

## Inside Paremoremo

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**ABSTRACT:** In the 1960s Paremoremo Prison (1963-69; archt: J.R.B. Blake-Kelly) was built in the aftermath of the 1965 Mt Eden prison riot. It was, at the time, "arguably the most modern and technologically sophisticated gaol in the world." It was influenced by the designs of: Blundeston prison, Suffolk, England (1961-63); Kumla prison, Sweden (1965); and Marion prison, Illinois (1963) - the New Generation prisons which both interiorised the thinking behind 1960s campus-style prisons that displaced the cell to primarily nocturnal habitation, and are the dominant influence on New Zealand prison design today. This paper will examine 1960s prison design, and its impact on the design of Paremoremo and more recent New Zealand prison architecture.

### Introduction

Internationally, the 1960s saw significant changes in thinking about prison architecture. The United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders was held in London, August 1960, and in 1961 both the *British Journal of Criminology* and the *AIA Journal* dedicated special issues to prison architecture. A constant theme was the balance of security and humanity. Early in 1963 the Assistant Government Architect, John Blake-Kelly, went to Sweden, England and America to research and visit maximum security prisons,<sup>1</sup> in anticipation of designing the new Auckland Prison at Paremoremo. Meek notes that he was to study both prison design and "the quickest methods of construction." He also writes that Blake-Kelly's brief opposed "a fortress-style design" and dependence on

<sup>1</sup> Anon "Paremoremo Maximum Security Prison" p 247.

firearms, but that the prison "must provide a very high degree of security, [and] ... be conducive to a constructive treatment programme."<sup>2</sup>

Buildings which influenced the architecture and technology of Paremoremo included Blundeston Prison, Suffolk (1961-63) Marion Penitentiary, Illinois (1963) and Kumla Prison in Sweden (1965).<sup>3</sup> Robson elaborates that "[t]he Department already held copies of the plans for both Blundeston and Kumla," and records that:

Mr I.J.D. MacKay (Director of Prisons) saw Marion, Blundeston and Kumla in 1964. The Hon. J.R. Hanan (Minister of Justice) saw Kumla in 1964 and the writer [Robson] saw Marion in 1965.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 8.

<sup>3</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 8.

<sup>4</sup> Robson "Prison Administration" p 5.

### Blundeston Prison, Lowestoft, England (Eric Bedford, 1961-63)

Blundeston Prison was the first so-called "New Wave" prison, a term used in John Madge's 1961 "Trends in Prison Design." Its design replaced the open-tiered galleries of Victorian segregate cells, where the prisoner spent virtually all of their time, with four four-storey T-plan housing blocks using a "corridor" or "hotel" plan with three floors of sleeping cells above a ground floor of associate functions (e.g. association room, dining room, ablutions, offices).<sup>5</sup> Each housing block was positioned around a central service block or "spine unit," containing:

classrooms, a library, the canteen and gym on the ground floor, and the first floor housed the four dining

<sup>5</sup> Brodie et al. *Behind Bars* p 29; Fairweather "Prison Architecture in England" p 342; Home Office *New Directions in Prison Design* p 1.

rooms and kitchen. The Anglican and Roman Catholic chapels were on the top floor.<sup>6</sup>

Each floor of cells operated as a smaller group of about 25 inmates with communally-located ablutions, though Blake-Kelly refers to Blundeston as still clinging to "the reprehensible slop-bucket system."<sup>7</sup> It had corridor lengths of about five cells long on each floor, within the larger block of 76 people, within the even larger prison of about 300, consistent with the "small group" principle.<sup>8</sup> In doing so Blundeston shifted the nineteenth-century focus of surveillance down the cell block nave, to the supervision of the movement of prisoners across the prison site, aided by a system of gates and barriers and closed circuit television.<sup>9</sup> Technology monitored and regulated access to extreme parts of the plan by removing the inhabitants' control over thresholds at functional transitions in the architectural plan. As Madge observed, radial prison architecture is no longer relevant in a system where:

control is exercised on the spot rather than from a distance. ... In any case, distant monitoring can be done by closed-circuit T.V.<sup>10</sup>

Blundeston also moved the administrative entrance block to be integral with the perimeter wall, and incorporated communal facilities, such as workshops, hospital etc. as part of a larger coherent plan.<sup>11</sup> The compactness of the planning enabled:

the advantage of creating large open areas within a restricted perimeter and thus giving a greater impression of spaciousness than the traditional form of design.<sup>12</sup>

There was also an explicit attempt to "avoid the traditional prison appearance" in the design.<sup>13</sup> Aesthetically Blundeston moved away from the convention of an intimidating neogothic façade, with its "blank prison wall and gate."<sup>14</sup> Instead of a high perimeter wall, these new prisons were to have an 8ft (2.44m) concrete wall for privacy rather than security, and an internal "12 ft [3.66m] chain link fence surmounted by barbed wire" to deter

escapes.<sup>15</sup> This aimed to be both secure and to remove the historic iconography of prisons (e.g. barred windows).

### **Kumla Prison, Sweden (1965)**

Kumla Prison was the second prison explicitly referred to in Blake-Kelly's "Recommendations," where he noted the Swedish practice of locating prisons close to "well built-up areas," and indicated a focus in Swedish prisons on trades training.<sup>16</sup> When discussing work-cells for "hard core recalcitrants," Blake-Kelly contrasted the Swedish practice of "sometimes allow[ing] groups to be formed up to 4," with the usual overseas practice of isolated work conditions for these prisoners.<sup>17</sup> The first mention of Kumla by Blake-Kelly in his report compared it with Blundeston and their similar use of the physical separation of housing blocks proposed for Paremoremo, but he distinguished Kumla's ground floor which linked blocks with communal facilities, such as association rooms and dining rooms.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Anon "Blundeston Prison, Lowestoft" p 416.

<sup>7</sup> Blake-Kelly, *Recommendations for Paremoremo* p 4.

<sup>8</sup> Peterson "The Prison Building Programme" p 310.

<sup>9</sup> Evans *The Fabrication of Virtue* p 4; Peterson "The Prison Building Programme" p 310.

<sup>10</sup> Madge "Trends in Prison Design" p 369.

<sup>11</sup> Fairweather "Prison Architecture in England" p 342.

<sup>12</sup> Peterson "The Prison Building Programme" p 311.

<sup>13</sup> Anon "Blundeston Prison, Lowestoft" p 416.

<sup>14</sup> Peterson "The Prison Building Programme" p 313.

<sup>15</sup> Peterson "The Prison Building Programme" p 314.

<sup>16</sup> Blake-Kelly. *Recommendations for Paremoremo* pp 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Blake-Kelly, *Recommendations for Paremoremo* p 2.

<sup>18</sup> Blake-Kelly, *Recommendations for Paremoremo* p 4.

The liberal context of Swedish prisons in the 1960s encouraged as little use as possible of prisons, and a commitment to community-based facilities.<sup>19</sup> An emphasis on non-institutional alternatives to punishment was supported by legislation in 1965, the year Kumla Prison opened.<sup>20</sup> That said, Kumla was "designed to hold 435 inmates behind its imposing 21-foot walls."<sup>21</sup>

### **United States Penitentiary (USP), Marion, Illinois (Gyo Obata, 1963)**

Robson states that USP Marion was "the institution upon which Paremoremo was substantially based," but heeds that "the comparison between Marion and Paremoremo should not be taken too far."<sup>22</sup> Marion introduced the pinwheel plan to prison architecture, where the four corridors formed a cross with arms slightly off-set, leading to: (1) the front administration building (which is located outside the secure perimeter fence), (2) cell blocks, (3) the admission and hospital wing, and (4) the workshops, chapel and dining hall.<sup>23</sup> At the juncture of these

corridors, the control room was located, where:

a single guard, his vision supplemented by the T.V. camera, can have a very good idea of what is happening all over the institution.<sup>24</sup>

The centrality of remote electronic technology and displaced vision in the plan contrasted that of Blundeston and echoed in effect the central position of surveillance in Bentham's eighteenth-century panopticon plan. The Marion plan enabled a more compact telegraph pole plan with room for possible expansion.<sup>25</sup> It also provided the ability to close-off parts of the prison (e.g. workshops) when they were not being used, ensuring that the prison was only as big as it needed to be at any one time, assisting in the control of the prison as a whole.<sup>26</sup>

A double wire fence replaced a solid wall as the penitentiary's perimeter, which was supplemented by external free-standing watch towers, from where guards "can push back glass panels to shoot, if necessary," to ensure

perimeter security.<sup>27</sup> Inside, the prison's high reliance on CCTV technology for surveillance, and remote door operation, enabled a physically lighter architecture, where conventional signs of security and architectural intimidation were intended to be avoided.<sup>28</sup> An example is the detailing of the window panels which invisibly incorporated the prison bars inside glazing bars.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, the aesthetics of the interior avoided conventional images of prison architecture.<sup>30</sup>

### **Paremoremo (1963-69; archt: J.R.B. Blake-Kelly; project architect Hitchcock)**

When Paremoremo opened in 1969, it was heralded as "arguably the most modern and technologically sophisticated gaol in the world."<sup>31</sup> Philosophically, Paremoremo aimed to provide a secure facility which enabled rehabilitation, largely through trades training.<sup>32</sup> The design discarded the perimeter fortress wall of older prisons for a "mile of 20 ft high double mesh wire fence," with "low

<sup>27</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Institution" p 230.

<sup>28</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Prison" p 189.

<sup>29</sup> Anon ""Maximum Security Prison" pp 191, 192.

<sup>30</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Prison" pp 189, 191.

<sup>31</sup> Newbold *Punishment & Politics* p 178.

<sup>32</sup> Anon "Paremoremo Maximum Security Prison" pp 247, 248.

<sup>19</sup> O'Brien "The Prison on the Continent" p 221.

<sup>20</sup> O'Brien "The Prison on the Continent" p 221.

<sup>21</sup> Roth *Prisons and Prison Systems* p 259.

<sup>22</sup> Robson "Prison Administration" pp 30, 33.

<sup>23</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Institution" p 229; Anon

"Maximum Security Prison" pp 189, 191; Johnston

"Recent Trends in Correctional Architecture" pp 328-329.

<sup>24</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Prison" p 189.

<sup>25</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Prison" p 191.

<sup>26</sup> Anon "Maximum Security Institution" p 227.

voltage pressure trip wire," four corner watch towers with search lights, and an electronically-controlled exterior gate.<sup>33</sup> In contrast to Marion, this physical perimeter security was not reinforced by armed perimeter guards.<sup>34</sup>

The material and construction of the building, like Marion, ensured physical boundaries were impenetrable, even if they did not seem to be - the precast façade having "built-in tool-resistant steel bars ... [with] no bars ... visible externally;" steel portal frames had "legs encased in concrete."<sup>35</sup> Armour plate, shatter-proof, bullet-proof glass and tool-resistant manganese steel grilles, from Canada, also supported this.<sup>36</sup> The absence of firearm use

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<sup>33</sup> Anon "Paremoremo Maximum Security Prison" p 248; Gilkison, Memorandum to the Secretary of Justice pp 1, 3; Meek *Paremoremo* p 1; Newbold "The Emergence of the Supermax in New Zealand" p 112; Robson "Prison Administration" p 12.

<sup>34</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 9.

<sup>35</sup> Blake-Kelly quoted, Robson "Prison Administration" p 7; Flynn, and Hitchcock, Memorandum to the Commissioner of Works p 1.

<sup>36</sup> Anon "Paremoremo Maximum Security Prison" p 247; Meek *Paremoremo* p 2; Robson "Prison Administration" p 11; Weiss "The Development of Paremoremo Prison" p 43.

shifted the means of security to "the way the building itself was designed."<sup>37</sup>

The main corridor arms of the pinwheel plan connected four functional zones of: (1) reception, chapel and visiting, (2) cell blocks, (3) medical, staff area and detention, and (4) workshops and gymnasium, all meeting at the central control room.<sup>38</sup> Internal movement was controlled by a sally port system of grills and gates, electronically operated and monitored by the central control room, with closed circuit television and a telephone system.<sup>39</sup> This strategy for the comparatively free movement of the prisoners within the prison, but the interiorising of inmate movement was also "a substantial aid to control."<sup>40</sup> This was consistent with American trends to use:

corridor zones or completely separate areas, set off according to type of facilities accessible or closeness of custody of the living quarters. This cuts down on supervisory and personnel problems, makes possible the closing of some areas in the evening hours and the

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<sup>37</sup> Robson "Prison Administration" pp 5, 6.

<sup>38</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* Plate 1.

<sup>39</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 2; Robson "Prison Administration" p 11.

<sup>40</sup> Robson "Prison Administration" p 11.

separation of different offender groups within one institution."<sup>41</sup>

The self-contained housing units at Blundeston were echoed at Paremoremo, with the upper storeys of three-storey north-south aligned cell-blocks accommodating sleeping cells (3.2m x 1.8m), and the ground floor locating association functions, such as recreation, classroom, dining room and hobbies room, which minimised inmate movement across the prison and their contact with prisoners in other housing units.<sup>42</sup> An exception was the lack of communal dining rooms in the maximum-security Block D, where as prisoners were required to eat meals in their cells.<sup>43</sup>

Unlike most other New Zealand prisons, Paremoremo adopted the cell architecture conventionally associated with the Auburn, or Silent, System of interior cells, where a grille of cage-like bars formed cell fronts. This is in contrast to the walls and doors of the Pennsylvania, or Separate, System cells that

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<sup>41</sup> Johnston "Recent Trends in Correctional Architecture" p 328.

<sup>42</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 8; Newbold *Punishment & Politics* p 180; Robson "Prison Administration" pp 7, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Robson "Prison Administration" p 11.

was predominant throughout Britain. Meek acknowledges the problems, in relation to privacy and light levels disrupting sleep "on moonlit nights or during the summer months," due to the grille cell fronts, and most standard cells were "fitted with curtains" to address this.<sup>44</sup> An earlier memorandum promoted "grille fronts to all the cells," on the basis that this would support lighting and ventilation, but it also acknowledged that this "will give inmates no privacy at all," and suggested that "each cell be partially enclosed by a wall front and partially grilled."<sup>45</sup> These "inside" or "internal" cells were placed back-to-back and faced a passage which lined the exterior wall and sometimes became used as an associate dayroom. This relationship between cell and passageway was argued to permit:

the exterior walls to be used naturally as well-ventilated and sunlighted areas from which the adjacent cells with their open grille fronts, drew benefit,

though cells were "forced ventilation thermostatically controlled."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 10.

<sup>45</sup> Cutler, Memorandum to the Commissioner of Works p 1.

<sup>46</sup> Gilkison Memorandum to the Secretary of Justice p 1; Robson "Prison Administration" pp 7, 10.

Meek writes that Paremoremo was the first high-security building built in New Zealand since the 1920s, and "[t]he grille front cells, closed circuit television and mechanically operated sallyports and cellgates were all unprecedented on this scale," leading to contemporary references of the prison as "zoo-like."<sup>47</sup> Likewise, Rosenberg identified the risk-averse nature of the building: "everything is fireproof ... bullet-proof ... hack-saw proof," and the continuous sameness of the architecture, isolation from reality, lack of sensory stimulation and tendency to disorient the occupant.<sup>48</sup> Yet Robson stressed that "[w]e favoured the use of electronic devices to supplement but not to supplant human control,"<sup>49</sup> and Gilkison emphasised how the prison design would create a humane environment.<sup>50</sup> Despite these good intentions, Weiss reported in 1973 that "inmates resented the cold, impersonal and super-efficient character of the institution."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 9.

<sup>48</sup> Rosenberg "Comment" pp 252-254.

<sup>49</sup> Robson "Prison Administration" pp 6, 13.

<sup>50</sup> Gilkison Memorandum to the Secretary of Justice p 4.

<sup>51</sup> Weiss "The Development of Paremoremo Prison" p 61.

### **New Generation Prisons**

Paremoremo remains as New Zealand's only maximum-security prison but in the last two decades commitment to: increasing prison beds, replacing older prisons, and the regional locations of prisons to increase proximity to inmate families, has seen the construction of new prisons in the twenty-first century. The dominant design influence has been that of the new generation prison design, which was driven by the interrelated ideas of the small group principle, unit management, and direct supervision, inherited from the 1960s. These collectively create de-centralised mini-prisons in a large institution and place prison staff within the same space as prisoners. These ideas are not dissimilar to the New Wave prisons, such as Blundeston, that influenced the design of Paremoremo but have produced a different internal architecture and also enabled classification and transfer systems to operate more easily within a prison rather than only across a prison system.<sup>52</sup> Largely self-sufficient units or pods of 30-50 inmates are formed by perimeter cells surrounding a double- or triple-height multi-functional day room, sometimes referred to as "podular"

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<sup>52</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 10; Home Office *New Directions in Prison Design* pp 71-73, 79.

design,<sup>53</sup> reversing some aspects of New Wave prison designs. The shared day room supports functions such as indoor recreation, dining, and sometimes visiting.<sup>54</sup> Outdoor recreation space is often directly linked to the unit, and toilets and hand basins are provided in cells, which are designed to enable better views to outside and increase natural light and ventilation.<sup>55</sup> This level of self-sufficiency within the unit reduces the need for prisoner movement throughout the larger prison and can be matched with freer levels of movement within the housing unit.<sup>56</sup>

Aesthetically there were initially moves towards informality, and non-institutional décor with civilian furniture, carpet, bright colours and timber frequently being used for furniture and doors<sup>57</sup> to provide for direct, or barrier-free, supervision, which, supported by CCTV and body radios, aimed to encourage informal interaction between staff and

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<sup>53</sup> Grant and Jewkes "Finally Fit for Purpose" p 230; Jackson and Stearns "Gender Issues in the New Generation Jail" p 203.

<sup>54</sup> Home Office *New Directions in Prison Design* p 2.

<sup>55</sup> Grant and Jewkes "Finally Fit for Purpose" p 228.

<sup>56</sup> Meek *Paremoremo* p 10; Johnston "Recent Solutions" p 65; Gill "Correctional Philosophy and Architecture" p 73.

<sup>57</sup> Johnston *Forms of Constraint* p 153; Jackson and Stearns "Gender Issues in the New Generation Jail" p 206.

prisoners "in living areas while having a clear sight of all cell entrances."<sup>58</sup> This also included, for example, a concerted effort, such as in New Wave prisons, to design attractive grilles, rather than conventional bars, across windows.<sup>59</sup> Often practices used in youth facilities, such as functional or decentralised unit management and direct supervision, later became architecturalised in adult prisons. In 1961 Fairweather referred to Swedish examples in Roxtuna (1955) and Hällby (1959), both based on the small group principle, which provided day and hobby rooms at the group level. He argued that "there is no reason why similar principles could not be extended for adult prisoners."<sup>60</sup> Brodie et al. refer to borstal buildings as being key in the adoption of New Generation prison architecture in England, citing Feltham (1975-83) as an early example.<sup>61</sup>

A critical moment in the development of New Generation prison architecture, in which these ideas coalesced into a more coherent design, was the production of design guidelines by the University of Illinois: *Guidelines for the*

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<sup>58</sup> Grant and Jewkes "Finally Fit for Purpose" p 230.

<sup>59</sup> Powers "The Importance of a Program" p 75.

<sup>60</sup> Fairweather "Prison Architecture in England" p 352.

<sup>61</sup> Brodie et al. *Behind Bars* p 39.

*Planning and Design of Regional and Community Correctional Centers for Adults* (1971).<sup>62</sup> Grant and Jewkes also highlight Sommer's theories of environmental psychology that influenced the development of the unit management model in prisons. This included:

research on privacy, territoriality, the behavioral impacts of noise, and visual connection with the outside world were applied to the design of unit management settings.<sup>63</sup>

This work saw a shift in America from Silent System inside cells to outside cells with an exterior wall and windows, and the development of housing units, later called "pods." It was this evolving context which saw the competitions being run for the high rise Metropolitan Correctional Centers (MCCs) in New York, Chicago and San Diego in the early 1970s.

While the New York MCC (1975) located cells proximate to a shared day-room, it retained short corridor plan cell wings, radiating out in a pinwheel fashion.<sup>64</sup> The repositioning of cells so they surrounded and faced the central

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<sup>62</sup> Patrick "A New Generation Facility" p 77; Stephens "The Saga of the American Gaol" p 51.

<sup>63</sup> Grant and Jewkes "Finally Fit for Purpose" p 228.

<sup>64</sup> Home Office *New Directions in Prison Design* p 10.

day-room had a transitional phase in the design of the San Diego MCC (1974), which inserted a landing between the cells and the larger multi-purpose day room, which - like the cells (and the NY MCC) - were vertically displaced by a half-storey.<sup>65</sup> Harry Weese's 1975 Chicago MCC (aka the William J Campbell Courthouse Annex), commissioned in 1971,<sup>66</sup> built a 88m, 27 storey high skyscraper. Its triangular plan became widely adopted because of its good sight lines, activities areas, minimisation of long corridors and maximisation of cell space.<sup>67</sup> The triangular plan developed into a "bow-tie" plan where the common services were shared or co-located (e.g. Federal Correctional Institution, Phoenix, Arizona, 1985; United States Penitentiary, Allenwood, Pennsylvania, 1993), and later into paired rectangle plans (e.g. Lancaster Farms and Doncaster).<sup>68</sup>

### New Zealand New Generation Prisons

<sup>65</sup> Home Office *New Directions in Prison Design* pp 11, 17-18; Johnston *Forms of Constraint* p 153.

<sup>66</sup> Anon "Campbell U.S. Courthouse Annex" pp 106-111; Grant and Jewkes "Finally Fit for Purpose" pp 229-230.

<sup>67</sup> Grant and Jewkes "Finally Fit for Purpose" p 230; Johnston *Forms of Constraint* p 153.

<sup>68</sup> Home Office *New Directions in Prison Design* pp 55; Johnston *Forms of Constraint* pp 153-156.

The Regional Prisons Development Programme (RPDP), announced in 1997, introduced new design and operating philosophies to New Zealand prison architecture, which were stated to "be traced to facilities in Australia and Canada."<sup>69</sup> The variety in residential buildings aimed for a transition, from higher security house blocks to lower security residence buildings, and self-care units, increasing personal responsibility and physically bringing the inmate closer to the prison's exit.<sup>70</sup>

The four RPDP prisons were recognised as having two design types, with the Otago Region Corrections Facility (2007) and the Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility (2006) grouped together, in contrast to Ngawha (Northland Region Corrections Facility) (2005) and Springhill Corrections Facility (2007).<sup>71</sup> In Ngawha and Springhill, both designed by Stephenson and Turner, the site plan draws from the campus style prisons,

<sup>69</sup> State Services Commission "Report of the State Services Commissioner" pp 9, 10.

<sup>70</sup> Anon "Auckland South Corrections Facility" np.; Beals, et al. "Report of the Inquiry into the prisoner riot" pp 14-15.

<sup>71</sup> State Services Commission "Report of the State Services Commissioner" p 11.

where the emphasis is on a secure perimeter and freedom of movement inside it. They include "new generation"-type hexagonally-planned housing blocks, where the central "day room" is an atrium courtyard open to the sky,<sup>72</sup> instead of an enclosed interior, more typical of New Generation prison architecture.

At Otago and Auckland Women's, and the later Mount Eden Corrections Facility (MECF) (2011) and Kohuora, Auckland South Corrections Facility (ASCF) (2015), interior day rooms were reinstated. News reports stated that:

[p]risoners will be grouped into accommodation "pods", which include a communal living space, activity rooms, exercise yards and cells around the edge. ... Feature walls in the prison include bright oranges, gentle greens and baby blue,<sup>73</sup>

and *Stuff* even went so far as to state that the MECF's K Unit "could be mistaken for brand new lodge-style accommodation at an outdoor pursuits centre."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Laidlaw and Schnoor "Biculturalism in New Zealand Correctional Facilities" pp 325-328.

<sup>73</sup> Horrell "Mt Eden prison hailed as "fantastic facility"" np.

<sup>74</sup> Reid "Inside K Unit" np.

While the form of the interior architecture of the housing units in Otago, Auckland Women's, Mount Eden and Kohuora is similar, and strongly reminiscent of earlier new generation design, the timber furniture and detailing of the décor - characteristic of earlier new generation prisons - has been superseded with mass-produced, institutional, industry-grade furniture complicit with aims of security, conveying design prioritising the prevention of damage to the building and ease of cleaning when human blood is spilt.

### Conclusion

At Paremoremo, architectural technologies were the prime medium effecting: surveillance (CCTV), prevention and deterrence of escape (remote controlled gates, trip wires, and search lights), restriction of movement and boundary integrity through the partitioning of the architectural plan (remote controlled thresholds), isolation of inmates from the exterior world (artificial lighting enabling fewer windows), and a non-institutional aesthetic (as electronic means and innovative use of building materials, enable less visible presence of conventional prison security). The effect of the plan, as spatial manager and boundary arbiter, is now hence

both a physical and an electronic one. The control centre is simultaneously proximate to all potential boundary conditions, and circulation routes become temporal and individualised, as the available floor plan is adjusted to support differing degrees of personalised access, meaning that the operating prison, at particular times and for particular people, has different spatial configurations.

The new generation prisons further confine inmate experience of the whole prison site as the increasing self-sufficiency of housing units uses multi-purpose space to supplant the need for inmate circulation between functions. Direct supervision places the prison officer in control in the inmate space, but architectural technology does not disappear. Instead the architectural technologies of Paremoremo (electronic remote control, remote vision, and damage and escape resistant building materials) have become less visible through becoming ubiquitous, being taken for granted (e.g. CCTV), and occupying new secondary roles (for example, as body alarms on prison staff in direct supervision roles). This has occurred as (or perhaps enabled) the multi-purpose plans and décor to reassert

conventional architectural means to create control in prison environments.

Meanwhile, the architectural ambition for a non-institutional appearance of prisons has failed as these buildings seem increasingly institutional with time. The period of prisons that Robin Evans' *Fabrication of Virtue* discussed saw prisons grow from *ad hoc* non-distinctive buildings in the eighteenth century, into the typological development of architecture as a punishment in the nineteenth century. In a post-industrial world of specialisation, when building function has a strong relationship to building type and image, architectural image seemingly appears to be more fickle. In 1969 Paremoremo reputedly looked more like a research institute than a prison. Today photographs of it look and feel like a prison, suggesting that the 1960s image of Paremoremo has grown into its institutional reality.

A new Paremoremo has since replaced the original 1969 maximum security prison. This idea of a prison resulted from a 2012 discussion between Corrections CEO, Ray Smith, and then Paremoremo superintendent, Neil Beales, and the idea that "if we wanted to do good work, we agreed we would need



to have a building to facilitate it".<sup>75</sup> Again the faith in buildings as facilitating socio-cultural change appears to be ever strong. Ultimately though, the new superintendent, Andy Langley, was "keen to have his new jail look less institutional than Paremoremo has been." This avoidance of the institutional was to reside in select architectural details: "Ceilings will be much higher than previously in cell blocks, so cells will be less claustrophobic," showers will be provided in inmates' cells, and the concrete building will be "clad in timber ... [to make it] seem less harsh."<sup>76</sup> The ability to name specific institutionally-defying attributes appears to me to perpetrate the continuing naive belief that architecture can control whether or not something is an institution. This 1960s ambition failed, but our faith in the power of architecture endures.

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<sup>75</sup> Beales quoted, McLeod "Paremoremo prison's experiment in humanity" np.

<sup>76</sup> McLeod "Paremoremo prison's experiment in humanity" np.

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