

Pains of Imprisonment

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In a now-classic ethnographic study of New Jersey State Prison, Gresham M. Sykes (1958/2007) argued that five fundamental deprivations characterized daily prison life, known collectively as the “pains of imprisonment.” These were the loss of liberty, desirable goods and services, heterosexual relationships, autonomy, and security. According to Sykes, the sum total of these deprivations explained why inmates found prison life undesirable. Their long-term effects could be to produce hardened criminal offenders. Under the so-called deprivation model, material and symbolic frustrations arising out of the prison environment could have criminogenic effects by compelling inmates to form an oppositional prison culture.

Prisons are a relatively recent innovation in human history, as Foucault (1977/1995) observed, supplanting the previously prevalent forms of punishment that were chiefly aimed at inflicting physical harm or death, or excluding convicts from society through transportation and banishment. With the rise of modern societies, Foucault argued, punishing the soul (that is, the mental life of convicts) took the place of punishing the body. A gradual civilizing process (Elias 1939/2000) has caused a precipitous decline in violence of all kinds, including the delegitimization of violent confrontations in daily life and the decline in casualties linked with warfare. Civilization, in Elias’s sense, played a key causal role in the rise of the penitentiary in place of the gallows or the guillotine.

Indeed, the rise of humanitarian ideals and the decline of public willingness to engage in “spectacles of suffering,” to borrow a phrase from Spierenburg’s (1984) work on the role of public executions and corporal punishment as morality plays, may have helped shape foundational documents like the US Constitution and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The

Eighth Amendment of the US Constitution prohibits “cruel and unusual punishments.” The Universal Declaration of Human Rights bans “torture” and “cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.” These documents reveal a growing awareness of the importance of limiting the corporal pains of punishment in the post-Enlightenment era.

But while most modern states have traded in the branding iron for the jail cell, Sykes’s conceptual quintet reminds social observers that although prison sentences may seem less immediately jarring or obviously pain-inducing than executions or torture, they do, in their way, nevertheless impose suffering. Contrary to the deterrence hypothesis, which claims that longer or harsher terms of imprisonment reduce crime by increasing the costs of offending, inmates may in fact react to prison pains by closing ranks against correctional officers and, more broadly, the social order as such, forming an inmate culture that could result in an elevated commitment to crime. Greater pains of imprisonment could therefore yield greater levels of recidivism.

Sykes was certainly not the first observer of prison life to note that correctional institutions were capable of imposing – indeed, in some cases, were intended to impose – extensive social and material pains on their dwellers. In a journalistic account of mid-nineteenth-century American life, the English novelist Charles Dickens (1842/1883: 678–679) argued that the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania imposed “rigid, strict, and hopeless solitary confinement” with effects that were “cruel and wrong.” Dickens observed how social isolation and material deprivation combined to produce anguish and despondency among inmates; the typical inmate is “a man buried alive; to be dug out in the slow round of years ... dead to everything but torturing anxieties and horrible despair.” Similarly, Henry Mayhew (1862), an English journalist and social critic, pointed out the costs associated with solitary confinement in an early tome on London prisons. Mayhew (1862: 127) believed that having one’s life “hemmed in by four white walls” resulted in “intense misery,” since inmates

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