it justice. As I've stated in the relevant section above, cultural criminology provides a much needed perspective when attempting to excavate "meaning" in already esoteric concepts as they relate to contemporary punitive institutions, and the way in which these institutions are represented and conceptualized. So often, there is a tendency to compartmentalize policing, environmental design, war, and so on, in a way that leaves them divorced from the very social realm from which they emerge. It seems that in many circumstances, it is easier or more convenient to entirely gut the human element, which is a problematic tendency indeed—and one that I have tried to avoid over the course of this work.

References

Barnes, T, (1996). State prison officers picket. *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* Retrieved
http://libproxy.eku.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/391803876
?accountid=10628

Bashir, B. & Marrow, T.L (1991) *The Tower. On: O.G. Original Gangster* (CD). Los
Angeles. Syndicate Studios West, Widetracks, Dodge City and Fox Studios L.A.

Bender, J. (1989). *Imagining the penitentiary: Fiction and the architecture of the mind in
eighteenth century England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bentham, J. (2011). *The Panopticon writings*. London: Verso.

Boddy, T. (2008) Architecture Emblematic : Hardened Sites and Softened Symbols. In:
Sorkin, S (ed) *Indefensible Space: The Architecture of the National Insecurity
State*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis

Bosse, A. (1651). Frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan. Online Image. Retrieved
from https://www.college.columbia.edu/core/content/frontispiece-thomas-
hobbes%E2%80%99-leviathan-abraham-bosse-creative-input-thomas-hobbes-
1651

Brown, M. (2009). The Culture of Punishment: Prison, Society, and Spectacle. New
York: New York University Press

Browning, R. (1855) Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came. In: Stedman, E.C. (ed) A
Victorian Anthology, 1837-1895. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895;
Bartleby.com, 2003. Available at http://www.bartleby.com/246/654.html

Canguilhem, G., & Jaeger, T. (1962). Monstrosity and the Monstrous. *Diogenes*, *10*(40),
27-42.

Evans, R. (1982). *The fabrication of virtue: English prison architecture, 1750-1840*.
Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press

Fairweather, L., & McConville, S. (2000). *Prison architecture: Policy, design, and
experience*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

Feldman, A. (2004). Securocratic wars of public safety: Globalized policing as scopic
regime. *Interventions*, *6*(3), 330-350.

Ferrell J. & Sanders C. (eds.) (1995). *Cultural Criminology*. Boston: Northeastern
University Press

Ferrell J. 1997. *Youth, crime, and cultural space*. Social Justice 24:21.38

Ferrell J (1998) *Criminological verstehen: Inside the immediacy of crime*. In: Ferrell J & Hamm M (eds) Ethnography at the Edge: Crime, Deviance and Field Research. Boston, MA Northeastern University Press.

Ferrell, J (1999) *Cultural Criminology*. Annual Review of Sociology 25: 395-418

Foucault, M. & Miskowiec J. (ed) (1986). 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics* 16, 22-27

Foucault, M., & Sheridan, A. (ed) (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (2007). *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975* (Vol. 2). Macmillan.

Gilmore RW (2007) *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Ginn, G. (1981) *Police Story*. On: Damaged (CD). Hollywood. Unicorn Studios

Ginsberg, A. (2010). *Howl, Kaddish and other poems*. Camberwell, Vic: Penguin.

Gorman, K. (1992). Legislators reaffirm call to reopen guard towers. *Hartford Courant* Retrieved:http://libproxy.eku.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/255378928?accountid=10628

Hayward, K. (2012). Five Spaces of Cultural Criminology. *British Journal of Criminology*. 52: 441-462

Jarvis, B. (2004). *Cruel and unusual: Punishment and US culture*. London: Pluto press.

Jewkes, Y. (2014). Punishment in Black and White: Penal "Hell-Holes", Popular Media, and Mass Incarceration. *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 22: 42-60

Jewkes, Y & Moran, D. (2014) Should Prison Architecture be Brutal, Bland or Beautiful? *Scottish Justice Matters* 2 (1) 8-11

Jewkes, Y & Moran, D (2015) The paradox of the 'green' prison: Sustaining the environment or sustaining the penal complex? *Theoretical Criminology* 19 (4): 451-469

Johnston, N. (1973). *The Human Cage: A Brief History of Prison Architecture*. The American Foundation, Incorporated.

Johnston, N. (2000). *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture*. University of Illinois Press.

Jones, A. (2011). Eastern State Penitentiary Philadelphia Pennsylvania Interior of Jail Cell02. Online Image. Retrieved https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eastern State Penitentiary Philadelphia Pennsylvania Interior of Jail Cell 02.jpg

Kalinowski, B. (2010). Guard towers unmanned at dallas prison. *The Times – Tribune*. Retrieved http://libproxy.eku.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/816537616?accountid=10628

Lambeth, B. S. (2003). *Mastering the ultimate high ground: Next steps in the military uses of space.* RAND

Lefebvre H. (1991) *The Production of Space* Blackwell, Oxford

Lock, P. (1986). The Frankish Towers of Central Greece. The Annual of the British School at Athens 81: 101-123

Millhollon, M. (2009). State expects to save $6.2 million by phasing out towers at prison. *The Advocate*. P. 01A

Moran, T. (1859). Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came. Online Image. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thomas_Moran_Childe_Roland_to_the_Dark_Tower_Came_1859.jpg

Morris, N., & Rothman, D. (1995). The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society. New York: Oxford University Press.

Neocleous, M. (2014). *War power, police power.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Oshinsky, D. M. (1997). "*Worse than slavery*": Parchman Farm and the ordeal of Jim Crow justice. New York: Free Press Paperbacks

Paez, R. (2014). *Critical Prison Design: Mas d'Enric Penitentiary* by AiB arquitectes + Estudi PSP Arquitectura. ActarD Inc

Paglen, T. (2009). *Blank spots on the map: the dark geography of the Pentagon's secret world*. Penguin

Piorkowski, K. (2012). Penitentiary of New Mexico—Guard Tower. Online Image. Retrieved fromhttps://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Penitentiary_of_New_Mexico_-_Guard_Tower.jpg

Rafter, N., & Ystehede, P. (2010). Here be dragons: Lombroso, the gothic, and social control. In *Popular Culture, Crime and Social Control* (pp. 263-284). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Ryerson S (2013) Speak your piece: Prison progress? *The Daily Yonder*. Retrieved http://www.dailyyonder.com/speak-your-piece-prison-progress/2013/02/12/5651.

Schept, J. (2014). (Un) seeing like a prison: Counter-visual ethnography of the carceral state. *Theoretical Criminology*, *18*(2), 198-223.

Schept, J., & Frank, J. (2015). Challenging Prison Progress: Landscape and the Dialectical Image. *Crime, Media, Culture*, *11*(1), 85-86.

Schept, J. (2015). *Progressive Punishment: Job Loss, Jail Growth, and the Neoliberal Logic of Carceral Expansion*. NYU Press.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of exclusion: Society and difference in the West*. Psychology Press

Sloop J (1996) *The Cultural Prison: Discourse, Prisoners, and Prisons*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Smith, L. (1992). At california prison, relics recall a grisly past. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved http://libproxy.eku.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/307575258?accountid=10628

Steinert, H. (2003). The indispensable metaphor of war: On populist politics and the contradictions of the state's monopoly of force. *Theoretical Criminology*, *7*(3), 265-291.

Soja, E. W. (2010). *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*. London: Verso.

Study challenges need for prison towers, however kettle moraine guards dispute proposal to close all but two. (1996). *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Retrieved http://libproxy.eku.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/260454919?accountid=10628

Valiaho, P. (2014). The Light of God: Notes on the visual economy of drones. NECSUS-*European Journal of Media Studies* 3 (2): 99-111

Wall, T., & Monahan, T. (2011). Surveillance and violence from afar: The politics of drones and liminal security-scapes. *Theoretical Criminology*, *15*(3), 239-254

Wall, T. (2013). Unmanning the police manhunt: Vertical security as pacification. *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes*, *9*(2). 32-56

Walters, P. (2010). Prison tower guards disappear. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Retrieved http://libproxy.eku.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/89168796?accountid=10628

Weizman, E (2002) *The Politics of Verticality*. Retrieved
https://www.opendemocracy.net/ecology-politicsverticality/article_801.jsp

Weizman E (2007) *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. New York: Verso

Wener, R. (2014). *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails: Creating
Humane Spaces in Secure Settings*. Cambridge University Press.

Wright, A. (2016). *Monstrosity: The human monster in visual culture*. London: I.B.
Taurus

Young, J. (2012). *The criminological imagination*. Cambridge: Polity.