

PRISON ISLAND



Prison Expansion in
England, Wales & Scotland

By Corporate Watch

Corporate Watch

corporate-critical news and research since 1996

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Corporate Watch exists to investigate corporations, explain and analyse how corporate power and capitalism work, gaining an understanding of the role corporations play, the specific mechanisms of how they operate and how they can be successfully targeted is crucial for everyday struggles against exploitation, as part of confronting and challenging corporate power and capitalism more broadly.

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Introduction

In 2016, the British government announced plans for one of the biggest prison building programs in generations: the construction of six new 'mega-prisons', plus five new 'community prisons' for women. The Prison Estates Transformation Programme aims to create 10,000 new prison places by 2020. Our Prison Island report details these plans, looking at each of the announced locations. It also provides information on separate projects from the Scottish Prison Service.

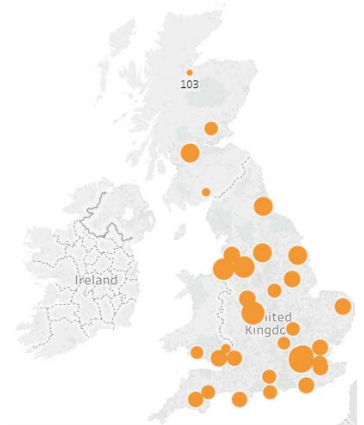
The report also describes the Government's attempts to build prisons abroad in Nigeria and Jamaica, as part of a continuing trend of 'carceral colonialism' – where the British state funds policing and prison programs in other countries, especially former colonies, often to enable the deportation of prisoners. It contains profiles of the companies involved in the prison building program, including its construction contractors and architects.

In the report we briefly look at the reality of prison life and the increasing levels of violence, self-harm and suicide in British prisons. It is clear that harm is not felt evenly and the nature of who is locked up is greatly racialised, classed and gendered. In our Beyond Prisons section we aim to challenge the idea that prisons 'work', or that they are somehow natural, normal or necessary. We interrogate claims that the government will address prison overcrowding, reduce harm, save money or somehow stop crime by building more prisons. Finally, we end with examples of resistance to prison expansion from around the world.

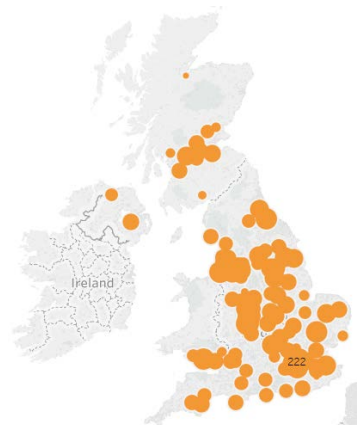
The Prison Estates Transformation Programme (PETP) is the tip of the iceberg of a growing carceral state. ('Carceral' means 'relating to prison'). Through increasing surveillance, policing, walls and cages, society is becoming more and more dominated by social control and securitisation. England and Wales have the highest imprisonment rate in western Europe, with Scotland the third most imprisoning



1790: First prison built



1902: Prisons scatter each county



2002: one-hundred years later, prisons are a dominant feature

country. A greater percentage of prisoners are locked up in private prisons in the UK than in any other country in Europe, or even in the United States.

The UK prison population has risen by 82% in the last 30 years¹. The graphs, produced by Open Maps², show how over time prisons are an increasingly common feature in our social and physical landscapes.

The UK is becoming a 'prison island', where state violence and imprisonment are used to maintain a divided society built on exploitation. From the government's 'hostile environment' strategies targeting migrants to increases in electronic tagging and surveillance, state power and capitalist wealth is further increased and

consolidated. Each mega-prison will contain factory-sized workshops to exploit prison labour. Meanwhile, the people within prison walls face a daily reality of fear, confinement and violence. If the Prison Estates Transformation Programme goes ahead, then thousands more will face the same fate.

This once-in-a-generation prison building programme represents a significant expansion of the repressive apparatus of the British state, entrenching the power of corporations in the criminal justice system even further. This report aims to document and contextualise this escalation in mass incarceration and provide information to support those fighting against it.

OVERVIEW

An Overview of the British Carceral State

There are 122 prisons in England and Wales³. In February 2017, Europe's second-biggest prison, HMP Berwyn, opened in North Wales. The prison population is around 85,000 at any one time. What this figure does not show us is how dynamic the population is – how prisons touch the lives of thousands more people moving in and out of the system. Research by the National Preventive Mechanism showed that more than 110,000 people were detained across the UK in 2017, with 70 deaths a month in or after release from Detention⁴. (Including people detained under the Mental Health Act, in secure children's homes or in Immigration Detention).

There are 14 private prisons in the UK, which hold just under one fifth of all UK prisoners. These are run by just three companies: G4S Justice Services, Sodexo Justice Services and Serco Custodial Services⁵. While these prisons are explicitly profit-making, the fact is that public prisons are also huge income generators for private companies. The recent fall of the giant outsourcing company Carillion highlighted just how deeply private companies are embedded in the prison system. Carillion was awarded a £500 million contract in 2015 for 'facilities management' involving services such as maintenance, cleaning and management of prison stores⁶. Likewise, private companies provide all the food, materials and other resources 5

prisons depend on. Private prison contracts are a huge wealth generator – including through the exploitation of prison labour.

In addition to adult prisons, there are specific Young Offender Institutions locking up young people aged 18-21. Corporate Watch's 2017 investigation into youth prisons⁷ highlighted the role of the private companies that run Secure Training Centres, children's prisons for children aged up to 17. These three centres lock up over 900 children between them. They are run by Working Links, MTCnovo – and previously G4S, before management was taken back by the Government following a BBC Panorama investigation into abuse at the prison.

There are nine immigration detention centres in England, with eight of them run for profit by private companies. In 2017, over 27,000 people were held in detention across the year⁸. Deportations are outsourced to private companies who forcibly deport thousands each year, including over 10,000 in 2016⁹. Those who are deported make thousands for airlines, especially charter flights that only take detainees in large numbers.

The prison industrial complex is a term used to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry as they use surveillance, policing and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social and political problems. It is about

more than just prisons: there is a huge corporate web interconnected with the state's effort to consolidate power and control. Other actors in the British carceral state's infrastructure include the National Probation Service and the 21 private Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) that are now in control of non-custodial sentences, as well as overseeing people released from prison.

Re-calls back to prison have skyrocketed, and the CRCs have continuously failed to meet their targets. A National Audit Office investigation revealed large sums of money going to CRCs beyond their government contracts¹⁰. The government's tagging scandal also hit the headlines with

G4S's system falling five years behind schedule and subject to an investigation into company fraud¹¹. Scotland Yard has also been investigating the company Capita after they found out staff were being paid £400 a time to make tags looser so that people

could slip out of them¹². The government wanted to tag between 160,000 - 220,000 people but only managed 60,000. Even so, the scale of surveillance is huge.

Another key custodial market is in prisoner escort and custody services. Privatised prison vans, vehicles or 'sweat boxes', traffic people between courts and prisons, and once again are big markets for private companies. The British carceral state keeps on swelling, with more and more people in its shadow.



Warehouses of Suffering and Death: Prisons, Dehumanisation and Harm

In an article on building 'warehouses of suffering and death', criminologist Dr David Scott explains that what the new prisons will really bring is intensified levels of harm and human suffering¹. Somewhere in the UK, a prisoner self-harms every fifteen minutes and attempts to take their own life around once every four hours².



There were over 40,000 incidents of self-harm in 2017³, the highest since records began. 300 people died between September 2016-17⁴. Over a quarter of these individuals killed themselves, and rates of death from natural causes have more than doubled in the last nine years⁵. Medical neglect is a common occurrence. 345 sexual assaults were recorded in 2016⁶, with many more likely to go unrecorded. In 2015, the Emergency Services were called out more than 26,000 times⁷.

People are doing increasing amounts of 'bang up' - time spent locked in a tiny cell, most of which are built for one person and are now 'doubled up'. In local prisons, where people are taken after they are first remanded or sentenced, research has shown that over 30% of people spend 22 hours or more locked in⁸. Prison Inspectors found last year that across the board people are only getting 30 minutes outside a day⁹. Assaults are the highest they have ever been in these brutalising, punitive and dehumanising penal regimes.

However, suffering is not felt evenly. Who ends up in prison is extremely

racialised, classed and gendered.

26% of the prison population (over 22,000 people) are from minority ethnic groups¹⁰. BME ("Black and minority ethnic")

people make up just under 10% of the UK population, but are heavily over-represented in the prison system. Structural racism is indicated across the board: from arrest to remand to conviction. Average custodial lengths rise sharply for Black, Asian and mixed ethnicity people. Research has also shown that a disproportionate number of Black people are held in segregation (and for longer periods)¹¹.

Muslims are also over-represented in prison - the number of Muslim prisoners has more than doubled in the past 15 years¹². Despite only 1% of Muslim prisoners being incarcerated for 'terrorism' related offences, they make up half of all people in Close Supervision Centres (extra-high security prisons within prisons)¹³. 12% of the prison population are foreign nationals from

36% OF PEOPLE IN PRISON ARE ESTIMATED TO HAVE A PHYSICAL OR MENTAL DISABILITY

more than 166 countries¹⁴. They account for a fifth of the prison system's suicides and face automatic deportation if serving more than 12 months. Many will be taken to detention centres after their sentences, or simply held indefinitely within the main prison system.

The number of people in women's prisons has more than doubled since 1993¹⁵. Over 80% are there for non-violent offences¹⁶. 2016 had the highest number of self-inflicted deaths in prison by women in over a decade¹⁷.

Prisons also separate families and harm children. It is estimated that more than 17,240 children were separated from their mother by imprisonment in 2010 alone¹⁸. Young adults (18 to 24-year-olds) account for 17% of the prison population¹⁹. They also account for more than a third of all self-harm incidents and have the highest

levels of Black, Asian and minority ethnic over-representation. LGBTQIA communities are also over-represented.

People aged 60 and over are currently the fastest growing age group in the prison system²⁰. Just under 60% have a long-standing disability or illness²¹. 29% of people in prison are also identified as having a learning difficulty or disability²². Over half of people entering prison were assessed as having literacy skills expected of an 11 year old²³. Prisoners with learning disabilities are three times more likely to have spent time in segregation and five times more likely to have been subject to control and restraint in the prison²⁴.

The evidence of harm and suffering in the prison system is undeniable and will only increase with a further 10,000 prison places.

About the Prison Estate Transformation Programme (PETP)

In November 2016 the then Justice Secretary Liz Truss released the Prison Safety and Reform White Paper¹. It stated a commitment to create 10,000 new prison places. This will include construction or redevelopment of six prisons for men and five new community prisons for women. Five of the prisons are to be built by 2020.

In December 2016, the first two prison locations were announced – Wellingborough and Leicester in the Midlands, and planning applications were submitted days before Christmas. In March 2017, the next four locations were announced – Rochester, Wigan, Port Talbot and Full Sutton in East



Yorkshire. In June 2018, the Government announced plans to scrap the women's prisons² due to budget constraints and instead into to create five new 'residential centres' for women but gave no timeline or implementation program for these centres.

Delays, Disorganisation and Deceit

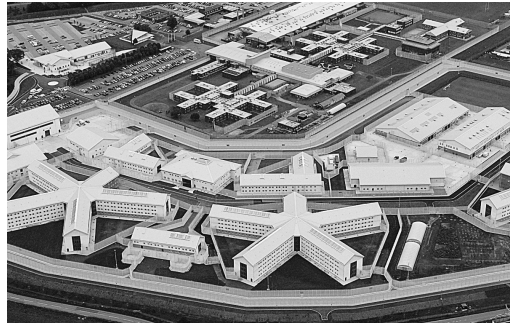
The state allegedly wants the first male prisoners in new male prisons by December 2019. Yet only three of the prisons have received planning consent, and as of August 2018 construction had not started on any of the sites. However, in April 2018 planning documentation was submitted for HMP Wellingborough and HMP Glen Parva for the next phase of the process, demolition and site remediation before construction of the new prisons. It was also announced that HMP Glen Parva will be financed by a Public-Private Partnership.

Two of the prisons that were to be bulldozed and rebuilt, HMP Rochester and HMP Risely, still have prisoners in them and the government has announced it won't be reviewing the decision to potentially close them until 2019. Recent reports suggest closures of ageing jails are on hold for five years at least³.

The state's plans are unclear, yet one thing is certain: campaigners can't rest on their laurels. Any delays are more likely to mean that officials are finalising designs behind the scenes, following all kinds of feedback from Planning Department Compliance Officers, as well as assembling the management teams that will make these prisons happen.

However, experts are flagging up the lack of cash available for the programme. Even in the nineties when prison builds were debt-funded by the boom of the Private Finance Initiative, the Prison Service never opened more than two prisons a year.

Writing in the Financial Times, Julian Le Vay shares his research and analysis



which suggests that the overhaul of UK jails faces a £1.6bn shortfall⁴. Le Vay was finance director of HM Prison Service for five years, before serving as director for competition in the National Offender Management Service.

In his analysis of the Spending Review⁵, Le Vay writes that even with some optimistic assumptions:

1. The Prison Service is very unlikely be able to manage to 2020 without additional emergency capacity of some kind;
2. It will be necessary to provide for phased start up of new prisons, phased closure of old prisons, and redundancy costs, none of which was funded in the 2015 Spending Review;
3. It will not be safe to close any existing prison before 2022 at the earliest;
4. Even when the nine prison programme is complete, it will not be possible to close even half of the existing capacity it was supposed to replace;
5. According to the central projections on which MoJ plans are based, it would be necessary to start another building programme in 2026, and so to open more new prisons in 2028;
6. On the 20% higher probability case [whereby the prison population would increase by 20% higher than the government's projections], it would

never be possible to close more than two prisons, and it would be necessary to start another building programme in 2025, in order to open further new prisons in 2027.

It is clear from the last three decades of prison expansion: if you build more prisons, the prison population will increase. The overcrowding will then generate a need for more prisons. And so it continues. The new prisons will not solve social problems, only create more.

Prison Expansion Policy, Right-wing Think Tanks and Prison Profiteers

The UK is currently the most incarcerated nation in Western Europe. We have the highest rate of imprisonment, according to a report by the Council of Europe⁶.

The British state has been on one-long prison building bender since the nineties. In 1992, HMP Wolds opened, the UK's first privately run prison. During John Major's time in office a further three prisons were built by the public sector, then privately managed. Major's government also paid the private sector to build and run two more prisons.

However, prison construction is not just a Tory love affair. Despite opposing Conservative policy on the privatisation of prisons, within one week of office Jack Straw announced on 8th May 1997, "If there are contracts in the pipeline and the only way of getting the [new prison] accommodation in place very quickly is by signing those contracts, then I will sign those contracts⁷."

Sign them they did – under Labour, seven more private-finance initiative prisons opened. Now there are 14 private

prisons contractually managed by private companies Sodexo Justice Services, Serco and G4S Justice Services. In 2015, research showed that privatised prisons housed 15% of our prison population, yet the government spent 23% of its prison budget on private prisons⁸.

Labour also implemented several sentencing reforms effectively increasing the population of prisoners by giving them longer sentences than ever, as well as creating new forms of indeterminate sentence.

The British state has its own narrative of why the prison population has increased, involving factors such as sentencing reforms, higher recall rates, and others, which undoubtedly influence how many people are in prison and for how long. However, what is completely invisible in their analysis are the corporate actors at play, and how ultimately, if you build it they will come.

Future Prisons and the New-For-Old High Value Land Grab

In November 2015, then Justice Secretary Michael Gove announced plans to build nine new mega-prisons – the first five by 2020. It is unclear whether the number planned by the state has been decidedly reduced, or if they plan to announce more prison builds after this wave of construction. Either way,



the announcement was not a surprise to campaigners. The state has been following the guidance of a favourite right-wing think tank to the letter.

The Policy Exchange, described by ex-Prime Minister David Cameron as his "favourite think tank", produced a report called 'Future Prisons' in 2013⁹. The think tank, actually founded by Justice Secretary Michael Gove in 2002, calls for the government to shut more than "30 run-down and poorly-located prisons and replace them with 12 state of the art 'Hub Prisons', containing up to 3,000 prisoners".

Policy Exchange claims that the new prisons would lead to "huge costs savings, a reduction in re-offending rates and a better quality of life for prisoners and prison staff." The policy proposals are not focused on how to reduce the prison population (this does not matter apparently) but how to reduce the cost per place. Technology plays a large role, as does sharing staff and infrastructure in enormous mega-prisons.

The creation of these hub prisons would be financed by closing and selling "Victorian" prisons in areas of high land values, such as city centres. In the 2016 White Paper, the government renewed its commitment of "new for old" – yet so far they have only closed one prison, HMP Holloway in North London.

It is unclear whether they are simply increasing the prison population by 10,000 or shutting down old establishments. If one thing can be learnt from the last twenty years, is that building new prisons does not reduce overcrowding or reduce the prison population.

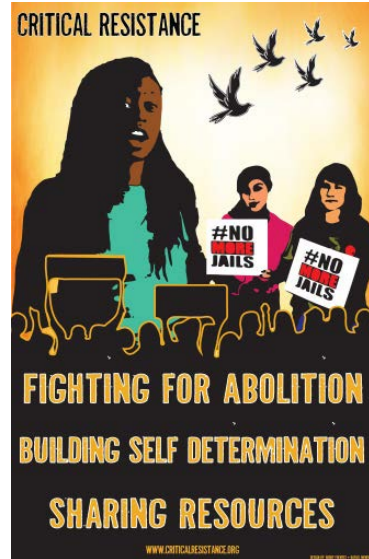
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BEYOND PRISONS

Challenging the role of prisons in society is fundamental to questioning prison expansion. For many people the idea of abolishing prisons is out of the question, prisons are seen as a necessary measure to keep people safe. However, those in favour of abolition (abolitionists) argue that prisons are in fact used as a way of controlling populations and maintaining wealth and power in the hands of the few. They believe in a whole variety of alternatives that respond to harm, build community safety and strive for social justice without resorting to policing or prisons. In this section we explore some of the bigger picture around prisons in society and the arguments people make for their abolition.

Of course these are complex topics and we are only providing an introduction – we suggest looking at the resources section of this report to learn more.

The prison system is rationalised and normalised as the way (and the only way) of keeping society's law-abiding majority safe. We are told that safety of all kinds can be guaranteed by watching, controlling and caging groups of people. Who these groups are is not incidental. Working class people, people of colour, queer communities, individuals experiencing mental health struggles, political organisers and more – all are targeted by the state. Prisons serve various functions in deterring resistance and maintaining class hierarchies and inequality, while operating under the pretence that they are natural, normal and necessary, that society would fall apart without them.



Abolitionists challenge these perspectives on many fronts. They often highlight the fact that many societies around the world have existed without prisons and that in the historical scheme of things, prisons are a very new introduction to how humans organise their lives. Mass incarceration is a project at this specific point in history that correlates with how states control populations and how capitalists protect their wealth and interests in a world of growing inequality. As abolitionist scholar and ex-prisoner, Angela Davis, puts it: "prison is considered an inevitable and permanent feature of our social lives." To question their inevitability is the first step towards a prison-free society.

When looking at the specific groups of people who are targeted by the criminal justice system (such as the homeless, those with mental health issues or drug and alcohol addictions), one can see that this is part of a bigger pattern of austerity

and criminalisation. When we look at the main factors involved in crime – or what abolitionists prefer to frame as harm – we can see that these are complex social and economic issues that demand comprehensive responses on a structural level. For example, decriminalising drug use, improving mental health services and supporting people to heal from trauma would all be more effective at preventing the reproduction of harm.

Abolitionists are commonly asked, "but what about the rapists?" Surely removing a rapist from a community would make them feel safer? Once again, these are complex issues that we do not have space to give a full response to. However, abolitionists would say that they are in solidarity with survivors of rape, and are often leading the way in developing different models of community accountability and transformative justice. Both are strategies to address violence within communities (without policing or prisons), whereby a community works together to create and affirm values and practices that resist abuse and oppression and encourage safety, support, and accountability. The aim is to provide safety and support to community members who are violently targeted, respecting their self-determination, while developing sustainable strategies to address community members' abusive behaviour. And to create processes for them to account for their actions and transform their behaviour.

Finally, these models commit to the ongoing development of all members of the community, and the community itself, to transform the political conditions that reinforce oppression and violence. Many of these processes have their roots in indigenous practices of conflict resolution and mediation work, as well

as in anarchist and radical communities that have been experimenting for decades in new ways of living that address domination. Abolitionists also highlight the fact that prisons are part of rape culture. Male prisons sustain and increase toxic forms of masculinity and do very little to change someone's worldview on women or other genders. It is very unlikely a perpetrator of harm will learn values of consent, compassion and respect within a violent institution like a prison. Prisons themselves are also places of sexual violence.

The next question is often 'What about the murderers?' As if, again, these matters are simple or black and white. Abolitionists may commonly respond with the fact that, for one, huge numbers of people in the prison system are innocent and have suffered miscarriages of justice. Many of the people convicted of murder in the UK are actually there due to laws such as joint enterprise². This legislation enables the punishment of anyone 'linked' to a murder (for example, a group of teenagers who witness a stabbing at a party). It has been used as a tool to intensely criminalise and control people from economically deprived areas.

Secondly, many murders that take place are spontaneous and instantly regrettable. Many take place under the influence of alcohol and many are often due to a severe mental illness rather than a 'criminal mindset'. Even the most vilified serial killers glamorised in TV shows have complex histories of trauma, abuse and neglect. These acts are reproductions of the society we live in, and to really respond to harm we need to radically transform these bigger social structures and how they play out on an individual,

family and community basis.

In this context, abolition is a movement centred on social change beyond prisons. Stefano Harney and Fred Moten ask: "What is, so to speak, the object of abolition? Not so much the abolition of prisons but the abolition of a society that could have prisons, that could have slavery, that could have the wage, and therefore not abolition as the elimination of anything but abolition as the founding of a new society."³

By framing abolition in this way, it becomes a creative process. It is not just about dismantling prisons, it is about designing a whole new way of life. Organisers from Community Action on Prison Expansion describe how: *"As abolitionists, we are committed to organising and working towards safe and healthy communities that can genuinely reduce harm. It is in this way that organising for abolition is a creative act. It is the unstoppable desire for self-determination, social justice and ecological living. It is the work that is already taking place in struggles for housing, access to food and land, in collective childcare projects and radical education networks. Clearly, there's no one-size-fits-all solution. There never can be. The criminal 'justice' system fails because it dehumanises and is just an extension of a damaging social context. Abolition is about learning what it means to be human, creating the space for communities to recover their humanity, and determine their own systems for navigating power, living in more life-affirming ways and keeping each other safe and cared for."*⁴

Prison abolition is often framed in terms of redirecting the funding and resources that presently go to prisons

towards communities. Towards building schools, community centres, hospitals, and support services: and making these places, which are now often places of discipline and social control, into places of emancipation, care and cooperation.

The US-based group Critical Resistance write: *"We need to be able to create environments for ourselves that provide the basic necessities we need to live, such as safe and steady housing; sufficient food; access to medical care; access to information and tools with which to process that information; resources to participate in an economy; a way to express opinions, interests or concerns; freedom from physical and psychological harm (both from individuals and the state). We need to start building those kinds of environments for ourselves as we work to abolish anything. We need healthy environments that don't depend on punishment and harm to protect the interests of the state and the rich or powerful."*⁵

Abolition, therefore, becomes a way of organising and not just a goal. Its tactics, approaches and perspectives are rich in diversity as we work to resist and dismantle the prison system while creating new forms of living. Stopping the construction of the 10,000 new prison places planned under the Prison Estates Transformation Programme is an essential part of working for abolition. In the words of Community Action on Prison Expansion: "as we fight against prison expansion, we can use it as an opportunity to question why we need prisons at all, to put a spotlight on the huge inequalities in society and build towards a future where exploitation, inequality and prisons are a thing of the past."

MYTH BUSTING

Busting the myths around Prison Expansion

In this section we address the arguments used in favour of expanding prisons. We look at specific myths used by the state and the media to justify prison expansion.

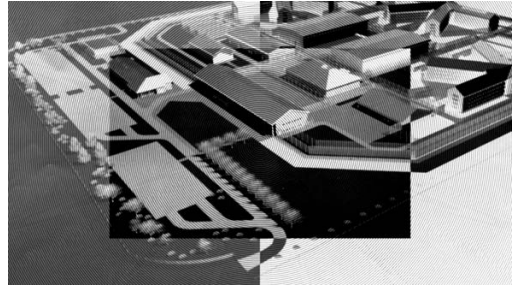
New prisons will reduce overcrowding

If there is one thing that has been learnt from prison construction in England and Wales, it's that new prisons do not reduce overcrowding. Every wave of prison expansion in England in recent history has been justified as necessary to reduce overcrowding. However, as each new prison has been built, the prison population has increased with the new capacity available, and overcrowding once again becomes the norm.

By creating the infrastructure to cage more people, we will continue to expand the prison population. In a short time frame, the new prisons themselves will become overcrowded. In this context, building new prisons to reduce overcrowding makes no sense. The only way to reduce overcrowding is to send less people to prison.

New prisons will create much-needed jobs and boost the local economy

Locations for new prisons are purposefully chosen so that the offer of jobs can be used to pacify local communities into accepting the Ministry of Justice's proposals. Judah Schept, a scholar in the United States, writes of how neoliberal ideology naturalises prison expansion¹. The need for more prisons is made part of the political "common sense" of communities reeling from crises



of deindustrialization, urban decline and the withdrawal of social welfare.

Locations chosen by the MOJ are often economically marginal with high unemployment. Many areas have an existing prison economy where locking thousands of people up in their community seems totally normal and the relationship to prison is that of a benevolent provider and employer.

Community Action on Prison Expansion argue that we need to refuse the idea that building and filling prisons are an acceptable price to pay for these economic benefits. It devalues the lives of people in prison, who are not simply a resource to be used to solve economic problems. It is not acceptable that one group of people can be subject to the harm, containment and violence of the prison system so that others can attain a source of employment.

Local populations who accept a new prison because of the jobs and 'economic development' created by its construction are often disappointed.

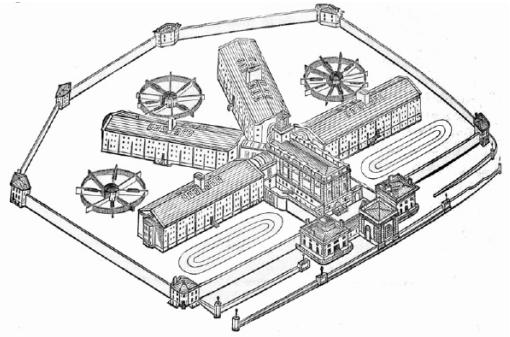
HMP Berwyn was sold to Wrexham as a major opportunity for the local economy. In reality, 'local' meant any company within a 50-mile radius. So contracts inevitably went to national and multinational firms beyond the local area in North Wales, and instead to cities like Manchester and Liverpool. The new 'economic benefits' are not balanced against the heightened impact on the NHS, the ambulance service or mental health services. Jobs within prisons recruit from a wide area, and 'local' people who want to be employed as prison officers face a high stress working environment with risks of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and physical injury. Support staff such as admin workers are notoriously low-paid with short-term contracts.

Instead of providing local economic benefits, new prisons increase harm at every level, including for local people impacted by massive, disruptive construction projects.

Prison architecture will reduce violence, drug use and harm

When the Prison Expansion Transformation Program was initially announced, then Justice Secretary Michael Gove argued that by closing down ageing 'Victorian' prisons, "We will be able to design out the dark corners which too often facilitate violence and drug-taking."²

Linking prison architecture with levels of violence and drug use is ironic given that HMP Oakwood, one of the most modern jails and previously the biggest in the UK before HMP Berwyn, has amongst the highest rates of self-harm, access to



drugs and violence³.

Private prisons which are promoted as having 'better architecture' also account for a higher proportion of fighting, sexual assaults, drug-taking, self-harming, hunger strikes, and prisoner escapes than public sector prisons.

New prisons are cost efficient

Many of the groups campaigning against prison expansion argue that no prison is cost-efficient. Community Action on Prison Expansion says: "Prisons cost a lot, and drain vital resources from health care, education, housing and social programs which better address root causes of crime and harm. Defunding the prison system, and ensuring that everyone has a good living environment and does not lack the resources they need to take care of themselves, would be an efficient and humane use of money."⁴

Nothing about new prisons will change this: new prisons will only continue to drain the public purse. The cost-cutting that drives financial efficiency in privatisation has been continually evidenced as causing harm. For example, Corporate Watch recently exposed how Carillion, who won a £200 million 'facilities

management' contract in 2015 to provide a range of services in prisons including maintenance, cleaning and management of prison stores, had failed to train staff working in prisons in suicide prevention⁵. This was tragically exposed in the inquest of Sean Plumstead's death at Winchester Prison, after Carillion staff had ignored his pleas for help.

New prisons are better equipped for rehabilitation

Putting people in cages does not solve any of the problems that lead to harm, such as drug abuse, poverty, violence or mental illness. Locking someone up for 22 hours per day will never enable improved mental health, desistance from drugs or alcohol, or a reduction in self-harm or aggression. New prisons will be no different.

Prison is a traumatic experience that perpetuates problems. After release, most people will return to the situations that enabled their incarceration, such as poverty or addiction. They will most likely return to the same community, facing the same forms of structural oppression, with reduced ability to survive. For example, they may lose social housing, have damaged relationships, have lost their children to the care system, and be unable to find work due to their criminal record – to give but a few examples. Or they may face further imprisonment in a detention centre or be subjected to deportation.

The rehabilitation discourse only serves as a moral justification of imprisonment. It eases the consciences of those benefiting from incarceration including the 'law-abiding majority'. Scrutinising

what is meant by rehabilitation exposes the underlying logic of creating massive new exclusionary spaces that physically confine populations perceived as risky.

Rehabilitation retains its origins in Christian moralism. Rooted in the values of the 18th and 19th centuries, prisons emerged ideologically from the values of the church and capitalism. This was an 'individualistic' logic holding that confinement, solitude and punishment can lead to individual development and moral improvement.

While such justifications for the existence of prisons may be gradually disappearing from mainstream discourse, prisons continue to play a role in the formation and disciplining of people both inside and outside. This includes the reinforcement of gender roles: prisons have become the ultimate patriarchal punishment from the paternalistic state. Attempts to reform the prison system and 'improve rehabilitation' only expand and cement this violent system as it tries to make itself look more humanitarian.



We need prisons, therefore, it is important to have the most humane ones possible

While it is important to consider the well-being of prisoners, campaigns for prison reform can have the overall result of strengthening the prison system and normalising incarceration as the main form of punishment in our society. To campaign for prison reform is to suggest that prisons would be fine if only they were better managed, or more considerate of prisoners' needs. A simply reformist approach fails to address the underlying logic of the prison system, and sanitises inherently violent and dehumanising environments.

Two hundred years ago prison reformers lobbied to end capital punishment, to separate women from male prisoners and for prisoners to be given purposeful work. We now have a profitable industry warehousing long-term prisoners, we have women as the fastest growing

prison population worldwide, and we have companies profiting from prison labour as 'out of cell activity'. In the words of historian David Rothman: "Progressive innovations may well have done less to upgrade dismal conditions than they did to create nightmares of their own"⁶. Demanding prison reforms sustains a society that justifies, rationalises and normalises the existence of prisons.

However, those working for abolition recognise the power and necessity of 'non-reformist reforms'. These are reforms that make tangible changes but do not extend the life of the system or grow its power and reach, nor justify its existence. Many groups also support reforms called for by prisoners, such as the end to solitary confinement or improved healthcare. They bring to light the harm prison does, without rationalising or defending its existence. These movements build power within and beyond prison walls.

PRISON EXPANSION & PRISON LABOUR

Another driver of prison expansion is the increasing use of prisoner labour. The state wishes to close and sell old Victorian prisons not only for their land value but also because these prisons are not always able to accommodate sizeable prison industries. The centre-pieces of the new mega-prisons are massive workshops, factories within prison walls. Within each planning application is a workshop building creating the infrastructure to exploit a



growing imprisoned workforce. HMP Berwyn, the most recent prison to open in Wales, has workshop space to employ 800 prisoners at once. The £23m per year in 'local economic benefits' sold to the community was extrapolated from how much money companies could make from exploiting prisoner labour⁷. The prison is not only creating space for local companies to use prisoners, but also working with local councils who use prisoners to cut costs. For example, at HMP Berwyn, the local council have been using prisoner labour to cost-cut when making boxes for recycling.

Prisoner workers have no rights to organise and no minimum wage. No health and safety legislation applies. If they refuse to work they are punished via the IEP (Incentives and Earned Privileges scheme) and can have visits, association time (time outside in a courtyard or out of cell) and other 'privileges' taken away from them. They are the ultimate captive workforce.

According to the Prison Reform Trust, an average of 9,400 prisoners are working for external companies in the public prison estate, and a further 1800 are working in private prisons. They worked for a total of 16 million hours in 2016-17⁸. Shockingly, prisoners are paid between £6 and £10 for a five-day working week. Thousands more also complete work for the prison service, such as cleaning wings and serving food. In May 2018, the government also announced plans for prisoners to help aid certain industries, such as agriculture, following Brexit⁹.

Prison labour has long been a tool for conquest and domination, from using convict labour to colonise countries, to putting prisoners to work to make

ONE3ONE SOLUTIONS IS THE TRADING ARM OF THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE FOUNDED IN 2012

£5,324,378 IN SALES 2015-16

PRISONERS ARE PAID BETWEEN SIX - TEN POUNDS FOR A FIVE-DAY WORKING WEEK

goods for armies and war. Now the state is also planning on exploiting them for key infrastructural projects, such as Crossrail, once they are released, as well as recently signing contracts with the British Armed Forces¹⁰. Make no mistake, the state is building the infrastructure to dramatically escalate the exploitation of prisoners.

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THE PRISONS

Wellingborough, Northamptonshire

Overview: Wellingborough was the first location announced by the government in November 2016¹. By Christmas Eve, the planning application had been submitted. Documents for the application can be viewed at <https://www.wellingborough.gov.uk/viewplanningapplications>. The reference is WP/16/00786/OUT.

The application was to demolish the existing prison, HMP Wellingborough, which was closed in 2012. Many local people did not understand why it could not be re-opened in its existing state. However, in its new form, the prison could triple its current capacity, swelling to cage more than 1,617 people at one time.

A full Environment Impact Assessment was not ordered, despite the construction of what is basically a new village in terms of numbers of people and their potential impact. The planning application stated that the development will lead to the loss of all existing wildlife habitats on the site, notably bats and barn owls. There are also pollution risks during construction and debates locally about how the local drainage system can cope with a dramatic load increase.

The planning documentation states there will be "workshop buildings where prisoners will carry out a variety of activities", but no detail is given on the size or scale of these

workshops.

Members of Wellingborough Council's planning committee unanimously approved the plans at a meeting in April 2017². The new prison has a projected build cost of £143m and an alleged construction period of 18 months. Eight months after the planning application was approved, no work has been undertaken on site. Local residents questioned if the Ministry of Justice had U-turned on their plans. However, a news article reported work due to start in 2018, and that the MOJ has been choosing companies and drawing up detailed designs³.

Why Wellingborough? Wellingborough is a strategic location for the state's expansion plan. It has an existing prison economy firmly embedded in the community. The prison's existence, as an important local workplace, has become natural and normal. Local people remember the impact on jobs when the



prison closed in 2012.

In fact, local people in the area even campaigned for the prison to be reopened. A residents' campaign from Millers Park estate lobbied local councillors and politicians, and the member of parliament Peter Bone in turn lobbied prison ministers. Quoted in the Northants Telegraph, Peter Bone MP graciously thanks the collective effort: "I would also like to thank a whole series of prison ministers who I have spent a lot of time bending their ears in support of reopening the prison. It just shows that a local campaign by people who care about something can still succeed."⁴

Another local councillor, Mr Griffiths said: "This will be a wonderful prison and it will be welcomed by the people of Wellingborough." How wonderful will it be for the people locked inside it?

A pro-prison attitude is not surprising from Peter Bone MP. As a Conservative Party politician, he has opposed the introduction of the National Minimum Wage, voted against same sex marriage, taken aim at trans people and been

supportive of the death penalty⁵.

Like many oppressive projects, mega-prisons are being sold to local areas promising jobs and contributions to the economy. Prisons Minister Sam Gyimah is promising the move will bring 3,000 jobs to the area and an £80m a year boost to the economy. Similar promises were made before the construction of the North Wales Prison Project, HMP Berwyn.

Resistance: Local anarchists in the area did their best to generate objections to the planning application through a broad leafleting campaign. Community Action on Prison Expansion held one well-attended public meeting in a local community centre, as well as one in Northampton where many people stated their opposition to the mega-prison. However, conservative voices still dominated and their deeply embedded pro-prison discourse was not going to disintegrate after hearing some academics, ex-prisoners, and organisers speaking about the harm of prisons.

Glen Parva, Leicestershire

Overview: HMP Glen Parva was the second prison announced for replacement with a mega-prison. Documentation for the planning application can be found online at: <http://www.blaby.gov.uk/resident/planning-and-building/planning-application-search/>. The planning reference number is 16/1672/OUT

The new prison is set to cost £170m to build and will incarcerate a massive 1,617 people. It is meant to employ 809 staff.

Similar to Wellingborough, the consultation was a tokenistic endeavour: a poorly advertised event took place at a nearby community centre. Only nine comment forms were completed. The planning application was rubber stamped on the 23rd December, just before residents were distracted with Christmas, and did not even appear online until mid-January.

The Environmental Impact Assessment

for the prison stated that the construction of the proposed development could result in a direct pollution impact, with run-off from construction activities entering the nearby Grand Union Canal. This could result in the death of aquatic organisms and aquatic and terrestrial vegetation which could, in turn, disrupt a locally important habitat corridor. The prison also has the potential to adversely impact roosting and commuting bats making use of the site, as well as hedgehog and toad habitats. The assessment also flagged up contamination risks to soils and groundwater, stating that future site users could come into contact with localised shallow contaminants.

The last prisoner left in June 2016 and demolition crews were set to move in⁶. However, no work took place until April 2018. Local people wondered if the project had been abandoned by a government U-turn. Sadly this wasn't the case: in April 2018, the next phase of planning paperwork was submitted. The objections had clearly had an effect. The new team of contractors had to supply endless paperwork on remediation strategies, dust management and more. A detailed construction timeline was also submitted and can be found on the online planning portal.

The existing Glen Parva complex opened in 1974. Until recently it held only younger inmates. In 2015, the site was meant to be the location for a 'Secure College'; basically a prison for 320 children aged 12-17⁷. Thankfully, the plans were scrapped due to a national policy U-turn. As a Young Offenders institution, many sad and disturbing stories haunt its walls. Jake Foxall, a 19-year-old from Oxfordshire, killed himself in the winter

of 2015 after being bullied in the prison⁸. Earlier that year a 20-year-old Liam Lambert was found hanging⁹.

Many staff will be retained to work in the new prison. The most recent inspection report in 2015 highlighted that over half of prisoners felt unsafe. The prison was also failing at organising education and skills training, and as a result prisoners were subject to a huge amount of time locked in their rooms. Self-harm had also increased¹⁰.

Why Leicester? Like Wellingborough, HMP Glen Parva is already a prison town. Residents are normalised to the prison and their relationship to it as a provider of employment. Leicester is one of the most diverse cities in the country, with many minorities negatively impacted by the prison system but the actual prison site lies just outside the city in a small parish which is 91% white and has a majority conservative council.

Resistance: Shortly after the announcement, some more radical-leaning local people organised a film showing of the US documentary '13th' about mass incarceration and prison labour. This event was the springboard for a new group, Leicester Prison Resistance, who went on to organise further events and workshops about the prison system. They demonstrated at the planning committee meetings, as well as flyering half of the parish of Glen Parva to help generate objections to the new prison. 67 letters of objection were received. The local newspaper reported that local people are concerned about noise, light pollution, congestion and being potentially over-looked by prisoners. Many also complained on environmental grounds and for ethical reasons (though

these aren't recognised by our archaic planning system).

Leicester Prison Resistance do their best to work with people affected by the criminal justice system, including organising an event as part of the 'Support Don't Punish' global day of action about the decriminalisation of drug use.



Full Sutton, East Yorkshire

Overview: The state announced plans for a new mega-prison in Full Sutton in East Yorkshire in March 2017¹¹. The planning application was finally submitted in May 2017 and led to a huge community response from concerned locals and a newly formed anti-prison group. The full planning documentation can be found at <https://newplanningaccess.eastriding.gov.uk>. The planning reference number is 17/01494/STOUT.

Despite a large number of objections, including a petition from the village with over 150 signatures, the prison gained planning consent in July 2017.

The prison is designed for 1,017 prisoners, covering a massive 38,217 square metres. It is one of the only prisons out of the six proposed to be built on a greenfield site without demolishing an existing prison. However, it is right next to HMP Full Sutton, a category A and B prison that also houses a Close Supervision Centre. This is one of the highest security and most repressive prison units within the country, where prisoners are held

in solitary confinement in an extremely controlled environment.

The new prison would be category C, a 'training prison' with more space to exploit prisoners in workshops within the prison. The projected build cost is £91m.

Local people hired a planning consultant to help prepare objections to the prison. Reported in the local media, resident Maddy Ruff, 53, who has lived in the village for 13 years said: "It's going to absolutely ruin our small village."¹² Local concerns are mostly about disruption: not only the building process but also the ongoing pressures the prison will create in terms of traffic and prison visitors.

A wide variety of concerns were raised at the planning stages of the project and still remain unanswered. As of August 2018, no further documentation has been submitted and no work has taken place on the site. However, campaigners expect it is imminent.

The site has a worrying history of contamination. Planning documents



reveal that the site used to be a storage facility for nuclear weapons. It has been ranked as "A1", a high priority for inspection because of the radiological contamination on the site. However only an inadequate Phase 1 contamination land study, basically just a desktop study, has been carried out. A Freedom of Information Request submitted by Corporate Watch in May 2018 proved no formal decontamination has ever taken place. The site's radiological risk would not be tolerated for housing developments, but prisoners are effectively treated as less than human.

The report also noted risks of unexploded ordnances, but no detailed risk assessment has been undertaken. This makes the site high risk for construction workers as well as prisoners held at the site.

Ramboll Environ, who completed the report, state the presence of potentially contaminative materials could pose a risk to groundwater and controlled waters. The Ministry of Justice in their application say they are planning to discharge surface water into the nearby tributary of the River Derwent. Yorkshire Water in their letter state that the public sewer network

does not have capacity. Building a new prison for over 1,000 prisoners is basically like building a new village.

A full environmental impact assessment has not been completed for the site, despite projects of a much smaller nature being requested to do so by planning departments. The social and economic impact assessment has been called 'laughable' by campaigners. They also raised the point that planning permission was granted by a council that is 97.9% white. It is clear that the prison will harm, strain and seriously impact local services.

Why Full Sutton? The new mega-prisons were designed to be evenly geographically spread. This site may have appeared as one of the most appealing in the North East because it already has a large prison next door. Like other locations, there is already a community well-adapted to being next to a prison. HMP Full Sutton also has facilities that exploit prisoner labour for local and national companies.

Detectamet Ltd and Kite Packaging Limited both use prisoner labour at HMP Full Sutton working with One3One Solutions, the Ministry of Justice's trading arm¹³. The prison also employs prisoners

for bricklaying, painting and decorating, plumbing, recycling, textiles, contract services, Braille transcription, catering and industrial cleaning.

It is very likely that building a new prison, complete with larger workshops, adjacent to the existing one will increase the profit margins of private companies and the state from exploiting prisoner labour.

Resistance: Local people in the village organised a petition and employed a planning consultant to help generate effective objections. A new county-

Rochester, Kent

Overview: Plans to develop a new mega-prison at the site of the existing HMP Rochester were announced in March 2017. There has still been no full planning application. However, a screening application was submitted in May 2017. This can be viewed at <https://publicaccess1.medway.gov.uk/online-applications/>. The planning reference number is MC/17/1705.

A second announcement appeared in July 2017 saying the redevelopment of the prison had been delayed by at least two years and may still not happen then¹⁴. A delay of five years was reported in the Guardian newspaper¹⁵. The closure of the existing prison was put on hold because of a sharp rise in the prison population nationally. Prison officers at Rochester, some of whom had already been relocated to work at other prisons, have complained about the uncertainty.

It is unclear what the exact size of the new prison was meant to be. However, each of the new mega-prisons are

wide group also formed. Yorkshire Campaign Against Prisons is a grassroots coalition made up of people from across Yorkshire. They have organised multiple events about the prison, as well as connecting with national prisoner support campaigns, such as the movement against indeterminate 'IPP' sentences. They have produced literature criticising the new prison and the wider prison system and are actively organising to resist the prison in the coming months ahead.



forecast to hold over 1,000 prisoners. The location of HMP Rochester is strategic: the town already has three prisons, making this an uncontroversial proposal. Residents who came to a Public Meeting organised by Community Action on Prison Expansion were, however, concerned about issues such as noise, construction, water and sewage. HMP Rochester already works with private companies exploiting prison labour, including Floplast Ltd, MNH Sustainable Cabin Services Ltd, We Recycle Waste Limited and West Kent Extra¹⁶. If the new mega-prison goes ahead, it will further

increase opportunities to profit from prisoners.

Resistance: Aside from one public meeting, there has been no organised resistance in Rochester itself, due to the delay of the project. People from South London are increasingly concerned, rec-

Wigan, Greater Manchester

Overview: Plans to re-develop and expand HMP Hindley were announced in March 2017. However, in July 2017 the government announced delays of at least two years to the project, as temporarily closing the existing site is seen as untenable due to national prison overcrowding. The chief executive of Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service, Michael Spurr, said: "We postponed the closure of HMP Hindley in response to an unanticipated rise in the prison population because we will always provide enough places to hold those sent to prison.¹⁷" The new prison was designed to hold over 1,000 prisoners. It had a projected build cost of £140m.

One contributing factor in halting redevelopment was the revelation of asbestos risks, which has alarmed the local community. Local campaigners wrote in a detailed letter to councillors: "Although during refurbishment work in the 1990s asbestos was removed from the roofs of A, B, C and D wings in HMP Hindley, there are serious concerns that vast amounts of asbestos remain in the older 1960s buildings. In a national prison survey in 2011 asbestos was identified as still being present in the fabric of the buildings of HMP Hindley. If this remains the case in 2017, there are then a number of urgent questions that need answering

ognising that it is people from their communities who will most likely be sent to the prison by London courts. An informal group emerged who postered the town and tried to reach sympathetic members of the public with street stalls.



in the public interest, for asbestos becomes a serious health risk if fibres are released into the air.¹⁸ The letter questions staff training in asbestos, the existence of risk assessments and of an asbestos register, as well as the expected costs of removing asbestos during demolition.

HMP Hindley currently locks up 664 prisoners. It opened in 1961 and became a youth custody centre in 1993. It is now a Young Offenders and Adult Male Category C prison. An inspection report published at the end of 2017 concluded that violence was too high, there was a drug misuse issue, and security had not been not been addressed which left the prison vulnerable to substances being thrown over the fence to inmates from outside. It also highlighted that cells were cramped and there were reports of mice¹⁹. Anthony Hill, a 20-year-old from Liverpool, was found dead in his cell after taking an overdose only a year

after Stephen Connell, a 35-year-old from Birkenhead, was found hanging in his cell in March 2016²⁰. Figures released in March 2018 showed that self-harm incidents have risen in the jail by 50% in five years²¹.

Resistance: Local organising was an inspiring show of force. Campaigners started a group called 'Pies not Prisons' and organised several local meetings, as well as a demonstration outside Wigan Town Hall²². One packed public meeting linked issues around austerity, welfare cuts and prison building²³. Organisers said that local schools in Wigan are some of the poorest funded in the country and

demanded an alternative use of funds to building a new prison.

One of the group's members researched the rate of imprisonment in Greater Manchester, which is 190 per 100,000 people compared to an average of 146 for England and Wales. He made the argument that if the region was brought in line with the rest of the country, HMP Hindley would not need to be expanded: in fact, it could close. The group was supported by No Prisons Manchester, who had been organising in response to rumours of a new mega-prison in Greater Manchester since March 2016.

Port Talbot, South Wales

Overview: The proposal for a new mega-prison in Port Talbot came in March 2017²⁴. It caused almost instantaneous uproar and resistance from the community in South Wales, which has led to the prison being rejected. The Welsh government said in April 2018 that they will not support a super prison in Baglan Moors or anywhere else in Wales²⁵. They are seeking the devolution of the criminal justice system.

Local councils were asked to submit potential sites to the Ministry of Justice. Neath Port Talbot council did not, giving the impression they would only consider the plans through the planning application process²⁶.

The planned prison was meant to be a category C prison for up to 1600 prisoners. Aberavon MP Stephen Kinnock originally gave it a cautious welcome. He later made an embarrassing U-turn to oppose it after so many people in Port Talbot kicked off about the plans.

Resistance: Locals formed a group called 'Stop NPT Prison' and gathered thousands of Facebook members. They wrote to politicians, researched the site and put up placards and stickers all over the town.

Several public meetings took place. Over 500 residents attended a packed-out meeting in September 2017 where the the MOJ was heckled with 'Ministry of Injustice'. More than 9,000 local people signed an online petition, and busloads



made it to a demonstration in October 2017 at the Senedd in Cardiff.

The prison's location is controversial not only for environmental reasons but also for its proximity to local schools and residential areas. The proposed site is moorland which residents say is constantly being drained of water. There is also anecdotal evidence that the site was historically used to dump waste from the steel works.

The location is part of the designated Baglan Bay Enterprise Zone, which could have either created a restriction or enabled tax-breaks and other incentives for companies. Envases, the company next door to the site, offered to buy the land to prevent the project happening²⁷.

Other politicians were supportive of the project. Welsh First Minister Carwyn Jones, citing his experience of HMP Parc in Bridgend, said that people "need have no fears that building of a prison in the area will have a negative impact".²⁸ Several people have died in HMP Parc, run by G4S, including Jagjeet Samra who hung himself in 2016²⁹. The for-profit prison cages over 1,038 people.

The mega-prison plan ignited conversations around land use, with many saying they are proud of Port Talbot's heritage and want 'steel works, not steel bars'. The local paper ran a piece on alternative proposals for the site, which included everything from paint balling to a bird sanctuary³⁰.

Some in South Wales fear that strong resistance to the Baglan site could mean it is built elsewhere. A list of potential locations has been published in the media, with Felindre Business Park in

Swansea being a likely alternative³¹. No Prisons De Cymru, a broader coalition group across the region, call in their campaign literature for 'no new prisons in South Wales, no new prisons anywhere'.

A large dynamic at play in the campaign is the colonial relationship between England and Wales. Frances Cook, CEO of the Howard League for Penal Reform says: "Wales is becoming the Botany Bay of 21st century. England shoving its urban poor onto the hulks and shipping them off to Wales."³² This idea of a Welsh 'penal colony' has gone viral. The recent mega-prison built in North Wales has been cited frequently as an example of England dumping prisoners on Wales, which then bears the costs of healthcare and other local services.

The new prison fuelled speculation that the state aims to close prisons in Cardiff and Swansea town centres because of their high land values. All three prisons in Swansea, Bridgend and Cardiff have problems with prisoner-on-prisoner assaults, prisoners taking their own lives, overcrowding and drugs. They rank among the worst in the UK³³.

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Scotland

As of 8 December 2017, there were 7,534 people in prison in Scotland, with over a thousand of these untried and/or awaiting deportation¹. The country has 15 prisons, including two run privately. Prisoner deaths have been growing year on year. Since 2005, more than 289 people have lost their lives in the Scottish prison system². Disturbingly, sixty of these deaths are still unexplained³.



HMP Highland

The newest prison project started by the Scottish government is HMP Highland.

Overview: The £66 million prison is to be built close to Inverness Retail Park and is planned to open in 2020⁴. Planning permission was requested in May 2017, the successful decision notice was formally issued in December 2017. It received unanimous support from the Planning Committee. The land is owned by property developers Hazledene Inverness.

Choosing the site has been a controversial endeavour. The Scottish Prison Service originally wanted to build the new prison on farmland next to the suburb of Milton of Leys. This proposal was met with organised local resistance from a group called Highlands Against Proposed Prison Location (HAPPL), who themselves are not against prisons but didn't want one in the specific location proposed. The group's social media reached more than 14,000 people within a week of launching. The group

relentlessly lobbied councillors and organised public meetings.

A new prison in the Highlands to replace HMP Inverness has been in discussion from at least 2009. The existing Inverness prison sits in one of the most sought-after housing locations in the region. The new prison will serve the courts in the Highlands, Islands and Moray.

Tender documents released in October 2017 show the prison will have 200 cells. It does not specify if these are singles or doubles. In any case, the endless trend of growing prison numbers means that single cells are eventually doubled up, which could increase the prison's capacity to 400 people in future. The prison will include the full range of buildings including kitchen, laundry, and education, prisoner regimes and vocational training, recreation facilities, visits, staff and administration.

To bring together the planning application, the Scottish Prison Service

worked with property agent Colliers and a specialist consulting team including BakerHicks, ITP Energised, Fairhurst Engineers, TGP Landscape Architects, AOC Archaeology and ERM Consulting. Meabhann Crowe, senior planner with Colliers International said: "It is interesting to be involved in a project where the design and the functionality of a building are so different and so modern, it looks like a modern education campus or a hospital and has a very different feel about it.⁵" Modernity means nothing to those subject to the prison's captivity. What some see as an interesting architectural project will have a very different meaning to the individuals and families affected by imprisonment.

Construction work was set to begin in early 2018. However, a number of

further matters still need to be approved, including road layouts and hard and soft landscaping. Construction Environmental Management Plans also need to be submitted. There are also reports of prehistoric remains to be investigated.

In Scotland, the majority of prisoners are white, male and under 36. Mental illness, alcohol and drug use are the main factors in crime (with just under half intoxicated at the time of the offence). A third have been in care and a quarter has a disability⁶. Who goes to prison in Scotland is also geographically unequal. With capacity increasing, it is likely that more people from the Highlands will be sentenced to prison.

Women's Prisons, Scotland

The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) is undertaking two projects in redesigning the women's prison estate. One is bulldozing HMP Corton Vale, a notorious women's prison in Stirling, and replacing it with a smaller sized prison for 80 people⁷. The second project is constructing five new Community Custody Units (CCUs) or 'mini-prisons' across Scotland. The female prison population in Scotland has risen by 120% since 2000⁸. Recent research showed an increase in self-harm at Scottish prisons: incidents in women's prisons nearly doubled from 2015 to 2016⁹.

Corton Vale

Corton Vale Prison near Stirling was built



in 1975. It had capacity for 307 women. It was nicknamed "the vale of death" after 11 prisoners killed themselves between 1995 and 2002. The most recent inspection report of Corton Vale in 2016 described it as "wholly unacceptable in the 21st century¹⁰". Prisoners were told to pee in the sink if they needed the toilet in the night.

The prison is now closed, with prisoners moved to HMP Polmont in August 2017¹¹.

A new smaller prison will be built in its place. Tender documents show that the deadline for bidding for the construction contract is June 2018¹². The new prison at Corton Vale is meant to be open by 2020.



Community Custody Units

The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) is planning to open its five new mini-prisons by 2020. A SPS spokesman said: "Units will have security, a perimeter fence and be staffed 24/7 but they won't look like traditional custodial facilities."¹³

The locations of two of the CCUs have been announced. One will be in Glasgow at the former Maryhill Health Centre¹⁴. It is being called the 'Lilias Centre' and will house up to 24 inmates. There will be two mother-and-baby rooms, six studio apartments, and shared rooms for the other 16 prisoners. Over 80 people have already signed a petition against the unit. One local resident said: "We also don't think this is the best environment for the women as there's a pocket of this area that is rife with drug use. It's like putting temptation in the way. I think it will be very difficult for the prison service to change people's minds."¹⁵

The preferred site for another CCU in Dundee was announced in April 2018. The site is a former primary school and will be for around 16 people. Residents are scared it will "bring the area down again". Amanda Reilly, a local resident who lives just metres from the proposed site says: "Housing and a green space would be much more acceptable for this

site. Please help us stop this happening."¹⁶

Carceral Welfare: A new form of custody

These new prisons highlight a shift to a carceral welfare model – where "rehabilitation" comes through coercion. Sentences below 12 months are not recommended because of the limited time available to "rehabilitate" prisoners.

Tom Fox of the Scottish Prison Service said: "What we're trying to do is act as a citizen repair workshop. When women have finished their sentence, we want them to go out to the community and live empowering lives."¹⁷

The concept of 'citizen repair' embodies an individualist approach to criminal justice, in which the idea is to 'fix' or 'repair' individuals seen as damaged in a certain way – rather than looking at systemic causes of crime or harm. The location of the mini-prisons has apparently been chosen by identifying the postcodes that women imprisoned in Scotland are most likely to come from. The irony is that these areas are among that are hardest-hit by government cuts and austerity.

Non-Binary Prison, Scotland

The Scottish government is considering building a new prison to hold people of non-binary gender. Here we consider this plan in the context of the general expansion of Scotland's prison industrial complex and the experience of incarcerated trans people around the world.

Reference to the prison was found in a consultation document released as part of the Scottish government's review of the Gender Recognition Act. The consultation closed on 1 March 2018.

Part Seven of the report, focused on non-binary people, considers how "Increasing the protections against discrimination on the basis of a person's gender identity and the introduction of a new legal sex for people with a non-binary gender identity would have financial impacts for business and service providers, including in the public sector."

Among these "financial impacts" is the Scottish Prison Service's estimation that the cost of a new small prison unit for 20-30 people might be between £8.7 million and £10.7 million. Also considered are the costs of changing toilets and changing rooms, and the gendered allocation of NHS beds in certain wards.

The prison service has since said the £11 million tally is "the cost of acquiring a site and building the unit." This does not include annual running costs, which



could top £1 million.

Trans Prison Trends

The Scottish government is not the first to consider building special prisons for trans people. Italy opened the world's first trans prison in 2010, where more than 30 trans prisoners are locked up in an old women's prison at Pozzale, near Florence. Their incarceration is the end result of their criminalisation and poverty:— most are inside for drug-related offences and prostitution.

In March 2017, the first special wing for trans prisoners was created at Minburi prison in Bangkok, Thailand. Activists said this prison was not for the increased safety of the people inside, but for their "better management".

The Turkish government has also hit the headlines with its popularly labelled 'pink prison' for LGBTQ individuals. Campaigners said Izmar prison would further compound discrimination and effectively segregate and isolate people.

Meanwhile, in the US, the Trans Housing Unit at the Rikers Island Jail Complex in New York, opened in 2010, is being

closed. There is talk of new wings for trans prisoners across the country, yet the reality of what is planned is unknown.

If you build it they will come: the reforms feeding the prison industrial complex

One could say that the prisons we have now are the cumulative results of our attempts to reform them. Prison reformists said women were unsafe when they were locked up with men. Now women are the fastest growing population of prisoners – with hundreds upon hundreds of prisons dedicated to them around the world. Likewise, young people are said to have unique needs. So we get more Secure Training Centres and Young Offenders Institutes.

There is no doubt that trans prisoners currently suffer severe discrimination. As Marius Mason, a trans prisoner in a Texas prison says:

“Once incarcerated, trans people face humiliation, physical and sexual abuse, denial of medical needs, and legal reprisals. Many transgender people are placed in solitary confinement for months or years, simply for being trans. Trans women are usually placed in men’s prisons, where there is a massive increased risk of experiencing sexual violence. Just as our lives are violently repressed on the outside, trans people experience extreme suffering and death within the walls of jails, prisons, youth facilities, and immigrant detention centers.”

But the ultimate outcome of trans prisons will be an ever-increasing number of trans prisoners. It is well



evidenced that prison expansion does not reduce overcrowding: if you build it, they will come. These trans prisons will become full and their overcrowding will necessitate even more of them.

Pazuzu Gaylord, an organiser with Action for Trans Health highlights that transgender and other LGBTQ people already have disproportionate rates of incarceration, exacerbated by a cycle of parental, educational, employment and housing discrimination that leads to their criminalisation for surviving through sex work, drug use, petty theft and self-defence. They say prisons perpetuate the racist, classist, sexist system we live in, and their expansion will not address these forms of oppression.

Following the deaths of four trans women in 14 months in England, Bent Bars (a letter-writing project for LGBTQI prisoners in Britain) demanded that, besides asking why trans people are being held in the wrong prisons, we need to ask why so many trans people are being sent to prison at all.

Likewise, trans prisons will not reform the prison system itself. In the words of the

*my body is
trapped in here,
but my heart
is with you
still fighting
out there...*

*-Marius
Mason*



employment. Our survival is often precarious and many of us survive by work which is also criminalised – making us even more of a target for police harassment and the crime of 'Walking While Trans.'

On February 11th 2018, Action for Trans Health and others returned

Bent Bars Collective:

"Putting someone in a sex-gender 'appropriate' institution may lessen some hardships of being locked up, but it doesn't address the pervasive issues of violence, harm and inequality that exist across all prisons."

Solidarity and Survival

While trans prisons may not be the answer, solidarity with trans prisoners in their fight for survival is more urgent than ever. Jess Bradley, Trans Officer for the National Union of Students, has written an article on six things you can do to show solidarity with trans prisoners.

Marius Mason has movingly written:

"The survival of trans and other sex and gender minority people is not a quaint conversation about awareness, but a struggle for us to live in a world so determined to marginalise, dehumanise, and criminalise us – especially trans women, and especially Black, brown, and indigenous trans people.

We are discriminated against in every area of society including housing, healthcare,

to HMP Doncaster to protest the state-sanctioned murder of trans people. On 30th December 2016 transwoman, Jenny Swift, was found dead in her cell after enduring incarceration, the withholding of her medication and transmisogynist harassment from guards. A recent inquest into her death found that she had been part of a suicide pact with three other trans prisoners formed because of bullying by prison staff.

January 22 saw the third Trans Prisoner Day of Solidarity and Action. Actions and events took place all over the world.

Read a longer version of this article online at: www.corporatewatch.org/new-non-binary-prison-in-scotland

www.actionfortranshealth.org.uk

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Carceral Colonialism

The British state's plans to build prisons abroad

The British government recently announced its intention to build a new prison wing in Nigeria. The 112-bed wing would be built at Kirikiri Maximum Security Prison in Apapa, Lagos State, Nigeria, and would enable the deportation of prisoners from the UK to Nigeria. The British state signed a Prisoner Transfer Agreement in 2014 with Nigeria but has been unable to deport people because of the poor conditions of Nigeria's prisons.

Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson announced the UK government's intention to build a prison wing in Nigeria via a written statement on the 7th March 2018. Kirikiri Maximum Security Prison was built in 1955, five years before Nigeria became officially independent from British colonial rule. The official capacity of the prison is 1,056 people. As of March 2018, the prison held approximately 5,000 prisoners, making it phenomenally overcrowded. According to research by the UN, 3,700 of the prisoners had been awaiting trial for five years or more. Following the announcement, the spokesman for the Nigerian Prison Service, Francis Enobore, said that the UK



government had yet to formally notify it and the Federal government of its plan.

Prisoners are currently unable to be transferred to Nigeria due to the conditions of its prisons, which breach United Nation standards. In 2017, human rights investigators found that prisoners in the country were subject to "extrajudicial executions, torture, gross overcrowding and poor basic facilities." The country also still has the death penalty for crimes such as treason, homicide, murder and armed robbery. More than 527 people were sentenced to death in 2016, with more than 1,979 on death row. Corruption is also a serious issue in the prison service, as is the fact that children and adults are being imprisoned together.

The new prison wing would be funded by Britain's 'Conflict, Stability and Security Fund'. This has an annual budget of more than a billion pounds and, according to the government, aims to commission projects that can help prevent conflicts and stabilise countries or regions. The fund is increasingly financing projects and programs relating to social control, policing, militarisation, and prisons. For example, £2.5 million was given to the Nigerian Police Force as 'strategic





Policing protesters in Bahrain

control. All the while, private corporations profit from prison construction, prison labour and the border regime as human bodies are treated as mere commodities for exploitation.

Read a longer version of this article online at: <https://corporatewatch.org/carceral-colonialism-britains-plan-to-build-a-prison-wing-in-nigeria>

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assistance'. Police training was also funded in Sierra Leone to the sum of £2.31 million to provide training at senior levels in "public order management".

The prison wing in Nigeria is not the first overseas prison-building project from the British state. In 2015, then Prime Minister David Cameron announced plans to build a new prison in Jamaica for the same purposes: to allow the transfer of prisoners between the two countries. £25 million was offered to build a new prison for 1,500 people as part of a £300 million aid package setting Jamaica up for increased trade and global exploitation. The package, which only covered 40% of the cost, was eventually rejected by the Jamaican state.

Foreign Affairs Minister Kamina Johnson told legislators: "the terms they (UK) have provided are not beneficial to Jamaica as a whole and so we rejected it."

The prison industrial complex is a global beast. Penal power is playing an increasing role in global migration. The Conflict, Stability and Security Fund is just one example of how the capitalist resources of Britain and the west are leveraging neocolonialist projects aimed at strengthening state forces, who use policing and prisons as tools for social

PRISON PROFITEERS


State actors and companies involved in the prison estates transformation programme:

So who is responsible for increasing the state's capacity to cage and repress people? At the base of every government project is a team of state and corporate partners working together to get the job done. Our research has identified some of the key people and companies involved in this latest prison building programme. Each prison also has its own team of contractors.



 **The Ministry of Justice Prison Estate Team.** Team led by Anna Evans, programme director.

 **Architects:** Bryden Wood. Team led by Jaimie Johnston, 'baseline design director'.

 **Delivery Partner:** Mace, giant construction company (see profile below). Team led by Stephen Wells, programme director.


 **Cost management consultants:** WT Partners.

 **Design consultancy:** Manufacturing Technology Centre (MTC).

Other companies that have worked on planning applications include:

 **GVA:** acting as land agents

 **Ramboll Environ:** completing environmental assessments

 **Carney Green:** completing social economic impact assessments

Prison Profiteer Directory

HMP Wellingborough

Key contact at the Ministry of Justice:

Sean Callaghan

Principal Designer

Firm: Pick Everard

Key contact: Nigel Rawson

Principal Contractor

Kier Construction Eastern

Marriott House Brindley Close Rushden

Northamptonshire NN10 6EN

Key contact: Shaun Hodgkin

Project manager: Lloyd Hardy

Site manager: David Lawrence

Construction Safety, Health & Environmental (SHE)

Director: Dennis Cotton

SHE Manager: Anthony Brixey

SHE Advisor: Mark Hales

Operations Director: Sean Yeo

Project Environmental Coordinator: Steve Aubrey

Environmental Advisor: James Poole

Structural Engineers: Arup

Highway Works: Atkins

HMP Glen Parva

Key contact at the Ministry of Justice:

Duncan DeBoltz

Client Representative

Firm: Mace

Key contact: Daniel Carty

Project Manager: Ben Rogers

Cost Consultant

Firm: WT Partnership



Member of the SNC-Lavalin Group



Key Contact: Simon Frankland

Principal Designer

Firm: WT Partnership

Principal Contractor

Interserve Construction Ltd

Ingenuity House, Elmdon Trading Estate, Bickenhill Lane, Marston Green, Birmingham, B37 7HQ

Divisional Director: Mark Buckle

Project Director: Mick Butler

Construction Manager: Ged Long

Site Manager: Des Reynolds

Logistics Manager: KP Randhawa

Commercial Lead (PETP): Andy O'Dwyer

Senior Quantity Surveyor: David Langslow

Project Quantity Surveyor: Shafi Shaikh

Social Sustainability: Hannah Fehr

Health and Safety Manager: Adrian Honeywell

Office Manager: Kelly Smith

Senior Sustainability Advisor: Jon Boyce

Planner: Paul Clarke



A Division of Interserve Construction



Remediation consultants

Firm: Curtins Consulting



Site investigation and Ground consultants

Firm: Southern Testing Consult

Vegetation Clearence, Ecology & Arboriculture Work

Firm: Amey Consulting

Key contact: Clive Parker

Site Supervisor: Matt Wrigley

Project Manager: Ben Alcock

Regional Manager: Mick Morris

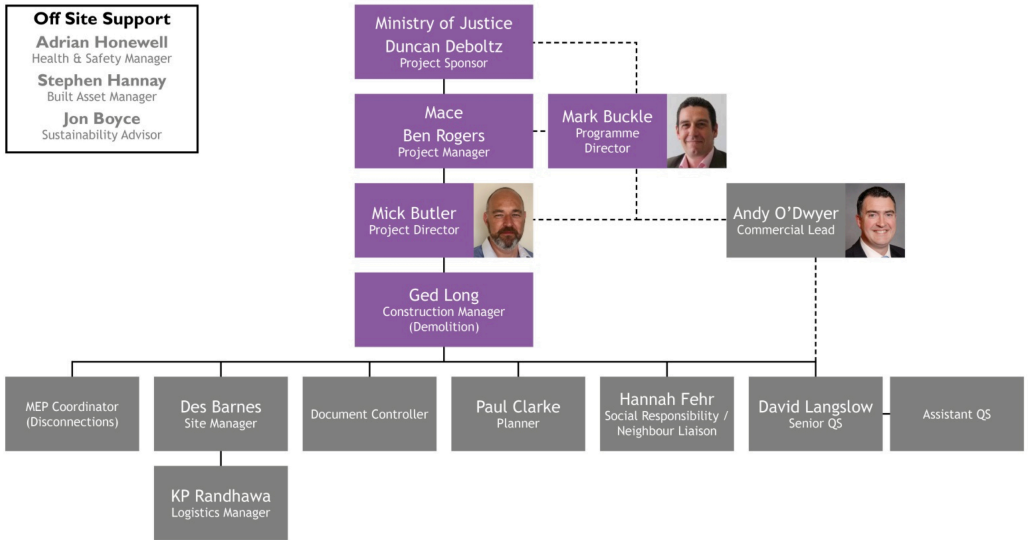


PETP Enabling Works Team

First Stages of Demolition and Construction



PETP Enabling Works Organogram



Mace: Building Misery, from UK Mega-Prisons to Forced Labour in the Middle East

In April 2017, Mace was awarded contracts to build six new mega-prisons across England and Wales as part of a £1.3 billion prison expansion program.

Mace was founded in 1990 and now employs over 4,000 people worldwide. Its four areas of work are: construction; development (often project managing huge new developments, such as student accommodation or large-scale 'regeneration' projects with local

councils); acting as consultants on projects internationally; and facilities management, which involves managing properties for various clients from oil companies to housing accommodation.

Mace pulled in just over £2 billion in revenue in 2016. It made an operating profit of £12.9 million in 2015 and just £5 million in 2016.

Mace is not a publicly-owned company

but instead is owned privately. Most of the shares are owned by the company's directors, with some held by offshore holding companies. Shareholders are generously rewarded, splitting up a total of £17 million in cash in 2015 and 2016. The highest paid director made £1.4million alone, not including dividends.

While Mace tries to maintain a clean appearance in the UK – notwithstanding controversial projects such as the expansion of Heathrow Airport and Hinkley C Nuclear Power Station – it is harder to whitewash their work abroad. Mace have their hands especially dirty in the Gulf states, where migrant exploitation and forced labour are the norm, including in Saudi Arabia, one of the most brutal regimes in the world. The Middle East and North Africa is the second largest market after the UK and Europe. Despite lower overall revenues in the region, work here is more profitable.

Mace and the Mega-Prisons

In March 2017, Mace was announced as 'programme partner' in the government's Prison Estate Transformation Programme (PETP). The Ministry of Justice (MOJ) is working with Mace to build six new mega-prisons, five of which were intended to be built by 2020, in addition to five new "community" prisons for women. The £1.3 billion construction programme handed to Mace will create 10,000 new prison places.

Building such prisons, described by leading criminologist and Open University Professor, Dr. David Scott as "warehouses of suffering", is likely to be business-as-usual for this company, whose values of "safety first, client focus, creating opportunity, and integrity" fail to



match a huge number of the company's projects across the world.

Mace's 'Lucrative and Dynamic' Work in Saudi Arabia

On their website, Mace describes Saudi Arabia as a "marketplace that is both lucrative and dynamic to work in." It is infamous for its death sentences, use of torture, and the legal subordination of women. Worker organisations are not permitted nor are public gatherings, and political dissent is criminalised.

Mace is currently building Kingdom Tower in Jeddah, pitched to be the world's tallest building. They are overseeing the project with a company called EC Harris. It is being built by the Saudi Binladen Group.

The Binladen Group has been mired in controversy. Workers employed by the Binladen Group and Saudi Oger Ltd were left waiting for their wages after a collapse in oil revenues left the kingdom unable to pay the firms it had contracted to undertake major building projects. Workers who had not been paid for over six months set a row of the Binladen Group's buses on fire. Some protesters were reportedly sentenced to four months in prison and 300 lashes for destroying public property and inciting

unrest during the demonstration. To Mace, this appears to be an acceptable price of doing business in Saudi.

Human Rights Watch reported that 250,000 migrant workers in the country have been arrested and deported under the violation of labour and residency laws. There are more than six million foreign workers in Saudi, with no legal protection. And while the Binladen Group lay off more than 14,000 people and fail to pay their workers, Saudi's war on Yemen continues.

Mace describes "Integrity – always doing the right thing" as one of their four key values. Is it possible to have integrity while working in a country with such a regime?

Forced Labour, Squalid Conditions and Worker Deaths – Construction in Qatar

Mace describe themselves as having "been a high-profile fixture in the State of Qatar since 2009" by providing cost, project, construction and programme management services to a wide variety of clients.

As in Saudi, this means the company has accepted dangerous working conditions and worker deaths, poor human rights, deceptive recruitment practices and nationwide exploitation.

According to Amnesty International's research, approximately 90% of Qatar's workforce is made up of migrant labourers, mostly from South Asia. Deceptive recruitment practices bring them to the country; once there it is common for them to have their passports confiscated. The country requires exit visas, which can effectively trap workers



from leaving. As visas are directly linked to companies employing individuals through the country's Kafala system, it is near enough impossible to change employer. Any workplace dissent or worker organisation is criminalised.

Squalid living conditions are common. Human rights observers who have been able to access the labour camps share reports of dangerous working conditions, with little training and a lack of safety equipment. Signs are commonly in Arabic and English even though most of the workers are from South Asia. Falls, traffic accidents, dehydration, and exhaustion lead people to their deaths. One of the largest current projects is preparing for the football World Cup in 2022. In 2013, Robert Booth in the Guardian wrote that that 4,000 migrant workers could die before a ball is even kicked. More recently, Human Rights Watch describe how workers are subjected to life-threatening heat.

The Business and Human Rights Resource Centre invited Mace to respond to a set of questions about its policies and practices on the welfare and working conditions of migrant construction workers in Qatar and the UAE. The company declined to respond, informing them that they "review[ed] the content of the questionnaire and have to advise that Mace is operating as a consultant, not a contractor. The majority of the questions

are not applicable to our business operations in either of these locations and therefore we have to respectfully decline the invitation to respond."

Claiming to be "only consultants" is a common tactic by international construction giants when pressured about worker exploitation abroad. Despite their attempt to hide their role in these projects, Mace has been involved in a number of large projects in the country, including building Doha Festival City. In 2013, Mace Macro (a subsidiary of Mace) also secured a 5-year facilities management contract with Qatar Petroleum.

Still, Mace write that they are committed to health and safety, innovation and service excellence, being a responsible business and supporting the communities in which they work.

Deadly Working Conditions in the United Arab Emirates

Like most multinational companies, Mace has joined the gold rush of the United Arab Emirates, working in Dubai and Abu Dhabi. Described as "capitalism on steroids", this construction sector is massive. It also has a legacy of worker resistance against exploitative conditions.

Mace's recent work in the Emirates includes the Al Bahr Towers and Capital Gate Hotel in Abu Dhabi, as well as the Zayed Cricket Stadium and Abu Dhabi National Exhibition Centre. In Dubai they are working on an observation wheel (an equivalent to the London Eye). Like many things in the Emirates, it will be the "single largest on earth". Mace are also partnering with global engineering firm to transform a 480 hectare site ready for

the Dubai 2020 Expo.

What happens behind these construction booms? Human Rights Watch writes: "As the UAE undergoes one of the largest construction booms in the world, at least half a million migrant construction workers are employed there. Behind the glitter and luxury, the experiences of these migrant workers present a much less attractive picture – of wage exploitation, indebtedness to unscrupulous recruiters, and working conditions that are hazardous to the point of being deadly. UAE federal labor law offers a number of protections, but for migrant construction workers these are largely unenforced."

Human Rights Watch visited six different worker housing complexes and described how a typical dwelling was a small room (12 feet by 9 feet, or 3.65m x 2.7m) in which as many as eight workers live together. Three or four double bunk beds represented the only furniture in each room. The workers use communal bathrooms and showers outside their rooms. The room is about twice as big as an average UK prison cell.

Late wages are one of the biggest complaints of workers. Workers building Donald Trump's International Golf Club in Dubai described "a constant state of anxiety over when they would be paid". News reports of construction worker deaths are common in the Emirates, yet little substantive action is ever taken.

These conditions have been met with resistance. In 2004, thousands of workers protested before the Ministry of Labour against the unhygienic conditions in which they were forced to live and work, only to be dispersed by police and threatened with mass deportations.

This was followed by a succession of sporadic protests, culminating in the biggest labour protest in the history of the UAE in 2005, and another in 2006, when 2,500 workers rioted at the Burj Khalifa site. At least four people died during its construction. One man committed suicide ten months later, jumping from the 147th floor of the building after his boss refused him holiday. It has been reported that workers were being paid as little as £2.40 a day, for 12-hour days, six days a week.

This is not much more than prisoners can expect to be paid in Mace's planned mega-prisons, who may earn up to £7 per week for a full working week behind bars.

In September 2006, the Ministry of Labor issued a resolution banning striking migrant workers from further employment in the country for at least one year. The government had deported workers suspected of organising strikes on several occasions prior to this resolution.

While Mace continues to promote itself as a main player in the Middle East, it will be unable to maintain the facade of not accepting its role in the construction industry that fails to treat workers as humans.

Mace in the UK

Mace's stated commitment to 'sustainability' means little when the company is a programme partner in developing Heathrow Airport's third runway. In November 2016, an independent advisory body warned that expanding Heathrow may breach the government's own climate change legislation if other sectors do not make

big cuts to emissions.

Mace is also a partner in building Hinkley Point C nuclear power station. They are one of the framework providers supporting New Engineering Contract management and project and construction management services for off-site works.

Like many construction giants, Mace is involved in the ongoing gentrification of cities through 'urban regeneration' and redevelopment. Key projects in London include the Olympic Park, Camden Lock, Greenwich Square, and Highpoint. They are also a key leader in managing Student Housing.

They have also been caught up in a tendering battle around the HS2 high-speed railway after being beaten to the contract by an American Firm. Campaigners say that HS2 threatens 350 unique habitats, 98 irreplaceable ancient woods, 30 river corridors, 24 Sites of Special Scientific Interest plus hundreds of other sensitive areas. Ironically, HS2 is one of the projects mentioned in the government's 'Prison Safety and Reform' White Paper as a scheme that could use prison labour.



Mace's Company Structure and Key Individuals

Mace Group Ltd – Mace's main UK operating company – and other subsidiaries around the world are all owned by parent company, Mace Finance Ltd. They have over 80 subsidiary companies in countries around the world including Australia, Belarus, Brazil, Croatia, Cyprus, France, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Macedonia, Mauritius, Nigeria, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Switzerland, and Turkey.

To smooth over its corporate image, Mace operate the Mace Foundation, to which they donate 1% of their annual profits. 2017's recipient was Alzheimer's Research. Their four partners for the next three years are the Construction Youth Trust, LandAid, Mind, and the Youth Hostel Association. How much do these charities know about Mace's record worldwide?

Mace also runs two "Talent Programmes": one at Imperial College Business School and the other at Cranfield School of Management.

The majority of Mace's directors are also shareholders. Mace's largest shareholder is Chief Executive, Mark Peter Reynolds. His colleagues at the top of the company own the majority of the rest of the shares: Mark Castle (Deputy CEO of Construction), David Richard Grover (CEO of Development), Jonathon Mark Holmes (CEO of Consultancy), Gareth Mark Lewis (CEO of Construction), Jason David Millett (CEO of Consultancy), Stephen Gerard Pycroft (Executive Chairman), David Keith Vaughan (the company's first Director), Lee James Penlington (Group Commercial Director) and Dennis Hone



Chief Executive, Mark Peter Reynolds

(Group Finance Director).

Two companies are also shareholders: Mace Capital Ltd and STM Fidecs Trust Company Ltd. Mace, STM Fidecs Trust Ltd, as well as a number of Mace's Directors were named in the Panama Papers, leaked documents detailing individuals and companies who are storing their wealth in offshore bank accounts and shell companies.

It is clear that behind the corporate facade is a company willing to profit from near-enough any construction project that will financially reward its shareholders. Constructing prisons that will cage and warehouse mostly working class people, people of colour, individuals with mental health challenges and learning disabilities, the homeless, criminalised migrants and LGBTQ individuals is clearly of no concern to this construction giant bent on placing profits before people at every stage of its enterprise.

See the original, full-length article at: www.corporatewatch.org/mace-building-misery-from-uk-mega-prisons-to-forced-labour-in-the-middle-east

AROUND THE WORLD

Prisons are expanding across the world including the US and Europe. They have been met with opposition from communities and individuals at risk from them.

United States

With 2.2 million people behind bars, the US imprisons more people than any other country in the world. And yet prisons continue to be built, with the Trump government merely the latest to enthusiastically support prison expansion.

A range of groups are working against this. At the national level, the Campaign to Fight Toxic Prisons (FTP) is a collaboration with the Abolitionist Law Center working between the intersections of mass incarceration and environmental justice. Their mission is to conduct grassroots organising, advocacy and direct action to stop the prison system putting prisoners at risk of dangerous environmental conditions, as well as impacting surrounding communities and

ecosystems.

FTP is inspired by the abolitionist movement against mass incarceration and by the environmental justice movement, which have both been led by the communities of colour who are hardest hit by prisons and pollution. Both these movements also have long histories of multi-racial alliances among those on the front lines of the struggle and those who can offer support and solidarity.

At the moment, FTP is focused on opposing the construction of a new federal prison in Letcher County, Kentucky. They have leveraged environmental law to successfully delay



the project and are connecting with grassroots environmentalists to occupy the site if necessary.

FTP has been informed by the ongoing research and analysis of the Human Rights Defense Center's Prison Ecology Project, as well as the work of the Earth First! Prisoner Support Project and June11.org. They also organise an annual Convergence bringing together the whole 'ecology of resistance' from ex-

Pennsylvania

Earlier this year, the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections opened a prison in Phoenix. Taking more than a decade to complete, it cost \$400 million dollars, the second most expensive construction project in Pennsylvania's history. It will imprison almost 4,000 people.

Nine prisons are due to be expanded, as well as three new ones in construction. This is all part of a wider drive for prison expansion that has seen the prison population increase from 8,000 people in 1980 to 50,000 today.

Decarcerate PA is a grassroots coalition fighting prison expansion in the state. The group have a three-point platform, supported by over 80 local groups.

They demand that Pennsylvania enact an immediate and lasting moratorium on all new prisons, county or city jails, prison expansions, new beds in county jails, immigrant detention facilities, and private prisons.

They also argue prison overcrowding can be solved one way and one way only: reduce the number of people in prison.

prisoners to campaigners, lawyers and more. FTP also toured with Community Action on Prison Expansion in the UK in September 2017 raising awareness of some of the environmental concerns of the new mega-prisons, including radioactive contamination, asbestos and other toxic environmental concerns.

www.fighttoxicprisons.wordpress.com



They advocate that Pennsylvania shrink its prison population by reforming existing arrest, sentencing, and parole practices. Finally, they advocate that Pennsylvania reinvest money spent on prisons into community institutions, saying: "imprisonment guts local resources and destroys families. We need to build communities, not prisons".

Their website also has an 'Inside Voices' section amplifying prisoner voices. The coalition has organised a variety of actions, engaged in huge amounts of lobbying and media work and used work against prison expansion to shine a light on the horrors of the prison system, as well as radical alternatives.

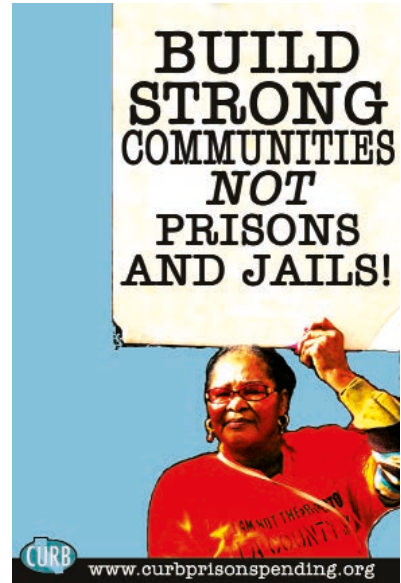
www.decarceratepa.info

California

Billions of dollars are earmarked to be spent expanding prisons in California. Governor Jerry Brown's plans to finance more prison beds will see thousands more people imprisoned. This comes as Los Angeles, the biggest city in the state, currently has the largest jail system in the world.

Standing against this are Californians United for a Responsible Budget (CURB), a statewide coalition of 70 grassroots organisations working to reduce the number of people in prisons and jails, as well as the number of prisons and jails, in the state of California. Instead, they want to shift state and local spending from corrections and policing to human services. With lobbying, media campaigns, demonstrations and more, CURB has helped defeat over 140,000 new prison and jail beds proposed since 2004.

Recent campaigns include resistance to Brown's expansion plans, as well as '#Reimagine109', a campaign focused on re-directing prison funding into community-based programs. One active group in their network is the Los Angeles No More Jails Coalition. The coalition has three demands: 1. No jail construction in LA County; 2. Reduce the number of people locked up in jails; 3. Redirect



funding to community solutions.

CURB also encourage budget advocacy. By closely monitoring and consistently engaging with the budget process, CURB is able to activate their membership and the public when they detect developments that would harm their communities behind and beyond bars. CURB also created the resource 'How to Stop a Jail in Your Town', which has inspired and supported grassroots resistance across the US.

www.curbprisonspending.org

Belgium

The Belgian state is in the process of building 13 'new modern and efficient prisons' across the country. One of these is the planned 'maxi-prison' in Haren, north of Brussels. The prison is designed as a huge complex to lock up at least 1,200 people, including children.

Different groups and individuals have been using a wide range of tactics to resist this project, including legal challenges and a land occupation of the site by one group seeking to highlight possible alternative uses, such as food production.

There have also been anarchist groups emphasising self-organisation without politicians or leaders. Small groups of people take action autonomously as 'circles of struggle'.

Together, they have tried to stop the building of new prisons. They have focussed on the people and companies responsible, such as the politicians giving the go ahead, the architects drawing up the plans and the construction companies. They have also targeted the equipment, CCTV, vehicles and offices being used. Resistance has also been made visible through pamphlets, posters, graffiti, gatherings and events, documentary screenings, occupation of spaces and more. The resistance has not been met without repression: several waves of police operations have taken place, with one still ongoing.

Groups have also tried to look beyond the prison sites, taking action in the

Switzerland

In Spring 2017, the Swiss federal state started to build a new prison next to the existing 'Bässlergut' one in the city of Basel. Bässlergut holds 30 people in deportation cells and another 43 for people serving sentences. The new prison will create capacity to imprison a further 78 people in a 'federal asylum centre'.

This has provoked concerted anger and opposition, with anarchist groups at the front line of efforts to stop it going ahead. Protests have highlighted the common nature of the prison system and border regime, as well as the incarceration and punishment of people by the state in general.



neighbourhoods they live in, to try to expand resistance to a wider level, targeting repressive and commercial projects connected to the prison construction.

Groups focus on the actors involved, arguing prisons are put there by the politicians, built by companies and after that maintained, supplied, organised and guarded by other companies. They tie prisons to a wider context, of a social relation of domination, submission and acceptance that is produced and reproduced by identifiable actors. As such, people have targeted every level of the project, from companies such as Impenia involved in building the prison, all the way down to vehicles, cranes and other equipment

Resistance has become increasingly diverse over the last year, with posters

'against the state, its borders and prisons', calling on people to come together and to confront and 'put sand into the gears' of those behind the expansion plans.

Repression against this has been predictably swift. After a demonstration of more than 200 people last year, six houses and a library were raided, with police using the demonstration as a pretext to search for people organising against the project.



CAMPAIGN SPOTLIGHT: CAPE

Written by Community Action on Prison Expansion

In recent years, resistance to prison expansion in England and Wales has grown. In 2014, planning permission was granted for the North Wales Prison project, a mega-prison designed for 2,100 prisoners, making it the second largest prison in Europe. Local residents had resisted the project for over five years through various legal frameworks and lobbying. Most organised opposition came from the housing estate opposite the prison, whose community would be deeply affected by it.

To support these efforts, Community Action on Prison Expansion (CAPE) was launched in November 2014. It emerged from the grassroots movement building efforts of the Empty Cages Collective (ECC), a small anarchist collective focusing on building a movement to dismantle the prison industrial complex. The ECC had toured the UK and hosted

dozens of workshops about prisons through the year. CAPE is a wider coalition with a diversity of groups and tactics. CAPE's intention is to practically, economically and ethically halt prison expansion in the UK before thousands more people are harmed.

In August 2015, CAPE worked with Reclaim the Fields, a constellation of anti-capitalist food growers from across Europe, to organise an action camp against the North Wales Prison Project (now called HMP Berwyn). The five-day gathering was held at Borrás Community Protection Camp, a site camp established to oppose fracking in the area. The gathering sought to link land struggles with resistance to the prison industrial complex and ongoing mechanisms of state violence and dispossession. Over 150 people came together participating in a comprehensive programme of

workshops, discussions and practical activities, including developing a garden at the camp. In the evenings, people would travel to local prisons for solidarity noise demonstrations. Suppliers to the prison project were also targeted with demonstrations. A group of people blockaded the three access gates to the prisons construction site for an entire day, stopping important deliveries and disrupting construction.



In November 2015, a UK-wide week of action took place against the North Wales prison project. Groups targeted companies, occupying or disrupting offices, or picketing outside. Stalls were held outside jails to build relationships with prisoner families, especially those supporting loved ones serving indeterminate sentences. The building had to be stopped for a time after people blocked the gates. Neighbourhoods of South London being displaced by the construction company Lendlease's Heygate Estate re-development were also covered with posters connecting struggles between gentrification and the prison system. The week ended with a massive demonstration at Yarl's Wood Immigration Detention Centre. Solidarity actions against Lendlease also took place across the world, including in Sydney, Australia where Lendlease banners were torn down from their construction sites, repainted and hung from highway bridges.



The day after the week of action, then Justice Secretary Michael Gove announced plans to build nine new mega-prisons. It was "all systems go" for CAPE, who invested more time and energy in building a national movement through dozens of workshops, regular tours and actions. Although the locations of the planned prisons were confidential, organisers suspected a regional spread and therefore planned national-scale organising to prepare communities. In April 2016, another week of action took place in Liverpool focusing on how the prison system harms women and trans people. Once again, a national gathering of workshops and discussions

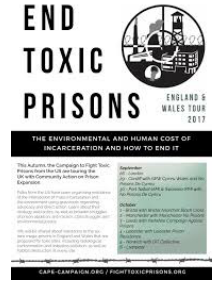


was complimented by street-level actions.

There has been a lot of other action taken against the building of these prisons. Anonymous individuals for example targeted large diggers and construction equipment. Others sprayed slogans on the half-built prison fences. The people at the top of the prison construction process have also been made to feel directly responsible for their actions, with the Project Director being told of the fear and repression their actions were causing.

Throughout, the government has shown scant concern for the safety of those locked up. When HMP Berwyn opened its gates in February 2017, a statement was released online saying the foundations had been sabotaged with acid and the prison was structurally unsound. The prison service ignored calls for investigations for the sake of prisoner safety, and began to fill the prison with prisoners.

Other grassroots groups have been formed in collaboration with CAPE. When the first location for the new prison program came out in a newspaper article in March 2016, announcing a potential prison in Greater Manchester, No Prisons Manchester was launched. The group organised event after event in the city to build momentum, including a national No More Prisons Conference in March 2017. Finally, in December 2016 the next two locations were announced in the Midlands. CAPE quickly organised a tour of local cities in the region to try and build community resistance. Leicester Prison Resistance emerged to fight the planning application for HMP Glen Parva. Individuals did their best to build a group



in Wellingborough, but felt defeated after planning permission was granted. In March 2017, more locations were announced - Rochester, Wigan, South Wales and East Yorkshire.

CAPE worked hard to build connections in these areas and support groups getting organised. A coalition was launched called Yorkshire Campaign Against Prisons, as people decided that working at a county-level would wield more power. The group have organised consistent events and managed to get a large number of objections to the planning application. Grassroots resistance emerged in Wigan with a group called 'Pies Not Prisons' exposing the asbestos risks of developing HMP Risley and gaining regular local media coverage.

In Port Talbot, South Wales, autonomous local community resistance has been particularly strong – see the previous section about the prison. To supplement the efforts of the local Stop NPT Prison group, No Prisons De Cymru was formed. With a risk of the prison moving to Swansea if rejected in Port Talbot, a group that can raise awareness about the risk across South Wales was a strategic move. The group have hosted touring groups and also produced stickers and materials in the Welsh language about the prison system.

In September 2017, CAPE toured with the Campaign to Fight Toxic Prisons in order to build links between environmentalists and anti-prison organisers. Making connections between movements has been an essential strategy for growing a fairly small anti-prison movement. This section only skims the surface of organising efforts across England and Wales against prison expansion.

www.cape-campaign.org

CONCLUSION

This report aims to be an alarm bell, warning people that we are in the middle of one of the largest waves of prison expansion the UK has ever seen. The creation of 10,000 new prison places will harm generations to come. More and more people face becoming entrapped in the prison system following the dismantling of the welfare state, the de-industrialisation of rural areas, and the entrenchment of capitalism, gentrification and social cleansing.

The prison system will continue to enable the maintenance of white supremacy, class hierarchy and patriarchy. Its relationship with the border regime and the for-profit detention and deportations industry will sustain and strengthen racism and xenophobia. The state is extending its capacity to repress. The threat of prison will continue to influence the desire of populations to resist and fight for systemic change.

Through resisting prison expansion, connections can be made between the violence of the state and the power of corporations, who both build prisons and exploit prisoners within them. By questioning the fundamental feature in society that is the prison system, more radical visions of society can be nurtured in our communities. Arguments for prison can be dismantled and solidarity extended beyond bars. There is a once-in-a-generation opportunity to fight these prison expansion projects, and that time is now.

RESOURCES

--- National Collectives

Community Action on Prison Expansion

www.cape-campaign.org
Grassroots coalition of local groups organising against prison expansion in England, Wales and Scotland

Empty Cages Collective

www.prisonabolition.org
Anarchist collective building a movement to dismantle the prison industrial complex in England, Wales and Scotland

Incarcerated Workers Organising Committee in Wales, Ireland, Scotland and England (WISE-RA)

www.iwoc.iww.org.uk
Prisoner union as part of the International Workers of the World. Organise various prisoner solidarity and prison labour campaigns

Smash IPP

www.smashipp.noflag.org.uk
Work with prisoners and prisoner families to free IPP (Imprisonment for Public Protection) prisoners who are serving life sentences for minor crimes

Reclaim Justice Network

www.reclaimjusticenetwork.org.uk
Works to radically reduce the size and scope of criminal justice systems and build effective and socially just alternatives

Jengba

www.jointenterprise.co
Joint Enterprise not guilty by association - a campaign fighting for people convicted for

joint enterprise

Miscarriages of Justice UK

www.mojuk.org.uk
Campaigning for miscarriages of justice in the prison system

Bent Bars

www.bentbarsproject.org
A letter-writing project for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, gender-variant, intersex, and queer prisoners in Britain

--- International

Till All Are Free

www.solidarity.international
Online directory of anarchist black cross groups around the world

Critical Resistance

www.criticalresistance.org
Seeks to build an international movement to end the Prison Industrial Complex

INCITE!

www.incite-national.org
Radical feminists of colour advancing a movement to end violence through direct action, critical dialogue and organizing

The Audre Lorde Project's Safe OUTside the System Collective

www.alp.org/programs/sos
Organising efforts for community safety resisting police violence

Generation Five

www.generationfive.org
Organisation working to end child sexual abuse in five generations, from an abolitionist perspective

Sisters Inside

www.sistersinside.com.au
Australian based group who work from an abolitionist perspective

A World Without Police

www.worldwithoutpolice.org
International collective working to create a world without police

The Real Cost of Prisons Project

www.realcostofprisons.org
Project publishing writing and artwork by prisoners. They have produced three comics called: Prison Town: Paying the Price, Prisoners of the War on Drugs and Prisoners of a Hard Life: Women and Their Children

--- Local Groups

Stop Neath Port Talbot Prison

www.stopnptprison.wales

No Prisons De Cymru

www.noblogs.org/members/noprisonsddecymru

Leicester Prison Resistance

www.cape-campaign.org/leicester

Yorkshire Campaign Against Prisons

www.facebook.com/yorksagainstprisons

No Prisons Manchester

www.facebook.com/manchesternoprison

Birmingham Prison Resistance

www.facebook.com/birminghamprisonresistance

Bristol Anarchist Black Cross
www.bristolabc.wordpress.com

Brighton Anarchist Black Cross
www.brightonabc.org.uk

London Anarchist Black Cross
www.network23.org/londonabc

Reclaim Holloway
www.reclaimholloway.strikingly.com

Midlands Anti Expansion Network
email: midlandsAEN@protonmail.com

--- Reading

Books

Are Prisons Obsolete? Angela Yvonne Davis

Instead of Prisons: Handbook for Abolitionists - Comprehensive text on alternatives to prison and the decarceration movement

The Abolitionist Toolkit -Toolkit for abolitionists developed by Critical Resistance

Abolition Now! Ten years of strategy and struggle against the prison industrial complex by Critical Resistance

Beyond Walls and Cages - Prisons, borders and global crisis. Book edited by Jenna M Lloyd, Matt Mitchelson and Andrew Burridge

The Revolution Starts At Home: Confronting Intimate Violence Within Activist Communities. Edited by L. L. Samarasinha and others

Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California. Book by Ruth Wilson Gilmore

Captive Genders: Trans embodiment and Prison Industrial Complex - Book by Nat Smith and Eric Stanley

A Crime Called Freedom, Writings of Os Cangaceiros

Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex. Book by Julia Subury

Resistance Behind Bars: The Struggles Of Incarcerated Women. Book by Victoria Law

The New Abolitionists: (Neo) slave Narratives and Contemporary Prison Writings. Edited by Joy James

The Struggle Within: Prisons, Political Prisoners, and Mass Movements in the United States. Book by Dan Berger

Unruly Women. The Politics of Confinement & Resistance. Book by Karlene Faith

Strangeways: a serious disturbance. Book by Eric Allison and Nicki Jameson

Mass Incarceration, Political Prisoners, and Building a Movement for Community-Based Justice by David Gilbert

HMP - A Survival Guide by Carl Cattermole

Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle Against the Prison Industrial Complex. Book edited by Critical Resistance

Zines and Shorter Publications

Towards Transformative Justice - Generation Five

An Anarchist Re-Imagining: Communities of Resistance, Addressing Borders, Capitalism and Prisons

What About the Rapists? - Zine with a collection of articles representing different approaches to the problem of harm and domination in our communities, including

transformative justice-based accountability processes

Creative Interventions - Toolkit to stop interpersonal violences

Against Equality: Prisons will not Protect You. Book edited by Ryan Conrad

The Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence

Progressive Punishment: Job Loss, Jail Growth, and the Neoliberal Logic of Carceral Expansion by Judah Schept

Close Supervision Centres - Torture Units in the UK #1 and #2 Publication produced by Bristol ABC about Close Supervision Centres

Freedom First by Firehawk and Ben Turk

The Writings of John Bowden

The Struggle against the Maxi Prison in Brussels

The Prison Works. Occasional texts on the roles of prison and prison labour - By Joe Black/ Bra Bros. Published by Brighton ABC

--- Films

- Visions of Abolition
- Critical Queers
- 13th
- Injustice Documentary
- Dyke Jails
- Gentleman Bank Robber
- The Prison in Twelve Landscapes

--- Podcasts

- The Lockdown
- No More Prisons
- Rustbelt Abolition Radio
- Beyond Prisons
- It's Going Down
- Kite Line
- A-Radio Berlin

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