

# 3

## **Penal scandal in New Zealand**

*John Pratt*

### **Introduction**

Over the past 15 years or so, increasing attention has been given to what is thought to constitute “public opinion” in relation to the development of sentencing and penal policy. The views and aspirations of the general public are regularly invoked by politicians, usually as a justification for more severe sentencing, or when drawing attention to perceived inadequacies in existing criminal justice and penal systems. For example, Tony Blair has claimed that “there are more prison places, sentences are longer and sentences are tougher but if you look where the public is on this issue, the gap between what they expect and what they get is bigger in this service than anywhere else *and we have got to bridge it*” (*The Guardian* 9 June 2006, p 1, my italics). The clear implications of this and similar speeches that have been made by politicians in many other western countries are that in this area the views of the general public are paramount, and that there is something seriously amiss when public expectations are not being met by those implementing or delivering policy.

This chapter intends to address three aspects of these developments. First, what is it that is meant by the term “public opinion”? This is of considerable importance as there is a large gap between the findings of social scientific public opinion research and more volatile impressions of public mood, usually based on newspaper headlines or the like: it will be argued that it is the latter that politicians usually have in mind when they speak to public expectations in this area. Secondly, what is the sociological significance of all these invocations of the public and exhortations to judges and policy-makers? It will be argued that these are symptomatic of a new axis of power which has come into play and which significantly reorganises both the terms of penal debate and who is allowed to contribute to this. Thirdly, what consequences does this have for understanding policy development and the input of the general public, or at least those who claim to speak on its behalf? By reference to current developments in New Zealand, it will be argued that popular commonsense can now become a privileged driver of policy: but at the same time, in the more emotive context in which penal policy is now decided, strategic use of scandal is one way to undermine its influence. Scandal should not be understood as the exclusive property of the law and order lobby.

This is a preview. Not all pages are shown.

4 See *New Zealand Herald*, “Our Idle Jails”, 25 February 2006 to 4 March 2006; *The Dominion Post*, “Bulging Prisons Spark Rethink”, 25 February: A10.

## References

- Ashworth, A and Hough, M (1996). Sentencing and the Climate of Opinion. *Criminal Law Review*: 776.
- Betz, HG (1994). *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Brown, D (2005). Continuity, Rupture or Just more of the “Volatile and Contradictory”?: Glimpses of New South Wales’ Penal Practice behind and through the Discursive”. In J Pratt, D Brown, S Hallsworth, M Brown and W Morrison (eds), *The New Punitiveness: Theories, Trends, Perspectives*. Cullompton: Willan.
- Cook, D (2002). Deregulation and Broadcast News Content: ONE Network News 1984 to 1996. In J Farnsworth and I Hutchinson (eds), *New Zealand Television: A Reader*, Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.
- Cullen, F, Fisher, B and Applegate, B (2000). Public Opinion about Punishment and Corrections. *Law and Society Review* 34: 1.
- Fallows, J (1997). *Breaking the News*. New York: Vintage.
- Fukuyama, F (1995). *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. New York: Free Press.
- Garland, D (2001). *The Culture of Control*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, A (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Haggerty, K (2004). Displaced Expertise: Three Constraints on the Policy Relevance of Criminological Thought. *Theoretical Criminology* 8: 211.
- Hough, M (1996). People Talking about Punishment. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 35: 191.
- Indermaur, D and Hough, M (2002). Strategies for Changing Public Attitudes to Punishment. In J Roberts and M Hough (eds), *Changing Attitudes to Punishment: Public Opinion, Crime and Justice*. Cullompton: Willan.
- Jacobson, M (2005). *Downsizing Prisons: How to Reduce Crime and End Mass Incarceration*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jewkes, Y (2004). *Media and Crime*. London: Sage.
- Law Commission (2006). *Sentencing Guidelines and Parole Reform*. Wellington: Law Commission.
- Lawson, RG (2004). Difficult Time in Kentucky Corrections – Aftershock of a “Tough on Crime” Philosophy. *Kentucky Law Journal* 93: 305.
- Ministry of Justice (2003). *Attitudes to Crime and Punishment: A New Zealand Study*. Wellington: Ministry of Justice.
- Moriarty, M (1977). The Policy-making Process: How it is Seen from the Home Office. In N Walker (ed), *Penal Policy-making in England*. Cropwood Conference, Institute of Criminology, Cambridge.
- Nevitte, N (1996). *The Decline of Difference: Canadian Value Change in Cross National Perspective*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Newburn, T and Jones, T (2005). Symbolic Politics and Penal Populism: The Long Shadow of Willie Horton. *Crime, Media, Culture* 1: 72.
- Office of the Ombudsman (2005). *Ombudsman’s Investigation of the Department of Corrections in Relation to the Detention and Treatment of Prisoners*. Wellington: Office of the Ombudsman.
- Pratt, J (2006a). Punishment, Politics and Public Opinion: The Sorcerer’s Apprentice Revisited. Conference paper presented at *Beyond Retribution: Advancing the Law and Order Debate*. Prison Reform Trust Conference, May.
- Pratt, J (2006b). *Penal Populism*. London: Routledge.
- Pratt, J (2006c). The Dark Side of Paradise. *British Journal of Criminology* 46(4): 541.
- Pratt, J and Clark, M (2005). Penal Populism in New Zealand. *Punishment and Society* 7: 303.

PENAL POPULISM, SENTENCING COUNCILS AND SENTENCING POLICY

- Roberts, JV, Stalans, L, Indermaur, D and Hough, M (2003). *Penal Populism and Public Opinion*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Savelsberg, J (1994). Knowledge, Domination and Criminal Punishment. *American Journal of Sociology* 99: 911.
- Smith, L and Robinson, B (2006). *Beyond the Holding Tank: Pathways to Rehabilitative and Restorative Prison Policy*. Manukau, NZ: The Salvation Army Social Policy and Parliamentary Unit.
- Sparks, R (2000). The Media and Penal Politics. *Punishment and Society* 2: 98.
- Tham, H (2001). Law and Order as a Leftist Project?: The Case of Sweden. *Punishment and Society* 3: 409.
- Tyler, T and Boeckmann, R (1997). Three Strikes and You are Out, but Why? The Psychology of Public Support for Punishing Rule Breakers. *Law and Society Review* 31: 237.
- van Kesteren, JN, Mayhew, P and Nieuwbeerta, P (2000). *Criminal Victimisation in Seventeen Industrialised Countries: Key-findings from the 2000 International Crime Victims Survey*. The Hague: Ministry of Justice, WODC.
- van Swaanningen, R (2005). Public Safety and the Management of Fear. *Theoretical Criminology* 9: 289.
- Zimring, F and Johnson, DT (2006). Public Opinion and Governance of Punishment: Democratic Political Systems. *Democracy, Crime and Justice, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 605: 265.