

# Space and Power :

## A Comparative Study on the Discourses of Prison

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### Abstract

The changes of prison facilities in the age of Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, implies viewpoints architectural space as a representation of power. The aim of the study is to examine the structuralistic approach based on two authors of Michel Foucault and Robin Evans. Both texts are summarized and analyzed to make comparison. While Foucault concentrates upon the ideas relating to punishment which preceded and led to the prison being adopted, Evans regards the reality of punishment as it was executed in its architectural context. The study compares the fundamental difference between the two texts; the approach that each author takes with regard to the central issue of the history of penalty. These two different interpretations dictate the framework of each discourse and has resulted a number of different notions of ideas. By comparing divergence and convergence of the texts, the study analyzes each author's methodology, theoretical position and notions of prison. Keywords are also extracted to articulate the study and each author's arguments as well.

*Keywords : Foucault, Evans, Prison, Power, Punish, Virtue*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

For an architect, architecture is meant to be an ultimate goal of his/her commitment and artistic representation with reality. It is, however, also established as a symptomatic representation that can be examined by the view of various cultural realms other than architecture.

Historically, architects have constructed their own 'zeitgeist' through architectural commitment resulting architecture has proved the history by its own existence. Architectural criticism shares the aspects of analyzing historical strata and cultural territories microscopically with history and structural anthropology.

In this respect, the researches of structural anthropology and history, especially in the late 20th century, exhibit a reference in the course of research on architectural text. It is because that these methodologies of analysis are believed to be the good measure to overcome the formalism and stylistic approach as well as social reductionism in the other extreme in architectural history and criticism.

The study analyzes two examples of the researches on the history of prison and penalty from Foucault and Evans to illustrate the contrast of different views; the example of Panopticon of Foucault who applied structural approach in history and that of Robin Evans who has traced the history of prisons in the 18-19th centuries. Prisons have been built by social needs and codes that are able to be applied universally, rather than as an independent building type, which provides a point of view towards social effects and value of architecture. The developments of correctional facilities, especially those of the 18th~19th centuries, is also demonstrating the process of formation of modernity. It would seem that the divergence of interpretations of each author from the same central issue is in itself a worthwhile reason for the comparison of the two texts.

The aim of the study is to examine the structuralistic approach and its methodology in architecture based on two

theories of Foucault and Evans. The study begins with a summary of each author's argument. Each text is then analyzed in order to clarify the theoretical propositions and to examine the structure of the arguments. Comparisons will also be made in order to address the particular points of divergence and convergence of the texts.

### 2. Genealogy of Disciplinary Power in the Prison - FOUCAULT

Foucault argues with the description of two methods of penalty<sup>1</sup> - a public execution and a timetable from a reformatory. These examples define the historical limits of the study and exhibit the transformation in methods of penalty over the period which is approximately from the mid 18th to mid 19th century. The disappearance of torture is the issue which he addresses and he abstracts this to address the issue of the disappearance of the hold on the body. He then postulates that if it is not the body as the object of penalty then it must be the soul.

The soul, Foucault states, was crucial to the transformation in punitive powers, which has been developed over the periods in question of an increase of knowledge. He believes that power and knowledge are intrinsically linked. Thus, in the sense that punishment is a mechanism of power, Foucault then states the criteria which he will use in the study of punishment/power/knowledge.

In his study, he uses the term of power in a particular sense - a power that was exercised not from above the social body but rather within it, which directly influences the body. This power is a political technique which subjects

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<sup>1</sup> Penalty means the particular system of investigation and punishment that a society uses and which includes all aspects of the examination and treatment of those who break the law.

the body to domination. However, subjection may be obtained, not just with physical force, but through knowledge and an ability to master the body. The body that he refers to is abstracted from the physical being. The soul, Foucault determines, is not a corporeal duplication of the body which is independent of the physical being, but rather dependent upon the social status of that being in relation to others. It is however, not an illusionary substance, but is made real through its subjection to punishment, supervision and constraint.<sup>2</sup> He summarized his study briefly as the history of the power over the body within the constraints of a prison.

Throughout his study, it was highly convinced by his notable methodology called genealogical approach which looks through and investigates the line of development from earlier forms of prison as descent. This begins with explaining why torture was used as a method of punishment and why it became obsolete later. He states that the public condemnation of the crime and then the subsequent punishment was not so much a judicial ritual, but a political ritual<sup>3</sup>. (P.47) During the period of this type of penalty, the form of power was patriarchal and hence any infringement of the law undermined his absolute power to some extent. The public torture was an act of vengeance and a symbol of the reactivation of power. This ceremony was dependent upon the public spectacle - they had to witness the vengeance of the 'superpower' and they also had to be terrified to deter the crime.

Foucault examines two main reasons for the reformists calling for a legal limit upon the power of punish. The first was that the contemporary legal system was bound up with inconsistencies, abuses of power and conflicts. Since there was a whole series of different judicial bodies, all were operating with different criteria and at different levels numerous legal loopholes have been created. The reformers therefore, were not attempting to introduce a new right to punish so much as a better distribution of penalty - a new 'economy' of the power to punish which would be universal and penetrate into the social body.<sup>4</sup> The second reason, Foucault determines, was the need to punish the huge increase in popular illegalities which had developed as the capitalist society and developed. This type of illegality had been tolerated throughout the period of sovereignty. With the emergence of the working class, it became a threat to the new class of capitalism society - landowners, factory owners, manufacturers etc - and ultimately to the entire capitalist system. It was not only reason for the concept of torture which was so heavily criticized by reformers. It was, on the contrary, that torture represented the penalty of the patriarch. Since this system was fault both in the problem of popular illegality and an inefficient judicial system, the abolition of torture was represented for reformation, and symbolized the power of

the sovereign<sup>5</sup>.

With the concept of a system of penalty which did not emanate from one source but was supposedly for the benefit of all of society, the criminal's actions were then seen to oppose all of society and not one authority. Therefore the right to punish has been shifted from the vengeance of the sovereign to the defense of society.<sup>6</sup> This power could not be seen to emulate the superpower of the sovereign, but was replaced by an 'economy of power'. The punishment had to prevent both the criminal and potential criminals from repeating the offence. This was the theme of torture but the new tactics of economy of power resulted more subtle method of punishment. This power attempted to classify all possible types of crime in order to be a comprehensive penal system. At the same time, punishments were regulated according to the characteristics of each criminal and this tactic began to shift emphasis from 'the crime' to 'criminality'.

Despite the formulation of a new mechanism of punishment, within twenty years, the concept had been superseded by the network of prisons - 'coercive institution'. The introduction of the prison system was generally criticized by reformers as reminiscent of the abuses of the authority of the sovereign. Foucault analyzes the main substantial differences of each of the systems. Although they were similar in that they attempted to reform, they differed in that the 'coercive institution' extended the concept of reformation beyond the concept of reformation that belonged to the 'punitive city'. The criminal was to become the obedient subject in the 'coercive institution' not just the judicial subject. This subjected the criminal to a nature of coercion which necessitated privacy and excluded spectacle - and necessitated a submission to power which excluded a third party. These consequences resulted in the concepts of the 'punitive city' - the representative, scenic, signifying, public, collective model to be undermined by the coercive institution.

In this context, Foucault emphasis the concept of discipline by stating firstly what he means by discipline is the manipulation of the body through rigorous training/indoctrination so that the body becomes manageable - or docile. When the body can be utilized, it becomes disciplined. This is achieved through knowledge and, as Foucault mentioned, became the means of domination in the 17th and 18th century. This discipline required enclosure and this enclosure had to be partitioned so that individuals were placed in solitude and hierarchized. All disruptive elements could be separated. Activities had to be controlled in order to obtain speed, efficiency etc. The concept of discipline and the criteria for this was the constraint of normality. He states that modern penalty originated in the disciplinary technique, and that surveillance and normalization became the greatest instruments of power.

<sup>2</sup> Foucault, M. 'Discipline and Punish; The Birth of the Prison', Penguin, 1977. p.29.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p.47.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p.80.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. pp.82-88.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.90.

Foucault uses the example of Bentham's Panopticon (Fig. 1) in order to illustrate how the disciplinary mechanism was realized as punitive establishments and how it then began to pervade all of society as a means of power. In here, forced discipline was replaced by the innocuous seeming surveillance. This resulted in disciplinary power being utilized positively to make 'useful individuals instead of remaining on the fringe of society and correcting abnormalities, as discipline pervaded everyday life in the form of institutions. Foucault states that prisons are to be resituated at the point where the codified power to punish turns into a disciplinary power to observe.<sup>7</sup>

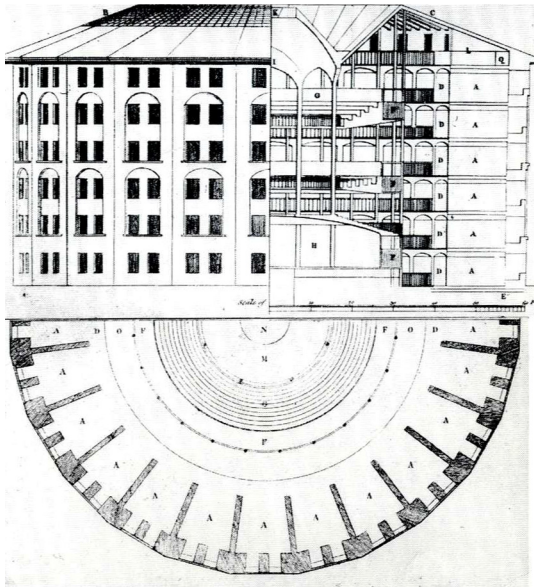


Figure 1. Second Version of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon (1791)<sup>8</sup>

The prisons were not places simply where the prisoner was deprived of liberty, but were reformed/corrected. This was achieved through isolation, the corrective value of labor and modulation of penalty - not in terms of the crime but on behavior - a reward system. These mechanisms of power occurred within the prison and had nothing to do with the judicial penalty. This character, disciplinary power added to the judicial one is what Foucault terms the penitentiary. The surveillance / observation which is an essential part of disciplinary power was constantly working within the prison for classifying the prisoner's character, past, attitude etc. This system of knowledge, Foucault says, is important, because it establishes the 'criminal' as existing before the crime and even outside it.<sup>9</sup>

His study lastly reveals that the penitentiary technique of power/knowledge developed in the prison system has infiltrated in the entire social system, attempting to normalize every aspect of life and insinuating. This has resulted in

the stigma, not necessarily being associated with the gravity of the offence, but with the diversion from normality. It enabled major delinquents to be incarcerated from the 'cradle to the grave' and, more importantly, it made it more acceptable to be punished - it legitimized disciplinary power. If there is a political issue around the prison, according to Foucault, it is the fact that the mechanisms of normalization in the prison have risen steeply throughout the rest of society and with them the associated powers.

### 3. Prison as an Instigator of Virtue - EVANS

For investigating reformation of the prison system in the period 1750-1840, Evans primarily introduced the premise that architecture was an implementation as the 'instigator of virtue'. His argument mainly discussed how model prisons came about and by comparing events to previous ones it will be attempted to define the links that were thought to attach architecture to moral science<sup>10</sup>. The two elements he sees as being essential to reform were the premise that evil communication corrupts and the second was that this idea was eventually drawn into the whole social environment.

Evans' study takes the form of a chronological history of penal reform. Through discussing pre-reformation prisons, firstly he examines the degree to which there was a correlation between the prison building and prison life. Prisons intrinsically tended to be indistinguishable from any other building in a community, though the life within them did not correlate to any semblance of 'normal' domestic or communal life. This latter point was exemplified by the rhetoric of the reformers. Prison tended to be dominated by the gaoler who extorted money from the inmates. According to Evans it was the cruelty of extortion which replaced the cruelty of torture.<sup>11</sup> Just before reformation architecture began to be implemented into the building of prisons - and from that point they began to develop as a type. Decisions of internal arrangements were taken out of the hands of the gaolers and into the hands of the judiciary. In other words power was removed from within to out with the prison system.

Reform was, in his view, not only a reaction to the rhetoric of the reformers but a cause which issued from the implicit view that the character could be transformed from vice to virtue under certain circumstances. He attempts to exemplify this view by comparison - between correction and reform, and their translation to architecture - between the dungeon and the cell. It could be said that reformation differed from correction; the latter had the concept that 'useless' could be transformed to 'useful', whereas reformers believed that 'evil' could be transformed into 'good'. Reformation was therefore addressed to the soul and this was closely linked to religious morality. Therefore punishment

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> Markus, T., *Buildings & Power : Freedom & Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*, Routledge, 1993, P12.

<sup>9</sup> Foucault, M. 'Discipline and Punish; The Birth of the Prison', Penguin, 1977. p.252

<sup>10</sup> Evans, R. 'The Fabrication of Virtue - English Prison Architecture 1750-1840', CUP, 1982. p.5.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.23.

was replaced by mental anguish by the belief that the prisoner could be redeemed, and that passion was the root of all evil and could be subdued by solitude. Solitude was a concept which had been used previously in punishment, though Evans states that it was used in a different way in the dungeon. Instead of subduing passion, it dramatized.

Evans then examines the period at the end of the 18th century when a great rebuilding of English prisons took place instigated by the prevalence of Gaol Fever (Typhus) and by the fact that the American War of Independence disallowed American penal colonies. The typhus epidemic had the greatest consequences. It was believed to spread through the air and this resulted that prisons were designed with an emphasis on free air circulation and had to be moved outside of communities. The new prisons had features of reform - separate cells, separation of sexes and so on. but it still maintained many pre-reformation characteristics. The new obsession of cleanliness in prisons resulted in reducing the incidence of typhus. This inspired reformers to believe that they could eradicate vice, which they believed spread amongst convicts similarly to the disease. The rebuilding of prisons continued with this concept. Reformed prisons had three principles - security (enclosure) salubrity (exposure and fragmentation) and reformation (compartmentalization). However there are some incompatibilities in these three principles. These prisons were ultimately regarded as failures, for the resolution of the principle of reformation since attempts to divide, separate and subdivide in planning often ignored the technical problems associated with isolation.

Bentham's Panopticon was, in spite of ultimately ideological and utopia, one of the concepts to had great influence on the prison reform in the early 19th century. The characteristics which it displayed were its utopianism. In this concept, the principle of inspection was raised above all others. Bentham believed that good and evil were not bred in the mind but from our surroundings. By ordering the surroundings, good or evil could be achieved. This involved observation, analysis and regulation which could be obtained through inspection. This system Evans describes - "it concentrated knowledge and through knowledge, power in the hands of the governor to the exclusion of all others."<sup>12</sup>

Solitary confinement had been abandoned over this period and reformation now had the principles of classification, inspection and labor. The radial plan had been generally accepted as the 'correct' one, though the problem occurred when the increasing number of classifications made it difficult to plan the building around a central core. The inspection principle resulted by Bentham's influence was becoming the predominant organizing force in prison architecture. The radial plan was essential to inspection. It was therefore vested more and more knowledge power in the hands of the gaoler. This was, Evans mentioned, one of the most significant events in the history of penalty, since

it was only possible to obtain through architecture and the triumph of the radial inspection plan over all others. Labor was introduced as a device for equalizing, measuring, regulating and timing the performance of toil. It became a sure and healthy way of reintroducing terror into the prisons though was soon criticized for being unequal<sup>13</sup>.

By 1830 a second major crisis had developed in the prison system. The problem was that two new principles - classification and labor - were seen to be failures. Classification was the biggest problem. As the number of classifications increased it no longer became possible to use a single radial as the plan. It was also believed that clever criminals would be able to overcome the classification system and infiltrate other areas.

The final phase of prison design was a mixture of all the major concepts that had had before - the enforcement of work in corrective institutions, the enforcement of security in the reformed prison and the enforcement of central surveillance in the Panopticon. Solitary confinement was also introduced as the alternative to classification mainly because of the influence from model prisons in the United States. It differed from the previous concept of solitary confinement; prisoners worked in the cell and were given regular religious and moral instruction. Separation of convicts was still maintained in the belief that 'evil communication corrupts.' This time technology was adopted in order to totally eradicate either visual or aural communication. Seclusion then became more useful as isolation increased so did its power to penetrate the heart and mind - it became both a preventative and a cure<sup>14</sup>.

Pentonville Prison (fig. 2) was the first model prison in England in terms of how surveillance and solitary confinement was realized in the architecture. Although the design was built all over Britain and Europe, it was viewed ultimately as a failure. It was believed that it was virtually impossible to reform through imprisonment.

**Evans examines as conclusion how prisons, despite their supposed failure, were maintained and how their influence began to pervade everyday life. It was also asked why architecture was seen as a universal solution to the problem of the eradication of vice. It became generally accepted, according to Evans, that prisons did not reform, and they did not change but simply were seen as an effective method of punishment and deterrence. The last vestiges of prison reform disappeared as studies of criminal physiognomy declared that criminality was inborn and thus unreformable.**

Although prisons were generally accepted as a failure<sup>15</sup>, in

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.202.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.303.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.340.

<sup>15</sup> Markus claims that none of the built prisons were successful in implementing original idea of Panopticon due to the lack of asymmetry of power. Markus, T., *Buildings & Power: Freedom & Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*, Routledge, 1993. pp. 122-3.

other respects they were successful. They remained the keystone of penal practice, became the paradigm for the institutional buildings. Evans postulates that the architecture carried it to other realms of society. He concentrates particularly on the similarity between the architecture of prisons and that of model housing in the mid 19th century. The reformation of the rookeries took a similar pattern to that of prison reform.

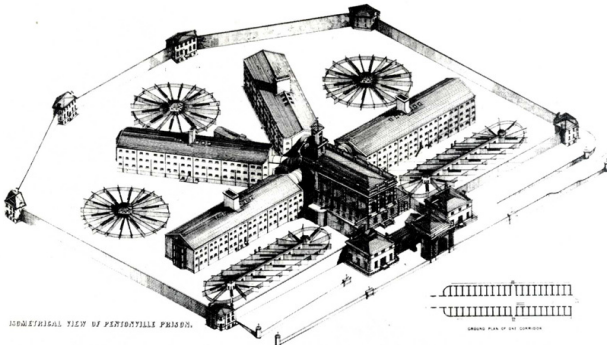


Figure 2. Pentonville prison (1840-2)<sup>16</sup>

Evans then attempts to answer the question of why architecture was implemented on such a large scale social morality. Architecture proved the perfect contrast to the tyrannical power of the patriarch as the source of power in the 18th century, since it removed power from the person and placed it in the seemingly passive form of a building - from personalization to depersonalization. The prison cell offered sanctuary from the evil of personalization and passion - and later the model housing offered a different kind of sanctuary from the same evils.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

##### (1) Discipline vs. Virtue

Foucault's discourse examines the reasons for the change in the power to punish. Foucault states that the change from patriarchal power to a more subtle and pervasive power was a result firstly of the fact that patriarchal power had begun to diminish as a threat to the working classes and secondly that a new economy of power was adopted in order to better distribute power and to punish the increase of illegalities in the lower strata of society which threatened to destabilize the emerging capitalist system.

Foucault also asked why the prison was chosen as a means of punishment. Evans states that the prison seemed to be the perfect way of being 'instigator of virtue' and withdrawing power from persons and investing it in buildings while Foucault takes a different approach. He approaches the reason by inserting a discourse about discipline. Through his analysis, Foucault determines discipline as a means of power and in his description he utilizes his rules established in the introduction. His explanation of discipline as a positive, political power upon the body

requiring a spatial context for its execution enables him to impose the principle directly onto the prison model.

Thus by an analysis of penal leniency as a technique of power, one might understand how man, the soul, the normal or abnormal individual have come to duplicate crime as objects of penal intervention; and in what way a specific mode of subjection was able to give birth to man as an object of knowledge for a discourse with a 'scientific status.' (P.24)

The argument is well constructed and convincing, though it remains in the realms of theory and is entirely disconnected from events, buildings or the society that supported these disciplinary procedures.

##### (2) Surveillance vs. Solitude

Both the principles of solitude and surveillance are introduced, ones which Evans elaborates on in principally reformist and architectural terms whilst Foucault construes them principally as a means of obtaining power. His approach concentrates on the underlying intentions and not on the physical mechanisms by which they were achieved.

Evans concentrates on the physical mechanism of the building. In Evans, the concept of solitude was the most important link between architecture and moral science. This was developed as a method of redemption by pious reformers in the belief that passion, which was the root of all evil, could be quelled by solitude. Obviously this concept has spatial requirements and Evans develops his account with particular emphasis on how the notion of solitude was developed by architecture and how it was resolved when its spatial requirements were often in conflict with other requirements. He follows its development from its inception to the first reformed prisons, its subsequent failure and its principles reintroduced as classification.

##### (3) Panopticon as an Abstract vs. a Real Model of Prison

The arguments of the two authors seem to converge to some extent in their discussion of Bentham's Panopticon - or more precisely, Evans' argument diverges somewhat from his observations and descriptions of reality towards a more abstract discussion. Although they both come to a similar conclusion - that surveillance became a dominating principle at this point in the history of penalty, the discussion of the Panopticon by both authors is indicative of the difference in their approach. Foucault uses it as a realistic model to exemplify his previous theoretical argument whereas Evans uses it as an abstract model to introduce its application in reality. A major part of Evans' text is devoted to illustrations and descriptions of prison buildings where he attempts to show how the principles of solitude and surveillance were achieved through the medium of architecture.

##### (4) Prison as a Disciplinary vs. a Moralistic Space

Foucault's analysis of disciplinary power leads him to the conclusion that this sort of mechanism had already been established in other parts of society before its implementation in the penal system. Because he has analyzed discipline, not as a mechanism of reform, but of power he is able to come to this conclusion. Whilst Evans sees the sys-

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, P127.

tem of punishment in prisons as reformist and moralistic, he tends to believe that this type of penalty was born in the prison its principles gradually being disseminated throughout society.

Evans' theory extends its field of consideration by examining how prison architecture was utilized as a means of imposing morality across a wider social spectrum. Evans addresses two issues - how prison architecture was utilized in order to fix the shape of experience in 19th century prisons and how the development of prison architecture affected architecture in general. In discussing the architecture he concentrates primarily on the plans and sections of the building, discussing how the configuration of the plan form and the internal organization were manipulated in order to achieve the most effective means of reforming prisoners.

Evans makes the proposition that architecture was implemented as a medium for transporting those aspects which contained the principles of morality to cover a wider spectrum of society. He believes that the moral concepts of prison architecture - solitude and surveillance - were most directly implemented in the design of model housing. He substantiates this claim by relating a pattern of events leading to reform and a brief description of the planning principles of the housing which is convincing in its direct parallels with prison reform.

#### (5) Disciplinary Power vs. Depersonalized Power

Evans' final argument is that architecture was used as a passive means of depersonalizing power - divested from the person to the building. In this sense, the book concentrated on architecture, to the exclusion of any other medium used in prison reform.<sup>17</sup>

Foucault's book, on the contrary, concentrates almost entirely upon disciplinary power in his discussion of the prison, architecture merely being the context for the domination of the body through power and therefore relatively inconsequential. Foucault would certainly not agree with Evans' assertion that "the effects of reformed architecture were essentially passive and preventive. Even surveillance was construed as primarily a means of avoiding disorders, riots and escapes.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

While the main object of Foucault's analysis is the changes of discipline in different eras, Evans is focusing the process of recovering virtue by architectural spaces. For Foucault, it is the enforcement of power that constructs the main theme, rather than discipline itself that changes in conjunction with social changes (not developments). Foucault, therefore, attempts a genealogical analysis on the system of penalty. He argues that the spectacle of torture is replaced by prison, and the reason behind is that power

is started to be executed more economically rather than conspicuously, not because of the philanthropic consideration of power.

Evans is focusing how architecture implements as the instigator of virtue. Consequently, his study is not interested in the system of penalty before prison, especially historical background of prison is explained ambiguously. Rather, his interest lies on how architectural spaces have been operated to instigate human morality through microscopic analysis.

For Foucault, prison is a political institution to create docile body, while for Evans, it means a clean environment to instigate virtue. Ultimate function of Foucault's prison is a coercive institution, while that of Evans is a reformed space.

Table 1. Comparison of notions of prison

M. Foucault	R. Evans
discipline	virtue
surveillance	solitude
genealogy of punishment	chronology of prison
Panopticon as an abstract model	Panopticon as a real model
prison as a disciplinary space	prison as a moralistic space
normality	morality
manipulator of the body	instigator of virtue
coercive institution	reformed prison
disciplinary power (economy of power)	depersonalization of power

What divide Foucault's prison from normal space is the notion of normality. Any deviation from normality causes an expulsion to the abnormal space of prison, and normality means docile body that obeys power. In order to create 'docile body', prison inevitably invents surveillance as the way of controlling body without visible presence of disciplinary power as seen in the example of Panopticon. Surveillance is not a direct punishment for individual crime, but a control over abnormal body. In this context, Foucault's prison is preventive and disciplinary.

What demarcates Evans' prison from normal space is morality. His prison is to instigate virtue and therefore adopts solitary confinement. Solitude is a religious term to a certain extent in his observation and functions as a spatial device for repentance and relief rather than domination of body.

The study has reviewed two different approaches on the space of prison as a representation of power in the era of modernization in western civilization. As a conclusion to the study, it is proposed to briefly outline the differences between the texts of Foucault and Evans and by comparison, examine the points of divergence between them and the possible consequences.

In short, Evans' text is essentially an account of the historical events and their effect upon the architecture of prison during the period of reform. There is little interpretative discourse and his intentions are to provide the reader with the facts, from which he should extract his own interpretation. Evans approach is, however not as objective as this method may imply. His disregard for any other possibilities except for the one of 'architecture as an

<sup>17</sup> Evans, R. 'The Fabrication of Virtue - English Prison Architecture 1750-1840', CUP, 1982. p.419.

instigator of virtue' guides the reader towards the conclusions which the author evidently holds, yet his lack of initial substantiation for his reasons for believing that architecture had such power must inevitably weaken the objective stance.

In contrast, Foucault's text is an abstract interpretation of the situation which led to the adoption of the prison as a method of penalty. Foucault would seem to imply that society organized itself and developed on the basis of implicit theoretical conceptions for he rarely makes reference to how these conceptions were actually implemented or to the mechanisms of implementation. Although he does seem to suggest by frequent reference, that power was a means of domination of the working classes by the bourgeoisie, the various stages in the development of his argument are not directly linked to the various stages of the development in the real world of these moves towards total domination.

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