

# **Love as human virtue and human need and its role in the lives of long-term prisoners**

A multidisciplinary exploration

by

**Christina Valeska Straub**

Critical Perspectives on Social Science



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*What do the undeserving deserve?*

(Robert Johnson & Hans Toch — *The Pains of Imprisonment*, 1982)



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# Abstract

As a contribution to the literature on the effects and pains of imprisonment, this book examines one influencing variable in the lives of prisoners serving long sentences in an English low-security prison: the absence and presence of love. Based on empirical findings, it seeks to provide a deeper insight into the meaning and role of love in the social-ecology (i.e. relationships between people and their environment) of human existence, human development and well-being. A multidisciplinary analysis of psychological, moral philosophical, neuroscientific and sociological literature helps to shine a light on love as an elusive concept that seems impossible to ever fully grasp.

This book follows love's lead through the past and present lives of 16 long-term prisoners. In semi-structured interviews, they provide a vivid insight into the pains and effects of love deprivation in early experiences of violence, abuse and trauma as well as in their current prison environment. At the same time, the presence of love features as motivational power and resilience factor for getting them through their long sentences and for investing in positive identities. Viewing their narratives through a multidisciplinary lens brings love's significance as a twofold concept of human need and human virtue into focus. It plays a major role in matters of deprivation and nurturance, dysfunction and resilience, sickness and health throughout the human life course.

Given love's essential importance in human existence, this book would like to inspire the reader to critically consider what is at stake if we leave love out of consideration in our dealings with human beings in state institutions such as prison? What could be gained if these environments – predominantly devoid of love – included this human need and human virtue into its set-up and purpose?



# 1. “There's no love in the concrete”

## — Introduction

The inspiration for this book first found me more than 10 years ago, in a high-security prison in a rural area of England. As a total prison research novice, I was finding (or rather meandering) my way through a puzzling environment. As part of a team, I was looking into dynamics of staff-prisoner relationships together with Alison Lieblich and Helen Arnold (Lieblich et al. 2011). Writing up our findings, I found myself working on chapters like “Identity Change and Self-Improvement” or “Sources of Hope, Recognition and Humanity” in prison (Lieblich et al. 2011) which were and are close to my heart until this day.

As a “naïve” outsider, it struck me how little topics like love and emotions seemed to be part of the conversation in and about the prison environment, the prison experience and the purpose of prison. On the contrary, talking about love had developed into a no-go-area in this high-security environment. Its denial amplified the awareness of its absence even more. The longing for fulfilment of this basic human need ran like an undercurrent through various prisoner (and some staff) interviews, while it was mostly missing in the public and political discourse about prison at the time. Stating there was “no love in the concrete” and that “even the walls despise you” one prisoner referred to the perceived structural and symbolical qualities of this high-security prison as a loveless place (Lieblich et al. 2011). Although one might not find it particularly surprising that love seems to have disappeared from an environment primarily designed around punishment, I could not help but ask myself: Why? If love plays a major role in human existence, why is its absence so readily accepted in this context?

This first experience in the field of prison research sparked a burning interest to further examine the background and implications of the (perceived) absence of love in the prison environment. Was there *really* no love in the concrete? This interest expanded into researching the effects of imprisonment, but soon enough, I had to realise that I did not know enough. I was looking at a complex web of meanings, (popular) opinions, cultural and moral values, political and economic constraints, as well as at practical institutional struggles on the daily “front-line” of offender management. I did not know enough about these issues and their interrelations. Their exploration became one of the main aims of an evolving research proposal which developed into an ESRC-funded PhD in Criminology/Sociology at the School of Law (University of Leeds, UK). My research journey and my findings form the basis of the pages to follow.

I will be asking “inconvenient” questions, such as “Who deserves love?” – “Do prisoners deserve love?” – “Under which circumstances and for which reasons is it deemed acceptable to exclude prisoners from the human experience of love?” Ultimately, these are questions of moral concern. They impact my work as a researcher. I want to be as transparent as possible and therefore lay out my normative and moral stance right from the beginning. For want of better or clearer words - which I have not been able to find - I would like to use those of Norwegian criminologist and sociologist Christie. Calling for *Limits to Pain* (1981) of imprisonment he decided to take a distinct moral stance:

Let it ... be completely clear that I am also a moralist ... One of my basic premises will be that it is right to strive for a reduction of man-inflicted pain on earth. I can very well see objections to this position. Pain makes people grow. They become more mature ... receive deeper insights ... But we have also experienced the opposite: Pain which brings growth to a stop, pain which retards, pain which makes people evil. (Christie 1981: 3)

Above normative orientation and motivation towards critically (re-)considering limits to the pains of imprisonment have left their mark throughout this book. They played a crucial role in my decisions on what I wanted to look at, how and with what motivations and aims.

In this book, I want to revisit the pains and effects of imprisonment, this time with special regards to the absence and presence of love as the deprivation and provision of a basic human need. I postulate that love matters in the lives of long-term prisoners (why these have become the focus of this study will be discussed at a later point) because it matters as a human need. According to Maslow's classic hierarchy of needs theory it matters, in fact, greatly. Human behaviour and well-being are influenced by (if not dependent on) the satisfaction of certain basic needs. They “stand in a special psychological and biological status” (Maslow 1987: 53). The belongingness and love needs occupy a relatively high rank, emerging after the physiological and safety needs have been gratified. Those basic human needs “must be satisfied or else we get sick” (Maslow 1987: 53) mentally and physically.

On the other hand, love as the very factor that can induce mental and physical struggle when missing, also seems to be the most effective antidote to these effects. As much as the absence of love can induce distress, its presence seems to exert positive and strengthening effects. This book will therefore also consider the effects that the opposite of love deprivation, i.e. the presence (or provision) of love can have on human life. The exploration of love as human virtue (Peterson and Seligman 2004) and its role in fostering resilience and well-being in individuals will form a substantial part of this research journey.



Just as love reaches beyond prison walls, so do prisoners occupy more than the temporal space of prison during the course of their lives. It will therefore also be a purpose of this book to follow love's traces throughout the human life span, examining the role it plays neurologically, psychologically, socially and morally at different times and in different social-ecological spheres of human existence (which will be encountered in greater detail in Chapter 3). Ultimately this approach leads us to the underlying critical question: Does love matter (or indeed *should* it matter) in the set-up of the (long-term) prison experience? This question is posed from the vantage point of critical theory, which shall be used here and throughout this book in its non-capitalised spelling, thus to be regarded as different from *Critical Theory*. The latter specifically refers to a theoretical approach within the Frankfurt School. As a novel orientation toward social sciences, *Critical Theory* claimed that social inquiry ought to combine the disciplines of philosophy and social sciences in order to be practical in a moral sense (Bohman 2005). Approaches with similar practical aims which do not strictly follow the Frankfurt School, are commonly referred to as *critical theory* (Bohman 2005).

The critical theory approach, which will be applied here, uses empirical data as basis for a moral and philosophical questioning of current conditions of long-term imprisonment and penal practices. This will be done with a view to exploring alternative approaches to the current set-up of the prison environment. Ideally, it will deliver suggestions for policy considerations in line with critical theory's practical purpose to act as a "liberating ... influence ... to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings" (Horkheimer 1972: 246). The superordinate scope of this book lies in providing a theoretical resource not only for academic purposes as a contribution to prison research but also one that can be used to inform practical and policy decisions about the set-up and purpose of prison. Although Bloor points out rather discouragingly that "policy influence for social researchers is quite possibly a chimera" (Bloor 2011: 309), this book would like to make its findings accessible and useful for academics and practitioners alike. As a qualitative exploration, it follows a meandering path between multidisciplinary, academic theory and its empirical manifestation whilst keeping its main focus – *love* – firmly in view.

Accordingly, Chapter 2 sets out to prepare the theoretical ground for the empirical explorer, revisiting classic and contemporary UK (and some US) prison research, tracing the absence and presence of love within it.

Chapter 3 represents the second theoretical pillar on which this book's empirical research and analysis rests. It illustrates how the abstract concept of love has been operationalised into thematic building blocks guiding empirical enquiry by deploying two theoretical approaches. Walker and Avant's (1994) concept analysis and Bronfenbrenner's (1974) social-ecological theory of human development

were combined into a multidisciplinary literature review, discussing findings on love in neuroscience, psychology, sociology and moral philosophy.

Chapter 4 reflects on methods and conditions under which empirical data underlying this book's analysis has been collected. It paints a picture of fieldwork difficulties which have become representative not only of a deteriorating prison estate but also of the increasingly precarious and difficult work of a prison researcher in England.

After preparing the theoretical ground in the first three chapters of this book, four extensive chapters are dedicated to presenting and analysing empirical data with regards to the absence and presence of love in long-term prisoners' past and present lives.

Chapter 5 introduces participants' perceptions, feelings and associations connected to the concept of love. Talking about past and present experiences with the absence and presence of love, their narratives revolve around the "light" and the "dark" side of love as a dual concept.

Chapter 6 and 7 explore the effects of the absence and presence of love in prisoners' current outside and inside connections. It enquires into reasons for maintaining certain relationships and cutting off others whilst also considering what the prison is or is not doing to provide opportunities for love.

Chapter 8 shifts the focus from interpersonal engagement towards a broader perspective of the effects that prison as an emotionally structured social environment exudes on its population. The topic of emotion management guides the analytical discussion before considering its gendered elements. It leaves the reader with the suggestion for critical consideration of an alternative culture and set-up of the prison's emotional environment: What could it look like and what could be gained, if the benchmarks of love were included in a potential reformulation?

Chapter 9 recapitulates this book's main empirical and theoretical findings. It aims to integrate those with a consideration of love in broader social-ecological terms, ultimately arguing for alternative outlooks on the role of prison as state institution. In doing so, it revisits critical theory and feminist approaches regarding love as a necessary element for humane institutions and societies. Taking these approaches further, the concluding discussion of this book suggests nothing less than a paradigm shift, resulting in recommendations for penal policy- and prison-design that bring love (back) into the picture.

Before we can fully embark on our exploration of the life-worlds of long-term prisoners, it is important to take a step back, however: to remember what it means to be incarcerated and why a close examination of the effects of long-term imprisonment (still) matters.

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