

On the 22nd of July 1931, a small group of men and women met together and constituted themselves the 'Temporary Executive Committee' of the *Association for the Scientific Treatment of Criminals*. Their aims were to promote the notion, backed by scientific research, that there was a better way of dealing with criminals than putting them in prison; and, further, to translate this notion into appropriate action.'

# ISTD: where theory meets practice

Julia Braggins looks at the history of a unique forum.

So begins the History of the ISTD, 'by Miss Eve Saville, MBE, BA, General Secretary for 30 years and Dr David Rumney, MC, MR.C.Psych, DPM,' the publication of which, in 1992, was made possible by the generous donation of an anonymous benefactor. It was one of my first tasks as Director to see this little volume into print. The illness of our late Chairman, John Freeman,

the gap left by the departure of my predecessor, Martin Farrell, some five months before I was free to take up my post, and the chronic shortage of funds from which ISTD then suffered meant that the proofs had gathered dust for some time. The History remains one of my favourite reads - though a constant source of embarrassment to me at the same time, in that I allowed it to go to press without so many of the niceties of the publication process about it. You may search in vain for a date of publication, let alone an ISBN number: at that stage I didn't realise we had any.

## What we put in prison

The Council of the Centre as it is today bears little resemblance to that pioneering group. Dr Grace Pailthorpe, probably the founding mother, was a woman of parts. Amongst other First World War duties, she had been a medical officer in a military hospital in France, and officer-in-charge of a flying ambulance unit in the Balkans, before turning to psycho-analysis. Then in 1922 she began a study of female prisoners at two prisons, Birmingham and Holloway, and later at the request of the Central Council for Preventive and Rescue Work in London, on 100 female inmates of various homes. On the strength of these two studies, Dr Pailthorpe produced a report, *Studies in the Psychology of Delinquency* and a book, a popularised version, entitled *What We Put in Prison*.

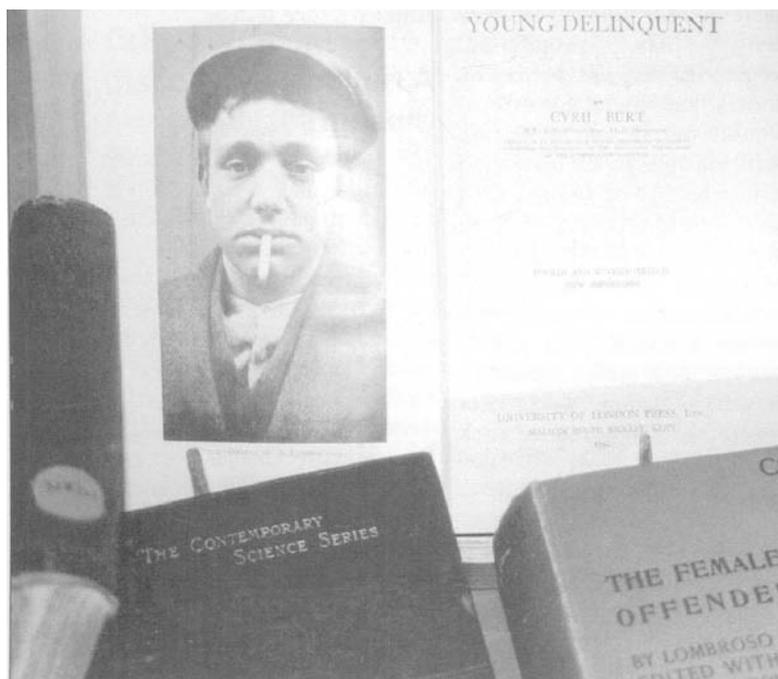
The psycho-analytic radicals behind the early Institute (it

became, a year later, the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency) were considered a dangerous lot. Miss Evelyn Fox, of the Association for Mental Welfare, 'notices' (in the words of the Organising Secretary's report) 'that the list of our Vice Presidents consists only of psycho-analysts, and thinks that this will be a disadvantage in carrying out any scheme in conjunction with existing societies'. Early Vice Presidents included Alfred Adler, Cyril Burt, Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud, Julian Huxley, Carl Jung, Otto Rank and HG Wells. Other founding fathers were Edward Glover, Emmanuel Miller, Maurice Hamblin-Smith and ET Jensen: a roll-call of the luminaries of the time.

## The psychoanalytic tradition

Plainly the Home Office was also suspicious of the psycho-analytic tendency. David Garland, in his contribution to the Special issue of the BJC on the History of British Criminology, edited by Paul Rock (Volume 28 no. 2 Spring 1988) notes that 'the group's emphasis upon psycho-analysis and its open hostility to much official penal policy ensured that ISTD remained essentially outsiders'. He notes that 'this outsider status' ensured that, when the Home Office was considering establishing the first criminological institute in Cambridge, the ISTD was not even considered as an option - even though the formation of such a body was one of its original aims.

Nevertheless the ISTD succeeded magnificently in its first aim, the founding of its own clinic 'for the diagnosis and treatment of delinquency and crime.' A key transitional moment came when the Portman Clinic was handed over to the new National Health Service on 5th July 1948. The next great step was the founding of its journal, the *British Journal of Delinquency* (later to become the *British Journal of Criminology*), the first issue of which appeared in 1950. Another key moment was the formation of the 'Scientific Group for the Discussion of Delinquency Problems' in 1953: from this grouping emerged the *British Society of Criminology*, in 1961. Interestingly, the Council of the ISTD only accepted the development of a separate existence for the Society 'against their better judgement' (History p 19) because certain valued Home Office officials who were members could not safely become members



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of a society which might be highly critical of government policy.

### **The Saville years**

All of these developments meant that, to some extent, the Institute had to reinvent itself. Eve Saville took up her post as General Secretary in 1954, and laid the foundations for the ISTD as it is today. She ran it, often single-handed, until her death in 1986, and brought about the transition to the broadly based criminal justice organisation that we know today. The familiar patterns emerged: seminars, lectures, study tours, summer schools, weekend conferences. Until the late sixties, before it moved out to Croydon, and thence to King's, ISTD had its own lecture hall at its central London premises. Eve Saville describes the final event there, in 1968, when Arthur Trono (Superintendent of a Canadian Institution for Narcotic Addicts) and Dr Ian James (Medical Officer at Brixton Prison) presented a double act on Narcotic Addiction. 'There was a queue for admission stretching down the hill ... even the chairman was chairless: and late arrivals had to be turned away after about 140 people had somehow been crammed into a space intended for half that number.'

These were the movers and the shakers of the time. ISTD has never been short of influential supporters - shortness of funds was the main difficulty. (Chapter 23 of the History is entitled *The Way we lived then - Fundraising!*) But how significant has its influence been, in recent years, on the discipline of criminology, and, perhaps more importantly, on the maintenance of that crucial conduit between theory and practice?

### **Criminology and public debate**

I cannot speak for my predecessor, Martin Farrell, but the fact that this magazine, *Criminal Justice Matters* was his brain-child must suggest that he felt much as I do on this point. The Centre provides a crucial forum for a dialogue between the academics and the practitioners. No less a figure than Sir Leon Radzinowicz, in his speech to the delegates at the British Criminology Conference in Cardiff in 1993 expressed concern at the silence of the experts:

*I would like to see*

*criminologists taking a public stand on controversial and important issues of the moment more often than they do at present.*

An example he gives is instructive:

*'When an outcry was raised about certain aspects of the Criminal Justice Act 1991, some of which might have been justified, the Lord Chief Justice cast 'penologists, criminologists and bureaucrats in government departments' as the villains of the piece and contrasted them with 'right-thinking people generally'. No well-reasoned and calm article appeared to refute this denigration of criminological thinking.'*

Could it be that criminologists find that the pressing need to talk to one another, because they share a language and a particular set of pre-occupations, blunts their recognition of the crucial nature of the raw material of their studies? What would Dr Pailthorpe have said?

And what of the advancement of public education? The Centre now sets this as its principal object. There is still a long way to go, on this score. But in terms of the dialogue between theory and practice, I do believe that if the Centre did not exist it would have to be invented. And that, the sense of the uniqueness of this forum, has been one of the things that has made my seven-year stewardship of this historic body such a challenge, an honour, and a privilege.

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**M**inisters from the world's richest nations will today launch a crackdown on a "phenomenal" increase in green crime. Smuggling banned chemicals, waste and wildlife - often by the Mafia - is now worth up to \$40 bn (24£bn) a year, making it the biggest illegal trade after drugs. (Independent on Sunday, 5th April, 1998)

# Greening criminology

**Nigel South argues that more criminologists must wake up to environmental issues.**

In 1993, a police officer comparing the limited experience of responding to environmental crime in the UK with the more extensive arrangements of other European nations and the US, observed that "To believe that the environment will not continue to be a vital social and political issue, that will grow in importance as time goes on, could demonstrate an extraordinary lack of vision." (McKenna, 1993: 102) Green crime issues have been arriving, slowly but surely, on international and domestic enforcement agendas for some time. It is criminology that has been lagging behind in recognising their contemporary importance and future significance.

### **A green agenda for criminology?**

Here I am using the terms 'green' and 'environmental' crime interchangeably. However, this is not the sense in which the latter term has traditionally been used. From the Chicago School onward, when criminologists have talked of environmental crime they have almost invariably been referring to associations between patterns of offending and the built environment. This is changing as

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green issues attract the attention of criminologists who argue that the concept and definition of 'environmental crime' must be rethought.

What are now popularly recognised as 'green' issues open up whole new areas for criminology. While there is (as yet) no clearly identifiable 'school' or 'field' of 'green' work in criminology the area is growing (Edwards et al, 1996; South and Beime, 1998). For criminology itself, attention to green issues can be part of the process of revitalisation called for by various commentators, connecting with and contributing to a variety of other areas of study. For example, a green approach is relevant to: other 'new' topics of global importance, such as crimes of war and violations of human rights; to the study of regulatory systems and agents involved in 'grey policing' such as environmental offending; to recent criminological work exploring 'masculinities' and 'feminisms'; as well as to studies of the violence and aggressiveness of corporate crime. Consider, for example, business talk about 'mastering nature' and 'conquering territories and hostile environments'; green issues also connect with the impact of feminism in criminology via eco-feminism.

A green perspective can also add to the development of criminological analysis of late-modern society. We live in a world revolving around consumption but this also means we are a 'discard and dispose' society: waste disposal is a major issue for the planet and the future. Because it has always been profitable to find innovative ways of avoiding regulatory systems, the disposal of waste without complying with regulations has become a major source of illicit revenue and, in the USA and Italy, a stimulus to serious criminal enterprise. The liberalisation of trade and erosion of border controls, the impacts of globalisation and mobility / migration, and the rise of new crime groups, all contribute to the development of new forms of transnational crime (Jamieson et al, 1998), green crime being a key example.

The legal issues raised by environmentally damaging acts and how these should be classified (violations? crimes?) and

responded to (by regulation? criminalization? Inspectorates? police?) connect with many familiar, but also new, criminological problems. Today various populations and ecosystems may be exposed to damaging hazards but cases attempting to establish responsibility and legal liability have often proved unresolvable in courts of law. A green perspective provides a fresh angle to well-established debates.

### The environment as an arena for social conflict

Increasingly global politics must confront resource issues and the 'pros-and-cons' of environmental strategies will be the name of the game. Consumption society (whether in economic or post-modern senses) assumes that demand will be met and consumer growth will continue. On the other hand, environmentalist commentators warn that there are limits to growth, boundaries beyond which resources are not renewable and harmful consequences of increased consumption (notably pollution and waste-production). As Paehlke (1995: 31 1) warns:

As resource stocks decline and/or human population continues to grow, scarcity will occur more frequently. Conflicts will intensify over uncut forest lands, as yet untapped (environmentally risky) energy supplies, and land use.

This is a prediction shared by Rowell (1996: 372) as he considers the future of the global backlash against environmental concern:

In all probability the backlash will get worse, as the resource wars of the coming decades intensify, as more people fight over less. We have already had the fish wars, but conflicts over water, wood, whales, metals, minerals, energy, cars and even consumerism will all happen..

Criminology's core concerns are increasingly placed centre-stage among these environmental issues: conflict and social order; theft and protection; relative deprivation and consumption; class, gender and ethnic inequality related to the new



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issues of access to energy and resources. Criminologists should also consider the future potential for social damage generated by the irresponsible manipulation of environmental resources and of human and animal populations by corporate interests and governments.

### Present and future

As Cohen (1996) has observed, 'A major part of criminology is supposed to be the study of law making - criminalisation - but we pay little attention to the driving force behind so many new laws: the demand for protection from "abuses of power".' According to Cohen, alongside feminist and human rights movements, it is the environmentalist agenda that is today at the forefront in shaping the international social protection programme. Criminology should be engaging with these movements - it has long done so with feminism, it is beginning to do so with human rights, and it should now do so with environmentalism.

From the policing of motorway protests, through international Customs efforts to curb trade in endangered species and toxic waste, to future crimes that are on the horizon - eg trafficking in the products of genetic engineering of animal, plant and human life, a whole new future for criminological research is opening up. Far more than many subjects of traditional criminological concern, green issues connect with changes in the world we live in now and, perhaps

even more importantly, the world the next generation will inherit.

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