VOLUME V No. 20 JULY 1966

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Offices:
H.M. PRISON SERVICE STAFF COLLEGE, LOVE LANE, WAKEFIELD

CONTENTS

Key Men

A. W. DRISCOLL

MY INTENTION within this article is to examine the role of the prison officer. This subject seems to be very much a question of tradition and perception. I do not intend to write specifically about the training of prison officers, but I will use my experience in training prison staff as a window through which the subject may be viewed. In doing this it may well be that more questions will be asked than answered. This is, I feel, the way the subject should be approached. The role definition of any occupation should never be a matter of simple autocracy, or even of partial consultation. The views of every interested party should be given a hearing.

I began by saying that the role of the prison officer was a matter of tradition and perception. If this is so, then we are confronted with the problem of what the role was, and what it should be. Whilst both of these elements are likely to provide fertile areas of discussion it may be more fruitful to consider the prison officer's potential, and the possibility of realising it in the existing social climate. It is important, in the first instance, to put the problem into perspective. I don't believe that the concept of a fuller role for the prison officer is a new phenomenon. And I believe the origin of the concept is multiple in the sense that circumstances have combined to bring this matter to a head at this moment in time. As a matter of simple progress the needs of any individual in society seem to tend towards personal advancement. However, it is important to appreciate that the prison officer's needs are not purely material or self-centred. They are interested in personal advancement, but they are also deeply concerned that the talents which are inherent in the grade should be utilised more fully, to the extent that their work is performed more successfully. I believe that this wish is genuine, and that it is necessary for this belief to be accepted before the

officer's role can be redefined.

In addition to the prison officer's own interest in his advancement, there seem to be four other main avenues of impetus driving them. I refer to:

1. Society which requires that criminals should be prevented from committing further crime. In the penal sense the ultimate in prevention implies a positive system of rehabilitation.
2. The prisoner, whose needs are apparent to all in contact with them.
3. The penal system itself, which at the present time is preoccupied with its own shortcomings.
4. A strong reaction against what sociologists, in their study of conflict groups, have described as "Contrast Conception". By improving his status and becoming more positive in his relationship with prisoners, the prison officer undoubtedly hopes to reduce the distance between himself and his charges; and by such means to ease the tensions and conflicts under which both groups labour.

Among the many motives inspiring the officer grade itself towards a redefinition of its role, I believe there is one primary factor. I refer specifically to job satisfaction! In working with officers at the refresher courses in Wakefield, one quickly becomes aware of their frustrations and confusion. What are they supposed to be doing?

Perhaps this problem of role performance is created by the officer's inability to reconcile what appears to be an innate contradiction in goals. Is he to be a discipline officer, concerned mainly with matters of security and control? Or is he an individual to be involved mainly with rehabilitative work in a client centred community? It is important to emphasize here that the officer is not alone in his dilemma. No resolution of this problem is yet apparent. As yet our prison system is advancing upon a rather uncertain course, because of necessity it embraces a series of compromises. On the one hand prisons are expected to punish; but they are also expected to rehabilitate. They are required to discipline the unruly, and at the same time make such people more responsible. The problem of large case loads tend to make the machine impersonal, yet it demands that its relationships be more personal. Traditionally, most regimes are autocratic, but within this framework individual initiative is supposed to be nurtured. The paradox of imprisonment mounts under analysis because as yet we have no body of theory which can

clarify the fuzzy, nebulous, and as yet unresolved purpose of imprisonment.

Could it be that as a result of all this the prison officer has lost the one vital ingredient which makes any job worthwhile? I refer specifically to his expertise. In the past the officer was an expert. He was an expert in security, and adept at control. These two aims had a priority which overruled all others. The officer could be trained to pursue these twin goals effectively. And, what is more, the measure of his effectiveness could be given expression. If people didn't escape, then the prison officer was fulfilling his task as a security agent. If disturbances within establishments were kept at a minimum the officers were effectively maintaining good order. These responsibilities remain, but the security/treatment dichotomy has introduced new considerations which tend to inhibit his attainment of the traditional goal; but without providing the sense of achievement to be obtained by the successful pursuit of a different objective. Today the prison officer feels that his role has lost meaning, and in no area can he be regarded as being truly effective. This creates a situation ready made for discontent and conflict. Regrettably, one discovers on the development and refresher courses that, in post, officers quickly become confused because their aspirations are not realised. This confusion shifts to disillusionment, and sometimes leads to apathy and regression. Continued failure to realise satisfaction which comes from the achievement of goals, may result in the dissipation of the desire of the officers to extend their effectiveness, and as a consequence may result in their concentrating their efforts in areas of least confusion—and I refer particularly to their traditional custodial function.

One of the other drives to develop the role of the prison officer which I mentioned is also motivated by needs separate from, although obviously identified with those of the officer. Successive administrations have sought to redirect the Prison Service towards a policy of positive rehabilitation. At first it was felt that this could be done by legislation and organisational changes. Gradually it was appreciated that such processes would only facilitate change, but would not, by themselves, achieve the desired end. The next phase in our development was an infiltration into other disciplines and the poaching of their techniques; and planting them into the penal field in the search for a treatment orientation which would satisfy the needs of the inmate, of society and of ourselves. But still our efforts have been largely unrewarded. So far we have succeeded in only liberalising, and humanising, some

of the worst features of our penal institutions. Development along these lines has raised the officer's aspirations but has not been effective enough to enable him to fulfil them.

Out of this emerges the one constant and incontrovertible truth! The officer's key position within any rehabilitative process has always been acknowledged, but it has never been fully realised. Over and over again the importance of the officer's role has been stressed—and unachieved. I am very anxious lest the cause of advancement for the prison officer becomes yet another emotional snowball, careering down the hill of good intention, growing in size, until it splinters and disintegrates because it lacks real substance. The development of the officer's role, and his training, must be based upon realism. Upon a true appreciation of his talents, and of the basic problems associated with his day to day tasks. It seems to me that the Prison Service having developed thus far empirically, should continue to do so; and inherent in this development is the definition of roles. A scientific and theoretical base to our work must be developed by research and experience, but the extension of knowledge gleaned from these sources into areas of practical work should be gradual and carefully thought out.

One of the things we believe we have discovered at the training school is, that the officers we recruit into the service are, by and large, underachievers. Underachievers in the sense that they have not fully realised their potential in their previous walks of life. It is surprisingly easy within the various training syllabi to quicken their enthusiasm, raise their morale, and to offer them a level of aspiration well beyond that which they first anticipated, and which they are currently experiencing. There can be no doubt that the officer is eager to contribute more. But the problem for him is how? Where? And in what manner? In this connection there have been a variety of suggestions which may be summed up under the all-embracing heading of "Social Worker". Although I must confess that in relation to his specific role in a penal organisation I am at a loss to understand what this term means. However, for the sake of developing my argument, perhaps I can put forward a hypothesis for the training of prison officers as social workers, based upon the Younghusband report of 1959. This report classifies social workers into three categories. The first two categories classifications imply an expertise and training requirements beyond the level which could be expected within the bulk of officers at present recruited into the prison service, and the staff employed to train them. I believe that recognition of this (as far as the officers were concerned) was implicit within the P.O.A. memorandum

of 1963. Consequently we are left with a third category which seems to offer the most viable prospect of development for the officer's emergence as a "social worker".

Here the Younghusband report suggested that people could be trained as "welfare assistants" who would be a type of general purpose officer. It suggested that their training should embrace:

1. An understanding of common human needs and stresses.
2. Developing interviewing skills at elementary level.
3. Demonstrating the work of the department, and other relevant social services, and the importance of team work.
4. Training such workers to detect early signs of stress or other problems beyond their capacity to handle unaided.

In terms of training the prison officer the objects postulated by the Younghusband's recommendations appear to be perfectly reasonable. However, if we were to do this, I wonder if the officer's efforts with regard to prisoners would be more successful than they have previously been? I personally believe that this would not be enough, and that the prison officer in company with all other grades engaged upon work in the prison scene must develop a professionalism of his own, and one which is centred around his involvement with people in custody.

It seems to me that any development of the prison officer's role must be considered in relation to the position of the inmates. We must first recognise that imprisonment in any form leads, ultimately, to a defacement of the personality structure. For me a crucial dilemma which tends to blur my thinking the problem beyond this fact. Before imprisonment, the majority of offenders, and the various law-enforcing bodies, are generally mutually uninhibited in their hostility towards each other. When imprisoned, however, the criminals are placed in an obviously defensive and subordinate position. Of necessity they must refrain from direct conflict expressions and divert these attitudes into more subtle, less obvious avenues. As a consequence the prisoners' hostility which is a natural result of their situation and rejection by society, finds outlet in criticism and castigation of the administration and all involved in it; and there is a general conspiracy of intensified intrigue against the administration on the part of most prisoners. How can any worker, however skilled, establish a proper helping relationship when confronted with this intangible but very real force. There is little real evidence that our attempts in this direction have achieved much success so far.

And this is not all! How can the officer do this in the face of philosophical concepts which themselves imply an innate contradiction of purpose? The principle of the indeterminate sentence

implies that many people anti-authoritarian in character must depend upon authority for decisions relating to their future. The problems of the short sentence men who can effectively block any attempt to examine the nature of their difficulties, by submerging themselves into the anaesthetic of the prison routine.

More fundamental still are the problems of the routine tasks which officers must perform. Very briefly, to underline my point, I refer to the problems of stripping and searching prisoners. At present a necessity, but one which exaggerates the conflict between officer and inmate. The reception of prisoners is another area, which makes the staff targets for prisoners' hostility; though the staff are, in fact, the helpless victims of a necessary routine. One could go on citing examples of philosophy and basic routine which effectively block any real bridging of the gap between staff and prisoners and consequently tends to negate our efforts to help them.

In conclusion, I ask would it not be better at this stage to concentrate on helping the officer to understand the nature of some of these difficulties first, and to teach him to do what he has to do well. This in itself is an enormous training problem, but one which I believe is a priority which should come before all others. Surely, before rushing into a hasty marriage with different techniques, we must first harness the talent which is present within the officer grade to an aspirational level which he can achieve. I believe he should be helped to understand the nature of the environment in which he has to operate, and so, help him to work more effectively. Treatment is only possible where there is communication, and in order to achieve this, many of the obstacles which stand between the officer and his charges must first be removed. I have mentioned some of the obvious blockages; research would undoubtedly reveal many more.

All other grades in the service must realise that inevitably our destiny is linked with the officers. No matter how much expertise other people in the Prison Service may bring to their tasks, it must be really recognised that the major emphasis of staff/inmate contact will always remain in the hands of the officer. That anything else we do can only be a brief momentary insertion, which can be dissipated in seconds by a lack of empathy displayed by the officer grade. I am quite certain that they have the ability to develop their role considerably; but we have a responsibility to help them to set a level of development which is realistic. Realistic in terms of their own talents and abilities, in terms of the restrictions of the organisation, of the environment, and the nature of their duties.

Managing to Govern

J. R. C. LEE

THIS PAPER originated in an attempt to define what is, or should be, the role of the Assistant Governor; in such an attempt however, it would seem essential to make the point that every Assistant Governor has in his back pocket the Governor's keys; that he is in fact in a direct line of succession on promotion to the office of the Governor. Thus any attempt to define the role of the Assistant Governor can only be made in the light of an overall assessment of the role of the Governor. Obviously to this, as yet unsolved, equation must also be added the question of the function of the establishment which the Governor rules, as this primary goal of the institution can have perhaps certain implications on the function of the Governor. There are in fact variations in the basic goal of prison which will vary from establishment to establishment, as their functions differ.

To work toward a role definition it may be necessary that a more direct statement of the aim of an establishment be given by the Prison Department: at present an establishment may have a wide primary aim, either of training or custody; and the individual personality, ideals and attitudes of any Governor, and of his staff, allow that this primary aim be interpreted in different ways during his period of control, and thus when a new Governor is posted, so he practices his own theories. This in itself can only militate against any establishment trying to work towards any structured programme of training; however, wherever an establishment has both a defined and acceptable aim, with a structure designed to cope with the problems thrown up, then progress towards an effective training programme seems to be made. This suggestion of an imposed policy may be seen as a curb on the individual; however, what is hereunder suggested, gives more than adequate scope to any Governor and his staff to

move forward in a constructive manner.

It is difficult to find any clear definition of the role of the Governor; Statutory Rules, Prison Rules 1964, Standing Orders, and the Prison Act 1952 each refer to particular duties and obligations imposed upon a Governor, but nowhere can an adequate definition be found, expressed in direct logical terms. Perhaps the nearest definition from an official—or semi-official—source of the role of the Governor is to be read in Appendix 2 of the Wynn-Parry Report, where it states that: "the Governor is responsible for everything that goes on in his establishment; i.e. security, leadership, co-ordination, development, co-operation with other bodies, and the responsibility for the proper use of public moneys and property." This definition, if acceptable, places the Governor far more in a managerial role than as head of treatment programmes—as is perhaps envisaged by Hugh Klare in his book *Anatomy of Prison*, in an earlier chapter of which Klare has indicated clearly the existing problems of the Governor, from however the point of running a treatment programme only. It is, however, interesting to note that Klare has recently suggested the appointment of management consultants for Governors. Dr. Gordon Rose in his paper "Administrative Consequences of Penal Objectives" (Sociological Review, Monograph 9) looks at the inherent difficulties of the role of the Governor. He suggests that the Governor is "at one and the same time director of punishment or treatment, prison manager, staff manager, trade union negotiator, personnel officer, publicity officer and father of his flock" and the implication is very much that of jack of all trades. He considers further what are to be the important functions of the Governor and states that "whatever happens to the Governor he is likely to remain primarily interested in whatever his version may be of treatment of offenders".

Parallels are occasionally drawn between the structure and sometimes the function of a large, long-stay hospital, and those of a prison; Geoffrey Hutton in an article "Who Runs a Hospital" (*New Society*, 27-64) discusses the problems of hospital management, and it is in his concluding paragraph that the problem is stated, and theoretically answered. "What is needed is not an ideal system of management, but an arrangement which allows for flexibility and variety according to particular needs, an assessment of ideas of a conceptual framework which enables these needs to be considered and analysed." Mr. Hutton had previously made the cogent point that "the illness is treated as a whole throughout the whole

organisation rather than in parts by different services". It is perhaps from this basis that any analysis and suggested "conceptual framework" for treatment should start.

In any consideration of institutional organization it is of value to look outside to see what lessons if any may be learned from industry; Lord Brown in his book *Exploration in Management* has made this direct statement, based on work done at Glacier Metal, that "effective organization is a function of the work to be done, and the resources and techniques available to do it. Thus changes in the method of production bring about changes in the number of work roles, in the distribution of work between roles and in their relationships to one another; failure to make explicit acknowledgment of this relationship between work and organization gives rise to non-valid assumptions, e.g. that optimum organization is a function of the personalities involved, that it is a matter connected with the personal style and arbitrary decisions of the chief executive, that there are choices between centralised and de-centralised types of organizations, etc. Our observations lead us to accept that optimum organization must be derived from an analysis of the work to be done, and the techniques and resources available."

In recent years there has been an increase of informed discussion within and without the Prison Service, about the need to examine and define more directly and rationally the objectives of any penal establishment, and the most effective means of achieving these stated objectives. Over the past years new establishments have been opened to cope with the growing prison population, new techniques have been introduced to train those committed to the care of the Prison Department, and a variety of new grades of staff to cope with these new techniques; while at first glance, and perhaps in theory, this increasing flow of changes could have had the long term effect of increasing the effectiveness of training methods. it must be clearly acknowledged that, for reasons which must be explored, and where necessary exploded, these methods of treatment have not achieved the expected results.

It would appear that while these techniques have been added to the armoury of the prison staff, the structure of the penal establishment has not been adapted and modified to cope with the pressures and needs of the increasing training demands. The Royal Navy has in the past quickly realised that in order to maintain an efficient superstructure, it is necessary to chip off — and not increase — the old layers of pusser's grey before adding a new coat, or else the ship will have a marked tendency to be either sluggish in control, or even to capsize. This analogy can often be applied to the management structure of many penal establishments. It appears

fundamental that the staff structure of the penal establishment must be critically examined, so that there is opportunity to determine that no part of the programme may be allowed to become an added layer of encumbrance to an already overloaded organisation, without previous critical appraisal. The Prison Service is already—albeit making haste slowly in true Civil Service tradition—becoming aware of this need for such re-examination and reorganization, where structure, function and role are now being considered, the consequences of which may well lead to a redefinition of these factors.

The formal staff structure of any penal establishment and in particular of the local prison as it is at present, has often been—and by implication, critically—described as para-military. The historical reasons for this have been criticised, yet far too frequently has this structure not been adequately and rationally considered, so that it has now become almost a sacrosanct institution which has created its own institutionalising mystique. This structure is now found wanting, and the time is indeed ripe—perhaps over-ripe— for change: it was hoped that the Royal Commission on the Penal System might produce radical recommendations; service bodies have most certainly made radical suggestions; the service itself is becoming more and more aware of the need to look again at the concepts of training prisoners and at its own techniques in management and in organisation; the Prison Officers' Association is now showing a keen and vital concern in the changing role of the Prison Officer; the Government is producing White Papers of significance and the Advisory Council for the Treatment of Offenders is producing a variety of reports dealing with many differing aspects of penal training and treatment and indeed on some of these recommendations action has already been taken. There is indeed a climate abroad which is healthy and highly indicative of a need for change and of a willingness to cope with change.

It would, therefore, seem opportune to suggest here that in the formal structure of any penal institution there is room for a total reappraisal of staff roles and functions within the framework of whatever is conceived as the function of that establishment. Obviously the key man in this must be the Governor with the support and leadership of the Prison Department. As has been stated in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Penal System, the essential function of the Governor is that of general manager of, and co-ordinator within, the establishment. It is paramount that on the Governor rests the final responsibility for the effective running of his establishment, and only a precursory glance at Standing Orders and Statutory Rules

support this contention; there will be no suggestion in this paper that the Governor should be expected to divest himself of this responsibility. It is, however, felt that within the existing framework the roles of the Governor and of his staff need to be flexibly redefined so that he, the Governor may more effectively use his ability, talents and experience, and those of his staff. The Governor has vested in him under Prison Rule 98 and Borstal Rule 79 power of delegation which he may use with the direction of the Secretary of State. It is interesting to note at this time that other establishments aiming at a long term treatment programme are either re-examining or indeed exploring new and radical avenues; one need only mention the Belmont and Claybury hospitals, or read the various professional and relevant journals to become very much aware of the critical analysis and practical and documented experiments which are being carried out now. Indeed, Dr. Martin's account of the work at Claybury could so easily be translated into prison terms. Within the work of the Prison Department, whilst there are variously new techniques being introduced into some training establishments as at Grendon, Blundeston, Huntercombe and Wellingborough, no critical and documented analysis has been carried out into the stresses which these changes are giving to the staff structure and the overall organisation of the establishments.

A paper presented by a prison governor to the Howard League Summer School in 1963 talked of the need of improved communications, to the end of making optimum use of the total resources of the organisation, where staff participation should be at a maximum, with each member making his own effective contribution. In a later paper on Leadership, the same Governor spoke of this quality, that it should be a set of functions not vested in one man, but one which should be carried out by the staff as a whole. It would, however, seem that these points are not given in fact adequate—or indeed any—attention and it is perhaps owing to this factor that so much dissatisfaction is often expressed in various devious ways by staff of all grades and functions.

That blockages and faults appear in the existing structure is undeniable, and it may be rightly argued that attempts should be made to clear these before proceeding further—perhaps arbitrarily—to sweep aside that which is today and erect a totally new structure. Over the years departments within the ambit of the institution have "growed like Topsy" and have in a truly Parkinsonian fashion accumulated power, and created their own often secret and very private lines of communication which completely sidestep the Governor; these departments are seen by their members as the end, and not means to any end, and accordingly any attempts by an outsider to trespass

on these preserves are seen in the same light as did any Victorian landowner, and a counter attack is both stultifying and stupid. The Works Department, the Clerical Department, the Farms and Gardens Department, the Welfare Department, Education, Sport, Medicine . . . all these are perhaps self perpetuating departments which are not fully integrated into the overall work of an establishment, and much time, energy and patience is wasted in attempting to live with, let alone work with, them. The difficulty of resolving these by patience and understanding is one of time, and perhaps too much time has already been wasted. This is perhaps growing into a war of power bodies; cold wars, or at the least peaceful co-existence are not aids to training, only barriers which reinforce entrenchment, conservation and dishonesty. The struggle which now exists between the Administration Officers and the Governors is perhaps a classic illustration of the situation which is developing, to the detriment of the primary object of any penal establishment—"to encourage and assist convicted prisoners to lead a good and useful life". What is now suggested then is that, even within the existing staff structure, an attempt be made through planned and stated channels to examine both the structure and organisation and then work toward a "conceptual framework" which can allow the establishment to move forward. As has already been stated, the Governor is the man at present responsible to the department for the effective work of that place; obviously the emphasis may move between "active deterrence" and "active treatment" (as Dr. Rose suggests); but within these terms of reference the Governor and his staff operate. It seems desirable, therefore, that initially the policy of an establishment is defined by the Department in clear yet general terms, thus allowing scope for the establishment to work out details.

Within this general statement of policy, there is one primary area of concern, training of prisoners, which in its turn is closely related to and dependent for its effectiveness on the three areas of staff training, communication and administration, and research and evaluation. It would appear that within the orbit of these four areas or task forces each and every aspect of the work of the establishment is contained, and these areas are without doubt the concern of the Governor. Now no Governor can be expected to be fully aware of the minutiæ of the daily work of his establishment, and it seems a total waste of his time and energy, and of his ability, if he cannot be permitted to hold and use the "boundary role" which is now accepted as the most effective place for the manager or chief executive. At present the Governor holds a central position, as at the hub of the spokes of a cart wheel, where

he is encompassed by his establishment; however, it seems self-evident that if the establishment is to grow and move, the Governor must be the master and not the mastered. The Governor needs to be removed from the centre, so that with a more objective view he can from the periphery see the main long term issues, and accordingly with a positive use of his staff resources work towards a positive objective. He can clearly only operate effectively with adequate knowledge and briefing, so that he is fully aware of the implications of any policy decision, so that he can from the fringe explore with rational information the problems of his responsibility. It would, therefore, seem cogent to suggest that the Governor needs to be advised and that his advisers need to be well informed of all areas involved in decision making; obviously it now seems logical to suggest that his advisers be those who one day will sit in his seat, his Assistant Governors, the Governors of the future. This perhaps radical suggestion seems to reject the role of the Deputy Governor; but it is considered that this man become very much the shadow Governor, empowered to carry out the required functions of the Governor and thus allowing the Governor maximum freedom.

As has already been mentioned, there are four main areas involved in penal administration; primarily the training and custody of prisoners and secondarily, but closely inter-related, the training of all staff to fulfil what is to be their role, a requirement to supply full knowledge of factors which may be relevant and evaluable through local research, and thirdly the necessity to allow for the free flow of all vital information and of goods. It has already been suggested in this Paper that Assistant Governors should be departmental managers, reporting to and receiving decisions from the chief executive and working to his specifications as imposed on him by the department. This structure has many implications; the traditional role of the Assistant Governor is destroyed as either a borstal housemaster or prison wing Assistant Governor; this in its turn raises the question of training for such roles as will be discussed later. As one role is changed, so will others; the Administration Officer, Tutor Organiser, Industrial Manager, Farm Manager, all these roles will vary at local level, and it may be that a similar reorganisation at central level will be needed to match the pattern in the field. However, wherever this were to happen, it would inevitably, I suggest, lead to effective and objective leadership, towards improved staff morale and towards more effective training for prisoners, as always the primary objective of the prison administration.

The point has already been made that the structure is now designed to try to carry out the policy of the department; it is now requisite to

elaborate on this suggested modification to the existing situation. The Governor with his deputy holds the reins of responsibility, and the final authority for the primary aim, and can, in fact, use these reins more effectively, as he is better informed and less involved. The Assistant Governors would hold, as delegates of the Governor, authority to act within the limits defined, in an executive role, using staff as they think most effectively after due consideration of any relevant and available material. The Governor's policy would be made known, analysed as to departmental executive responsibility, and then action taken with the Governor's final sanction.

It is further suggested that there should be a regular weekly meeting of the establishment board (Governor, Deputy Governor and all Assistant Governors), so that all may be aware of the involvement of the parts of the whole and that any decisions requiring executive action from the Governor would then be made. But from this body lines of communication would be set up by the designated task force to make clear to all concerned either with a particular action, or in general the what, and why, and the wherefore of the executive action. By the time in fact executive action is taken, full consultation will have taken place through the feed back system already built in.

The place of specialists already within the structure need obviously to be considered, and a clear statement of their role made; it seems that within the primary aim the specialists have a vital function, perhaps less as participators and more as "enablers". These functionaries have a particular skill which can be put at the disposal of the establishment, while at the present time many of their areas of responsibility clash or duplicate, or not infrequently are wholly incompatible with the primary aim. The clerical department is seen as one of efficient administration, clearly administering to the needs of the establishment, its staff and inmates; the Administration Officer holds a staff position and clearly not a line function. The same could be said of the Senior Works Officer, whose area of responsibility is now somewhat confused as he has at present some dealings with the industrial training of prisoners. The Tutor Organiser provides a service, dependent not on his whims, but on defined requirements decided by the trainers. All these and others of the specialist departments can only be effective if their work is seen as a part of the whole, and not—as is usually seen today—as a separate unit operating in isolation. They are resource agencies to be tapped, which should not be allowed to wag the dog. By this way—with an effective and directly defined use of departments—it is envisaged that a more efficient and purposeful movement towards the primary goal would be reached. Indeed the

secondary task forces mentioned above are only enablers. By this clear statement of patterns of communication, of areas of responsibility of executive action, rational progress can be made.

The Assistant Governors each with their own areas designated and defined would have scope to use their talents, talents too often disseminated by the issuing of table-tennis balls and aniseed drops, or by needless struggles with entrenched empires, so that they can slowly build up the insight into the problems of institutional management which will one day be their responsibility as Governors. For this greatly changed role, they will require training, and it would seem that the present emphasis both within and without the Service for basic training of some depth of social casework or group work techniques may be of little value. These men and women will obviously need to have a basic understanding of these techniques so that where applicable, they can introduce them or support their growth within the institutional structured programme. But far more should they be concerned with management principles and practice, institutional relationships, the psychological aspects of organisations, with the function of research and development. For these are the areas within which they should be operating as Governors; treatment techniques and instruction in these are the areas of specialists who should either be called in for a specific purpose, or who would be employed within the structure of the establishment. Indeed without training even it now seems feasible to maintain that the suggestions made in this paper could without much difficulty be put into practice, and that a theory and practice of prison administration would slowly evolve, a practice where personality mattered less than ability, where instead of abstraction and fog, there is a clarity and definity of purpose, where the talents of each staff member are used and not abused.

The original thesis of this Paper was to suggest that Assistant Governors should change their traditional roles; it is now necessary to elaborate on these new functions. It has been envisaged that an Assistant Governor would be assigned to each of the four task forces, leaving Principal Officers to carry out the tasks now performed by Assistant Governors. Thus, both severally and collectively, they would examine in the first instance the structure and the functioning of the establishment. An examination must clearly first be made of the implications of the stated aim of the establishment, which will need specific definition; obviously arising from this will emerge the need to establish the shortcomings of the existent structure with suggested solutions in terms of staff training and communications, aided always by evaluation and research.

The inmate training task force will examine the training needs of

the establishment's population, considering the many training techniques available, will take stock of all available resources of staff ability, and look forward for future development. Once these areas are clearly stated, then the work of the three secondary task forces will take obvious shape, and will be able to proceed accordingly. It will be necessary to examine clearly the part—and the appropriate part—which each existing department should play. Thus it might well seem apparent that in fact the Works Department have no part to play in the training of prisoners, and accordingly their efforts could be totally committed to what they now see as their primary function, that of building maintenance, without any secondary concern about prisoners. A similar case may well be made for kitchen staff and so the tensions obviously possible in the existing power position in a prison kitchen would be obviated. However, a clear decision could be made on a rational reassessment of the part which extant departments do, and could with reintegration, play in the primary task. Once this appraisal is complete, the avenues for the secondary task forces are clearly defined and each could serve the other, using either their own task force resources, or those of the other three, or of other local or regionally based specialists. The work of the secondary task forces needs clarification, and as reorganization develops, so will these functions become modified where relevant. The staff training task force will assess what needs exist and provide further training where necessary; in assessing needs it will clearly be aided by the evaluation task force and the communication task force will ensure that the blockages of both attitude and of organization are where possible cleared and throughout maintain an effective flow of information to all members of the staff team.

Gradually it is envisaged that as a result of this constant questioning and examination which must precede executive action, functions of departments already operating and roles of staff already in post, will come under the microscope; this is not to suggest, however, that one set of functions will arbitrarily replace the present, but there will be a sensation of growth on clearly established lines, which are comprehensible to, and supported by, and for all staff members. The Governor would thus have a constant team of advisers examining his responsibility, enabling him to govern more effectively; he would thus be far better placed to make the necessary executive action from a position of authority and not, as now so often, from one of expediency. He could thus make more effective use of his authority from the talents of his staff.

The stages of evolution need careful planning; each Governor has already his consultative committee which could be used in the

initial stages to explain and expound the broad principles involved; the local branch committee of the Prison Officers' Association could equally so play a vital part in this and should be involved from its inception. While general staff meetings may be cumbersome, they can serve an opportunity to disseminate information and at a later stage progress reports from task forces.

At this stage it is necessary that the composition of the task forces be defined and their membership stated within certain clear limits.

The inmate training task force: as the basic training unit will geographically be the house or wing with the Principal Officer in charge, it is self evident that members of this task force should include those Principal Officers with the Assistant Governor responsible for this force, and the Chief Officer whose experience and knowledge could then be tapped. This task force would have as resource agents the Tutor Organiser, the Works Officer, the Physical Education Officer or specialist (where one is carried), the Medical Officer, the Welfare Officer, and the Farm/Garden/Industrial Manager; these heads of staff departments would then act as enablers of the general training programme under the direction of this task force.

Staff training task force: with another Assistant Governor responsible, again with the Chief Officer, this unit would operate, bearing in mind the defined needs of the staff, and using the available skills of staff members and of outside agencies, such as local technical colleges or indeed the Staff College.

Communication and administration task forces: with a third Assistant Governor would be the Chief Officer and the Administration Officer using either established bodies as the Prison Officers' Association and the Consultative Committee as well as the resources of the clerical department, to aid the flow of communication and to improve where needed the flow of goods.

Evaluation task force: with a fourth Assistant Governor responsible for this force would be the Chief Officer and a member of the local branch committee to undertake research projects and work study where required. They obviously would call on specialists to advise and assist in their work.

It is envisaged under this redefinition of staff roles in any of the larger establishments of the Prison Department, opportunities of a more professional and scientific approach to the weighty problem of prison management would be provided within a framework of concepts, which is flexible enough to allow maximum scope for all staff to use themselves effectively in a structure which allows for critical growth.

The Psychological Treatment of Abnormal Offenders

H. P. TOLLINTON

THIS PAPER IS ABOUT the treatment of abnormal offenders, and I shall suggest some of the reasons why psychiatric treatment in prison is often ineffective and describe how we are trying to overcome these difficulties in Grendon. Grendon is a prison to which offenders are referred for psychiatric treatment; and I have been working there as a Prison Medical Officer since it opened in 1962.

Our purpose in this prison, for prison it must be, since the public need protection and many of our inmates would leave if there were no prison wall—our purpose is the reformation of offenders through psychiatric and casework techniques. I shall not trouble you by questioning whether our work is a part of psychiatry at all: some people argue that delinquency is not a psychiatric diagnosis, and that the proper people to be in charge of an institution like Grendon are social psychologists. But to return to Grendon and our attempt to reform our inmates—there has been a growing understanding in recent years that when you send a man to prison the loss of liberty is painful enough to be in itself reformative, and that the more punitive and mortifying aspects of imprisonment are a hindrance to reformation. We now say that a man goes to prison as punishment rather than for punishment. More than this, some people doubt whether reformation can be achieved by imprisonment of any kind, however humane, since to deprive a man of his liberty can at best have only a neutral effect, and more positive steps must be taken if any change in attitude is to occur.

In general prisons have become more humane, with the introduction of welfare services and the starting of educational and vocational training classes, while amenities have been granted such as canteens, smoking, association of prisoners in the evening, radio, television and films; since it is now widely accepted that provided the community is safeguarded a less

repressive regime is preferable. But we must not delude ourselves by assuming that these measures will serve to reform our prisoners. In fact, many of the modern amenities have probably been given to serve what I may call custodial aims; payment for work with a canteen in which to spend earnings with the object of increasing prisoners' output: radio and television to maintain their morale, occupy their time and keep them out of mischief. These measures will in no way change prisoners' characters or alter their attitudes from criminal to non-criminal. They have merely made prison more tolerable.

If one is to understand the attitude of the individual prisoner one should begin by studying the inmate culture* as seen in the normal recidivist prison; for it is this culture built up through the years that is the main obstacle to reforming the population of our prisons. Perhaps it is not surprising that this culture is remarkably similar in most prisons in this country and in the United States, for it is the prisoner's way of adapting to the fact of imprisonment. It is based partly on the values and beliefs of the criminal classes outside prison, and partly on attitudes which imprisonment itself seems to create. The confirmed criminal firmly believes in the corruptibility of legal authority, and when he comes into prison he quickly applies this to the prison staff. He has a strong conviction of the widespread dishonesty of so-called law-abiding society, and he believes that if you can break the rules and get away with it you are justified. Many criminals have been led by their social background to accept the overt expression of aggression as an essential feature of their life, so that they carry into prison a belief in the efficacy of threats and violence which neither the staff nor other inmates will tolerate. Consequently their aggression in prison must either be restrained or, alternatively, is projected on to outgroups within or without the walls. There is thus present in the recidivist prisoner at the time of admission an anti-social ideology, a mistrust of authority and a belief in rule-breaking.

When he enters prison a prisoner is unlikely to suffer the brutalities which in the past aroused the anger of John Howard and other prison reformers, but he must inevitably undergo deprivations and frustrations which involve a profound attack on his self-esteem, and these psychological pains may be more threatening than physical maltreatment. He is removed from his family and normal associates and feels that society has rejected him. He is stripped of personal possessions which were formerly the mark of his worth and achievement. He is deprived of all heterosexual relationships, and even if he does not engage in overt homo-

sexuality he must suffer acute anxiety about his masculinity. He is stripped of his autonomy and every detail of his life is subject to a vast number of regulations made by prison officials. He is forced to live in the close company of sexual perverts, thieves, 'con' men and the like. As one inmate said, "the worst thing about prison is you have to live with the other prisoners".

In short, prison penalises a man in ways which go far beyond the fact of imprisonment. Social rejection, material deprivation, sexual frustration, loss of autonomy and of personal security form a set of harsh conditions to which adjustment must be made if the individual is to preserve his self-esteem, and it is in this process of adjustment that the powerful inmate culture is evolved with its dominant theme of loyalty of prisoner to prisoner against the staff, and such maxims as:

Never rat on a con.
Keep off a man's back.
No good con speaks to a screw.

This code does not merely reflect criminal attitudes, it represents a system of group values aimed at mitigating the pains of imprisonment by encouraging opposition to staff and so restoring the prisoner's self-esteem. The problem facing the prisoner is that of coping with his feelings of social rejection. The inmate culture is a way of transforming the situation so that the inmate does not convert his feeling of social rejection into one of self-rejection. In effect it permits the inmate to reject his rejectors.

With the emergence of an inmate system dominated by anti-social values the recidivist prison is composed of two groups facing each other with a great deal of mutual distrust and suspicion. The staff's code is not dissimilar from that of the inmates. Vis-a-vis the inmates the staff are always loyal to each other: and just as "no good con speaks to a screw", so the staff are formally required to maintain their distance from the men in their charge, and talking across boundaries is officially discouraged. The traditional view of a recidivist prison as a place where prisoners exercise their anti-social propensities if they can get away with it is the view of most of the staff and inmates. In fact, a recent survey† carried out in an American prison showed that the staff tended to perceive the men as being more anti-social than in reality they were, while the men thought of their custodians as more harshly authoritarian than was the case, thus supporting and reinforcing the tradition of conflict.

To undertake treatment in such an anti-therapeutic atmosphere requires a determined, many would say foolhardy, psychiatrist. At first a few small psychiatric units were set up in selected prisons to which prisoners were referred for treatment by visiting psychiatrists. But there have been too many factors

militating against success. The visiting psychiatrist may see his patient for an hour a week, but the patient is at all times subject to the strong social pressures of the inmate culture which regards the acceptance of treatment as the equivalent of going over to the enemy. In consequence the men referred for treatment have usually been isolates or those who for some reason have not adjusted well to the inmate system, and they are despised by their fellow-inmates. Treatment may become for them a form of escape. The psychiatrist takes a long time to understand the social climate of the prison of which he is not an integral member. It is not easy for him to have time to meet the prison staff, who in consequence may suspect his intentions.

After psychiatric units had been established in selected prisons it became clear that comparatively few patients were able to benefit from the available treatment, and that these measures were not in themselves sufficient to meet the demand that prisons should reform their inmates as well as punish them. It was in answer to that demand that a number of penal establishments were set up, first on the Continent, then in the U.S.A., and now in England at Grendon, in which direction is in the hands of treatment personnel, and all the inmates are under treatment.

I should like to outline the conditions which I believe to be necessary if treatment in prison is to be effective and to give some illustrations from our experience in Grendon. But first, I should say that Grendon has not been open long and we have no figures at this stage which throw light on the efficacy of our regime in comparison with that of any other institution; in fact, in the absence of properly matched controls we cannot provide proof that our results are better than if no treatment were given at all. Our failure, that is, our reconviction rate, is at present about one in four, which is a very great improvement on that of an ordinary recidivist prison; but it might be argued that by admitting only those patients who are thought suitable for treatment we are taking the cream, and that our sample is not representative.

One of the crucial questions is "who is in need of treatment?" The mentally ill, the subnormal and those suffering from a psychopathic disorder should not be sent to prison, and if diagnosed after admission are usually transferred to hospital under the provisions of the Mental Health Act. That leaves a variety of personality disorders and sexual deviations who would not be admitted to a mental hospital, and who are usually classified together as 'abnormal offenders'. This is an unsatisfactory term because I question whether any chronic offender can be considered

psychologically normal. It is unrealistic to regard prisoners as falling into two neat groups—the psychologically abnormal, and normal prisoners who are merely following the pattern of their sub-culture.

We admit 'abnormal offenders', and figures we have collected show that our patients are rather more neurotic than the population of a recidivist prison, and we have a greater share of violent and sexual offenders. But the only firm criterion we apply in deciding whether to admit a patient to Grendon is whether he will fit into a community in which there is a minimum of supervision and whether he is genuinely anxious to receive treatment. When a recidivist decides that he has had enough and wants to change we think that we may be able to help him. This criterion is not applied to men who are in prison for the first time, since figures show that some 80 per cent of these do not come back. We therefore do not accept first-timers, or star prisoners as we call them, because there is a four to one chance that they will in any case not return to prison. There are exceptions to this, when an offence appears manifestly out of character, or bizarre or without motive. We have at present for instance, three young offenders without previous convictions, each of whom made an unprovoked attack with a knife on a passing girl, apparently with no sexual or other motive. Such cases clearly need investigation. Arson and incest are two other offences which should come to us for investigation.

We regard our inmates as persons whose emotional needs have not been met in the world outside, and their delinquency is often the consequence of this deprivation. It is illogical to deprive such men further while they are in prison. Rather, the regime should be so arranged as to cause a minimum of deprivation with a maximum opportunity for therapeutic handling, to help inmates to become psychologically mature, rather than reduce them to dependency. One of our alcoholics recently told his therapist that loneliness outside made prison seem like home: he loved prison and he felt a load of worries lift when he walked through the gates. Many inmates admit that they find this escape from freedom the easy alternative. One of the dangers we have to guard against at Grendon is lest the environment becomes so anxiety-free that the inmates no longer feel the urgency of reforming themselves.

The fundamental dilemma facing a treatment prison is how to combine imprisonment with the concept of treatment. Some people would solve the dilemma by abandoning the idea of punishment altogether: their model is the mental hospital and they assume that all offenders

are mentally ill and need treatment for their illness.

An American psychiatrist‡ has written:

"Imprisonment and punishment do not present themselves as the proper methods of dealing with criminals. We have to treat them as sick people, which in every respect they are. It is no more reasonable to punish these individuals for behaviour over which they have no control than it is to punish an individual for breathing through his mouth because of enlarged adenoids. It is the hope of the more progressive elements in psychopathology and criminology that the guard and jailer will be replaced by the nurse and the judge by the psychiatrist."

Shades of Erehwon! I imagine that few progressives in this country will go as far as that. The public would not accept the psychiatrist in place of the judge. And in what sense is it true that all criminals are sick men who cannot help their behaviour? Yet we are gradually moving towards the situation in which the prison resembles a mental hospital. When that happens the warder will take on the role of nurse: and in some institutions, Grendon among them, he is already beginning to do so. Unfortunately, the Prison Officer is required to adopt the roles of both warder and nurse, and these appear incompatible.

Our task in Grendon has been, not to replace Prison Officers with therapists, but rather to involve Prison Officers in therapy by modifying custodial roles to include treatment. To enable treatment to proceed in prison there must be a supportive and 'therapeutic' community in which inmates are handled individually according to their needs, in which communications are opened up both horizontally and vertically and across the staff-inmate barrier, in which decisions are discussed and made democratically, and responsibility, as much as they can handle, given to the inmates. But in asking Prison Officers to participate in a community like this one is asking a great deal of them, and it is natural that at times they look back wistfully to the 'good old days' when the inmates knew where they stood and the officers knew where they stood. In the ordinary prison staff and inmates may be in conflict over values, but both groups profit from a stable institution, and both reach an accommodation whereby the staff use the inmate leaders for the control of other inmates in return for protection of the leaders' position of power. As treatment advances the inmate code gradually crumbles: this code regulates unofficial sanctions on inmates' behaviour, and when the concensus on which it is based goes the code lapses. As the status of inmate leaders diminishes they can no

longer resolve conflicts among the inmates, and the prisoner community can no longer govern itself. This is why the inmate society in a prison devoted to treatment is more unstable and explosive and a larger number of prison officers is needed: and the more staff you have the more progressive in treatment you can afford to be.

Our regime is permissive, but permissiveness breeds anxiety in the staff, and the question is always arising "how permissive can one expect prison staff to be? They are required to handle constructively the kind of behaviour which in another prison is sternly suppressed, and newly arrived inmates soon begin to test out the limits of the staff's permissiveness. Staff are uncertain how permissive they should be, how far they should encourage, how far set limits to spontaneous behaviour, how friendly they should be with patients. Faced with these new problems the staff need continual support, and regular staff meetings and staff groups are necessary to ventilate their difficulties: without this support they would in time revert to being warders.

Many prisoners complain that the judge lectures them in court about their responsibilities, but when they enter prison all responsibility is taken away from them; then, having passed a care-free irresponsible period inside they are expected to go out and assume full responsibility again. I agree with their complaint—life in most prisons unfits a man for responsible life in the community. We encourage our patients to accept responsibility. I work for the most part in the Boys' Wing where we have from 30 to 50 boys aged from 16 to 21, mainly from borstal. When we opened, the responsibility for the running of the wing, the cleanliness of the rooms and landings, the punctuality and turn-out of the boys rested with the staff, and the boys did as they were told. The rooms and the wing as a whole would have done credit to an Army barrack. The boys then said that since we were pressing them to behave responsibly we ought to entrust them with some responsibility. The inspection of rooms was accordingly discontinued and the cleanliness of the wing was left to the boys. The effect was disastrous, and after a lot of discussion the boys asked whether they might impose sanctions on those who failed to keep their room or landing clean. Now sanctions such as an hour's extra cleaning during free time or an evening's loss of television are used, and while the wing is no longer as clean as an Army barrack it is cleaner and tidier, I think than the average home. Borstal boys serve an indeterminate sentence, and may be released whenever we consider them ready at any time between their sixth and 24th month. At first the staff used to sit as a Release Board, interview each boy and decided whether he

was fit for release. We felt that this procedure was a traumatic one for some of the boys, and bordered on the farcical because we knew and the boys knew that we went into the boardroom with our minds made up. The boys asked whether their groups could be included in the process of assessment. The present procedure is that when a boy considers that he is fit for release the group to which he belongs meet with their two Group Officers and the Principal Officer of the Wing and the Doctor, and The final decision still remains discuss whether the boy is ready. with the staff, but they hear the opinions of the group; and the boys participate in the process and are able to learn from their mistakes. Early on, one of the groups recommended two boys for home leave, and although we felt strong reservations we granted the leave. Neither boy returned from leave, and the group admitted they had been wrong and are now more cautious.

In a treatment institution nonconformity with institutional rules may in theory be regarded as the acting out of emotional conflicts, the consequence of psychological illness, not intentional badness. This is significant, because if nonconforming is regarded as unintentional the response is one of treatment or education, whereas the response to intentional badness is punishment. Yet one must recognise that in an institution like Grendon certain types of behaviour cannot be accepted, because security would be threatened and the situation would become intolerable for prison officers. Aggressive behaviour if it cannot be contained must be punished. Similarly stealing or homosexuality may have to be punished even though it may be regarded as the consquence of personal problems and in need of treatment. Punishment, however, might take the form of transfer away from Grendon.

We said to the boys' wing, optimistically perhaps, that we felt they were wrong in putting the onus of punishment on the staff: if a boy offended against the community, the community should punish him. The boys accepted this challenge and set up a Rules Committee which drew up a body of rules with a tariff of punishments for offenders. One unfortunate boy was punished, the next offender refused to accept his punishment, and the system broke down. We then decided to divide the rules into two—those for which the staff are responsible, and the remainder for which the boys are responsible and can impose sanctions on offenders. This system appears to work, although some boys have pointed out that it is usually the weak, inadequate boy whom they punish, while the popular boy goes scot-free.

We have had a proliferation of groups at Grendon. On the boys' wing there is a wing meeting of staff and boys every morning and

each of the three groups meets every afternoon after work with its two group officers. In addition there are two staff meetings every week. On the men's wings meetings are rather less frequent. We argue a great deal whether we are holding too many groups and too many meetings, and one or two of the therapists think that we are. It cuts down the time for individual psychotherapy and other forms of treatment. We try to see our patients for psychotherapy at least once a week; but I find that on the boys' wing groups and meetings take up so much of the boys' time that I can see them individually only once a fortnight, sometimes only once a month. There is no proof that group therapy or group counselling is an effective way of treating personality disorders, sexual deviations and the like. There is in fact no real evidence that any form of psychotherapy is effective. But in the absence of such evidence there are great advantages in using group methods. An important factor is the sweetening effect which group-counselling has on staff-inmate relationships. But the chief advantage arises from the fact that we can only break the hold of the all pervading inmate culture on our patients if we form stable groups which are able to stand up to and resist what I may call the inmate group. So long as the inmate group remains the only group powerful enough to offer the inmate a sense of security he will identify with it and no change in his values can be expected. As E. H. Sutherland§ has written:

> "From the therapeutic point of view, the attempt to change individuals one at a time when their group and their culture remain unchanged is generally futile. It proceeds as though the individual lived in a vacuum".

If treatment is not to be carried on in a vacuum positive groups must be provided to attract the allegiance of the inmate. This I believe is the chief value of groups in our work. Groups of course form only the framework in which a therapeutic exchange may occur. When a group spends the time swapping accounts of big-time robberies or complaining of the tyranny of the police or prison staff little therapeutic purpose is served. But we have moved on from that kind of group at Grendon, and any criticism now is usually patient-directed. An important difference between the ordinary prison and a psychiatric prison is that in the one an inmate need only comply with certain standards of action, the motive with which he acts is his own concern—in the other the inmate's private feelings are at issue and mere compliance is not enough. Patients may behave in a conformist way without accepting or agreeing with the values underlying the required behaviour, and a group is more likely to discern the motive behind an act of compliance than the prison officer or the psychia-

trist. That is why many inmates look on these group sessions as an intolerable intrusion into their privacy.

I have referred earlier to the lack of proof of the efficacy of our treatment at Grendon. I don't want to leave you with the idea that we ourselves think that our treatment is ineffective. It could of course be made more effective in ways which we hope to discover. Our psychiatric social worker has recently carried out a survey of the patients who were released from Grendon during the first six months of 1964, when Grendon had been open for about 21 months. She visited the patients, interviewed families and probation officers and has since attempted to ascertain the factors which distinguish the men who have settled back into the community from those who have been reimprisoned. Some of the significant factors could have been anticpated. Men with fewer previous convictions and imprisonments, for instance, have done better than those with more; men with a home and family to go to have done better than those without. It is interesting that age seems to be corralated with success; about 30 per cent of the successful group were in their late thirties or forties. The most significant factor in distinguishing success from failure has been the time spent at Grendon, and there is no evidence of a maximum above which time spent there is harmful; 25 per cent of the successful group had spent over 18 months at Grendon.

It is important that we should continue to look on Grendon as an experimental institution where different regimes and modes of treatment may be tried out, and if unsuccessful, discarded; if successful, they may be applied elsewhere. We hope that Grendon will not become too much a part of the Establishment.

FOOTNOTE

This article is based on a paper read to the Howard League on the 16th March, 1966. The views expressed are the writer's own, and are not necessarily held by the Prison Department.

REFERENCES

* Much attention has been paid in recent literature to such aspects of prison life as the "inmate culture" and the "inmate code". For a good account the reader may refer to Richard A. Howard et al. "Theoretical Studies in Social Organisation of the Prison": Pamphlet 15 of the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1960.

† Stanton Wheeler. "Social Organisation in a Correctional Community (Unpublished Ph.D dissertion, University of Washington, 1958).

‡ Benjamin Karpman. "Criminality, Insanity and the Law". Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, January—February 1949.

§ E. H. Sutherland, "The Person and the Situation in the Treatment of Prisoners", The Sutherland Papers, Indiana University Press, 1956.

Drinking Before Detention

A Survey of the population of a Senior Detention Centre to ascertain if excessive drinking or alcoholism could be detected

P. M. SMITH-MOORHOUSE M.B., Ch.B.
Medical Officer, H.M. Prison, Wakefield

LAWRENCE LYNN
Social Worker and Lay Therapist, Clinic for Alcoholism, Huddersfield

IN VIEW OF THE RESULT of a survey, carried out by one of us (P.M.S.) in a corrective training prison, which revealed an estimated rate of alcoholism in the order of between 30 per cent and 40 per cent, it appeared important to ascertain if drinking problems could be discerned in an earlier age group. Permission was sought and granted to carry out a survey at New Hall Detention Centre, Flockton, near Wakefield.

The inmate population of this Centre is approximately 85 and it was decided to screen 100 consecutive receptions. A questionnaire was compiled which enabled us quickly to eliminate those who quite obviously were not accustomed to heavy drinking and at the same time assess the method of drinking and indicate whether any symptoms of early alcoholism were present in those who were accustomed to heavy drinking. It was necessary to define alcoholism and clarify the early symptoms of both excessive and alcoholic drinking.

Excessive drinking is any form of drinking which in its extent goes beyond (i) the traditional or customary "dietary" use, or, (ii) the ordinary compliance with the social dietary customs of the whole community concerned, irrespective of the aetiological factors leading to such behaviour, and irrespective also of the extent to which such

aetiological factors are dependent upon, hereditary, constitutional, or acquired physiological and metabolic influences.

Summarized, this is drinking in excess of normal dietetic and social customs; this is irrespective of any hereditary, personality, mental, or physical factors relevant to the individual.

Alcoholics are those excessive drinkers whose dependence upon alcohol has attained such a degree that it shows a noticeable mental disturbance, or an interference with their bodily and mental health, their interpersonal relationships and their smooth social and economical functioning, or who show the prodromal signs of such development.

The early symptoms of both excessive and alcoholic drinking within these definitions are those suggested by the late Professor Jellinek (W.H.O. Techn. Report Series No. 48), which is a pattern of symptomatology which our own experience as well as all other workers in this field has confirmed. Excessive drinkers have the same sort of symptomatology, except, of course, this is non-progressive. It must be remembered that one in four excessive drinkers become alcoholics after about fifteen to twenty years of drinking. In alcoholics the progression extends over some ten to twenty years, so we shall only consider the pre-alcoholic, prodromal, and start of the crucial phases. These will now be given in full from:

World Health Organization
Technical Report Series Number 48.

Expert Committee on Mental Health.
Alcoholism Sub-Committee, 2nd Report.

THE MEANING OF SYMPTOMATIC DRINKING

The use of alcoholic beverages by society has primarily a symbolic meaning, and secondarily it achieves "function". Cultures which accept this custom differ in the nature and degree of the "functions" which they regard as legitimate. The differences in these "functions" are determined by the general pattern of the culture, e.g. the need for the release and for the special control of aggression, the need and the ways and means of achieving identification, the nature and intensity of anxieties and the modus for their relief and so forth. The more the original symbolic character of the custom is preserved, the less room will be granted by the culture to the "functions" of drinking.

Any drinking within the accepted ways is symptomatic of the culture of which the drinker is a member. Within that frame of cultural symptomatology there may be in addition individual symptoms expressed in the act of drinking. The fact that a given individual drinks a glass of beer with his meal may be the symptom of the culture which accepts such a use as a refreshment, or as a "nutritional supplement". That this individual drinks at this given moment may be a symptom of his

ratigue, or his elation or some other mood, and thus an individual symptom, but if his culture accepts the use for these purposes it is at the same time a cultural symptom.

In this sense even the small or moderate use of alcoholic beverages is symptomatic, and it may be said that all drinkers are culturally symptomatic drinkers or, at least, started as such.

The vast majority of the users of alcoholic beverages stay within the limits of the culturally accepted drinking behaviours and drink predominantly as an expression of their culture, and while an individual expression may be present in these behaviours its role remains insignificant.

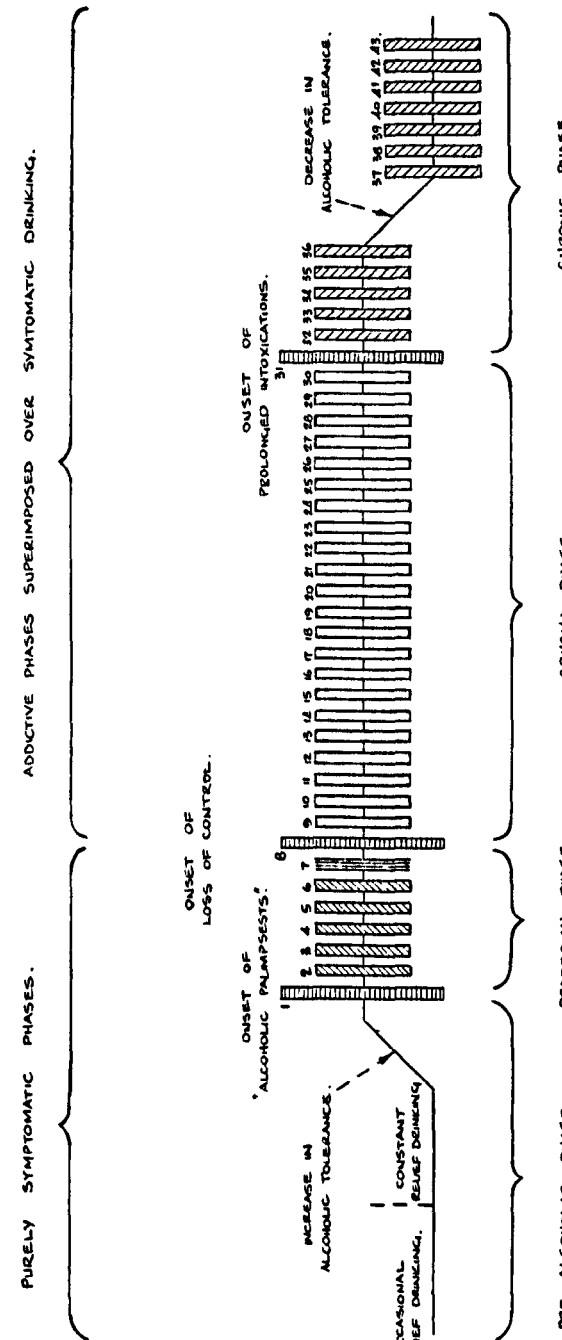
For the purpose of the present discussion the expression "symptomatic drinking" will be limited to the predominant use of alcoholic beverages for the relief of major individual stresses.

A certain unknown proportion of these users of alcoholic beverages, perhaps 20 per cent, are occasionally inclined to take advantage of the "functions" of alcohol which they have experienced in the course of its "cultural use". At least at times, the individual motivation becomes predominant and on those occasions alcohol loses its character as an ingredient of a beverage and is used as a drug.

The "occasional symptomatic excessive drinker" tends to take care of the stresses and strains of living in socially accepted — i.e. "normal"—ways, and his drinking is most of the time within the cultural pattern. After a long accumulation of stresses, however, or because of some particularly heavy stress his tolerance for tension is lowered and he takes recourse to heroic relief of his symptoms through alcoholic intoxication (this group does not include the regular "periodic alcoholics"). Under these circumstances the "relief" may take on an explosive character, and thus the occasional symptomatic excessive drinker may create serious problems. No psychological abnormality can be claimed for this type of drinker, although he does not represent a well-integrated personality.

Nevertheless, within the group of apparent "occasional symptomatic excessive drinkers" there is a certain proportion of definitely deviating personalities who after a shorter or longer period of occasional symptomatic relief take recourse to a constant alcoholic relief, and drinking becomes with them a "mode of living". These are the "alcoholics" of whom again a certain proportion suffer "loss of control", i.e. become "addictive alcoholics".

The proportion of alcoholics (addictive and non-addictive) varies from country to country, but does not seem to exceed in any country five per cent or six per cent of all users of alcoholic beverages. The ratio of addictive to non-addictive alcoholics is unknown.


PHASES OF ADDICTION TO ALCOHOLISM.
PURELY SYMPTOMATIC PHASES.
ADDICTIVE PHASES SUPERIMPOSED OVER SYMPTOMATIC DRINKING.
ONSET OF LOSS OF CONTROL.
ONSET OF 'ALCOHOLIC PALIMPSESTS'.
ONSET OF PROLONGED INTOXICATIONS.
INCREASE IN ALCOHOLIC TOLERANCE.
DECREASE IN ALCOHOLIC TOLERANCE.
OCCASIONAL RELIEF DRINKING.
CONSTANT RELIEF DRINKING.
PRE-ALCOHOLIC PHASE.
PRODROMAL PHASE.
CRUCIAL PHASE.
CHRONIC PHASE.

The Chart of Alcohol Addiction

The course of alcohol addiction is represented graphically in a chart of the phases of addiction. The diagram is based on an analysis of more than 2,000 drinking histories of male alcohol addicts. Not all symptoms shown in the diagram occur necessarily in all alcohol addicts, nor do they occur in every addict in the same sequence. The "phases" and the sequences of symptoms within the phases are characteristic, however, of the great majority of alcohol addicts and represent what may be called the average trend.

For alcoholic women the "phases" are not as clear-cut as in men and the development is frequently more rapid.

The "phases" vary in their duration according to individual characteristics and environmental factors. The "lengths" of the different phases on the diagram do not indicate differences in duration, but are determined by the number of symptoms which have to be shown in any given phase.

The chart of the phases of alcohol addiction serves as the basis of description, and the differences between addictive and non-addictive alcoholics are indicated in the text.

The Pre-Alcoholic Symptomatic Phase

The very beginning of the use of alcoholic beverages is always socially motivated in the prospective addictive and non-addictive alcoholic. In contrast to the average social drinker, however, the prospective alcoholic (together with the occasional symptomatic excessive drinker) soon experiences a rewarding relief in the drinking situation. The relief is strongly marked in his case because either his tensions are much greater than in other members of his social circle, or he has not learned to handle those tensions as others do.

Initially this drinker ascribes his relief to the situation rather than to the drinking and he seeks therefore those situations in which incidental drinking will occur. Sooner or later, of course, he becomes aware of the contingency between relief and drinking.

In the beginning he seeks this relief occasionally only, but in the course of six months to two years his tolerance for tension decreases to such a degree that he takes recourse to alcoholic relief practically daily.

Nevertheless his drinking does not result in overt intoxication, but he reaches towards the evening a stage of surcease from emotional stress. Even in the absence of intoxication this involves fairly heavy drinking, particularly in comparison to the use of alcoholic beverages by other members of his circle. The drinking is, nevertheless, not conspicuous either to his associates or to himself.

After a certain time an increase in alcohol tolerance may be

noticed, i.e. the drinker requires a somewhat larger amount of alcohol than formerly in order to reach the desired stage of sedation.

This type of drinking behaviour may last from several months to two years according to circumstances and may be designated as the pre-alcoholic phase, which is divided into stages of occasional relief-drinking and constant relief-drinking.

The Prodromal Phase

The sudden onset of a behaviour resembling the "black-outs" in anoxaemia marks the beginning of the prodromal phase of alcohol addiction. The drinker who may have had not more than 50 to 60 g. of absolute alcohol and who is not showing any signs of intoxication may carry on a reasonable conversation or may go through quite elaborate activities without a trace of memory the next day, although sometimes one or two minor details may be hazily remembered. This amnesia, which is not connected with loss of consciousness, has been called by Bonhofer the "alcoholic palimpsests", with reference to old Roman manuscripts superimposed over an incompletely erased manuscript.

"Alcoholic palimpsests" (1) (the figures in parentheses following the descriptions of the individual symptoms represent their order as given in the chart of the phases of addiction) may occur on rare occasions in an average drinker when he drinks intoxicating amounts in a state of physical or emotional exhaustion. Non-addictive alcoholics, of course, also may experience "palimpsests", but infrequently and only following rather marked intoxication. Thus, the frequency of "palimpsests" and their occurrence after medium alcohol intake are characteristic of the prospective alcohol addict.

This would suggest heightened susceptibility to alcohol in the prospective addict. Such a susceptibility may be psychologically or physiologically determined. The analogy with the "black-outs" of anoxaemia is tempting. Of course, an insufficient oxygen supply cannot be assumed, but a malutilization of oxygen may be involved. The present status of the knowledge of alcoholism does not permit of more than vague conjectures which, nevertheless, may constitute bases for experimental hypotheses.

The onset of "alcoholic palimpsests" is followed (in some instances preceded) by the onset of drinking behaviours which indicate that, for this drinker, beer, wine, and spirits have practically ceased to be beverages and have become sources of a drug which he "needs". Some of these behaviours imply that this drinker has some vague realization that he drinks differently from others.

Surreptitious drinking (2) is one of these behaviours. At social gatherings the drinker seeks occasions for having a few drinks unknown to others, as he fears that if it were known that he drinks more than the others he would be misjudged: those to whom drinking is only a custom or a small pleasure would not understand that because he is different from them alcohol is for him a necessity, although he is not a drunkard.

Preoccupation with alcohol (3) is further evidence of this "need". When he prepares to go to a social gathering his first thought is whether there will be sufficient alcohol for his requirements and he has several drinks in anticipation of a possible shortage.

Because of this increasing dependence upon alcohol, the onset of avid drinking (4) (gulping of the first or first two drinks) occurs at this time.

As the drinker realizes, at least vaguely, that his drinking is outside of the ordinary, he develops guilt feelings about his drinking behaviour (5) and because of this he begins to avoid reference to alcohol (6) in conversation.

These behaviours, together with an increasing frequency of "alcoholic palimpsests" (7), foreshadow the development of alcohol addiction: they are premonitory signs, and this period may be called the prodromal phase of alcohol addiction.

The consumption of alcoholic beverages in the prodromal phase is "heavy" but not conspicuous, as it does not lead to marked, overt intoxications. The effect is that the prospective addict reaches towards evening a state which may be designated as emotional anaesthesia. Nevertheless, this condition requires drinking well beyond the ordinary usage. The drinking is on a level which may begin to interfere with metabolic and nervous processes as evidenced by the frequent "alcoholic palimpsests".

The "covering-up" which is shown by the drinker in this stage is the first sign that his drinking might separate him from society, although initially the drinking may have served as a technique to overcome some lack of social integration.

As in the prodromal phase rationalizations of the drinking behaviour are not strong and there is some insight as well as fear of possible consequences, it is feasible to intercept incipient alcohol addiction at this stage. In the United States of America, the publicity given to the prodromal symptoms begins to bring prospective alcoholics to clinics as well as to groups of Alcoholics Anonymous.

It goes without saying that even at this stage the only possible modus for this type of drinker is total abstinence.

The prodromal period may last anywhere from six months to four or five years according to the physical and psychological make-up

physical and physiological make-up of the drinker his family ties, vocational relations, general interests, and so forth. The prodromal phase ends and the crucial or acute phase begins with the onset of loss of control, which is the critical symptom of alcohol addiction.

The Crucial Phase

Loss of control (8) means that as soon as any small quantity of alcohol enters the organism a demand for more alcohol is set up which is felt as a physical demand by the drinker, but could possibly be a conversion phenomenon. This demand lasts until the drinker is too intoxicated or too sick to ingest more alcohol. The physical discomfort incumbent upon this drinking behaviour is contrary to the object of the drinker, which is merely to feel "different". As a matter of fact, the bout may not even be started by any individual need of the moment, but by a "social drink".

After recovery from the intoxication, it is not the "loss of control" —i.e., the physical demand, apparent or real—which leads to a new bout after several days or several weeks; the renewal of drinking is set off by the original psychological conflicts or by a simple social situation which involves drinking.

The "loss of control" is effective after the individual has started drinking, but it does not give rise to the beginning of a new drinking bout. The drinker has lost the ability to control the quantity once he has started, but he still can control whether he will drink on any given occasion or not. This is evidenced in the fact that after the onset of "loss of control" the drinker can go through a period of voluntary abstinence "going on the water wagon".

The question of why the drinker returns to drinking after repeated disastrous experiences is often raised. Although he will not admit it, the alcohol addict believes that he has lost his willpower and that he can and must regain it. He is not aware that he has undergone a process which makes it impossible for him to control his alcohol intake. To "master his will" becomes a matter of the greatest importance to him. When tensions rise "a drink" is the natural remedy for him and he is convinced that this time it will be one or two drinks only.

The report carries on describing all the remaining symptoms which are not relevant for the purpose of this summary.

We now give the questionnaire and the form used for completing the initial enquiry. We submit that these questions give a useful lead to the symptoms relative to the heavy drinker, the pre-alcoholic, the prodromal and the crucial phases of alcohol addiction.

H.M. DETENTION CENTRE
NEW HALL, FLOCKTON, WAKEFIELD

The following lad was received here on.....196.....
Name..... Number.....
Home Address.....
Date of Birth.....Earliest Date of Release.....
Last Job.....Offence/s.....Previous Offences.....
Education .....
Behaviour Pattern .....
Home Background .....

1. Do you drink alcoholic beverages?
2. When, where and why did you have your first drink?
3. What do you drink—beer, wine, spirits, etc.?
4. What is your pattern of drinking—daily, weekends only, etc.?
5. Do you drink more now than you did 12 months ago?
6. How long do you go without having a drink?
7. How much do you drink in a session?
8. For how long have you been drinking like this?
9. Was there any particular reason for a change in your drinking habits?
10. Do you drink alone, in company, or both?
11. Do you try to drink more than the other chap?
12. Do you go to dances? If so, do you need a drink to enjoy yourself?
13. Do you usually drink before attending any social function or going into strange company?
14. Do you drink before committing a crime?
15. Have you ever stolen for the purpose of obtaining money to go drinking?
16. Do you lie to your family and/or friends about your drinking?
17. The morning after a drinking session can you remember clearly all that happened, or only part?
18. Does it take more alcohol now to get intoxicated than it did 12 months ago?
19. Do you spend more on drink than you can really afford?
20. Have you ever tried any drug or pill taking—pep pills, purple hearts, reeters?

It will be seen therefore that we are concerned with the first eight symptoms of the W.H.O. description of this progressive disease, most of the basic research we owe to the late professor Jellinek.

The youths on reception were allowed a settling-in period of two weeks, during which period some of the receptions were re-allocated to other establishments, of the remainder we have checked 100

consecutive youths (completely unselected).

The questionnaire as already given was completed by the social worker. Then, by a process of elimination of all those who very rarely drank, or if at all in only very moderate amounts, we accumulated a list of those who needed to be interviewed and screened more accurately. This screening was done by the two authors.

Those interviewed were divided into groups, as follows: Normal or no problem (as far as drink is concerned) and problem drinkers. The latter group we broke down into four sub groups: Heavy drinkers or potential heavy drinkers; escape (or relief) drinkers; early alcoholics (prodromal phase); alcoholics (crucial phase, showing evidence of addiction). The results are set out in the following table: —

Normal	Problem drinkers				
No problems	Heavy drinkers	Escape drinkers	Early alcoholics	Alcoholics	Total
53	17	12	16	2	100

Broken down into age groups these results can be expressed:

Age in years	Assessment of drinking				Total
	No problems	Excessive or Heavy drinking	Pre-alcoholic	Alcoholic	
17	19	3	2	2	26
18	18	3	4	5	30
19	15	7	4	6	32
20	1	4	2	5	12
Total	53	17	12	18	100
		47 per cent problem drinkers			

From this table it will be seen that 53 were considered to show no evidence of any drink problem at this age, whilst 47 showed definite evidence of some drink problem, 12 per cent being escape drinkers (or to use the W.H.O terminology, symptomatic drinkers or pre-alcoholics), 18 per cent already showed evidence of the disease of alcoholism. The remaining 17 per cent were heavy drinkers, and all the evidence shows that a proportion of heavy drinkers (about one in four), after a period of from 15 to 20 years, become alcoholics.

The fact that 47 per cent of receptions of this group of young offenders have a drinking problem warrants further study and investigation. It would also appear to justify the setting up of some pilot scheme of treatment, and to

ascertain if alcohol has any relationship to crime.

A comparison with other surveys to discover the size of this problem will now be given, and will serve to summarize our work.

Three such surveys have been carried out—one by Dr. Powers at Leeds, another by one of us at Wakefield and a third by both of us at New Hall Detention Centre.

LEEDS (*Dr. Powers*): 150 unselected and consecutive receptions were analysed. 35.2 per cent were considered to be either addictive or non-addictive alcoholics.

WAKEFIELD (*December* 1965): 630 inmates were screened for addictive alcoholism. I considered 171, or 27.4 per cent to be addictive alcoholics.

NEW HALL (*January* 1966): 100 unselected and consecutive receptions were screened. 47 per cent were considered to be problem drinkers, and 18 per cent were addictive alcoholics, while 12 per cent were in the pre-alcoholic phase. This means that at the age of 17 to 21 years, 17 per cent are excessive drinkers, or non-addictive alcoholics, whilst another 30 per cent are potential or actual addictive alcoholics.

To test the accuracy of these pilot surveys, more should be done, but these suggest that alcoholism is a major problem within the Prison Service to the extent of between 25 per cent and 50 per cent of inmates.

Being ourselves rather surprised at the high figures obtained, we are to institute a follow-up of these 100 youths to see whether there are any natural remissions. The possibility of changes of environment and re-establishment within the family circle may, in fact, effect this. The follow-up will also enable us to check on the accuracy of this technique of assessment.

Two other points of interest have arisen out of this work. The Warden, as a result of his experience, suggested that certain youths were unlikely to respond to being in a Detention Centre, and these were in fact amongst those whom we classified as problem drinkers. The social worker, who worked extremely hard on this project, reported that as a result of having a positive interview and enquiring into details of their drinking, found that she had obtained a much better rapport with the whole group than she had previous to this survey.

We conclude by expressing our appreciation to the warden, Mr. Winston, the social worker, Mrs. Rogers, and all members of the staff who have given us every kind consideration and assistance. The 100 youths themselves who must be nameless, readily co-operated with us, and the time at each session spent explaining to them the purpose of calling upon them to give up what was their free time resulted in their full co-operation and they must be congratulated for having assisted in something worthwhile.

Short Sentence Recidivists, Groups and After-Care

P. H. SHAPLAND

I HAVE FELT for some time that the institution in which a short sentence man serves his sentence should play a more direct part in his after-care. This is largely due to the experience I have had with various groups of short sentence men in Birmingham Prison. Often a man and his offences may be discussed in the security of prison when crime may be a thing of the past and it is easy to say "Never again." On release in an insecure world his problems catch up with him again and apart from the busy probation officer he is on his own at the time when he most needs help and support. If a man goes voluntarily to see a probation officer it may well be their first meeting so that each knows little about the other, if the ex-prisoner is looking for money and is disappointed he will not be seen again. It is with the institutional staff that he is most likely to have made relationships so that it seems a waste of potential help when he steps out of the gate and communication ceases until he returns.

This article describes an attempt with the probation services to meet with a group of short sentence recidivists in a local prison during their sentences and to continue the group outside prison on their release. This idea was discussed with the Principal Probation Officer of Birmingham who kindly offered the probation and after-care offices for a meeting place should any of the men turn up on their release. It was agreed that one or more probation officers should join the groups in and out of prison as and when their commitments allow them to do so.

There are several reasons for using a group to do this. Among the most important is the fact that a large proportion of recidivists have difficulty in getting along with other people, whether it is with their fellows or with those in some position of authority. Often they have very little idea of the effect of their own personalities on others, so that meeting in a group provides an opportunity for examining these kinds of feeling as they occur. On occasion it is possible for a group to give a man some understanding of himself which may help him to begin to change his behaviour and it is likely that a prisoner will take more notice of what another

prisoner has to say about him in this respect than if it comes from a member of the staff. Secondly, if the subject is after-care then it may well be a more profitable use of time in seeing nine men together for 90 minutes than in talking with nine men individually for ten minutes. Thirdly, it was hoped that some community feeling could be engendered in the group sufficient to give some members a wish to continue meeting on discharge.

I began by seeing all ordinaries sentenced to six months imprisonment who were going out to live in Birmingham. There were two criteria of selection: (i) that a man should show some degree of concern about his record; (ii) a willingness to talk about himself in a group. Approximately one-half of those seen satisfied these requirements. The first group of eight men began meeting at the end of February and a second group started in the middle of March, 1965. The group met on one afternoon a week for two hours. More often than not a probation officer was able to join the groups.

At the start the project was explained again to each group together with the fact that attendance was voluntary and as long as a man remained on a group he would not be transferred. Because of the amount of work involved in keeping the groups up to strength, as in a voluntary group there is inevitably some turnover to begin with, the groups were merged from the beginning of May to form one group of nine men; this continued until the last man was discharged in July.

All the members of the group had served at least four previous prison sentences; four were ex-borstal and three had been in psychiatric hospitals. Nevertheless, some useful discussion was had concerning their delinquencies but most valuable was the opportunity to get to know a probation officer to whom they could turn on release, and to begin to iron out in conjunction with the welfare department some of the difficulties, real or imaginary, which faced them on discharge. As an insight giving instrument the group was a failure. There was an almost continuous "flight" from the group situation to the world outside (which happened more often than with other groups I have been with in prison); this appeared to stem from at least four connected sets of factors. In the first place two men had particular problems waiting for them outside and this was where their attention was constantly focussed. Secondly, there was some doubt as to how freely they could talk in my presence; for example, the seed of misgiving was sown early on when there had been some discussion of rackets operating in one part of the prison, this was followed a couple of days later by a special search of some of the men who had taken part in the discussion and it was felt this was not a coincidence. Thirdly, there was the lack of confidence in each other; important here was the fact that a number

of the group were worried by their own states of mind—there was at one time a good deal of talk about madness, "nutters" and psychiatric treatments outside prison — but the fear of appearing foolish and losing face inhibited much airing of these feelings on a personal level within the group. Fourthly, there was the widespread desire among recidivists to blame other people for the cause of their failure and the after-care services are at times a sitting target for this kind of projection.

At the after-care offices the first man turned up on an evening in July, the day of his release, and he was drunk. Over the next seven weeks this man and three others made sporadic appearances. The high spot was one evening when all four were present together, one man bringing a workmate of his with no previous prison experience. This was the only occasion when we functioned as a group in trying to help a member. He was out of a job with no immediate prospects and what could he do? After some discussion of possible courses of action another member said he might be able to get him a job at his own place of work. After further discussion it was agreed that he would take him down the road after the group and show him the factory; then see the foreman first thing in the morning. If there was a suitable vacancy then the foreman would take him on. This all took place as arranged; the foreman agreed to take him and the man returned to the probation offices in the morning with a note from the employer with a view to getting working clothes from the N.A.B. But something happened: he did not take the job, and did not appear again. The most valuable part of this episode eventually was to the man who had suggested the idea and done the work. He came along the following week complaining bitterly of the other man's behaviour and feeling naturally well and truly let down. In this situation it was possible to put back to him that these were exactly the sort of feelings often experienced by those trying to help delinquents; and to relate this to one of his anxieties in prison which was how did one climb over the fence from the delinquent to the non-delinquent side and begin to be accepted by "them".

By the end of August, however, this group had disintegrated and by the end of the year only this one man out of four had not returned to prison.

The major impression I am left with from these groups in relation to after-care is the massive denial on the part of the inmates for any help other than material — "with a job and digs I'll be O.K."—and the consequent amount of blame heaped upon officialdom when things go wrong; whereas, as has been frequently pointed out, it is in the realm of human relationships that the most help is often required. Secondly, the potential value of seeing men outside prison appears to be demonstrated both in terms of relating prison experience

directly to rehabilitation and also in terms of getting feedback about prison experiences in a safer environment; the details of racketeering, for instance, as an inhibiting influence on the group only became readily available outside prison. In this kind of way it can be seen that for some recidivists rehabilitation can be a continuous learning process, stretching sometimes over a number of sentences but involving the same people.

One of the implications of this project seems to be that much orthodox voluntary after-care work for a short sentence recidivist is as irrelevant to his problems as are the few months he spends in prison. Neither is meaningfully related to the other and both must be equally frustrating to the services involved. These remarks are of course based on a small number of recidivists in a local prison where conditions are minimal for any attempt at positive training. The paradox remains that for a number of its inmates the local prison is ideally situated to maximize the integration of training and after-care, prison and probation services. Conditions inside make it difficult as yet to capitalize on the geographical advantage.

NEW AMERICAN BOOKS

Fifteen distinguished authorities under the editorship of two internationally known social scientists have produced *Problems of Youth*, described as ". . . a unique cross-disciplinary approach, by specialists at the very frontiers of research, treating the vital problems of youth during the crucial adolescent years in a changing world."

This book describes and analyses, from many fruitful points of view, the problems of youth that are currently the objects of remedial action on both community and national levels. It explores the many causes of adolescent happiness and discontent, behaviour and misbehaviour, aspirations and aversions, in the rapidly changing patterns of contemporary class, institutional and cultural settings. It gives much useful information to those professionally concerned with delinquency and adolescent problems—and it gives small comfort to those who hope for quick results.

The Death Penalty in America, an Anthology edited by Hugo Adam Bedau, Reed College, sets out to be a standard reference for current debate and discussion, presenting a wide variety of legal, social, moral and religious views on the problem together with the latest research, well-organised in one volume, including the writings of such distinguished authorities as John Bartlow Martin, Sidney Hook, Thorstein Sellin, Jacques Barzun, J. Edgar Hoover, and many others.

Seldom has the issue of capital punishment been argued with adequate references to the facts involved. To make a sensible decision or to debate the matter intelligently, you need answers to questions, such as: Is capital punishment necessary, or even useful today? Does it effectively deter criminal action? What are the statistics, and how are they to be interpreted?

What crimes today are punishable by death? Does racial prejudice enter the picture? How does the public view the death penalty, and how does public opinion swing? What is the thinking of judges, lawyers, prison wardens, ministers, politicians, writers? Of the men on "death row"?

The Aldine Co. of Chicago are the publishers.

Borstal and After-Care —Post A.C.T.O.

T. R. CARNEGIE

THE ADMINISTRATION of after-care by the Institution does give impetus to some basic re-thinking. In this regard I refer to its effect on the primary purpose of an institution. There has been a tendency in the past for institutions to be somewhat inward-looking to the detriment of policy and achievement.

This new responsibility does emphasise the fact that an inmate is a temporary resident within the institution and that the institution is not an end in itself. It may well be accepted as part of the inmate's life experience and that such experience can be beneficial or harmful in the light of the quality of this experience. The old description of an institution being "a nice tidy unit of its own" is very much a relic of antiquated thinking.

The other area of development is in the role of the housemaster. Hitherto he has been dividing his attention between the management of a "house" and a degree of welfare work. Now his duties will be much more specific.

(1) THE INSTITUTION

There has been quite a deal of confusion concerning the purpose and tasks of the institution. There has been a swinging policy which reflected very much the anxieties and personalities of the administration. This can be seen by examining any institutional programme over a lengthy period. There tends to be shifting of direction and of emphasis whenever the senior staff are moved. This is not meant as a criticism but rather an appreciation of the facts as they exist. Indeed the origins of the Borstal system lay in the desire to do good and particularly during the 1930's to alleviate poverty which often resulted in a high degree of paternalism. This policy tended to stunt growth as it seemed to say that the administration knew the inmates' problems and often their solution without taking a very careful look at the factors involved. Indeed this paternalism could be seen as a defence mechanism to avoid becoming too involved in the inmates' problems. This matter of involvement is very difficult as it tends to make very heavy demands, not only intellectually but emotionally upon the staff.

Development has continued in an uncertain fashion until the recent publication of the A.C.T.O. Report* which specifies amongst other things that the institution is a social rehabilitation agency. This could mean that the institution looks in a diagnostic manner at the problems presented by the inmate population and then is equipped to construct a rehabilitation programme, in which the inmate is fully involved. Hence the acceptance by the institution of the primary task as serving inmate human needs and that these inmate needs have a high priority. The acceptance of this role means that the institution tends to look outwards to society. Indeed, in the after-care process, there is a link with non-institutional agencies, i.e. the probation officer and thereby to the inmate's own domestic situation. There could then be a greater understanding of the inmate's problem in that staff would have an intelligent feedback of cultural patterns, industrial opportunities, parental attitudes and sibling relationships. Thus the institution is seen as an agency seeking information and initiating enquiries rather than the passive role hitherto. Indeed a problem of institutional life is that the criteria demanded tends to be that of the institution rather than that of an open society. Obviously there are problems involved as a reference to the literature of treatment versus security clearly illustrates. However, in this apparent division of opinion, the ideas behind this problem have not yet been fully tested in a borstal institution. This probably has encouraged the growth of the institution to see its own ends as paramount.

The fact that the central after-care based in London has been acting as go-between, has allowed the institution to accept a somewhat less responsible position. The Borstal Association has tended to make itself responsible for an inmate's after-care so that the institute was at all times shielded. Now that the institution is itself the agency dealing directly with other field agencies, the quality and nature of its work will be much more exposed. Indeed the removal of this protection could be an opportunity for positive growth and development within the institution itself so that decision making is seen to be both effective and positive.

(2) HOUSEMASTERS

As mentioned above, the role of the housemaster has been fairly confused. A study of housemasters' roles throughout the service would produce a marked lack of uniformity. Indeed in a recent analysis of the housemaster's time, it was found that a great deal of time was spent on institutional functions as opposed to inmate demands. With the after-care very much in the hands of the housemaster, it will mean that he will have to write fairly frequent and intelligent reports on each inmate. The mere volume of work is bound to make greater inroads on his time and therefore by sheer pressure of

hours, squeeze out other activities. Just to refer to some of these new duties, there is the P.S.I.†, an examination of previous institution files, e.g. approved school, a clearing of outstanding debts or fines, the P.S. Reception Notes‡, the quarterly reports, making home leave enquiries and ultimately preparing the discharge write-up. This is without referring to the normal flow of correspondence between the probation officer and the housemaster.

As these enquiries must be thorough and all data correct, the housemaster will have to be prepared to spend time with this task. This then has to be linked with a fairly intensive interview with the inmate purely to prepare the ground for after-care. The quality of this work will depend on not only the housemaster's ability and technical competence, but also upon the depth of the relationship between him and the inmates. The day of the superficial interview is gone, and a policy of more positive, deeper interviews must be embarked upon.

We are all painfully aware of outstanding fines and undeclared offences cropping up at a very late stage of the lad's training with embarrassing results. In any case there is not much sense in engaging on rehabilitation if there are some nagging doubts of possible legal action. Hence, of course, the probation officer will be involved; information has to be fed to him so that he can decide what action to take, based on information given by the housemaster.

The P.S. Reception Notes which is the next paper submission, is the beginning of an analysis and the basis of a possible treatment programme. Obviously such reports must be preceded by intelligent intreviews which will be time demanding. This forms the basis of the inmate's whole training and includes such factors as: physical and mental health, educational problems, vocational and/or industrial training, reaction to peers, shrewd assessment of family relationhips, attitude to authority and to institution. In other words an assessment of the inmate and what plans are being evolved to assist him to return to society as a more responsible character able to accept the demands in a sensible manner.

Since this involves the probation officer, discussion can take place not only within the institution, but also in the district in which the lad will live. At this point the probation officer will relate the housemaster's report not only to the employment possibilities but also to the social and domestic situation. This involvement with probation officers will lead to an increase in visiting so that the real problems which contributed to the lad's delinquency will be brought into the institution for serious discussion.

This will provide an opportunity to engage other members of the staff in this process. I particularly refer to the reference in the

A.C.T.O. report to group work and casework. By training and bringing staff into the programme at an intelligent social worker's level, the bottleneck of the housemaster can be overcome. Hence the traditional role of the housemaster as the social worker and other staff with a purely disciplinary function can be overcome. For too long the potentialities and abilities of all grades of staff have to some extent been neglected with damaging effect upon the programme. As the house officers have probably more face-to-face contact with the inmate than any other staff member, it is essential that these officers are brought fully into any rehabilitative programme. In this respect, group counselling could afford such an opportunity so that the officer might assist the inmate to bring his problems to the surface and work through negative attitudes and thereby enable him to form some positive relationship with an adult. This will not only benefit the inmate, but the house officer too, so assisting the development of a therapeutic community where the inmate's needs are brought to light, recognised and dealt with. With the emergence of this small group technique, the inmate would have a more ready availability of a staff member.

The housemaster would then be the supervisor of group work in his house and be responsible for this aspect of social re-education.

This demands a high quality performance by the housemaster and I would refer to the academic qualifications which have been mentioned in recent advertisements for A.G.s in May 1964. The housemaster's role is becoming quite specific in that he is a social worker expected to have the skills and understanding attitude and techniques of a trained person.

This is not meant to be a criticism of the service but rather an appreciation of the future development on looking into the future to try and ascertain the shape and structure of the institution. In all large agencies, there tends to develop an inertia which militates against change. Possibly the external prod of the A.C.T.O. report has been the prod which the borstal service required. It does suggest more specific roles of an institution and its staff and probably will produce less swinging policies in the future.

REFERENCES

* Report by the Advisory Council for the Treatment of the Offender—on After Care.

† Form notifying the Principal Probation Officer of lad's arrival in his training borstal.

‡ Form sent to Probation Officer clearly outlining proposed training plan.

CONTRIBUTORS

T. R. CARNEGIE is Governor of Hatfield Borstal.

J. R. C. LEE, a languages graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, sometime Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.V.R. he joined the Prison Service in 1957 at Rochester as housemaster. He has since served at Hollesley Bay, and has been at Wakefield since 1963.

DR. PETER SMITH-MOORHOUSE, Medical Officer of Wakefield Prison is a member of the National Advisory Council on Alcoholism and Chairman of the Leeds Advisory Council.

LAWRENCE LYNN is a member of the Leeds Advisory Council on Alcoholism.

A. W. DRISCOLL is Principal of the Officers' Training School, Leyhill.

P. H. SHAPLAND is Senior Psychologist at Birmingham Prison. He is also a regular visitor to Usk Borstal, Brockhill Remand Centre and Swinfen Hall Detention Centre.

DR. H. P. TOLLINTON served in the Indian Civil Service and Indian Political Service for 18 years before qualifying in medicine (M.A. M., B.ch. (Oxon), D.P.H.) and after three years work in a mental hospital joined the Prison Service in 1960 at Grendon.

FIVE FOR THOUGHT

After five years as an Officer in the New Zealand Prison Service and two years in the clerical department of the Head Office of that same service Mr. Michael Burgess has recently written a series of five articles on PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF PENOLOGY appearing in the *Solicitors' Journal*.

The "Judiciary's Blind Spot" suggests that penologists are not in touch with modern problems and Mr. Burgess has some fairly harsh things to say about prison officers. On "Prisons", despite what he terms 'idealistic press releases' many are "far from being the reformative institutions that many people would like to think". Prison officers, in New Zealand at any rate, appear to be subject to a fairly high divorce rate; the resignation rate during the first twelve months of service is as high as 60 per cent.

The 'prisoner'—Mr. Burgess makes the suggestion that perhaps brain washing might be given a chance, particularly on recidivists. Concerning the attitude of the general public, the author considers that apart from some misplaced sympathy there is very little idea about what is going on and he makes the claim that his own book *Mister* is as far as he knows the only book giving the prison officers' point of view.

Among the more interesting suggestions made is one that there should be produced a "Z Car" type of programme based on prisons and, like many other critics, he is much concerned that industry must be improved.

The five articles may be obtained from Oyez House, Bream Buildings, Fetter Lane, E.C.4, at 1/9d. per copy.