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Prison Media

Incarceration and the Infrastructures of Work and Technology

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PENAL REGIMES AND PRISON REFORMS: 1800–2000

Prisons as we know them are a product of modernity. Born in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the “modern prison,” or the “prison system,” is intertwined with the social organization of capitalism, liberal ideas and ideologies of the individual and of social change, and modernist architecture and social engineering. We take our starting point in the nineteenth-century prisons, but the emphasis in the empirical chapters is on the 75 years between the end of World War II in 1945 until the present. This is the era of the welfare state, advanced capitalism, the industrialized prison, and modern electronic and digital (mass) media. The history of the modern prison can be told in many ways, and the literature covering the various aspects of this history is vast. We can here only give some brief accounts and highlight a few important points in the history of the prison system that are of relevance for our understanding of prison media. The developments of the Swedish prison system follow, in some respects, broad patterns in the global North. However, there are also national and cultural specificities.

The Swedish prison system has often been understood as a specific form of penal regime influenced by the Social Democratic welfare state. Historically, it has been described as more humanitarian and with a strong focus on normalization (i.e., the belief that life in prison should resemble ordinary life outside of the prison as much as possible); additionally, Nordic societies have often been perceived as having a comparatively small prison population (Lappi-Seppälä, 2007; Pratt & Eriksson, 2012). The penal “exceptionalism” of the Nordic countries has been a topic in both scholarly and public debate for a long time, but during the last decade this image is slightly changing. While the influence of global neoliberal penal ideologies may be to blame for the waning of Nordic exceptionalism, it is also possible that said exceptionalism was never fully achieved (Scharff Smith, 2012a). Although a full account of these debates is beyond the scope of this chapter, we flesh out some of the specificities of the prison in relation to the Nordic welfare state.

At the same time, we situate the history of the prison system in relation to broader and more general developments, particularly in Sweden but with an international outlook.

THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN PRISON

Although different penal regimes have succeeded each other throughout history, the modern prison is a product of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As capitalism emerged alongside the Enlightenment movement in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, corporeal punishment and work as a form of punishment were called into question. Instead, criminals should be punished for their actions in a way that allowed for reforms through introspection, soul-searching, and religiously inspired repent. This stems from a new understanding of the individual as a possible object for "reform." The individual in general was seen as "formable," and hence through proper treatment even the worst criminals could be bettered. Furthermore, "doing time" was in a new capitalist economy increasingly understood as a form of punishment, as time had been reimagined as a currency: time is what a wage laborer exchanges for a wage. Time itself has a value, or a prize, and to confiscate someone's time through incarceration can thus become a punishment (Melossi & Pavarini, 1981). These general lines of thought crystallized in the modern prison.

Prior to this period, Scandinavian prisons were both brutal and ill-developed. They were harshly criticized in the writings of international penal reformers such as John Howard (Smith & Ugelvik, 2017). In Negley K. Teeters's work in comparative penology titled *World Penal Systems* (1944), the Scandinavian prisons of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are cited as an example of "the most barbaric forms" of punishments. He states that the Scandinavian countries were the most "bloodthirsty and severe" in Europe at the time (Teeters, 1944, p. 86). At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, there was a general and international shift in how Western society looked upon crime and punishment, a shift from corporeal punishment to surveillance and self-regulation that, as Michel Foucault famously argued in *Surveiller et punir* (1975), transformed the penal system and ideology. Corporeal punishment was gradually abandoned. Instead, incarcerated individuals were held and surveyed in institutions meant to enhance their moral reform and capacity for self-reflection and surveillance. Activists and reformers advocated for these changes, regarding them as a necessary humanization of the penal system. Their ideas found support among social elites rather than the general populace (Smith & Ugelvik, 2017).

Enacting these changes required an international shift in the organization of punishment in most Western countries. Modern Swedish prisons were inspired by new models imported from the US such as the Philadelphia model, also called the "solitary system," and the Auburn prison, known as the "silent system." The Quaker vision of penology—the Philadelphia model—was first introduced and reflected in the architecture of the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia. The prison architecture was developed based on the premise of solitary confinement that should allow incarcerated individuals to reflect about their wrongdoings in total isolation. Individual cells were lined up in a wagon wheel construction in which cell wings radiated in a circle from a tower in the center to allow for constant surveillance (figure 2.1). This architectural model of the Eastern State Penitentiary was exported globally, and more than 300 prisons were constructed in similar ways (Johnston et al., 1994).

In contrast, the Auburn system was based on the maxim of silence but gradually loosened up isolation. While solitude was only kept at nighttime, incarcerated individuals were allowed to do some work during the day. They were working either alone in their cells or in communal workshops at daytime on the condition that they kept absolute silence. The Auburn system gradually replaced the Philadelphia model in many places, as it promised to contribute to the rehabilitation of incarcerated individuals by establishing personal discipline and respect for the value of work and other people. One of the typical prisons following the Auburn system is Sing Sing Prison in New York state. The architecture of Sing Sing reflects the full integration of work into the daily lives of the incarcerated people and includes workshops and prison factories. The Auburn system was considered revolutionary because it was supposed to return profit to the state, and work was fully integrated into the routines of the prison.

The control of movements, sounds, and communication was an important feature of the modern prison and made strong impressions on seasoned officers of the correctional services as well as on visitors, as two encounters illustrate. The famous Danish author Hans Christian Andersen gave the following account of the mixed emotions of architectural grandness and enforced silence in one of Sweden's cell prisons in the 1840s:

> Like a great castle, this building—whitewashed, smiling, with windows on windows—is located in beautiful nature, next to a small river just outside the

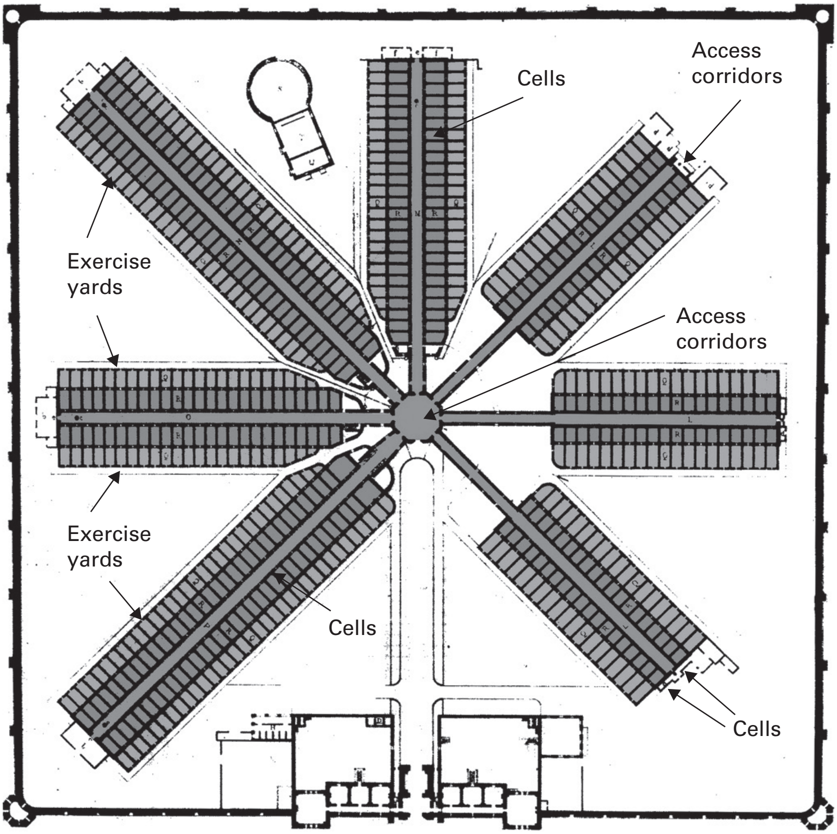

Figure 2.1
The wagon wheel architecture of the 1836 floor plan of the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, showing access corridors (the "spokes" of the wheel in the diagram), cells (inner areas in dark gray), and exercise yards (outer areas in light gray). *Source*: Myles Zhang, Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

> city center. But soon one discovers that there is a grave-like silence in this place. It is as if no one lived here, or as if the building were abandoned in the time of the plague. . . . The whole thing is a well-built machine, a nightmare for the soul. In the door of each cell is a piece of window-glass as large as an eye. A flap outside covers it, and here the prisoner-guard, unnoticed by the prisoner, can see all that he does. But the prison-guard must come quietly, silently, because the prisoner's hearing is in the loneliness strangely sharpened; I slowly turned the flap and my eye looked into the obscured room where the prisoner's eyes instantly met mine. It is airy and clean in there, but the window sits so high that it is impossible to look out from it. A high stool that is stuck as a kind of table and next to it a bed that can

> be hung up with hooks in the roof is the whole furnishing. . . . Outside, in the healthy sunshine, there is full activity, but in here it is always as silent as midnight. The spider that spins down the wall, the martlet that flies close enough to be seen from the window, even the stranger's steps in the corridor outside the cell doors is an event in this monotonous, mute life where the prisoner's thoughts roll into themselves. (Andersen, quoted in Lundberg, 1997, p. 12)

Similarly, Torsten Eriksson, who became general director of the Prison and Probation Service in 1960, describes his first day as an assistant to the warden of Karlskrona prison in 1930, when the prison buildings from the end of the nineteenth century were still in use as follows:

> Every now and then the guards would sneak to the cell doors and look inside through the little peephole to check on the prisoners. The system was built so that the prisoner could always and everywhere be observed. Orwell's future vision of 1984 with Big Brother's television eye watching in every room and on every street corner was already a reality in the prison world. (Eriksson, 1967, p. 9)

Even if modern cell prisons were perceived as a humanization of the penal regime, the problems and cruelty of a system based on "solitude" and "silence" quickly became obvious. The mental health of the incarcerated individuals was severely damaged. In response, prisons in Western countries began to take steps to limit isolation and introduced more communal elements. Scandinavian prisons, however, continued to use solitary confinement for a much longer time than in the rest of the Western world. Even though changes and reforms of the system began in 1906, it was not until 1945 that the so-called *ensamhetsstraffet* (punishment in solitude) was abandoned in Sweden. Today, solitary confinement remains the norm for remand prisons for which Sweden has been continuously criticized by the United Nations Committee against Torture as well as the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, part of the Council of Europe (Smith & Ugelvik, 2017).

POSTWAR PENOLOGY AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE PRISON

In 1940 the opening of Hall, a new modern prison outside the town of Södertälje that is also the main arena of the novel *Grundbulten* (The foundation bolt), marked a new era in Swedish penal history, namely the emergence of the postwar penal regime. The architecture of Hall was supposed to facilitate a communal life and at the same time represent an "industrialization" of prison life in which work became more central to the everyday existence within the prison walls. It was hence a material manifestation of a new penal ideology that took shape in the postwar period. The juridical manifestation of the same shift in penal ideology was the Implementation of Sentence Act passed in 1944. This act laid great responsibility on prisons to reform the incarcerated individuals to a "socially useful life" (Prison Instruction 1938, quoted in Nilsson, 2013, p. 41) after their prison sentence was served. Some of the paragraphs from the 1945 law can serve as an example of the shift in penal ideology, including the rehabilitative character of work:

> § 24 Punishment shall be enforced in such a way that the inmate's correction is promoted. He shall be employed with appropriate work.
>
> § 25 The inmate should be treated with respect for his human dignity. Harmful effects of the loss of freedom must be prevented as far as possible.
>
> § 29 Gymnastics and sports exercises shall be arranged for the inmates when possible.
>
> § 30 The inmate should be encouraged to [engage in] studies and other suitable leisure activities.
>
> § 31 To the extent that it can be done without inconvenience, the inmate must be able to acquire or receive books, magazines, newspapers and other things that can facilitate for suitable activities during leisure time. Opportunities for newspaper reading must be prepared.
>
> (Implementation of Sentence Act, 1945)

This law formalized changes that had been under way since the beginning of the early twentieth century. The director generals of the Swedish penitentiary authorities had worked to reform the prison system by implementing policies promoting more humane treatment for incarcerated persons and more possibilities for decent work and better living conditions within the prisons. Following the democratization in the 1920s, Social Democratic and Liberal governments were elected. They had a different approach to prisons and penal policy than the governments from the predemocratic era. In the 1930s the Social Democratic attorney general, Karl Schlyter, presented a range of ideas for reforming the prison system under the slogan of "Depopulate the prisons." These political struggles came together in the postwar prison reforms, which also contributed to the larger project of forming a welfare state (Smith & Uglevik, 2017). The new penal ideology was characterized by many of the core principles common to postwar welfare states, especially the notion that it is the state's responsibility to care for its citizens, including its criminals, by providing rational, pedagogically, and socially responsible institutions. More specifically, the new prison system's emphasis on preparing incarcerated individuals to reintegrate into society as sound and productive individuals conferred a new status on prison work that, as prison historian Roddy Nilsson has shown (2013), supported the strong moral charge given to work in Social Democratic welfare states. The social "role model" par excellence during this period was, according to Nilsson, the "loyal and conscientious working-class man who contributes to the welfare of the whole society" (Nilsson, 2013, p. 43). As a result, work became the principal treatment method in the welfare state prisons.

This shift in Swedish penal ideology corresponded with broader international trends and more general shifts tied to a changing Western political and economic structure. In Sweden, the postwar period witnessed rapid economic development; likewise, the Social Democratic government, with its Keynesian economic policy, made fighting unemployment its main objective. At the same time, the rise of late or so-called monopoly capitalism and a new importance of large-scale bureaucracies (both within the state and within commercial enterprises) further incentivized the industrialization of the prison. The penal system's new focus on work and especially industrial work served these emerging state and commercial bureaucracies with cheap labor, delivering the goods needed to create and maintain the bureaucratic corporations and the welfare state of postwar Sweden. Furniture and equipment for schools, universities, libraries, hospitals, public authorities, and the state apparatus as well as for new communication technologies such as the telephone system, broadcasting, and traditional communication infrastructures such as the postal system were, as we will see, delivered by prison labor.

In combination with the mandatory industrial work often assigned to incarcerated individuals, postwar prison architecture sparked a critical debate on penology in the mid-1960s. This discussion was part of a broader contemporary debate over how the welfare state treated its outcasts. The mentally ill, drug addicts, sexual minorities, and other groups organized in associations and unions to highlight the inhumanity of certain welfare state institutions. The debate was international and tied to general political changes in 1960s, when a progressive, left-wing, and liberal critique of the welfare state was formulated by a younger generation and among academics.

Most famous regarding prison reform is perhaps the French Le Groupe d'information sur les prisons that was active in the early 1970s and that both Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault participated in. Foucault's classic study of punishment was in many ways a direct result of his experiences as an advocate for prison reform in France.

In Sweden, a similar organization called Riksförbundet för Kriminalvårdens humanisering (National Association for the Humanization of Corrections, KRUM) was formed. For a decade, KRUM played a key role in the political discussions of the Swedish penal system. KRUM was an association made up of liberal and left-wing academics, students, and social workers together with the incarcerated themselves. They organized strikes and took part in the formation of labor unions within prisons, published numerous books and articles on the state of the Swedish prison system, and lobbied for reform of the penal system. Popular novels and films were released questioning the very idea of the prison, and from the Left to the Right there was a relative consensus on the need for liberalization and reform of the Swedish penal system. For example, the attorney general in the 1970s, a Social Democrat, stated that Sweden should have a maximum of 500 incarcerated individuals (the actual number was at the time around 4,000). Similarly, the leader of the conservative party was an activist for a more humanitarian penal policy and was personally involved as a volunteer probation officer for recently released criminals.

Socially and economically, these pushes for penal reform coincided with historically low numbers of unemployment. This is unsurprising, as the number of unemployed in a society has been shown to correspond with the size of the prison population. According to Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer (1939/2009), for instance, the supply of labor determines the design of the prison system. As such, punishments tend to become harsher when there is a surplus of labor and vice versa. This materialist theory of punishment has found empirical support, even though later developments of the theory tend to underline the need to combine the materialist explanation of punishment with social, political, and ideological factors (De Giorgi, 2006).

Changes in the Swedish penal regime at this time coincided with other forms of economic change such as globalization and the beginnings of outsourcing of labor, which made cheap prison labor less attractive. Finding work for the incarcerated became increasingly difficult during the 1970s. The future of the prison in its current form looked gloomy; indeed, for many the prison as an institution came to look like a parenthesis in the history of punishment, soon to be abandoned altogether. Prison theorists Dario Melossi and Massimo Pavarini (1981/2018), for example, predicted that "the post-industrial era will accommodate ways other than imprisonment for social control and discipline," suggesting that "propaganda, mass media, [and] a new and more efficient network of police and social assistance" would replace incarceration in the future (p. xxxi).

In 1974, the new Prison Treatment Act (Swedish Code of Statutes, 1974, p. 203) was passed following a long period of parliamentary discussions and reports on the subject. This new law brought the modern organization of the Swedish Prison and Probation Service into being. Public authority was reorganized, and several of the "democratizations" pushed for by KRUM and others were realized. For example, incarcerated persons' rights to organize themselves and to be consulted by the prison directorate on issues on policy and administration were expanded. There was also a new focus on "noninstitutional care" that allowed for people to serve their time outside of prison. The law also represented an effort to pay incarcerated individuals market salaries for their work and to better facilitate their access to education, which meant that new professions, such as youth workers and educators, entered the prison institutions (Tham, 2001). Melossi and Pavarini (1981) have argued that at moments when organized labor wields more economic power than capital, prison sentences are pushed back, and the prison conditions are improved. The 1970s in this respect probably represents the peak of the power of the labor movement in strength and organization throughout the West and especially so in Sweden, where the Social Democratic Party received over 50 percent of the votes in the election in 1969, the highest percentage it had ever received. Toward the end of the 1970s the penal regime changed once again, initiating a new era of mass incarceration.

NEOLIBERAL MASS INCARCERATION AND PRISON DECENTRALIZATION

If the prognosis in the 1970s had been that prisons were soon to be consigned to the dustbin of history, the reality of prison development has completely upended that assumption. Instead of shrinking, prison populations have grown rapidly in many parts of the world. The length of sentences has increased, and punishment and incarceration have been given more weight than earlier values such as reform and rehabilitation.

The period from the 1980s until today has been much discussed as an era of mass incarceration. The prison population has grown almost exponentially, especially in the United States. The US is by far the world leader in incarceration, with 655 imprisoned citizens per 100,000. Sweden is often put forward as the opposite of the penal regime in the US. Together with the other Nordic countries, Sweden is among the countries with the lowest rate of imprisonment in the world (World Prison Brief, 2017, https://www.prisonstudies.org). As discussed by Michael Cavadino and James Dignan (2006), the Swedish penal system has been famous for relatively good prison conditions, decent staff-inmate ratios, few instances of riots and disorder, few escapes and escape attempts, and a generally high level of legitimacy in the eyes of the public (Cavadino & Dignan, 2006, p. 159). Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, the reality of this assumption has changed to some extent. For example, the rate of imprisonment in Sweden grew steadily from the 1980s until the mid-1990s. The public debate on crime and punishment has also become marked by calls for greater use of imprisonment, and sentencing scales have been tightened for many offenses (von Hofer 2003). In the words of Cavadino and Dignan (2006), "the 'penal Zeitgeist' in Sweden is moving in the same direction as in most of the West" (p. 159). There are different explanations for this fact.

First, this shift corresponds to changes in Sweden's political and economic structure. The end of a Keynesian paradigm and the triumph of neoliberal economics has precipitated a global spike in unemployment rates. Neoliberal economic theory rests on the twin premises that combating inflation is a central virtue and that to keep inflation down, a certain amount of unemployment is necessary: because unemployment is understood to restructure the power balance between capital and labor in favor of the former, a certain rate of unemployment helps to keep wages down. The prison functions as a social institution that absorbs the "negative externalities," that is, the social costs of the economic system; thus, as Rusche and Kirchheimer (1939/2009) showed as early as the 1930s, unemployment rates correlate directly to the size of incarcerated populations.

Second, an ideological shift has accompanied the above economic shift. In the late 1970s, populist and right-wing politicians began to push agendas claiming to be "tough on crime," tilting the penal debate in favor of longer sentences, the criminalization of a broader range of behavior, and incarceration as a punishment for more minor crimes than ever before. Globally, this rhetoric has been used by politicians from Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s to the centrist Social Democrats of the "third way" in the 1990s to advance political programs meant to undermine the welfare state, such as lower taxes, cuts to social benefits programs, and tougher penal policy. In the Swedish context, "rehabilitation" has generally been seen as the main purpose of prisons throughout the twentieth century. Social democratic ideology, in line with the "positivist" school within criminology, forged a consensus among the penal elite about a strongly rehabilitationist penal code (Cavadino & Dignan, 2006, p. 155). However, this consensus started to break down in the late 1970s. An important mark in this development was the report *A New Penal System: Ideas and Proposals* (1977), authored by a working group set up by the National Swedish Council for Crime Prevention. This report, written during a period of right-wing government in Sweden, introduced the "justice model approach," which dictates that sentences and sanctions should be determined not by the possibility of rehabilitation but instead by the penal value of the offense. In 1988, the ideas put forward by this working group resulted in a new law, the Sentencing Reform Act, which stated that sentence length should be determined "with special regard to the harm, offence or risk which the conduct involved." Especially among right-wing politicians and parties, this was seen as an opportunity to demand harsher sanctions (Cavadino & Dignan, 2006, p. 157). During the following years, an economic crisis in the early 1990s and a right-wing government brought penal issues to the forefront of policy development. In response to a policy document called *To Restore a Degenerated Criminal Policy* published by the conservative minister of justice Gun Hellsvik in 1993, sentence lengths were increased for over 20 different crimes, and Sweden's prison population grew significantly (Jareborg, 1995).

Privatization, a third feature of the neoliberal landscape since the 1980s, may also be responsible for the sharp rise in incarceration over the last four decades. Toward the end of the 1970s, the Swedish society pushed for the decentralization of large bureaucracies, public authorities, and public services. In some ways, this decentralization was a response to the progressive critique of the welfare state and its calls to democratize and humanize welfare institutions, allowing citizens more freedom of choices instead of social engineering implemented by the state. Prisons were among the institutions that became increasingly decentralized in the 1980s. In Sweden, this decade marked a new era of prison constructions. During the 1980s, 15 so-called local prisons were built across the country. This was an attempt to decentralize the Swedish Prison and Probation Service and make it easier for incarcerated individuals to serve their sentence close to their homes and in regular interaction with the local society outside the prison walls including friends and family, local enterprise, and employment and social services. Later developments with ankle monitors pushed this tendency of decentralization even further when shorter sentences could be served from incarcerated individuals' own homes.

In many other ways, however, the push for decentralization was also meant to open the large welfare systems for private investment and private capital, a victory for free market ideology and a way for capitalist interests to take control over the previously de-commodified sectors of public welfare. In Sweden and internationally, hospitals, elderly care, schools, childcare, and other institutions were privatized in the 1980s. However, in Europe if not elsewhere, prisons, like many other aspects of the oppressive state apparatus including the police and the military, have not been privatized to the same extent as other social services. European governments retain some skepticism regarding trusting the enforcement of state violence through incarceration to private interests. Countries such as the US, the United Kingdom, Canada, Israel, South Africa, and New Zealand all have a private prison industry. The privatization of prisons must be seen as an important context for expanding prison populations, at least in some parts of the world, as the growth of numbers of incarcerated individuals and the increased number of criminalized offenses becomes a political issue as well as an economic interest for the developing prison industry.

Not only has the period from the 1980s until today seen a growth in prison populations, but the shift in penal ideology in society has also meant that the content of punishment has been gradually transformed. The "progressive" reforms of the 1970s intended to help rehabilitate incarcerated individuals have been gradually replaced by more pessimistic assumptions about the prison's capacity to effect positive change. The contemporary penal system imagines incarceration to protect citizens from incorrigible criminals. This shift began in the 1980s but was accelerated during the 1990s, when the public debate on Swedish prisons mainly focused on the need to increase sentences and to build new and more secure superprisons to house people. Not only does the contemporary prison downplay the value of educating and reforming incarcerated individuals, but work has also come to play a smaller role in the prison ecosystem. Global trends toward automation and the increasing outsourcing of labor have made the demand for cheap prison labor drop. It has been increasingly difficult to find customers for the industrial production conducted in prisons (Kindgren & Littman, 2015).

COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA IN SHIFTING PENAL REGIMES

As the prison itself is a structure that organizes communication (i.e., movement in space, interactions, and modes of communication) and for these purposes makes use of different media technologies, the different penal regimes outlined above also—to some extent—entail different ideas and ideologies of communication. The first modern prisons of the nineteenth century were often associated with the principle of the panopticon; that is, all surveillance takes place from one central node in the prison facility in a process in which information (about the behavior of the incarcerated) is transmitted to the guards. But in this centralized communication system, information could also travel the other way. While the modern prisons of the nineteenth century had a regime of strictly prohibited interaction with other fellow humans, they privileged communication as a form of "broadcasting": incarcerated individuals could receive messages broadcast from one central point, usually a lectern installed between the balconies where the cells were located, from which the priest or the warden could address all incarcerated individuals at once. The centralized and strictly controlled media world of the modern cell prison also included some rare media texts chosen by the central authorities such as the New Testament and a handful of books. The early prisons were by no means places of noncommunication even though they were media environments characterized by scarcity. On the contrary, the early modern penal regime put strong emphasis on the transformative power of (mediated) communication: when the right messages were received at the right time, they would help reform incarcerated individuals and transform them into a socially benign existence.

In the industrial postwar penal regime, a new communicative ideal took shape. As discussed by John Durham Peters (1999), the postwar period in general tended to rearticulate a host of issues as problems of communication.

If the media and communicative environment of the modern prison had been one of scarcity and "broadcasting," the 1950s and 1960s was an era in which prisons were organized according to the "small group principle" in which interaction between incarcerated individuals and their communication with each other was understood as a key element in their reform. The policy documents from the era discuss the importance of "trust" and the use of "motivational conversation" between staff and incarcerated. Furthermore, a range of different communications media and cultural forms now entered the prisons: radio, film, newspapers, theater, music (both recorded and live), and later television. The strong emphasis on "normalization" within the Scandinavian prison system in this period meant that media use—reading books, newspapers, and magazines as well as listening to the radio and going to the movies—came to be seen as essential for the incarcerated person's reintegration into society. Media use was seen as enabling incarcerated persons to keep in contact with "normal" society outside of prison walls and maintain citizenship and "public connection." It was also seen as maintaining the structure of a "normal day" within the prison: eight hours of work, eight hours of sleep, and eight hours of government-mandated leisure time that could be filled with media use.

Prison administrations have increasingly discussed how media technologies can be used to achieve and maintain control of incarcerated individuals, a crucial question in all punitive practice. Television proved to be an efficient tool for control, and the introduction of in-cell television from the 1970s and 1980s in Sweden has been shown to contribute to the regulation of behavior. Not only does it have a "sedating" function by keeping incarcerated individuals calm, but access—and the threat of removing access—can also be used to achieve social control (Knight, 2016). Another important dimension of prison media is the prison library (Bowden, 2002; Conrad, 2012) that research has explored in terms of its developments and circulation policies as well as the role of libraries and librarians in the rehabilitation of incarcerated individuals. In the period of the industrial prison, it also became increasingly common and encouraged by prison administration for incarcerated individuals to engage in media production themselves. A range of newspapers written, produced, and printed by incarcerated persons were launched in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The newspapers contained programs for social activities, gossip, humor, news (often related to penology), and opinion pieces (often concerning the state of Swedish prisons and work within them). Politicians, prison administrators, and other decision makers also contributed with material to these papers. Later, prison papers were followed by radio broadcasts produced by incarcerated individuals. In the case of the Kumla prison, for example, the radio station Kåkradion (Quod Radio) broadcast from the beginning of the 1970s until the mid-1990s.

Most importantly perhaps and strongly emphasized in the new penal policy from the early 1970s in Sweden, the period saw therapeutically inspired methods (besides the work in the workshops) as the main way to reform incarcerated individuals. New professions such as psychologists, therapists, and educators entered the facilities. The public investigation from 1971 (SOU, 1971:74) that preceded the policy argued that "inmates should have reasonable possibilities to pursue their personal, special interests and fulfil their needs for entertainment. They should be afforded the opportunity to participate in *study circles* and in *club activities* within the institution" (SOU, 1971:74, p. 23, English in original, emphasis added).

If the modern prison was a place of solitude where the incarcerated person was expected to listen to messages disseminated from prison priests and wardens and communicate with oneself through introspection and God through prayer, the industrial prison and postwar penology represented a regime of dialogue, interaction, communication, and community.

In the ongoing shift toward a neoliberal penal regime and prison decentralization, the communicative ideals and ideologies were once again transformed. The Swedish Prison and Probation Service was computerized during the 1970s; likewise, the technologies for mediated surveillance were developed and implemented on a greater scale. At the same time, media use by incarcerated individuals was also a hotly debated topic. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, media use among incarcerated persons had been encouraged and even mandated by law. In the 1980s, new media technologies entered the prison but not without public debate. For instance, the in-cell television system that was introduced at some of the larger prisons in the 1970s and early 1980s was perceived as being too much of a luxury for incarcerated individuals. Victoria Knight (2016) observed a similar discussion around in-cell television in the 1990s in the United Kingdom.

Public debates about incarcerated persons' access to certain media technologies continue to be controversial and spark a more general discussion about the purpose of punishment through prison sentences. Mobile phones have increasingly been considered a problem since the 1990s, when this form of contraband first became common in prisons. At the turn of the millennium, the issue of internet access became a focal point for debate: should incarcerated individuals be allowed to have access the internet, and if so how should their access be regulated? In earlier years, the large public report *Correctional Services within Institutions* (SOU, 1971) had presented television and radio as essential tools for the rehabilitation and reintegration into society of incarcerated individuals, arguing that they all should therefore have access to television and radio within the facilities. In 2005 *A Penal System for the Future*, the first large governmental report on the penal system published since 1972, was completed. The fundamental assumptions grounding this new report had changed considerably since the 1970s. Media access was no longer presented as a right: instead, it is framed as a "privilege" for well-behaved incarcerated individuals, one part of a larger "privilege system" suggested for use in the prison service. While this idea was never realized in prison administrative policy, its suggestion testifies to the total transformation of penal ideology that occurred in this thirty-year period. The positive ideal of communication as a tool for reform and the focus on human interaction and self-expression that were part of the earlier penal regime have increasingly been replaced with ideas of technology that interact with (i.e., reform and survey) incarcerated individuals and automate more and more of the interactions within prison. The penal history, then, can also be interpreted as a form of media and communications history in which communicative ideals, media technologies, and media infrastructure, together with other social and cultural changes, produce different penal regimes that crystallize and materialize in different kinds of policies in prison practices as well as in architecture and buildings. In the following chapters, we outline these changes and highlight the relevance of prisons for media infrastructure work, media as architecture, and media technologies.

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