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Passing Through: An Enquiry Into Boundaries

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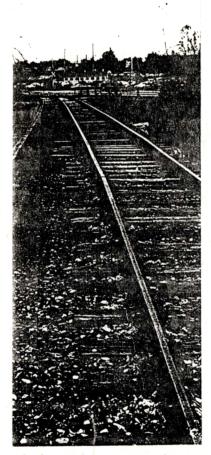
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benjamin pell final thesis proposal

passing through : an enquiry into boundaries



terrance goode - advisor



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tim swischuk - committee

preface statement and explanation of intent

of body surveillance and boundary

sixteen queries - plus one .

the prison and the city

a brief history of Auburn State Prison and the city that followed

definitions:

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b o . d y boun.da.ry dis.ci.pline i n . m a t e in.sti.tu.tion r i . t u . a l r o u . t i n e spec.ta.cle sur.veil.lance v i . s i o n vi . s i . t o r

article one:

Panopticism: A Modern Vision?

article two:

Observation Light and Identity

article three:

Ritual and Identity, Routine and the Environment

article four:

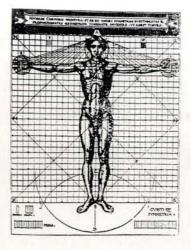
On Boundary

article five:

Ritual and the Mythos: Narratives of Plato and Kafka

exercise one: In the Penal Colony exercise two: Plato's Prison

annotated bibliography extended bibliography sources and references



It has been argued that the development of discipline as a means of control has come directly out of a post-Enlightenment attitude towards the human body. The influence of reason during the Enlightenment period introduced a particular distinction between faith and science. Through a relentless pursuit of order and rationale, scholars established an initial schism in thought, formulating a discourse of the mythos and the logos.¹ Wedded to irrefutable logic, science was ultimately hailed as a tool for knowledge - a means of reinterpreting previously accepted explanations of the natural environment. Meanwhile, the subsequent questioning of religion and faith as sources of truth devalued myth as a fanciful remnant of antiquity. With this shift of influence came the application of reason to varying fields of practice, as universal principles were sought after to contribute to the new knowledge of science. During this period, significant and sizable projects were completed which began to categorize and quantify current customs and Central to various studies was the representation of the practices. individual, and the re-interpretation of the human body within a scientific framework. Falling subject to its own invention, the human body quickly became an object of discourse, as its identity was increasingly objectified and regimented.

The thesis is intended as an enquiry into the origins of discipline and its subsequent representations through the twentieth century. This project will examine issues of surveillance and control, boundary and institutions, as a contemporary critique of nineteenth century practices of formation and *re*-formation². Furthermore, the investigation will examine the evolution of institutional confinement, and propose a resacrilization of punishment through rituals of discipline. A breakdown of discipline into three specific components - *the body, surveillance*, and *boundary* - will be conducted to focus the project on spatial issues relative to a historical and contemporary interpretation of discipline.

"The influence of Newton paved the way for the systematization and mathematization of knowledge, a knowledge that held that immutable, mathematical laws could be derived from the observation of natural phenomena."

-Alberto Perez-Gomez, Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science, p.11.

¹ Perez-Gomez, Alberto. Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science, 1992.

² Markus, Thomas. Buildings and Power, 1993.



The new knowledge sponsored by the Enlightenment emphasized the significance of observation and classification as means to an understanding of universal principles and truths that were inherent and calculable.³ Various methodologies developed in order to classify and *re*-register the natural environment into a discipline that was comprehensive yet accessible. Diderot's *Encyclopedie* of 1751 assembled a catalogue of machines, practices, and sciences, grouping them as a rationalized survey of previously 'unknown' elements. As well, the architecture of Jacques-Nicolas-Louis Durand developed a categorization of design and proportion that concentrated on efficiency and economy through a syntax of rationale. These attempts to describe and organize the natural environment into rationalized, and thereby accessible, elements marks the re-evaluation of the human body as a science or discipline. To constitute an understanding through observation and notation, registration and description, was an introduction of discipline as a constructed and scientific knowledge.

As Enlightenment reason found universal applications, the administration of justice and punishment in the nineteenth century underwent a significant evolution. The body was progressively removed as a target of punishment, and the deprivation of time and social contact replaced prior practices of mutilation and torture. In lieu of branding, flogging, and the stockades, the body was put to work as an industrious component within a system of production, education, and re-formation. With the gradual disappearance of the scaffold and the display of public punishment, institutions were established that internalized the functioning of discipline. Rituals of arrival, ascent to the platform, declaration of crime and sentence, and finally the delivery of corporal punishment, had previously given shape to a specific ceremony of discipline - one which involved the body of the condemned in a larger mechanism of power.⁴ With the retreat from the public eye, a reinterpretation of these disciplinary relationships was constructed, effectively reproposing the use of ritual. Institutions relied upon a fluctuating network of relationships, and the new discipline required specific spatial qualities that could support and inform the routinized environments of incarceration.

As Michel Foucault has argued, the penitentiary was a pivotal invention in the structuring of a 'body-technology', or a discipline of the body.⁵ By involving the criminal in a greater system of subjugation and control, under the guise of a divine benevolence, the institution sought to correct the mind rather than the body. A systematic objectification of the individual produced a body capable of industry and reform, and was pusued in various nineteenth century institutions, such as the prison, the hospital, and the asylum - previously undifferentiated functions. By controlling the body, science was able to fully harness the efficiency of production in the factories, the guidance of education in the schools, and the totality of surveillance in the prisons. In effect, making use of what Foucault has termed 'docile bodies', as trainable and submissive entities installed into a political distribution of discipline.



³ Perez-Gomez, Alberto. Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science, 1992.

⁴ Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 1979.

⁵ ibid.

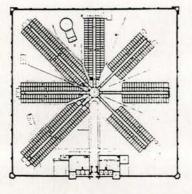
The introduction of the carceral institution in the nineteenth century supported a larger social agenda - arguably as a response to evolving capitalistic constructs⁶ - as concerns of overcrowding and contagion in the jails had been stressed by the Quaker community in Pennsylvania since William Penn's revolutionary penal code of 1682.⁷ A century later, Quaker penal reformers would borrow from current investigations of incarceration conducted by Jeremy Bentham and John Howard, examining a tradition of confinement that had deeply deteriorated in France and England.

"The domain of God is outside reason."

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-Alberto Perez-Gomez, Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science, p.25.





Eastern State Penitentiary, constructed on the site of an eleven-acre cherry orchard in 1822, received its first inmate in 1829. Conceived of partially as a model for the ideals of Benjamin Rush and the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, and partially as a response to overcrowding at the Walnut Street Jail, the penitentiary was immediately hailed for its success in aligning an innovative reform program with a supportive architecture. Through a system of surveillance and ritual, the inmate was controlled and re-formed through his self-reflection and penitence. Twenty-three hours of isolation in a cell, and one hour in an enclosed private exercise yard, recalls an existence of humble servitude akin to monastic life. The rituals of admittance to this community of repentance are densely layered, and focus on maintaining the anonymity of the prisoner. Numbers, rather than names, were used for reference. The new inmate was hooded upon entering the prison yard, spun for dis-orientation, led to his cell, and locked into place within the system of monitored control. The narrow corridors that radiated off of the central inspection rotunda were never occupied by the prisoner, but rather by visitors, critics and the curious, such as Charles Dickins, Gustave Beaumont, and Alexis de Tocqueville.

John Haviland's idealized plan for Eastern State immediately identifies with a geometric efficiency; an organizational strategy that is in itself representative of order, and the impact of order on the criminal mind. Furthermore, there is a relationship between plan and program, architecture and routine, as devices to control and discipline the population. Centralized surveillance, radial cellblocks, standardized cell size and type, and the numbered, anonymous population.

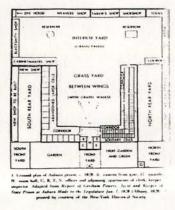
Although the Eastern State Penitentiary was conceived of as a model of Bentham's Panopticon, it ultimately proposes quite a different interpretation of surveillance. Bentham's construct focuses on the observation of backlit figures, and therefore the absence of a figure signals nonconformity. At Eastern State, the inmates are never in view of one another, nor of the inspection rotunda itself. The observing gaze travels the length of the clear, empty corridor. Here, presence signifies a break of order.

⁶ see David Harvey, The Condition of Post-modernity, 1989.

⁷ The association between incarceration and religious institutions was not unfamiliar. Pevsner presents a history of confinement that begins with the monastic order of Consuetudines of Cluny, in his *History of Building Types*, p.160.

"...long anxious hours, with nothing but the reflections that are present to the minds of all guilty persons."

-Negley Teeters, The Cradle of the Penitentiary, p.53.

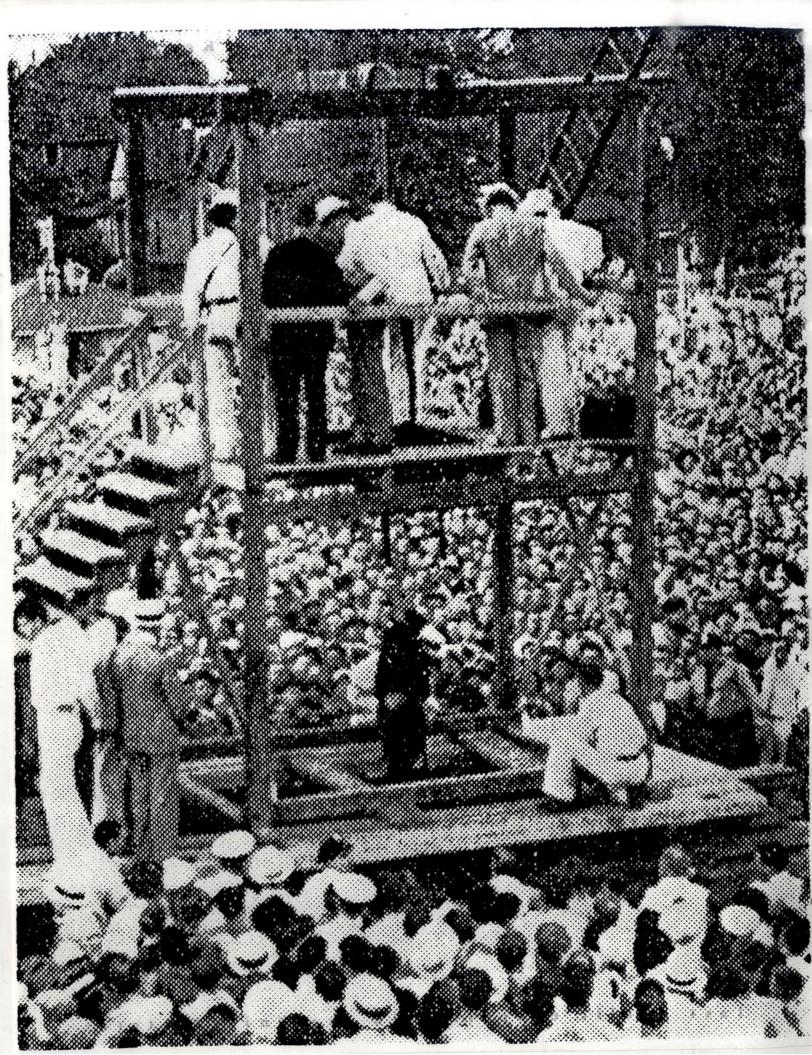


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The implementation of solitary confinement was a revolutionary change in methods of imprisonment. However, shortly after its institution, Eastern State was challenged by a congregate program of incarceration, developing at Auburn State Prison in New York. Inmates were allowed to share facilities, including workshops, dining halls, exercise yards, and cells - all of which were provided to the individual inmate at Eastern State. Despite the differences with the Pennsylvania system, however, Auburn maintained a specific routine of incarceration that was manifested in strict and absolute silence. Furthermore, while Eastern State was based in a punishment of confinement and a reformation through repentance, Auburn was notorious for continuing a tradition of corporal punishment despite the declared successes of the Auburn system.

Almost two centuries after construction began at Auburn, the prison continues to function as a maximum- security state facility. In 1893, the Prison for the Criminally Insane was converted into a women's prison - at a time when it was finally deemed that the mentally ill should be classified separately from the convict population. In 1890, the very first electrocution was performed at Auburn State Prison, involving the institution in another heated debate regarding penal practice and philosophy. By 1929, the prison had grown into a 22.5 acre compound, and employed a greater portion of the working population of Auburn. As residential fabric has grown around the prison in the last century, one has to wonder how the presence of walls and guard towers, not to mention what Foucault would call 'the other', has impacted the social and spatial development of the city of Auburn.

"We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production." -Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.194.



of body surveillance and boundary

sixteen queries - plus one .

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The prison as an isolated environment presents a community at once defined and limited by its envelope. Communication through and beyond the walls is a controlled, yet, nevertheless extraordinary phenomenon. Traditionally the exchange with *the outside* has been spatially provided for through access to open, *outdoor* exercise space, and the privilege of monitored visitation. Because these privileges are heavily restricted, the journey of families and inmate relations has been ritualized into a single day event - regardless of distance and difficulty of travel. The process of arrival, search, visitation, search, and departure, is a ritual that directly subjugates the visitor to surveillance and control - not unlike the discipline imposed upon the inmate. During visitation, the role of boundary is hyper-activated as there is a literal and ritualized crossing of threshold - a communication that is perhaps more powerful for the visitor than the visited. Similarly, the nature of a pre-release facility furthers the exploration of boundary as a step-down facility for the prison, and, dually pursued, they propose a dialogue of passage; the supervised preparation for release and exit, and the regulated ritual of entrance and visitation.

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The body is the object of all intentions. It is subject to the manipulations and interests of the environment within which it is located. It is an abstraction in that it is identified only relative to the larger operation of discipline, and therefore represents a single element within a syntactical composition. This notion of the *dehumanized* body is central to an examination of the nineteenth century institution, particularly with regard to the surveillance and control of the *incarcerated* body.

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Knowledge through observation, surveillance represents the institution of discipline through a visible clarity of relationships. The congregation of a silenced community of offenders has neccesitated an architecture that must facilitate the observer.

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Boundary separates and connects simultaneously. It is repesentative of a system of discipline that both defines and delimits itself through a fluctuation of relationships. The nature of the boundary is both maintained and questioned by the act of passage, as it is structured by the very necessity to control and regulate the exchange between outside and inside. The speculation of boundary proposes an act of communication whereby threshold is understood through a layered ritual of passage - both literal and phenomenal.

(re)search house

5000 sq ft.

The re-search house is intended as a place for the re-classification of the inmate upon entering the prerelease program (a procedure initially undergone during admission to any new carceral environment). This is performed as a period of psychological testing and analysis, during which time the inmate is often held in quarantine. This re-search occurs beyond the walls of the previous facility, but prior to admission to the new program, and is perhaps the first layer between the two. The research house presents the idea of the body as an object of empirical knowledge.

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medical examination station

1500 sq ft.

Designed to maintain the purity of the carceral environment, the medical examination station is a place of further testing to determine necessities of the inmate. Furthermore, it represents a process by which the new inmate is made to conform to the new facility, preserving the sanitized and controlled environment.

interview rooms

five rooms 30 sq ft. each

The interview rooms are integral to the classification process, providing space for the interaction of the individual and the institution through a seemingly private examination - though perhaps monitored by the entire institution.

records house 2500 sq ft.

The records house is intended as a collection of statistical information, an abstraction of the prison community as a network of files on inmate activity - devoid of a historical or personal context that may be associated with the outside. It represents the rationalization of the prisoner as an inmate, reidentified as a component within the prison system.

clothing (de)pository

150 sq ft.

One of the first stops in the admissions sequence is the clothing room, where the new inmate deposits his valuables and civilian clothes - to be redeemed upon discharge - and receives his prison uniform. This is perhaps the final step in the re-identification of the body - the admission of the criminal as an inmate. The clothing (de)pository proposes the opposite. It is a final stop in the release sequence - a place where the prison uniform is retired and the inmate is once again returned his citizenship. A re-humanization of the individual and the body.

holding cells

fifty cells. 30 sq ft. each

The pre-release facility may be required to provide holding cells. The project may propose that the ritual of passage from maximum-security to pre-release is a daily event - that the inmates involved return every night to their cells inside the prison, continuously experiencing the act of passage until the day of final release. On the other hand, it is possible to repropose holding cells for the pre-release inmates that are actually divorced from the confines of the prison. Perhaps it is a combination of the two.

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gymnasium for male offenders gymnasium for female offenders 3000 sq ft. total

The gymnasia are places of collectivity - where the inmates are assembled in strict silence as a comprehensible whole. Serving as a depot for group recreation, the gymnasia may be specific to the prerelease facility, or perhaps are time-shared with the maximum-security population - suggesting an ambiguity of boundaries between the two programs.

dining hall 3000 sq ft. total

The codification of every-day activities, prescribed and monitored, represents a relentless system of discipline. The dining hall proposes a congregative event, performed three times a day, under close inspection and a rule of absolute silence. Here the collective is presented, as a community, as a whole - the most basic of needs and perhaps the most intense thirty minutes of supervision.

count platforms

five platforms. 70-300 sq ft. each

The head count is a manual registering of the inmate population. It is performed in the morning, and in the evening, and every time a group of inmates has passed through the perimeter walls for work furlough. The head count represents the abstraction of the prison community as a quantifiable entity, and is an act of mass surveillance. The count platforms are designed to support the functioning of counts by facilitating surveillance and accommodating varying numbers of prisoners.

> viewing stations five stations, 35-350 sq ft. each

Varying in size and configuration, the viewing stations are intended to be points of observation situated throughout the project. The vistas are fixed as coordinates relative to a particular understanding of the prison environment - like the omniculur focus of the camera obscura. Access to the stations is not necessarily limited, though each will be designed for either visitor, guard, or inmate, to achieve a particular understanding.

observatory 2500 sq ft.

The observatory is a point of macro-exchange between the prison community and the outside world. By providing a facility for the observation of the heavens by the inmates, a phenomenal escape is proposed. The intention is to establish a connection far beyond the limits of the prison environment, to an examination of the universe as a larger source of order - a source from which Enlightenment scholars initially drew.

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gate house 400 sq.ft.

The gate house, or sally port, is a monitored portal for both pedestrian and vehicular entry and exit. Because it is commonly considered the single breach in perimeter security, it is layered with a series of consecutive barriers - designed to support one another in case of emergency. The gate house represents a significant point of exchange between the prison community and the outside world, whether it be the actual passage of prisoner, guard, or visitor, as it is responsible for regulating the integrity of the boundary.

waiting house

8000 sq ft.

The waiting house functions as a preliminary destination for visitors having traveled some distance. It sits on the cusp of entry, a place of rest along the threshold, and a place of preparation for the ritual of passage through.

director's house

3000 sq ft.

Traditionally located outside of the prison - a decapitation of the institutional hierarchy - the director's house is the administrative brain of the facility. It is the source of discipline inside the walls, though the director himself remains an outsider to the activity within.

communication stations

ten stations. 30-100 sq ft. each

The communication stations are areas for visitation, and represent the exchange, or communication, between the outside and the inside. They are intended as a series of varying constructs, accommodating different events and rituals of visitation, such as conjugal visiting. The stations may be located in a single structure, or may each engage the existing facility in a different manner.

clocktower

The significance of time in the prison system is two-fold, both defining the severity of the sentence, and administering the punishment day to day. The monotony of routine and the repetition of daily events have incorporated time as a structure of discipline - a means to control through a regular measure. Likewise, the scheduling of events, the arrival and admission of visitors, and the guard shift are all structured by an established routine - thereby signifying a reliance on time from within and without the prison environment.

electrocution chair August 6th, 1890 William Kemmler Auburn State Prison

The Prison and the City

a brief history of Auburn State Prison and the city that followedⁱ

"The fear of punishment operates on a whole community; the means of reformation on a few individuals, and privation and suffering are best adapted to attainment of both these objects."

-Inspectors of Auburn Prison, 1822.

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Late in the eighteenth century, the state of New York made two alternative proposals for the town of Auburn - to either be appointed as the state capital, or to house a new institution of corrections for the state. Auburn, only recently settled after Sullivan's campaign against the Six Nations in 1779, held a population of one thousand in 1816 - the year the prison opened. By capacity, the new institution represented one quarter of the entire population of Auburn, and employed a great deal of the remaining three quarters. Furthermore, discharged inmates contributed to the growing community outside of the walls, as many of them chose to remain in Auburn - maintaining employment with the local industries that had contracted them as inmate labour.

"In 1816, (Auburn) lacked many of the refinements of large eastern centers. At first glance, it would seem to have been a proper scene for the working of the 'frontier spirit' with reference to correctional matters."

-David Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora, p.55.



The first legislation for the construction of two new penitentiaries in New York State - Newgate, in New York City, and Albany - was secured by Thomas Eddy in 1796. Within a year, the Albany project was abandoned, and efforts were focused on the New York City prison, located on the east bank of the Hudson. In 1816, following the successes of the Newgate prison, Eddy planned for the design of a project further north, that could initially accommodate increasing over-crowding in the New York City prison. Although significant correspondence between Eddy and Caleb Lownes, inspector at the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia, had certainly informed the design of the facility and program at Newgate, the policy of solitary confinement that would come to define the Pennsylvania system was not adopted at either Newgate or Auburn. Instead, Eddy's plan continued a long tradition of mass confinement - with one distinction: the Newgate and Auburn institutions were specifically for the incarceration of criminals. The Walnut Street Jail still maintained prisoners of a variety of offenses - crime, debt, insanity, prostitution, disease, etc... Furthermore, rather than the influence of Quaker reformers such as Benjamin Rush, the New York prisons promoted a Calvinist belief in the depravity of man. Therefore it is not surprising that the Auburn system became notorious for its continued practice of corporal punishment - much to the dismay of Pennsylvania penal reformers.

The development of the new Auburn prison was hastened by the need to alleviate overcrowding at Newgate, and was quickly instituted as a replica of the practices and policies of the New York City prison. By 1819, however, it had become clear that postwar reform laws had produced little relief to continuing problems at Newgate and Auburn - problems of insubordination, riots, and even arson, that were attributed to a poor system of discipline. In response, an act was passed which officially legalized flogging in 1819, however some keepers apparently had "tender feelings about whipping the inmates". The most significant decision, however, came in 1821, with the apprehensive trial of solitary confinement. On Christmas Day, 1821, eighty hardened criminals were placed into individual cells in the newly constructed north wing:

"They were allowed no work, were forbidden to lie down in the day time, and were condemned to remain in this situation until their sentences should expire." -David Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora, p.68.

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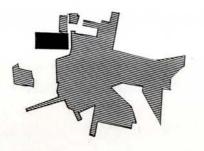
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Between 1821 and 1823, more than half of the deaths that occurred at Auburn were attributed to the solitary program and its effects. Acknowledging the dismal failure of the experiment with the *Pennsylvania* system, the administration at Auburn initiated a new program of discipline. Maintained in solitary confinement at night, inmates were congregated for group activities during the day, under the veil of absolute silence. This rigorous two-fold control would rapidly receive international recognition, being dubbed as the new 'Auburn program', or the *New York system*.

Given the significant demands of maintaining a community of five-hundred offenders - already found guilty of greater transgressions - in complete silence, a tightly regimented discipline was established based upon surveillance and routine. One of the most influential and progressive deputy keepers at Auburn was Elam Lynds, who brought with him the experience of a lengthy military background. It is Lynds who has been credited with the development of militaristic strategies in the control of the inmate population at Auburn.

"It is significant, in view of the rigid discipline imposed upon convicts under the Auburn system that...the marching maneuvers performed by the inmates, and even the punishments inflicted upon them for breaches of prison rules, may well have been adapted from army practices." -David Lewis, From Newgate to Dannemora, pp.86-7.

By the late 1820's, the facilities at Auburn prison had expanded to include religious services and, in 1859, the opening of an asylum for the criminally insane. Likewise, the city of Auburn was experiencing a rapid growth, as emigration from New England increased throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. This corresponding development of the institution and the city provoked various patterns of residential development, as relations between the prison community and the outside world evolved.

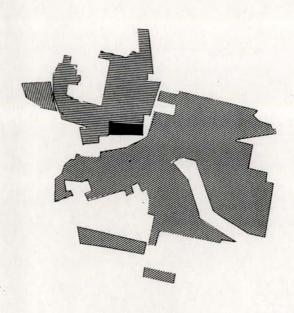


The location of the new prison to the north of the city was indicative of a desire to establish an industrial influence in Auburn. Siting the prison walls along the banks of the Owasco Inlet, ambitions for future prison industry were prepared to harness potential water power. In fact, over the course of the next century, various industries were founded within the vicinity of the correctional facility, contracting a virtual slave-labour force from the prison community. As the city matured south of the prison, the developing industrial tract wedged itself a position between the institution and the city, forging a schism between the two. This is perhaps one of the first significant divisions that occurred in relations between the prison and the city. In 1819, a series of arson attempts on the prison from within the walls excited the fear of the neighboring community, who hastily formed an armed militia which met weekly for training in riot control.

1836

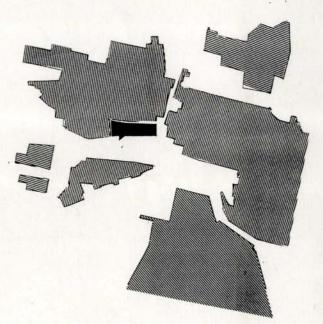
Nevertheless, despite rifts between the slowly growing prison and the rapidly developing city, the institution became a strange attraction to outsiders. In 1834, twelve and one-half cents permitted the common citizen an unauthorized visit into the prison, establishing for the first time a regulated - albeit illicit - communication between the two communities. In that year, a recorded 7,440 persons unaffiliated with the prison paid for admission. The population of Auburn in 1848 - the year of its incorporation as a city - was only 8,500. While previously, visitation was often permitted to friends and family directly related to inmates, the policy of an open admission entertained curiosities and established a permeability to the walls of the institution. This privilege afforded to any willing individual is reminiscent of Bentham's clause regarding the involvement of the public conscience in the functioning of the Panopticon:

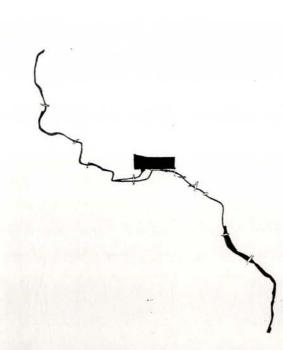
"Any panoptic institution, even if it is as rigorously closed as a penitentiary, may without difficulty be subjected to...irregular and constant inspections...by the public; any member of society will have the right to come and see with his own eyes how the schools, hospitals, factories, prisons function." -Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.207.



1871

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Owasco River inlet: previously used for industrial power

conrail tracks: daily freight at 4.00 pm.

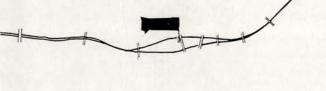
Throughout the nineteenth century, Auburn prison underwent a series of significant expansions, including a move that nearly doubled the state acreage towards the end of the century. By 1893, the Asylum for the Criminally Insane had been transformed into a women's prison, requiring the construction of a large internal wall that segmented the length of the entire compound at two thirds.

Meanwhile, residential growth around the prison increased towards the end of the nineteenth century, as two communities developed - one surrounding Genesee Street and the downtown commerce, one north of the prison divided by a well-established and developing industrial zone south of the institution. This strip of factories and shops situated between the prison and the city proper, represented an active and prosperous industrial influence in Auburn. The three major entities that evolved in Auburn into the next century - International Harvester, the Dunn and McCarthy Shoe Company, and the Auburn State Prison - would dominate employment and politics in Auburn until the 1950's. With the expansion of the prison to Washington Street in 1929, the confrontation between institution and community was made a tight dialogue - a separation of only twenty feet between state and private property lines.

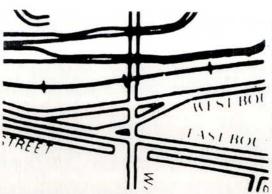
Auburn State Prison - a contemporary biography

Auburn Prison has continued to function as a State correctional facility well into the late twentieth century, and will presumably continue to do so. Subsequent vacancies of the International Harvester Company in the 1950's, and the Dunn and McCarthy Shoe Company in the 1970's, has left the prison as the primary employer in the city of Auburn to date - challenged only by rising employment in education. Nevertheless, the previously industrialized area south of the prison has remained in a state of ruinous abandon, and, coupled with a four lane arterial (c.1975), continues to isolate the now developed northern residential district from the center of the city.

Beyond the walls themselves, a series of boundaries have been constructed which have ultimately lent an emphasis to this disjunction between the prison and the city. However, communication between inside and outside has been manifested in various forms in contrast to these well-defined distinctions.



arterial: merge of routes 5 and 20, speed limit 55 major points of crossing: Washington street, State street



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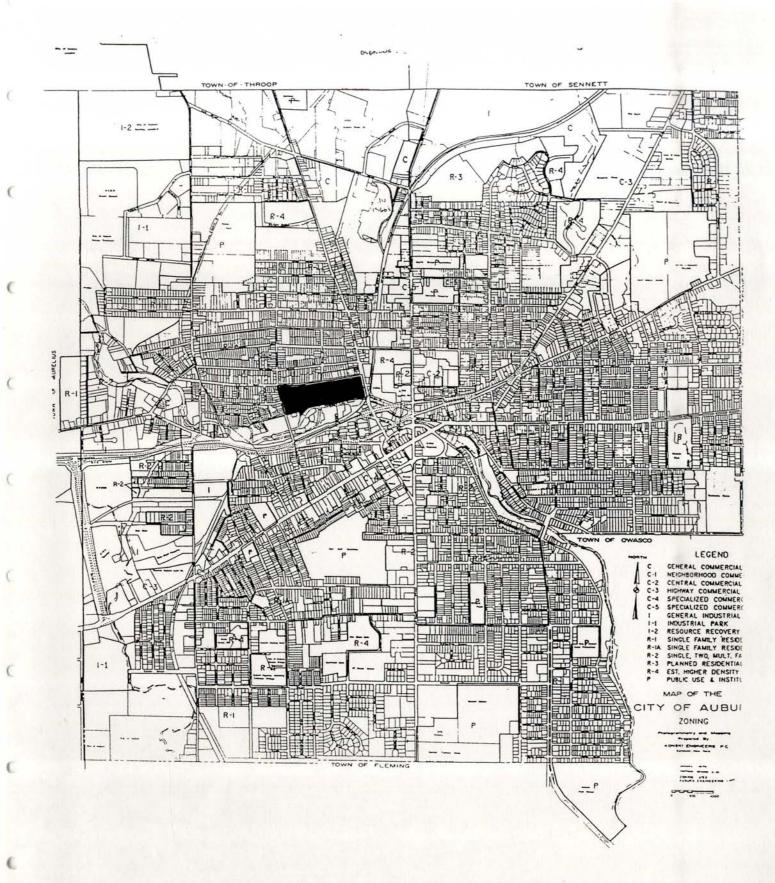
On December 9th, 1972, the Auburn Hospitality Association was opened, offering a preliminary destination point for visiting families and relatives of inmates at Auburn. Over the past twenty-five years, the Hospitality Center, housed in a trailer located directly across from the prison, has provided a place of comfort and rest as a supportive facility to the trying visitation process. Essentially operating as a waiting room for visitors - presenting a friendly, family-room atmosphere, replete with a television and complimentary refreshments - the Hospitality Center provides information regarding the regulations and eligibility of visitation, available bus services, and inexpensive area accommodations. Established as a vehicle to maintain family connections with the incarcerated population, the visitation policy initiated a conceptual dissolution of boundaries. It provided a controlled and ritualized, yet literal, exchange between the prison environment and the outside.

"Numbers and slips will be given out at 7:00 a.m. One number per visit You must pick up your number and slip Fill out slip and hand in at prison Admission to prison for visits starts at 9:00 sharp Visits will be called by inmate's last name Visitors are called ten visits at a time Buses leave at 3:30 p.m." - posted information at Auburn Hospitality Center.

> Expanded, altered, and reconsidered, Auburn State Prison remains as one of the last vestiges of a nineteenth century ideal. Having made a significant contribution to the discourse of penology and reform, the Auburn system has amazingly survived nearly two centuries of evolving penal philosophies. The unquestionable nature of the institution as a maximum-security facility has provided it with a certain degree of shelter from contemporary critiques of incarceration. However, given the history that the prison retains, and the iconographic and literal impact of the institution upon the neighboring communities, an opportunity has been created to re-present the prison and its history as a re-evaluation of the current relationship between the institution and the city.

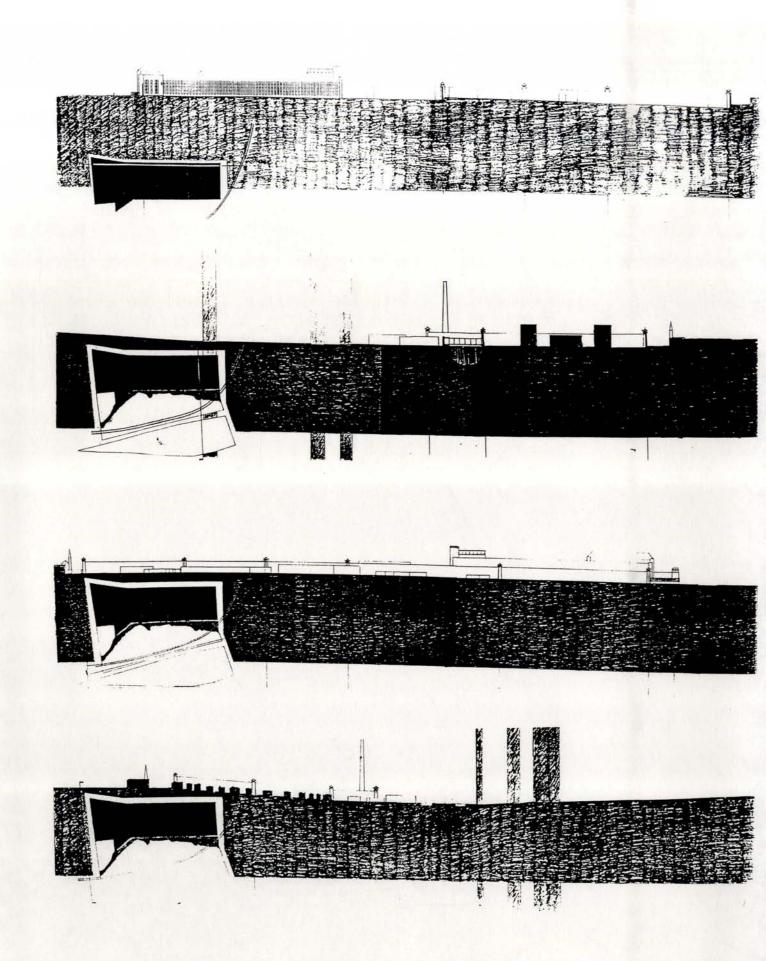
ⁱ This account is entirely indebted to the following three texts. Any qualitative information, including dates and figures, have been researched and extracted almost exclusively from these books.

Gordon, Thomas. Gazetteer of the State of New York. Philadelphia: T.K. & P.G. Collins, Printers, 1836. Lewis, David. From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965. Melone, Harry. History of Central New York, vol. 1. Indianapolis: Historical Publishing Co., 1932.



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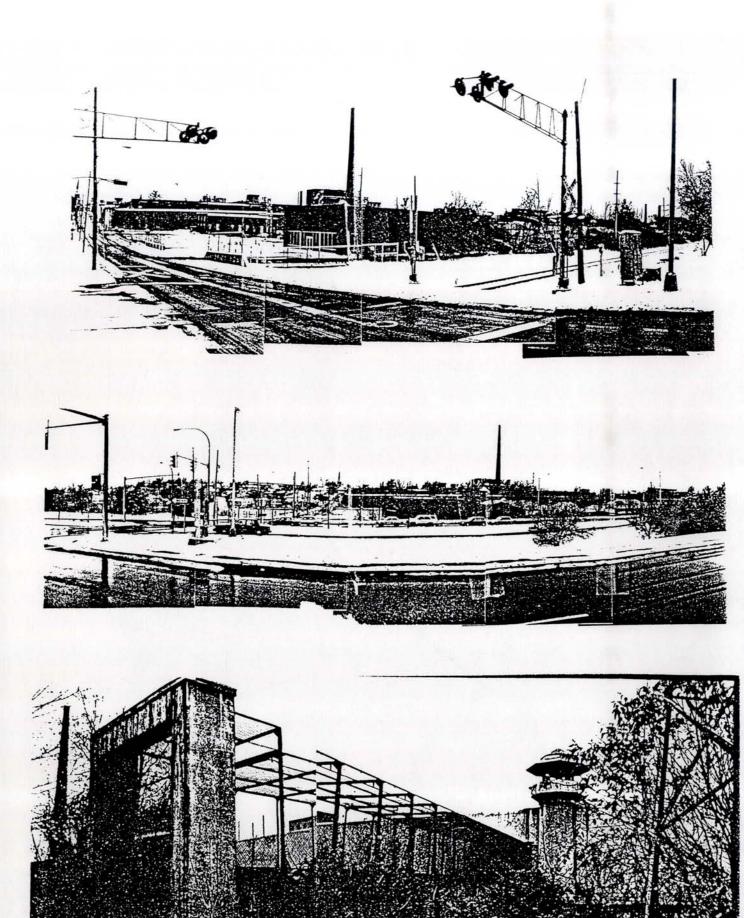


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definitions

Today was Tuesday, foot day. He had divided the week up among different organs and members: Monday, hands; Wednesday, ears; Thursday, nose; Friday, hair; Saturday, eyes; and Sunday, skin. Concentrating each night on just one area of his body allowed him to carry out the task of cleaning it and preserving it with greater thoroughness and attention to detail; and by so doing, to know and to love it more. With each individual organ and area the master of his labours for one day, perfect impartiality with regard to the whole was assured; there were no favoritisms, no postponements, no odious hierarchies with respect to the overall treatment and detailed consideration of part and whole. He thought: My body is that impossibility; an egalitarian society. -Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau,

S,M,L,XL., 1995.

boun.da.ry

there were no more bars, no more chains, no more heavy locks; all that was needed was that the separations should be clear. -Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 1979.

dis.ci.pline

Discipline is an art of rank... It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations.

-Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 1979.

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in.mate

a person who dwells with another or others in the same house. -Webster's New World Dictionary, 1979.

in.sti.tu.tion

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the crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities.

any practice done in a set precise manner.

-Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 1979.

ri.tu.al

rou.tine

-Webster's New World Dictionary, 1979.

adherence to a pattern of behaviour characterized by mechanical repetition. -Webster's New World Disciotnary, 1979.

spec.ta.cle

As the indispensable decoration of the objects produced today, as the general expose of the rationality of the system, as the advanced economic sector which directly shapes a growing multitude of image-objects, the spectacle is the main production of present-day society.

-Guy Debord, Society of the Spectacle, 1983.

4.pl. something through which one views things, or something that influences, colors, or biases one's views or ideas.

-Webster's New World Dictionary, 1979.

sur.veil.lance

close and continuous observation for the purpose of direction, supervision, or control. -Webster's New World Dictionary, 1979.

vi.sion

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a plurality of means to recode the activity of the eye, to regiment it. -Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer, 1990.

vi.si.tor

'Who is this who, without death, can journey through the kingdom of the dead?' -Dante Alighieri, Inferno, Canto VIII; 84,5.

Panopticism: A Modern Vision?

"The senses deceive, reason corrects the errors; consequently, one concluded, reason is the road to the constant; the least sensual ideas must be closest to the 'true world'." -Friedrich Nietzsche, The Will to Power, p.317.



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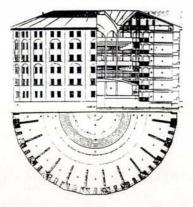
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The *logos* sponsored by Enlightenment reason informed a constructed understanding between man and the environment. This artificial perception, based upon a relentless pursuit of organization and rationale, initiated a new knowledge dependent upon observation and categorization. Diderot's *Encyclopedie* of 1751 is a sizable example of the comprehensive studies and analyses that occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries - investigations that would ultimately contribute to a relative re-assessment of the human body itself.ⁱ A popular discourse at the time, vision became a focus of interest, as a formulating Modernity re-defined the position of the observer.

The new science of vision was focused on bringing knowledge into light. It relied upon specific methodologies of observation - grounded in order and reason, and a contemporary interest in representations of truth.ⁱⁱ Through a particular positioning of the observer and the object, vision became a controlled relationship. Mechanisms like the *diorama* (c.1790) and the *stereoscope* (c.1820) experimented with the location of the observer, relative to phenomena and objects in view. Essentially, the invention of devices for seeing introduced a theoretical construct of vision - one which began to remove seeing as a phenomenon internal to the body and the sense, re-constituting it as an obtainable function of science.

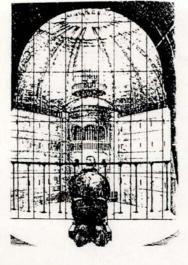
"Machines are social before being technical." -Gilles Deleuze, Foucault, p.13.

The development of the *camera obscura* is historically situated somewhere within the early stages of the Enlightenment. As Jonathan Crary has argued, the evolution of the camera obscura as a discursive construct occurred within the framework of reasoned science.ⁱⁱⁱ The camera obscura represented a process of removing the observer from the context of the outside world, and positioning him in such a way that through the mechanism itself, knowledge and truth, via observation, were controlled. The static representation of the natural environment offered a definitive, yet controlled observation. Vision was, in turn, decorporealized, as it was absorbed by the *mechanism* of the camera obscura, and ultimately accessed by the subject.



Changing socio-spatial relationships in the nineteenth century were paralleled by a new significance of vision as a means of control. The institution became a network of relationships intended to maintain order in a school, repentance in a prison, and production in a factory. In support of this, tactics of surveillance established a scientific order that re-proposed observation as a discipline of *control* - thereby transforming vision from a tool of general knowledge, to tool of specific knowledge. Surveillance was used as a means of control and order: not just through the act of seeing, but through a political distribution of visibility that regulated who could see and how. In turn, a series of relationships were activated that manifested this discipline as a paradigm of a Modernist vision - re-assigning emphasis on the body as an object, rather than the subject of vision.

"By the beginning of the nineteenth century the camera obscura is no longer synonymous with the production of truth and with an observer positioned to see truthfully." -Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer, p.32.



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The Panopticon, conceived by Jeremy Bentham in 1786, was a model interpretation of the new vision. Examining this post-enlightenment visibility as a means of social progress. Bentham conceptualized a spatial model of how discipline was empowered^w. Ultimately, the Panopticon as a project for vision and knowledge represented a displacement of pre-Modern visibility, as signified by the camera obscura. It was a re-positioning of the observer and the object that relied upon a particular subjugation of the body to the observer's gaze - a surveillance used to ensure order and control. In effect, Panopticism revolutionized the theoretical construct of vision in that it established a mechanism for being watched, as successfully as the camera obscura produced an environment for the watcher. Furthermore, the efficiency of this device was so truly dependent upon the objects of observation, that the role of the observer was rendered insignificant. At least in physical terms. The idea of the observer, however, as a phenomenal entity, was crucial. Like the camera obscura, the Panopticon was a model for a specific conceptualization of vision. In both cases, a spatial mechanism was employed that re-evaluated the relationship between observation and the body of the observer.

The development of panopticism as a new theoretical construct for vision inverted the traditions of darkness and obscurity, previously associated with the carceral dungeon and common punishment. The lightness of Bentham's proposal, however, introduced an efficiency of observation that took advantage of transparent conditions to ensure control. The sublime nature of incarceration as places of terror and hidden contagion - as represented in *i carceri di Piranesi* - was replaced with a visibility clearly sponsored by Enlightenment desires to uncover and reveal truth through reasoned clarity.^v

"A definite fear prevailed during the second half of the eighteenth century: the fear of a dark space, of a screen of obscurity obstructing the clear visibility of things, of people and of truths. Bentham's project excited such a great interest because it provided the formula...for a form of power that operates by means of transparency, a subjugation through a process of bringing to light" -Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power," p.11. While the camera obscura presented a physical medium as a device for seeing the external world, Panopticism provided a theoretical construct that could be used without ever really introducing the body of the observer. In effect, these devices for seeing were self-reliant tools, through which knowledge and truth were defined and accessed by the subject - which was in turn subjugated by the omniscience of the watchful eye.

"The seeing machine was once a sort of dark room into which individuals spied; it has become a transparent building in which the exercise of power may be supervised by society as a whole" -Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.207.

¹ Foucault, M. Discipline and Punish, 1979.

^{ill} ibid.

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[#] Crary, Jonathan. Techniques of the Observer, 1990.

^{iv} As Foucault has observed, it was the function of discipline *itself* that signified the actual source of power, rather than the individuals or the masses immediately involved in the struggle. (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*).

^v It is perhaps feasible to argue this reversal in thinking as a triumph of reason over blind faith, and of science over religion during the Enlightenment.



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Observation: Light and Identity

The prisoners would mistake the shadows for realities... -Plato, The Republic, Book VII.254.

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...[A]ll the radiant spaces of modernism, from the first Panopticon to the Ville Radieuse, should be seen as calculated not on the final triumph of light over dark but precisely on the insistent presence of the one in the other.

-Anthony Vidler, The Architectural Uncanny, p.172.



Light and shadow essentially represent a symbiotic relationship; an interplay between reveal and disguise that is necessary for the articulation and understanding of our days and nights. While within one representation, that of refraction, light can inform colour, it is in contrast to the shadows it produces that we recognize difference in texture, changes in depth, and inevitably the articulation of form. Therefore it would seem evident that the relationship between light and shadow is a phenomenon that not only identifies our environment, but one that is at the foundations of perception perceptions of objects, perceptions of meaning, and perceptions of time. Arden Reed has proposed the following categories for the signification of shadowsⁱ:

A. Perceptual:	obscuring / illuminating
B. Ontological:	shadow / substance
C. Logical:	repetition / difference
D. Temporal:	past / future
E. Affective:	threat / protection

This contrast between light and shadow is most often legible in terms of a material description of surfaces. The distribution of light over a surface reveals the texture and quality of the material, its discontinuities and discrepancies. In so doing, an articulation of the object is developed that removes it from the anonymous level of abstract form. It is given a tactility that further informs the observer about what it is that is being viewed. With further manipulation of light sources, such as specular versus diffuse light, bearing angle and altitude angle, it is possible to control the identity of objects by essentially providing and removing qualities of perception.

The deliberate use of light and shadow as a means of knowledge has been represented in various forms throughout history. Plato introduces the concept of a cave of imprisonment, where individuals are affixed to a wall, their heads prevented from turning to either side. A fire burning behind and above them casts shadows of puppets and objects against the screen wall before them: producing a knowledge of reality through a limited perception of images. Plato concludes that the shadows are absolute, their twodimensional identities a representation of truth.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, philosophers and architects alike began to investigate new means of production and efficiency, to respond to a current re-formation of knowledge. Institutional development, such as the prison, the factory, and the hospital, was supported by changing attitudes towards the human body and its relationship to a larger industry of discipline. Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon of 1791, was a significant rethinking of the interplay between light and shadow in the prison. Previously, incarceration had been associated with the sublimity of the unknown, the dark evils of the dungeon, or the filthy contagion of indefinite and indiscriminate imprisonment. Piranesi's famous sketches of the Carcieri present an environment of shadow and light, illustrating the presumed horrors of the prisons as ruinous and terrifying. Bentham's re-evaluation of the institution reverses this relationship between punishment and the environment: rather than imposing a fear of darkness, the Panopticon employs the specific application of light as a device of control.

Disorder and disease can no longer hide in shadow, as the prisoner is involved in a system of constant surveillance

The Panopticon ultimately operated as a mechanism for knowledge and control through observation. Situating the inmates concentrically around the inspection tower, Bentham proposed a single point of control, from which all could be viewed. The inmates were placed between two windows - one which brought light in from behind them, and one which exposed them to the gaze of the inspector. The central tower, masked by a screen on all sides, allowed the constant and ubiquitous observation of the inmates, as figures revealed against the wash of backlighting.

"In both (Plato's Prison and Bentham's Panopticon) shadows are the sole object of observation, and objects are known only by their shadows." -Arden Reed, "Signifying Shadows", VIA 11, p.21.

By bathing the inmate in light, a total visibility was implemented. The inspector could preserve order through observation of the shadowed figure against the light, and the inmate was imprisoned by the very uncertainty of whether the omniscient eye was upon him. Therefore, the specific distribution of light and shadow in the Panopticon both revealed the location and actions of the inmate as verifiable, and concealed the identity and presence of the inspector in uncertainty. The Panopticon introduced a visibility and 'transparency' to the functioning of discipline in the prison, that had previously been hindered and disguised by darkness.



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The significance of light and shadow as providers of identity presents a seductive argument that to manipulate light is to control the perception of definitions - and therefore to influence identity relative to recognition. In her article entitled *The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism*ⁱⁱ, Beatriz Colomina presents a comparative analysis of the use of light in the work of Adolph Loos and Le Corbusier. The focus of her text describes particular manipulations of light sources as a means of producing stability or instability within the domestic environment. In describing the introverted nature of Loos' spaces, Colomina presents the window as a source of illumination, rather than a provider of view. On the Moller House of 1928:

"A sense of security is produced by the position of the couch, the placement of its occupants, against the light. Anyone who, ascending the stairs from the entrance (itself a rather dark passage), enters the living room, would take a few moments to recognize a person sitting in the couch. Conversely, any intrusion would soon be detected by a person occupying this area.." -Beatriz Colomina, Sexuality and Space, p. 76.

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Colomina's argument presents similar conditions as the Panopticon, however the distribution and manipulation of light operates in an alternate direction. In backlighting the *object*, Bentham's model is designed to reveal and identify. The identity of the backlit *subject* in Loos' houses is concealed as a means of domestic 'security'.

The significance of the contrast between light and shadow as a means of identification is strong in an environment of control. The manipulation of identities was inherent to the functioning of what Foucault has termed, 'complete and austere institutions', through a series of fluctuating relationships.

"Discipline is an art of rank...It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations." -Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.146.

> As Foucault argues, discipline is dependent upon a particular organization of identities relative to one another. Hierarchies and bureaucracies of control had been established within nineteenth century institutions, prepared to re-form and re-define the mass of 'docile bodies'.

> Bentham's paradigmatic institution was realized to a great extent at the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia. A system of strict discipline and solitary confinement was employed, removing the subjective qualities of the inmate through a series of ritualized activities, and inserting him into the larger functioning of power. A code of regimented practices, restrictions, and routines manipulated the body of the criminal as an object, producing the absolute anonymity of the individual required for the efficiency of the prison.

This article is interested in positing the idea that light and shadow, as essential components of identity and anonymity, can be incorporated into a system of discipline. That perceptions of the body within the institution can be manipulated, thereby altering perceptions of location, boundary, and ultimately truth. An observation of light and shadow provides a knowledge of visual identities and, as Plato may lead us to believe, these identities can represent reality given the proper context. Furthermore, as a mechanism for the controlled representation of the prison environment and the outside world, specific applications of light and shadow can begin to blur and redefine spatial and literal identities - producing a phenomenal exchange through physical boundaries.

¹¹ Colomina, Beatriz. "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism." Sexuality and Space, 1992.

West wall of Auburn State Prison and immediate residential context:



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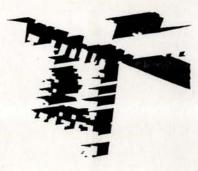
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September 21st, 11.00 am. altitude angle: 30 deg. bearing angle: 30 deg. ETN



September 21st, 5.00 pm. altitude angle: 10 deg. bearing angle: 80 deg. WTN

¹Reed, Arden. "Signifying Shadows", VIA 11., 1990, p.13.



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Ritual and Identity, Routine and the Environment

The development of the nineteenth century institution has been paralleled by the evolution of an architecture of discipline. The design of environments and facilities to support the efficient functioning of the penitentiary, the school, or the factory, has performed an active role in the applications of surveillance and control. Rather than providing a neutral container, the architecture of the penitentiary has contributed to the qualities of totalitarian discipline that have come to characterize the prison system and environment.

Previous to the introduction of the institution, the administration of punishment had assumed ritualistic qualities that were manifested as a processional sequence of events. During the French Revolution, the prevalence of the guillotine as a tool of both mass execution and political intimidation represented a two-fold application of ritual. The condemned was transported from the jail in an open cart, faced with the jeers of the public who lined the streets along the ceremonial path to the scaffold. The theatre for the execution was often the town square, and, given that public executions usually denoted a holiday, a great portion of the town was likely to be in attendance. Once brought upon the platform, the condemned was held in display for the public before being tied to the scaffold. The sentence and crime were declared, the blade dropped, and, if the criminal had been of any social status, the head was presented to the crowd.ⁱ The theatrics of the execution were further embellished by the hooded executioner, and the ceremonial cloak worn by the condemned as he was paraded through the streets.

By the late eighteenth century, the influence of science and reason had permeated various fields of knowledge, including the administration of justice. With the application of codified law and the efforts of penal reformers in England and the United States, the penitentiary was designed as a rationalized device for the reformation of the criminal. The move towards confinement in place of corporal punishment, however, signified a new conception of punishment based upon the deprivation of liberty and time, rather than torture and execution. As the administration of punishment was re-located behind the walls of the penitentiary, the common practice of the public spectacle was abandoned. The ritual of the procession and the theatrics of the execution were discarded, and an architecture of discipline was pursued to house the new carceral bodies.

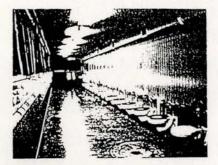


The new institutions of the nineteenth century proposed a re-evaluation of the body as an object, supporting a divorce between the thinking individual and the physical entity. While previously, common law incorporated time and ritual as means to *quantify* punishment - the specific delivery of torture, a specific number of repetitions, over a specific time frame - the penitentiary system established time as a punishment in and of itself. The prevalent use of the wheel and the whip was replaced by the control of time,ⁱⁱ as punishment was re-oriented to affect the minds of the inmates - the harborer of corruption and the object of reformation.

Concentrating on the deprivation of personal liberty and time, incarceration has developed a system of control based upon the meticulous break-down of life's daily activities. The manipulation of time has become a means of prolonging sentences, of depriving the inmate of every minute liberty, in an environment of homogenous articulations and neutralized identities. The daily routinization of events - of sleep, eating, and recreation - has produced a discipline devoid of ritual and ceremony, and indebted to monotony and repetition. Discipline has ultimately been reinterpreted as a system of regulations and a structured distribution of relationships. A celebration of science and reason, the prison represents a discipline reliant upon an artificial and imposed order - a reduction of life into a repressive routine.

"Within existing institutions little variation in the character of the container is evident. Steel bar gratings, mechanical locking devices, bare concrete floors, harsh reverberating surfaces, and multiple-occupancy housing tends to predominate. Nonexistent is the recognition of the individual...within the offender population."

-Frederic Moyer, Architecture and Corrections, 1972.



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Informed by the rigidity of the program, and the demands of high-security and surveillance requirements, correctional architecture has become a discipline of uniform constraint. Repetitive elements, utilitarian facilities, and repressive spatial relationships have promoted an environment that accommodates the supervision of an anonymous community. Shared and individual facilities are intentionally non-descript, contributing to the dehumanization of the individual into an inmate - no more specific than the architecture which confines him. The desire to maintain a homogenous environment - one in which non-compliance is immediately visible - has promoted a design attitude particular to corrections. Together with the meticulous application of routine, the architecture of contemporary incarceration supports a highly rationalized, and hyper-regulated environment. A triumph of Enlightenment reason. The community of the carceral is clearly a separated and isolated construct. Boundaries that delimit the extents of this community are precise and regulated, and thresholds within are likewise carefully restricted and monitored. Therefore, the act of passage into and out of the prison has become a highly sensitized event. The event of passage has become a ritual of procedure, a sequence of intermediary layers between this hyperregulated community, and the liberties of the free citizen. This privilege of moving across boundaries has re-established a ritual of punishment - a last vestige of the processional that impassioned the crowds of the public spectacle, and theatricized the performance of justice.

The admission of the new convict involved an extensive procedure, manifested in a processional sequence of administrative events: the registration of the convict, the provision of a rule-book - often issued with a user-friendly title like 'Helpful Hints to New Arrivals'" - the provision of inmate clothing, the security of valuables to be repossessed upon discharge, and the assignment of cellblock and cell. These methodological steps towards the re-identification of the convict as an inmate prompted a similar and specific spatial procession - from transport and sally port, through a series of security layers and boundaries that ultimately arrived within the prison environment. The identity of the criminal as an individual convicted of a crime was repressed upon entering the prison system, ultimately to be re-defined as an inmate - a distinction entirely relative to the institution of imprisonment. Like the mechanics of the factory assembly line, the admissions process was a regulated, ritualized composition of administrative functions - all of which contributed to the greater necessity of re-identifying the convict within the prison environment. In effect, the process of admission was a two-fold ritual of passage - the literal entrance into a highly structured environment, and the transformation of the criminal as a character within the theatre of the institution.

"The guilty person is only one of the targets of punishment. For punishment is directed above all at others, at all the potentially guilty."

-Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 1979.

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The contemporary mysteries of the prison community are fabricated by the nature of the institution as isolated and inaccessible. However, looking to the original intentions of reformers like Bentham and Rush reveals an omission in the development of the contemporary institution. The distribution of surveillance and control in the prison was never intended to culminate in the powers of the guards or the warden, but rather in the knowledge of the public. By occupying the inspection tower, the common citizen was involved in a two-fold understanding; the honest functioning of justice through the institution, and the realities of punishment and consequences of crime. Similar to the performance of the public execution, Bentham's institution intended to present a function of discipline as both a collective effort by society as a whole, and a mass deterrent to potential future crime. The Panopticon proposed a ritual of public inspection that operated to connect the public and the institution, rather than forge a separation between the two.

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With the legislation of visitation rights for prisoners in the twentieth century, a policy of admission was established that again activated the rituals of passage into a distinct community. Similar to Bentham's public eye, the visitor was permitted to enter this highly structured society, while maintaining his identity as an outsider - comparable to a contemporary Dante. However, procedure and security established a series of boundaries through which the visitor gained access to the insulated community. Policies regarding identification, search, and questioning formulated a ritual associated with entry that defined the individual as a *visitor* - as someone distinct and unaffiliated with the prison system. Similar to the process by which the criminal is re-identified as an *inmate*, the visitor assumed a specific role within the operation of the institution - to be shed in the return to the outside.

While the literal performance of the public spectacle was abandoned in the nineteenth century, the traditional rituals of punishment have been reinterpreted to similar ends. The ceremonial nature of the execution represented the displacement of identities outside of the ritual itself. Redefining the condemned, the executioner, and the observers within a specific theatre of discipline, the public spectacle assumed an autonomous function as a ritual of discipline. Likewise, the rituals of passage into the contemporary institution have produced a process of re-identification. The inmate and the visitor have become terms relative to the functioning of the institution, as the act of passage has created a ritual of discipline in the prison, similar to that of the scaffold.

¹ Sennet, Richard. "The Body Set Free: Dead Space", Flesh and Stone, 1994.

ⁱⁱ It should be noted, however, that flagellation continued as a common practice within prison walls through-out the nineteenth century.

ⁱⁱⁱ Teeters, Negley. New Horizons in Criminology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1959.

On Boundary

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The significance of boundary in the penitentiary has been one of a highly sensitized nature. Due to the enormous security concerns of a house of confinement, the permeability of boundaries has traditionally been a regulated and intensely controlled condition. Layers of both procedure and threshold have been established to monitor and restrict access to points of crossing, making the act of moving across boundaries a specific ritual of passage.

As an isolated and autonomous community, the prison environment has become a locus of restrictive existence. The origins of institutional punishment - rooted in the principles of a post-Enlightenment reason - have promoted a sanitized and controlled mechanism of discipline. The contemporary prison environment is one of a meticulous order and efficiency. It is designed for the precise surveillance of the inmate, and therefore the separations between outside and inside have become prerequisite to the definition of the controlled environment. Like the walls of medieval cities, these boundaries define the limits of the given community, and recognize the differences clearly - between those included within and those intended to remain outside.

The predominant use of boundary in the penitentiary also signified a new conceptual construct, as it was manipulated as a device for the political structuring of identities. Prior to the development of institutions of punishment, the ritual of the public spectacle proposed a distribution of relations that re-identified the condemned, the executioner, and the crowd, relative to the performance of the execution.ⁱ It was the apparatus of the scaffold itself, however, which represented this political re-structuring. As the administration of punishment was concealed behind the walls of the penitentiary in the nineteenth century, the political construct of the scaffold was replaced by the rigid structure of the prison environment.

"There were no more bars, no more chains, no more heavy locks; all that was needed was that the separations should be clear."

-Michel Foucault on the Panopticon, Discipline and Punish, p.202.

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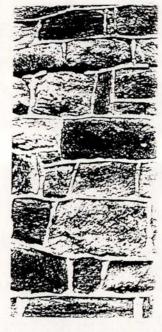
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The development of the nineteenth century penitentiary incorporated boundary and restriction as means to define relationships within the prison system. Quite literally, thresholds were established to maintain differences between the good and the bad, the free and the incarcerated. As prison discipline matured, a program of intense surveillance and meticulous control necessitated the development of particular spatial boundaries that would aid in the observation of the inmate community. However, as Michel Foucault has argued, the Panopticon of 1871 introduced a discipline of the body that was enabled, not through physical boundary necessarily, but rather through intentional separations - supporting a fluctuating exchange of power. Situating the prisoner in a fixed, observable position relative to the inspection tower, the functioning of discipline was ultimately manifested through the intimidation of a potentially continuous surveillance. Confined by the fear of being watched, the inmate was imprisoned by the boundary of uncertainty - thus alleviating the necessities for a fortified, physical threshold.

As programs of incarceration developed, the role of boundary in the institution was established two-fold. First, it served as an organizational device, by defining the extents and the field of a monitored and ordered population. It produced a relationship between vertical surface, layers of enclosure, and an organization of visibility and control. Second, boundary became the mediator between the prison community and free society. As it was the delimiting threshold, the layer that defined the relationship between inside and outside, boundary was responsible for creating a *communication*. Inserted into a Foucauldian scenario, boundary was *the exchange*. It was the active component of the relationship - the verb, so to speak, between inside and outside.

"Among the many other impacts which architecture has upon the total environment, its role as an instrument of communication is especially significant in the area of corrections...The interface of inside to outside is also heavily influenced by the degree of hardness or softness which the facility both provides and projects. Interaction between the alleged or convicted offender and the community is either facilitated or constrained by the permeability of the edge which is established by the facility."

-Frederic Moyer, Architecture and Corrections, 1972.



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Conventional prison design has dictated an architecture of solid walls and impermeable surfaces. However, the significance of boundary in the penitentiary as a device of control promotes the ability to foster a communication, traditionally silenced by the massive and impermeable surfaces of the perimeter wall. As an instrument of exchange, the boundary is capable of manipulating passage and view to present a specific observation - a fixed knowledge similar to representations through the *camera obscura*. The layered and regulated threshold can inform a ritual of passage that is composed of specific points of exchange and communication. As the physical nature of boundary defines the distinctions between the carceral society and the external community, it subsequently sensitizes the act of passage as a controlled and powerful ritual.

This regulated event of crossing signifies not only an admission of the external world, but also suggests a projection of the prison environment beyond the physical limits of the institution. While the internalized prison yard has traditionally been a limited source of freedom - a phenomenal escape through exposure to the undiscriminating natural environment - the conventional external representation of the prison environment has been iconographed as a mysterious masonry veil. However, the capability of boundary to facilitate both the admission of the exterior and the projection of the interior signifies an opportunity to re-present the prison community.

Through the manipulation of boundary, a phenomenal exchange can be produced that establishes relationships beyond the physical definition of the penitentiary. While maintaining the integrity of prison security, the phenomenal act of passage produces an interaction that defies literal boundaries - re-establishing the interaction between the functioning of the prison and the awareness of the public conscience.

¹ Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish, 1979.

Ritual and the *Mythos*: Narratives of Plato and Kafka

"Architecture is the constant dialogue between implication and fact." -attributed to Colin Rowe.

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The interpretation of architecture through narrative produces a fascinating condition of interaction between the individual and the physical environment. By proposing a dialogue between structure and event, the narrative presents a ritual of perception and communication that identifies the individual within an emotive realm. Posited in contrast to the rationalized and repetitive qualities of structure, the narrative expresses various *events* and *figures* that are legible against the consistent datum of routine. It is, however, within this constant dialogue of difference that qualities of the emotive and the phenomenal are experienced apart from the structure of the rational. In effect, a revival of the relationship between the reasoned *logos* and the spiritual *mythos*.

The Republic

"And now, I said, let me show in a figure how far our nature is enlightened or unenlightened..." -Plato, the Republic, Book VII.



Long before the birth of an Enlightenment reasoning, Plato proposed a world of fixed perceptions, whereby the natural environment is presented through a performance of light and shadow. Prisoners are captured from birth in a cave, their vision permanently focused upon the cavern wall. With a fire blazing above and behind them, their own shadows are cast upon the surface before them. Figures placed in front of the fire - but out of the sight of the prisoner - also cast shadows against the wall, presenting silhouettes of both object and observer. Afforded only this limited representation of their environment, the prisoners would proceed to name what they saw, accepting the shadows for realities.

Plato's narrative reflects a ritual of identification in two ways. First as a restructuring of perceived realities through a mechanism of vision, and secondly as a means of neutralizing the distinctions between observer and observed. The acceptance of truth as a result of empirical knowledge suggests the opportunity for the manipulation of observation and representation. Similar to the seeing device of the *camera obscura*, Plato's prison establishes a theoretical construct of vision that presents a fixed, intentional observation. The nature of realities for the prisoners, therefore, is limited to what is presented before them, through this controlled and structured perception.

This projected representation of reality, a controlled and intentional observation, presents the silhouettes of the environment against the shadows of the observers. Unable to perceive themselves beyond their own limited representations upon the wall, the prisoners identify themselves through the same language of light and shadow - blurring the distinctions between the identities of the observers and the observed. The superimposition of representations effectively neutralizes both literal and spatial identities, as the prisoners accomplish a phenomenal freedom from their imprisonment through a daily ritual of presentation and perception.

In the Penal Colony

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An analysis of Franz Kafka's device for punishment provides a literal interpretation of a mechanized production of discipline. With the specific identification of the four characters - the Officer, the Explorer, the Soldier, and the Condemned - Kafka arranges his composition in such a way that their identities are entirely relative to their respective relationship to the machine - a literal contraption for execution. The Officer is the executioner once removed, in that the machine functions automatically once properly adjusted and activated. The Condemned is clearly the intended body to be placed within the machine, stabilized and acted upon. The Soldier is directly involved with the system as a member of the penal colony and keeper of the condemned. Finally, the Explorer, as someone outside of the syntax of operations, pure and impartial to the functioning of discipline, is merely an observer. He doesn't belong to the mechanism of the apparatus nor fall under the government of the colony. He is essentially looking in from the outside. Therefore, the characters represent identities relative to the machine, but more significantly, relative to a larger ritual of discipline.

Given these definitions, the mechanism of punishment is further articulated as a series of spatio-temporal events - composing the makeup of the machine and its operation. The Officer refers to the technical components the bed, the sketcher, and the harrow - in relation to the effects of the punishment over time.

"You see, it is not supposed to kill at once, but only after a period of twelve hours on the average...For the first six hours the condemned man lives almost as he previously did, but suffering pain. After two hours the felt is removed, because the man has no more strength to scream." -Franz Kafka, "In the Penal Colony", pp.60-61.

> Kafka's machine is designed to bring enlightenment to the criminal enlightenment of both the crime and the sentence, in that the condemned is not notified of either prior to the execution of the sentence. This two-fold understanding, recognition and repentance, that is realized in the twelfth hour represents the culmination of a sequence of events that begins with strapping the body to the machine - in affect inserting the condemned into the literal mechanism of punitive deliverance. The ceremonial and theatrical enactment of execution - of which the condemned is virtually a voluntary component - offers a complexity of disciplinary layers, established in relation to the individual components and their inter-relationships.

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Steve Enright, Architect Tsoi / Kobus and Associates One Brattle Square Cambridge, MA 02139 617.491.3067

Both Steve Enright and Bob Broder are prison designers who have spent some time going over issues of design strategies and considerations with me. Bob teaches a course at the Harvard Graduate School of Design on correctional facility design.

Paul Eisenhauer, Ph.D. Sociologist / Historian Eastern State Penitentiary 610.983.3145 peisenha@chc.edu

Paul has been gratious enough to take me on tours of restricted areas in the deteriorating Eastern State Penitentiary. Furthermore, he has provided information on the history and present condition of the site and neighboring communities.

Reverand Paul Carter Harriet Tubman Home 180 South Street, Auburn, NY 13021 315.252.2081

Reverend Carter has provided information regarding community relations with the Auburn State Prison, and particular observations of activity and practices visible from outside of the walls.

James Galvin, Jr. City of Auburn Office of Planning and Economic Development Memorial City Hall 24 South Street, Auburn, NY 13021-3832 315.255.4115

Jim Galvin has provided various information pertaining to my efforts to understand the historical context of the prison at Auburn, and its relationship to the city today.

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