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CONTENTS

Drug-abuse: Attitudes to the Problem

R. COCKETT

DRUGS, DRUG-ADDICTION and drug-abuse—the illicit use of drugs for personal purposes—are highly fashionable subjects for articles, pamphlets and books at the present time. One is tempted to say that, for some people and some writers, they constitute a highly emotive subject. In fact, outside the technical journals and a few textbooks, it is easier to differentiate the quality of the underlying emotion than to distinguish between emotional and unemotional writing.

The use of herbs and other substances in our material environment for reduction or elimination of pain and for the encouragement of pleasurable sensations is an age-old phenomenon of man's behaviour. Except for its sentimental overtone, this is probably a fairly unemotional statement. Why do we become, most of us, so emotive or "het up" about the matter?

There would appear to be at least two reasons: because we are, as a community, concerned about what happens to our individual members; and because there are usually repercussions beyond the individual, as with an infectious or contagious disease, which may have serious consequences for others—family, or youthful peers. Drug-abuse is not merely a matter for the individual abuser, but has social repercussions about which the community must be concerned.

A good deal of current and recent literature on the subject can, as suggested earlier, be differentiated according to the kind of emotive underlying tone or by the quality of social or emotional concern indicated. Except in a cautiously and parsimoniously written scientific report, it is not difficult to find the underlying concern. Thus, the Advisory Committee's 1968 report on cannabis, in discussing the philosophy of control, suggests that "there is considerable support today for J. S. Mill's dictum that 'the only purpose for which power can

rightly be exercised over any member of a civilised community against his will is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant' ". But the committee add: "While we appreciate the force of this argument, it has to be recognised that no hard and fast line can be drawn between actions that are purely self-regarding, and those that involve wider social consequences . . . the fact remains that those who indulge in gross intemperance of almost any kind will nearly always become a burden to their families, the public authorities, or both". In concluding that "in the interests of public health it is necessary to maintain restrictions on the availability and use of [cannabis]" the committee referred to the fact that "even those of our witnesses who saw least danger in the drug were concerned to discourage juveniles from using it".

A similar strain of responsible concern can be seen in books and pamphlets prepared for the assistance of those who have to deal with young people, particularly in the educational and social work fields. Responsible publications of this kind stress the dangers of getting involved in drug-abuse and are clearly aimed at prevention. An example from America is a drug manufacturing company's "Guide for Educators", the company regarding it as "a logical out-growth of the company's responsibilities" and based on its knowledge of the drugs concerned coupled with the help and counsel of "a distinguished panel of experts from education, medicine, pharmacy and law enforcement". After a historical review of the American situation, it deals with the effects of drugs, methods of therapy in drug-abuse cases, some problems of identification of the occurrence of drug-abuse, and educational approaches aimed at prevention. This booklet is eminently readable and, although naturally appropriate more to the American educational setting, its information is equally applicable in Britain.

A fairly corresponding booklet for readers in this country is that published by the Corporation of Bristol and the Bristol Council of Social Service. This is "an account of the facts, the dangers and the problems associated with drug-abuse and drug dependence . . . designed to be of value to social workers, teachers, youth leaders and all who are concerned with this increasing problem". It covers similar ground—dependence and addiction, with the latter's three essential characteristics; recognition of abuse; the types of drug concerned with examples, details of substances and tests for their presence; treatment and rehabilitation; drugs and the law. It attempts a putative description of the rake's progress of drug-abuse under the heading "The Slippery Slope", but otherwise is rather duller than the American publication. In some respects it is also unnecessarily detailed for the purposes of the audience aimed at. It is difficult, for instance, to see the value to

teachers and social workers of such details as: " The withdrawal symptoms [of heroin] can be brought on by injecting anti-morphine drugs"; or "LSD solution fluoresces a bright blue". It seems that the medical training and experience of the author over-rode his main aim at times.

These two "guidance" booklets are clearly written of deliberate purpose and with containment and reduction of the problem in mind.

Something of the same can be said about *Drugs and the Police* although, being written by a detective superintendent of police for policemen, it has naturally its own specific emphasis. Besides the familiar aspects of drugs, dependence, treatment methods, the law and the role of the police, it deals also with suggested forms of charge related to the various Acts and regulations. In the context of drugs, police are often denigrated; but, as Professor Camps says in his foreword to this booklet, ". . . sight may be lost of the fact that laws are meant to be kept until they are altered". The police are the community's agents in this process and inevitably have their problems and difficulties, which this booklet can help the rest of the community better to appreciate. Nevertheless, it is refreshing to find a brief but sympathetic and understanding account of current methods of treatment here, together with the recognition that, where treatment is concerned, "any coercion placed on the addict must be towards convincing him that he is in need of treatment and providing him with the necessary motivation. This is far from easy but it is a field in which the police could play a vital part".

On an altogether different level, and with much greater personal involvement, is Sally Trench's account of what might be called her personal witness and attempts at succour among London's population of addicts, alcoholics and other "lost and destitute" people. She writes, with no holds barred, of what she found and did among the inhabitants (if one can use so inappropriate a term for those who exist on bombed sites and among derelict ruins) of the depths of the city. More than once arrested on suspicion, sharing what she had or could provide by one means or another, she aimed to understand and help, always accepting what she found, as only an idealistic young person could. And her account is inspired, as she clearly had been herself maintained, by her religious conviction and belief in the value of prayer as well as work. This is an altogether different level of involvement, shot through and through with her own deep emotional conviction; one person's work in immediate physical and spiritual help.

The Release report looks at first sight like a sober and straightforward account of an organisation's attempt to carry out a social purpose. The book turns out to be more a sort of verbal running battle against police and "the authorities". Its opening

sentence indicates that the organisation was "established to help those who have been arrested for alleged drug offences"; the authors evidently feel themselves to be the protagonists of the victims of unwarranted interference. One could quote almost endlessly from the book to illustrate this quality of feeling that comes out of nearly every page, and inevitably such an unfavourable impression detracts from whatever merit the organisation's work may have. There is apparently an automatic assumption that the arrested person is right and the police wrong; the one has to be championed and the other defeated. This is emotional involvement on the part of the authors of a totally other and more vehement sort. It causes them to make misleading implications in overstating their case: "A 24-hour emergency [telephone] service is necessary because the police tend to make arrests for drug offences in private homes at night. This intrusion heightens the effect that the sudden appearance of numbers of police officers has upon any individual. As a result, many people find themselves in prison on remand before they fully realise what has happened, having found it almost impossible to make contact with friends or family after being arrested". There are conveniently deceptive elisions here: what happens to other people in the "private homes at night" when arrests occur? More significant, police do not place arrested persons in prison on remand. One really cannot believe that the authors do not know that this can only occur after appearance and due process in Court, on the instructions of a magistrate.

The biassing effect of the authors' emotional involvement is very evident in the chapter on Society and Drugs: "Most of the people who come to us have broken the law as a result of finding conventional standards of behaviour difficult to accept. Conventional society can be seen to disregard individual fulfilment and directly oppose any attempts made to create new values. When the social environment in which one is brought up is so repressive and highly competitive, it is easy to lose faith in oneself and in so doing lose faith in society as well. Rather than continue the painful process of being considered a failure in conventional society, complete detachment from the society is necessary". Again: "This is the age of protest and, to the police, the pot-smoking 'hippie' is the epitome of the protest. Protests are directed at all symbols of the authoritarian (*sic*) state and the police are the epitome of authority. It is not difficult to see why the police are so enthusiastic about arresting 'pot' smokers. Nor is it difficult to see why policemen can get badly hurt at demonstrations!" By protagonism of this sort, the authors clearly range themselves on one side of a conflict which, with more detachment, most people will probably recognise as an artificial enlargement and super-

justification of the rebelliousness of youth.

This article has not set out formally to review the several books and pamphlets mentioned. Rather it has used the publications as a means of illustrating a spectrum of feeling about the subject of drug-abuse. All display concern, and most of them recognise in their concern the twin features of danger for the individual of drug-abuse and the abuser's danger or at least nuisance-value to other members of the community. This, we have seen, occurs from the official publication, through "guidance" publications and one written by and for police. It is not overtly evident in Miss Trench's work and her account, mainly probably because she is too intensely concerned to help individuals in the immediate situations in which she finds them. Her work, as she makes clear, stemmed from being a "teenage rebel", but she used her "rebellion"—which was emotional but imbued with moral and religious principle—to aid individuals without juxtaposing them against a shibboleth called "authority" or "the police".

The Release report authors get steamed up, by contrast, because they disregard one of the twin dangers—viz. that the drug-abuser and addict are dangers to others as well as themselves. This is recognised not only by the policeman ("quite often an addict is just as much of a danger to others as he is to himself. He can, and will, infect other people around him"), but also by those concerned to educate and guide: "As the illegal traffic burgeoned, narcotics officials found that, in order to crush this traffic, it was necessary to crack down on addicts (often sources of supply) as well as non-addict pushers—through arrests and compulsory drug withdrawal in a controlled setting".

None of the publications quoted and their authors is essentially inimical to the drug-abuser; most have a balanced appreciation of the social problem he represents as well as the essential sickness of his individual state. In reading and attempting to evaluate any publication on a subject that so readily becomes emotionally toned, it is necessary to define to oneself the emotional attitudes and biasses of the author.

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The Destiny of Johnnie X

J. W. GIBSON

"POOR JOHNNIE" neighbours commented, when a small three-year-old boy walked by, bare-foot, trousers torn and dirty faced. He presented a pathetic sight, even in the cosmopolitan area of the city, where hardship and misery were everyday things.

He was born to a blind mother, with a drunken football fanatic for a father and raised in a decrepit four-roomed house in the slum area of Liverpool, the south end of the city to be exact, a truly cosmopolitan abode of vice and crime.

The father (the football fanatic), if his team lost, would take vengeance on poor Johnnie. The small mite, having suffered on several occasions, had acquired a certain amount of animal cunning. He was often seen on a Saturday night, waiting for the paper boy. He would shout "Hi lad! How did Liverpool get on?" If the answer was not in Liverpool's favour, Johnnie would wander away, aimlessly, to "Paddy's Market". In his untidy condition he would attract the attention and sympathy of the stall-holders and they would offer him a few coppers. Poor Johnnie had found his sanctuary. When he grew older, he became bold, often truanting from school, only to retreat to his sanctuary, "Paddy's Market".

He was spotted by a policeman one day; Johnnie was off like a gazelle. Fleet of foot, he ran the gauntlet on several occasions and as time went on he became bolder accepting the challenge of law and order, he became a lawbreaker by petty stealing. The consequences of his folly soon caught up with him. He was brought before the Juvenile Court.

His mother, because of her infirmity, was not called. His father, who had been the cause of it all, had the audacity to stand up in Court and state that Johnnie was beyond parental control. The good lady who sat in judgement had no other alternative but to send Johnnie to an approved school.

He showed no expression of emotion, nonchalantly he turned away and followed the housemaster, who had been sent to the Court to

collect such cases. Surprisingly, Johnnie responded well to treatment; discipline, rules and regulations he accepted as part of his training. He matured into a healthy, jovial and pleasant youth. The training was indeed successful.

During his stay at the approved school, Johnnie's father died. Again no emotion was shown by Johnnie, indeed a feeling of relief flashed in those alert eyes of his. He had a peculiar love and loyalty for his blind mother. His one concern was for her safety and security. Whilst he was away the authorities promised him they would do everything in their power to look after his mother, but their efforts were marred by her refusal to leave her four-roomed decrepit house; this was solved by a married relative, who had no children, moving in with her. During the day they would attend to her every need, but during the night she would wander around, looking for her lost son. Reluctantly they locked her in her bedroom by fixing a padlock on the outside of her door.

When Johnnie was considered suitable of discharge from approved school, he had to find alternative accommodation and it was a mistake to allow him to return to the south end of the city. His cosmopolitan friends who frequented wine lodges in the city welcomed him back. Poor Johnnie was a weak character and he soon acquired the taste of cheap wine. He became an alcoholic and it was in this state he would visit his mother. Seeing the padlock on the door would infuriate him; he would shout "What are they doing to you Mam?" He would then start to break the lock on the door. The police were sent for and Johnnie found himself is custody again. A small fine sufficed to appease law and order. Johnnie X had no means of raising the money, so off to prison he must go to pay his debt to society. Indeed society should have paid Johnnie a debt they owed him. He did not ask to be conceived by a blind mother and a drunken football fanatic for a father. But, so be it, Johnnie X's destiny was taking shape.

The pattern of his life, as the years rolled by, consisted of a job here, a job there, in prison, out of prison. He never complained, just a shrug of the shoulders, no emotion on the jolly face, surely a mask covering his innermost feelings. He never forgot his Mam, as he so affectionately called her. He would visit her, on his release from prison, but he could offer her nothing, only the assurance that her son was still around. The poor miserable soul only heard her son at his worst, the tender tone of his alcoholic voice was indeed the reassurance when he shouted: "Are you there Mam?" through the keyhole of her locked bedroom door, "What are they doing to you Mam?".

Johnnie X was unlike the usual alcoholics who enter prison. Johnnie was clean and tidy, and became a first-class cleaner. So much so, on his frequent visits to prison he

became in great demand by every wing P.O.

The story of Johnnie's life continued, in prison, out of prison, visiting his mother in his alcoholic state, only to be brought in front of the magistrates again and again. Then I, a prison officer, decided to take a hand. I advised him what to do about his mother and sent him after a job. Six months went by, I began to congratulate myself on being successful where others had failed. I came on duty one morning and there he was all smiles. "Hello Mr. Gibbo", he said. "Tell me all about it John", I said to him. "Well Mr. Gibbo, I got the job you sent me after, they gave me a flat for me and my Mam, but Mr. Gibbo, my Mam died. I lost her. I was all at sea and lost control of myself and finished up in the nick again Mr. Gibbo. I got 11 days for the usual". Johnnie had forgotten to tell me he was on a further charge of cashing his mother's pension after she had passed on. But I knew this was not out of disrespect for his mother, but revenge against authority. He was given another six months' imprisonment.

Poor Johnnie, his destiny was reaching its "finale". He went out of prison a short while ago, he didn't know where he was going but, next morning, he was found in the corner of "Paddy's Market" quite dead. Johnnie had paid his debt to society in full. Indeed, I wonder and think, should not society bow its head in shame for the useless life of Johnnie X.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Living with the Job

F. B. O'FRIEL

ONE OF THE MORE unusual aspects of the conditions of employment in the English Prison Service is the provision of free housing for the main departmental grades of staff. Such provision can be traced back beyond the great era of nineteenth century prison building. The case for providing staff housing at that time must have been overwhelming. If the staff lived in prison houses, these could be built next to the prison thereby ensuring that staff were readily available in emergencies. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, employers often provided employees with tied houses. Attached to the banks were bank houses for the manager; the station master's house was part of the station; the agricultural labourer lived in a tied cottage and the number and proportion of agricultural labourers was far greater 100 years ago. The turn of the century saw the building of some of the most famous estates of tied houses by benevolent employers; the Bourneville Estate and the Port Sunlight Estate are the best examples of these.

Yet today tied housing is very much the exception. The twentieth century has seen a phenomenal growth of owner-occupied housing and the development of suburbia. Improvements in public and private transport have given the individual far greater choice over where he lives. Indeed, there now appear to be three areas within which an individual moves; his work; his home; and his social and recreational circle. These areas have, in the past had a substantial overlap, if indeed they were not entirely identified. The second half of the twentieth century provides many people with the opportunity to keep these three areas almost entirely apart if they desire to do so.

The English Prison Service appears to have been almost totally uninfluenced by these changes in the general pattern of housing. Attached to new Prison Service establishments are estates of new staff housing. The houses probably no longer back onto the perimeter wall or wire although there are examples of houses facing directly towards the establishment. Indeed

there is one new security prison where large numbers of inmate cells look directly into senior staff housing. The houses are modern and, in part, well designed but the size and type of house a person occupies is partly determined by his position and rank in the Prison Service. The concept of the hierarchical quarters estate adjacent to the prison remains essentially in its nineteenth century form.

Being a nineteenth century concept does not, of course, invalidate the continuation of quarters estates. It merely implies that either the nineteenth century concept is a good one or that it has never been re-examined. The 1969 White Paper "People in Prison" (Cmnd 4214) is significantly brief on the topic. It simply reports the present state of quarters and plans to build a large number of new ones. The eleventh report from the Estimates Committee, 1966–7, on "Prisons, Borstals and Detention Centres" is the most detailed and authoritative publication on the state of the Prison Service in recent years. On quarters the report states: Your committee were disturbed to learn that "more discontent is generated around the provision of quarters in the Prison Service than almost anything else" (paragraph 64).

In the minutes of evidence in the same report, H. J. Klare, C.B.E., Secretary of the Howard League, develops the problem: "Basically it is much better for staff not to be housed adjoining the prison if it is at all avoidable . . . prison officers' wives and policemen's wives are people who tend to be housed separately and specially and they feel a bit apart from other people. . . . An effort has to be made to integrate them . . . so that these people can merge in with other people and be people first and secondly prison officers" (paragraph 2028).

It would be helpful at this point to examine how far, if at all, quarters estates present a different pattern of living from the pattern of the rest of the community. Broadly speaking there appears to be two quite different types of quarters estate. The first type is that associated with the nineteenth century local prison. The original quarters are usually close to the wall but with the general expansion of staff over the century of the prison's existence, it has been necessary to purchase more quarters in many different parts of the locality. This scattering of quarters together with living in a built-up area next to a large number of non-Prison Service people has prevented many of the problems of estate living from developing in these old urban establishments. On the other hand, at certain urban establishments, where some quarters are situated in a decayed area near the prison, a problem has arisen. Some evidence of this problem can be found in the study of Pentonville by Dr. and Mrs. Morris: indeed this book presents the only evidence from trained sociologists of strain in prison staff families, which may be associated with living in quarters.

The second type of quarters estate is rarely found in nineteenth

century establishments with the notable exception of Dartmoor. The pattern of the second type of estate is an isolated establishment with a group of quarters attached. A substantial majority of establishments opened this century follow the Dartmoor pattern although only a few are so dramatically and obviously isolated.

The characteristics of these estates are primarily their size and position. Only a few exceed 100 houses and the size of the community means that everybody knows a great deal about everybody else. The impossibility of being unknown is part of the pressure of estate living which provides a marked contrast to living elsewhere in the community.

Siting quarters next to penal establishments has a number of consequences. Most staff housing estates are in sight of the establishment so that staff both on and off duty are constantly presented with the view of their workplace. The present system of employing inmates on a variety of work around the estate means that off duty staff are not necessarily away from the centre of their work. Moreover, because of the nature of penal establishments, staff are constantly moving on and off duty even at week-ends and bank holidays, presenting a constant reminder of the establishment. These aspects of estate living mark it off from suburban living as a whole. Staff who have lived in both types of housing situation constantly comment on the difference. On a quarters estate staff never really forget their job; living away in a "normal" community they can go home at the end of a week and literally forget work until Monday morning.

Wives and children too are affected by living on a quarters estate. Most isolated quarters estates produce a paradoxical travelling pattern. The usual pattern of travelling is for the husband to travel some way to work whereas the wife and children are relatively near to shops, schools and other amenities. On an isolated quarters estate the situation is reversed. The wife and children have a substantial distance to travel to shops and schools whilst the husband is within easy walking distance of work. Furthermore, because of the employment of inmates around the quarters area, wives and children are exposed to a criminal element, albeit a carefully selected one.

Other small communities, such as small villages are not similar to prison estates. Because Prison Service estates are occupied by serving prison staff, a certain age pattern is imposed on the community. Very few prison staff are under 25 or over 55. Very few small communities other than Prison Service estates have such an accurate knowledge of their neighbour's income or be so closely tied in terms of duty. If one member of staff goes sick, his next-door neighbour may be called in to take his place. This may produce hostility and feeling between the two families.

Similarly if a member of staff performs his duty badly at work, this reflects onto the quarters estates. The two circles, work and home, almost totally overlap and the institution continuously dominates the life of the quarters estate.

It is still possible for an individual to choose his social and recreational circle away from the quarters estate. However, the provision of social clubs and staff recreational rooms present the individual with an opportunity to close the three circles almost completely and it can take a distinct effort to go out and make other social and recreational contacts away from the estate. Moreover, the peculiar and irregular hours of prison staff, including evening and week-end working, presents difficulties in attending to outside social and recreational commitments with any real regularity.

Finally, it is worth noting that Prison Service quarters estates keep prison staff segregated from the general public. Whilst this may have effects on the prison staff, it also has an effect on the public. Attempts by the Prison Department and by prison staff associations to change the staff image in the eyes of the public must be considerably hindered by the geographical isolation of quarters estates and the consequent lack of contact that the general public has with Prison Service staff and their families in their private lives.

Recent articles in the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL about European penal services show that quarters estates are not found in all penal services. In the United States the trend is away from housing staff on the site whilst in California in recent years no staff housing has been built. Thus there is some evidence of the more progressive penal services moving away from the nineteenth century quarters estate concept.

Any attempt to look to the future suggests that the problems of living in isolated estates in this country may become substantially worse in the next 10 years. Throughout the '60s we have witnessed the extension of five-day-week working to more and more prison staff. It seems likely that this will be extended to all staff early in the '70s and that the continuing recruitment drive will go some way to reducing overtime. Existing trends suggest that the four-day-week may well be a reality for some workers before the end of the '70s and this trend must inevitably influence the Prison Service. Once more time off becomes an established reality for Prison Service staffs, the problems of living on isolated quarters estates become much more acute.

It is clear, therefore, that there are very marked differences between a Prison Service quarters estate and the way most people in comparable income brackets live. In turn, the question must be asked: what effect does this unusual pattern of living have on Prison Service staff and their families?

At present the answer to this question is unknown and no research is being undertaken into it.

Nevertheless, an increasing number of professional people in the Service are expressing concern about the effects that quarters estates may be producing.

However, because no investigation into quarters estates has been undertaken, it is impossible to say with complete certainty what the incidence of social damage may be. Yet concern remains and as Prison Service estates present an unusual pattern of living, there would seem to be an urgent need for sociological research by trained observers into quarters estates.

A primary object of research would be to try and find out what effect existing quarters estates have, if any, on the efficiency of prison staff. A facet of this is the problem of social distance. What effect has the hierarchical pattern of the Prison Service quarters estate on basic grade staffs' attitude to inmates? A recent paper by Marcus in the *British Journal of Criminology* suggests that these social distances are inter-related. This could be tested as part of the research into Prison Service estates. Following that, the effect of estate living on the welfare of staff and families could be tackled.

An interesting line of enquiry would be whether the size of estates has any bearing on the effects of living on quarters estates. Similarly, research might indicate methods of alleviating and lifting stress. Research may indicate that larger estates and estates that are, as far as possible, integrated with local communities present fewer problems than small isolated ones. Such a conclusion would have two useful consequences; that existing estates should be built up wherever possible and secondly that where future new estates are being planned very serious attempts should be made to integrate staff with the local community.

It would be valuable to have detailed recommendations for the guidance of architects responsible for designing new quarters estates. Work has been done, and experiments conducted, at places like the Bishopfield Estate at Harlow New Town in providing estates where there is a maximum of privacy. There is evidence that privacy is highly regarded by people who live on Prison Service estates. Yet all new Prison Service estates, in the last decade, have been laid out in open plan fashion. This may be fashionable with modern architects for suburban estates, but it is very questionable whether open plan is an aid to living in a close knit quarters estate. The privacy of enclosed front gardens would certainly be preferred by a majority of senior staff in the Prison Service.

The original concept of the hierarchical Prison Service quarters estate next to the prison arose from a nineteenth century pattern of tied housing and upon the need to have staff readily available. However, the twentieth century has produced the motor-car and the telephone and this combination may have undermined the old quarters estate concept except perhaps for a small

number of maximum security establishments. There is a need to consider both the efficiency of staff and the welfare of themselves and their families. Research will either allay existing fears or identify problems which should be both recognised and overcome.

The Director-General of the Prison Service, in a newspaper article last summer, expressed the hope that the next decade might well prove to be a period of prison building comparable with the great era in the second half of the nineteenth century. If there is one lesson to be learnt from the nineteenth century prisons, it is that they endure. Before the very substantial resources about to be committed to new establishments are irrevocably committed, it would be prudent to ask for information and research to be undertaken and be made available to the designers of new estates so that they will be suitable for a century of use. These new housing estates built in the '70s are likely to stand for 100 years and the pattern of living they impose will have tremendous effect on generations of prison staff.

OUR REVIEWERS . . .

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Reviews . . .

The Hanging Question

Edited by LOUIS BLOM-COOPER. Duckworth and Company. 30s. (Paper back 15s.)

Murder 1957-68

H.M.S.O. 12s.

IN 1969, man first walked on the moon and Britain abolished the death penalty for murder: it is still possible to be hanged for treason, piracy or setting fire to naval dockyards. Although prophecy is a hazardous profession it is virtually certain that this Act of abolition is final, for it will be intolerable for us to follow the example of New Zealand not so long ago, making the gallows the sport of the vagaries of the ballot box.

It is over 40 years since I gave, for the first time, a present of a book to the woman who, despite the book's title, subsequently became my wife. The book was called *A Handbook on Hanging*, and was in fact a brilliantly satirical attack on capital punishment, ending with the table of drops—"Take the Weight of the Client in Stones . . . !" I wonder how many modern young men will have given their young women *The Hanging Question*, produced at the instance of the Howard League and edited by Louis Blom-Cooper, himself a member of the Home Secretary's Advisory Council on the Penal System and published just as the atmosphere was warming up for the final debates in both Houses of Parliament. The book is a symposium by 18 writers, ranging from Margaret Drabble, the novelist and Barbara Wootton to Sir Charles Cunningham, lately Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Home Office and the Prison Service's own Doctor W. F. Roper, for many years the distinguished principal medical officer at Wakefield. The series is opened by Kenneth Younger, the chairman of both the Home Secretary's Advisory Council and of the Howard League, and closed by a letter in place of essay from Dr. Stafford Clark. Dr. Clark, as the Press would have us believe is the present Bishop of Ripon, is attracted to the island solution, despite the miserable history of all previous insular ventures; moreover,

somewhat paradoxically he has given the power to shoot to the guardians on the island if necessary. American experience has not taught him that where guns exist the probability is very high that at some time they will come into the possession of those who ought not to have them. Leaving aside Dr. Stafford Clark, only Philip Hope Wallace, the dramatic critic, is doubtful and Sir Charles Cunningham attempts to keep up a brave Civil Service neutrality. The remainder are all clearly against capital punishment. At about the same time as this symposium was published, the Home Office Research Unit brought out "*Murder* 1957–68", a piece of research done by Evelyn Gibson and S. Klein. The authors bring together the statistical experience gained since the passage of the Homicide Act 1957, which introduced the distinction between capital and non-capital murder, and the Murder (Abolition of the Death Penalty) Act 1965. Here, for what they are worth, are careful analyses of a most complicated set of figures. Just how much are they worth? The burden of these essays over and over again is the same. The figures are irrelevant. Barbara Wootton begins her essay by saying: "Fundamentally my personal objection to capital punishment is moral"; and the same thought in varying words occurs over and over again. And when we remember that, for example, in the U.S.A. the five states with the highest murder rate are states with capital punishment and the five states with the lowest murder rate are all abolitionists, the irrelevance of the figures stands out. The Gibson and Klein document does not substantially modify the judgment of the Royal Commission presided over by Sir Ernest Gowers, where they drew attention to the fact that the figures for murder were random; variations occurred irrespective of the particular penalty in force at the time.

At the head of the book list in *The Hanging Question* appears the late E. R. Calvert's *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century.* Let this generation not forget that Roy Calvert threw up a safe job in the Civil Service in 1925 in order to found the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty; he was the first to marshal the experience of other countries and it was largely his work that led to the setting up of the abortive Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1929. It is doubtful whether the result achieved just before Christmas would have been possible without that pioneer work of over 40 years ago. Let Canon Carpenter, the Archdeacon of Westminster, have the last word from his essay: "For myself, I have come painfully to the conclusion that every judicial execution has the effect of subtly suggesting to millions of people (and more powerfully than if it were said in words): 'The Christian faith is not true' ".

R.D.F.

People in Prison: England and Wales

H.M.S.O., 1969. Cmnd. 4214. 12s. 6d.

A CYNIC is reported to have said that an important item in the Home Office budget is the provision of rose-coloured spectacles for the Prison Department. If so, an economy campaign must have been in progress when this pamphlet was written: for it presents an unusually candid picture of our prisons, their inmates and the staffs employed in them. Only once or twice have the authors allowed the harsh realities of the present to become confused with idealistic dreams for the future—as when we are told that "all new prisons are being designed to avoid the need for 'slopping out'"; but I myself have a vivid recollection from a personal visit that this practice has not been wholly eliminated even at so modern an institution as Blundeston. Again, while it may be true that "greater security can be obtained without serious detriment to the treatment of prisoners", is it not a fact that prisoners have suffered considerable deprivations as the result of the recent emphasis on security?

For the most part, however, the tone is set by recognition that the Prison Service "like any other, has its share of hallowed customs and procedures that have outlived their usefulness". No attempt is made to defend the deplorable conditions in overcrowded local prisons, in which even to-day a man may serve the whole of a four-year sentence. If many a prisoner's eyebrows will be raised at the generalisation that "the relationships in the daily contacts between members of the Prison Service and offenders in custody are generally good", this is virtually contradicted two pages later by the statement that "many offenders see members of the staff of the prison or borstal as part of a hostile community". Even the efficacy of improved staff-prisoner relationships in reducing criminality is cautiously assessed as "unproven", though this development is justly credited with having lowered tension and reduced the frequency of violent outbursts by prisoners.

Most candid of all is the reminder that the majority of convicted offenders in prisons or borstals have been there before, and that "fairly crude measures of an offender's past criminal history have a closer statistical association with his future criminality than either the decision of the Court or what happens to him in custody". Research, moreover, has indicated that "reconviction rates would not be reduced if a larger proportion of offenders were committed to custody, or if

those imprisoned were given longer sentences"; and just to clinch the matter we are presented with the depressing figures of reconvictions. Slightly more than half the men who have served sentences of over 18 months for an indictable offence are reconvicted within two years of release, whilst, on average, between 55 per cent and 60 per cent of young offenders released from senior detention centres are reconvicted within three years. So also are as many as 70 per cent of those released from borstal, while for those who have had previous experience of juvenile institutions the figures rise to the alarming total of 80 per cent to 85 per cent.

What, then, is the use of imprisonment except as a means of keeping potential offenders out of harm's way for the duration of their sentences? Why, indeed, have prisons at all? In a rather wistful paragraph the authors of this White Paper (which, perhaps appropriately, has heavy black type and a brown-coloured illustration on its cover) attempt to answer this question. "No large modern state", they say, "has found it possible to dispense with some form of imprisonment . . . there is no immediate prospect of the prison system withering away, . . . These are unpalatable facts, but they will not be altered by wishing they were otherwise". Perhaps some day . . . ?

In the meantime, therefore, the Prison Service must set to work to cope, as best it can, with the miscellaneous population wished upon it by the Courts—which at the time that this pamphlet was written (in 1968) had reached a total of about 35,000, and has since risen to an all-time high of 37,000. Moreover, in addition to the relentless increase in numbers, the composition of this population has also undergone changes in recent years, some of which do not make the Service's task easier. The number of very long sentence prisoners, for example, though small, shows a substantial increase. In 1958 there were 139 prisoners serving life sentences and two others were sentenced to fixed terms of more than 14 years; five years later the corresponding figures were 329 and six; and by the end of 1968, 598 and nine. To devise a regime for these men which must both be consistent with maximum security and not make the prison rule that imprisonment should "encourage and assist the prisoner to lead a good and useful life" look like a cynical joke —this is indeed a herculean task: and the difficulty of that task is likely to be still further aggravated as a result of the abolition of capital punishment, since the more dangerous murderers are likely to be detained, if not literally for life, at least for much longer periods than was the average lifer of a few years earlier.

At the other end of the scale, very short sentences have been generally frowned upon, and their number is diminishing—except for a somewhat formidable total of suspended sentences, of which an unknown proportion may eventu-

ally have to be served. The number of first offenders in prison has also been reduced by the Act of 1958 which prohibits a Magistrates' Court from sending a first offender to prison unless satisfied that no satisfactory alternative is available, and which requires explicit reasons to be given in every case in which this is done. Imprisonment, for a first offence, however, seems to be one of the rare instances in which the penal system has a tolerable record of success; over 90 per cent of offenders imprisoned for a first offence are not reconvicted within two years. Is there a paradox here?

One of the more striking changes of recent years is the fact that the number of staff employed in the Prison Service has increased very much faster than the number of prisoners. This in itself has facilitated the establishment of a more civilised regime. Even if the "basic artificiality of the prisoner's life", with its "drab uniformity" still survives, the Victorian rule of silence has "disappeared in the noise of radios in workshops, and people in custody may now talk freely to each other". Moreover, in a few prisons the inmates can now do a reasonably full day's work in conditions comparable with those of ordinary industrial employment; and it is indeed to the credit of the White Paper's authors that those developments are recorded without indulgence in the Victorian cant about "inculcating habits of industry" to which penal reformers have too often been susceptible. The provision of up-to-date industrial establishments in prisons is more than adequately justified on the grounds that it provides sensible daily occupation, assimilates the routine of the prisoner's life to that of the ordinary citizen and enables him to earn a reasonable amount of money.

Few readers will, I think, be saddened by this pamphlet. What its authors call "the sombre background" is too widely known. But equally one may anticipate that there will be few who would not be the wiser for a study of its contents.

BARBARA WOOTTON

An Unfamiliar Story–A Decrease of Prison Population

ALFRED HEIJDER. *International Journal of Offender Therapy*, vol. 13, No.3, p. 190.

HOLLAND HAS HAD, for many years, a remarkably low prison population —a day rate of 3,500 for a country with 12 millions. Recently, though the crime index has remained constant, the prison population

has decreased to 2,700 per day, mainly because the Courts are giving shorter sentences. The decrease of prison manpower has led to problems within the prisons, for it is now harder to organise prison labour effectively. Leeuwarden, one of the oldest prisons, built in 1870 for professional and habitual criminals, has been closed, and the remaining inmates and its staff have been transferred to other institutions.

R.S.T.

Forensic Psychiatry in Britain: Its Potentials

DAVID G. A. WESTBURY, M.B., D.P.M. *International Journal of Offender Therapy*, vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 165–75

DR. WESTBURY, the writer, is a consultant forensic psychiatrist and a former prison medical officer and therefore writes with experience of psychiatry within the prison regime and in the National Health Service.

A great deal of the article is devoted to the problems of general psychiatry and Dr. Westbury discusses some of the reasons, both historical and legal, why these problems exist and how they relate to the forensic field.

He looks, in fair detail, at the problems related to the study of offenders and produces some rather alarming figures for support of the thesis that criminals, other than professional criminals, are not so normal as is generally believed. He suggests that the personality disorders from which these offenders suffer are insufficiently taken into account by the Courts, and that the social, legal and psychiatric facilities for their investigation and treatment are sadly lacking.

Dr. Westbury suggests some possible solutions to the problems outlined; these solutions are related to lack of funds and the lack of scope given to the consultants in forensic psychiatry to organise their own departments. He suggests that the research material within the prison establishment should be used to a greater degree; that regional centres for forensic psychiatry under the control of the Ministry of Health should be brought into being; that regional hospitals for patients who do not fit into our existing mental hospital system should be built and that forensic psychiatrists should develop more rational systems of treatment geared to the study of the individual offender and how he reacts to difficult situations.

Though much of what the writer says is valid, he reiterates problems which have been stated many times in the past. The appointment of consultant forensic psychiatrists was supposed to be the first step towards a solution of these problems.

D.A.K.

The Frying Pan– A Prison and its Prisoners

TONY PARKER. Hutchinson, 45s.

I MUST FIRST confess to prejudice in this review. I am glad to have been associated with Grendon, though frustrated by the faults within it. I also feel emotionally identified with Dr. Gray, the medical superintendent.

The book is, as the author says, about the prisoners of Grendon, both staff and patients. It is not about the prison itself, except in so far as the interviews give reflections. For it is made up of a series of verbatim interviews with very little commentary by Tony Parker. If his aim was to write a book as a method of making money he may be acclaimed a success. It is entertaining and emotional, humorous yet sad, self pitying yet aggressive.

If he is trying to educate the public, is his method legitimate? I think not. The interviews—both with staff and patients—are the self-produced emotional masks of the prisoners, and are not truths within themselves—merely presentations. They are also, I feel, a part reflection of the interviewer; a feedback of his emotional attitude to his subjects. To this extent the book is misleading. Secondly, the book does nothing to deal with the difficulties of managing a prison like Grendon (is not the manager a prisoner?); of the leadership it needs to keep the defences against anxiety of the staff down to a minimum. This lack may, or may not, be the fault of the author, but it has an unbalancing effect on the book. As a last point of criticism I would comment that the book makes the assumption—as do many supporters of Grendon—that it is the prison of the future. For some it must surely be the answer, but for others other different regimes may be more effective. Regimes that may be the same in basic attitude, but with very different methods of operation.

Grendon has many imperfections. Some proportion of these are, I believe, due to the lack of understanding towards it exhibited by the remainder of the Service. It is very little visited by our members, yet many people from other allied professional groups go there, often from overseas. I allege that the prison medical service is one of the worst offenders by their lack of perception and interest in this, their leading establishment. The methods of Grendon are not, I believe, of first importance, but its attitudes, its humanity and its belief in the individual are of incomparable

importance. The Service, as a whole, seems frightened of Grendon, and the implications behind it. It appears to deal with it as any group deals with an out group, by imposed isolation and denigration. In the light of the philosophy of Grendon (not, entirely, the practice) it is extraordinary that the large, young persons institutions, particularly, are conducted in the way that they are. The methods are based on ignorance and prejudice and yet get sheltered, in contradiction, by humane and interested men.

If Tony Parker makes us think of our conservatism in the ways that we treat our staff and trainees his book will have been worthwhile. At least he has the courage of his convictions. Which life prison these put him in is something he can probably answer as adequately, or inadequately, as the frying pan is adequate, or inadequate, to describe Grendon, a prison and its prisoners.

J.McC.

Definition of Organisational Goals

British Journal of Sociology, September 1969

IN THIS ARTICLE, Edward Gross, Professor of Sociology in the University of Washington, Seattle, poses a familiar management problem: that of the "bureaucratic personality"—the person who gets so caught up in his work and so preoccupied with his particular activity that he forgets what his organisation exists for and, as a result, tries to turn a means into an end. Gross's contribution is to attempt a redefinition of the term "organisational goal" which allows for a happier professional relationship between "line" and "staff" roles, and which caters for the integration of the specialist without asking him to abandon his independence.

For Gross, much of the problem centres on the traditional definition of the organisation as a social system conceived for the attainment of a goal or goals, in which the activities of specialist departments "are to be conceived of essentially as half-way stations on the road to the overall organisational goals". For management, the only activity of concern is "output activity". Gross suggests that this approach is unsatisfactory on at least two grounds: it fails adequately to define the term "organisational goal"; and it ignores completely the question of motivation in its ready assumption that all individual and corporate activity within the organisation is geared towards the achievement of the goal.

Gross substitutes a goal structure which includes two kinds of goals: "output goals" and "support goals", each of which are of potentially equal value and status to the organisation as a whole. Taking up the work of Beales and Talcott Parsons, Gross emphasises that the amount of time and energy that an organisation actually spends on "output activity" is fairly limited. Considerable resources have to be allocated to "maintenance" and "support" activities to repair "social damage", to sustain the organisation as a social system and to maintain relationships with the "outside world". The attainment of these "support" goals must go hand in hand with all "output" activity, and must be given similar priority. Moreover, he suggests that the cultivation of a certain narrow professionalism is not only inevitable but essential. "The ability of the organisation to move to attain its output goals is completely dependent on those who spend their time in undeviating concentration on the non-output goals". Management's task, therefore, becomes less one of helping specialists to relate their contribution to the overall task of the organisation than of carrying out a rigorous analysis of the organisation's goal structure (and Gross gives us an example—for a university) and then of maintaining the correct balance between output and support activity.

A. de F.

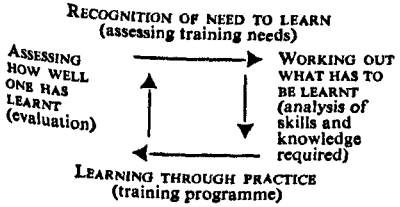
Training–The Condition of Change–Management Today

EDWIN SINGER. "Annual Review of Management Techniques 1970"

THREE ARTICLES published in the last year have interest for all who are wondering about the development of management training. It is difficult to treat them in an order of priority and there is no really logical development in how we examine them because they are complementary.

In "Training: The Condition of Change" it is confirmed that people need to adapt when change occurs. This change includes the introduction of new machinery and it suggested that work needs to be reorganised and staff need special training. Change being the rule rather than the exception we must avoid the costly process of learning by making mistakes. Singer suggests that learning to adapt is less expensive if it is organised and systematic. An interesting diagram in the text shows the learning cycle and prompts the enquiring to ask how often do we in our Prison

Service training—(i) recognise the need to learn (assessing training needs); (ii) work out what has to be learnt; (iii) learn through *practice* (my italics!); and (iv) assess how well one has learnt (the feedback to (i) completing the cycle . . .).



How often also do we provide a policy framework for learning—that creates a supportive environment—and also the necessary specialist training.

The absence of an effective training policy so often stifles all attempts to get training off the ground—the argument between what is desirable and what is possible is so rarely brought into the open, kicked around, and given a good airing. Perhaps we hope the "shortfall" in training may just not be noticed. Singer recommends an extensively circulated training policy. He has scant regard for well-meant platitudinous scraps of paper, and feels that training to be adequate has to be well defined. The definition of training terms and their implications has to be spelled out, so that a common language is recognised. The training policy has to be made known and understood by everyone involved.

The economics of training are examined in some depth, for this article is written for managers in industry with their eye always towards profitability. But we also have Treasury restraints and it is relevant to ask what improvement of performance on the job results from expense in training—what effect does training have on labour turnover, what effect does training have on producing crisis of another kind, human and personal crisis among staff or prisoners, (my own analogy of the rectification element in a factory context) and what effect does absence at a training course have upon the normal functioning of the establishment. There seems to be a crying need to convince middle management that training has something to offer them, personally—perhaps industry also have this problem. Those in the middle are neither new and enthusiastic nor too far advanced to care, but are experienced and cautious enough to ask "How will this apply to me? —and how much will it change me for better or worse"? Singer advocates training committees—and believes that production management (the industrial equivalent of our disciplinary grades) should be strongly represented.

At the end of his article Singer makes suggestions about starting a training programme. In establishing a syllabus we need to isolate the skills and knowledge required to operate at an experienced worker standard. Perhaps this again highlights the need to be positive about the "must know", "may know", areas of learning.

We need to agree about the pre-training state by establishing refer-

ence data and answer accurately the question: "Where are we . . . at the moment"? in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes. Those who are going to be involved in training need to be involved in writing the training programme whenever possible. Skills analysis is essential to identify accurately the component parts of a job. Establishing a standard method is so essential to ensure that the "best method" is adopted. In preparing a training manual, how often do we sit down and declare how the skills and knowledge of a subject are to be put over by the trainers? By lecture, seminar, practical session, reading, etc. Singer cautions us to note that the quality of the instructor is complementary to the quality of the analysis, and both are vital.

Finally in this article on training for the condition of change, Singer points out the need for a training organisation to have a training audit every two or three years. There is a need to compare ourselves with other "companies". How well do we perform in training in the Prison Service compared with industry, other social services and educational establishments? How well to we perform against other penal establishments throughout the world? Or do we still believe, despite all the evidence to the contrary, in the uniqueness of our profession—that it can be self sufficient and self generating in this matter of training and development.

Changing Concepts of Management Practice

J. H. RUNYON. *O and M Bulletin*, Nov. 1969. No. 4

THE SECOND ARTICLE is really providing some of the answers to that basic question: "Say from whence you owe this strange intelligence?" It develops the main springs of management thinking in a picturesque and logical way and perhaps shows quite alarmingly that in many respects we still are in the stone age in our development of human resources. The ideas of F. W. Taylor labelled "Scientific Management", especially the notion of buying a man's time with scant regard for other needs he may bring to the job, are so near us that they hardly require elaboration. Drucker, that fiery forerunner of management by objectives, in 1954 declared the death knoll of the omniscient chief executive and suggested the introduction of the executive team. We are beginning to see this in action at Coldingley and. . . . We do not yet seem to have solved the problem of the extended chain of command and have recently lengthened that chain by the introduction of the

senior officer, a rank looking for a role. In the resolution of the problem of line and staff, and the relationship of the specialists to the line we have only begun to examine the problems—and the whole area of collateral relationships the "Joe and Fred and Bill relationships" have not yet been tackled by management theorists—though there is a sneaking regard for their organisational impact. There seems to be a current awareness of the dangers inherent in cliques and power blocks in an organisation but not very practical ideas of how to stop them forming, or what to do with them when they are there!

The disappointing part of this article is the scant way that the whole area of the human resource is dealt with. Perhaps in a measure this demonstrates how closely much management thinking is allied to Taylorism despite the earnest entreaties of Douglas MacGregor in the "Human Side of Enterprise" that we examine fully the implications of theory "Y".

Management by system and the advent of computers has begun by analysing paperwork in offices, and moved out to cover the whole scope of our organisation. Perhaps one may be permitted to ask with what regard to the human side of enterprise? The plethora of research and advisory groups of all kinds being grafted on to the tree must surely affect the nature of the organisation. Drucker was well aware of this in 1954 and we have been cautioned yet again about this disruptive process.

Management by objectives is given a warm appraisal by Mr. Runyon and the suggestion is made that the American Management Association endorses the way M.B.O. has caught on. But we feel some caution at Wakefield about the implementations of management by objectives in "X-ish" organisations, and await some accurate assessment of the long lasting practical value of this new management tool. Corporate planning—the incorporation of long and short range planning, and the integration of individuals into company goals is given some mention.

The chapter on "Management of Tomorrow" makes the following useful points and perhaps might serve as a check list for reviewing our own organisations:

(1) The entire business is to be seen as a unified whole.
(2) Specialists are interdependent and must be motivated towards the common goal.
(3) Participative management operates in a spirit of mutual trust.
(4) An integrated executive team —not a one man chief executive is to be the prevalent pattern of top leadership.
(5) A separate group is needed to examine the total planning function.
(6) Decision-making is the *raison d'etre* of management.
(7) The organisation needs to be directed as a total system.
(8) There has emerged a total business intelligence system; this is allied to the develop-

ment of the computer . . . , it is yet to be felt in the Prison Service.

It would seem to be clear that management by drives, a constant shift of emphasis to the latest crises, is soon going to be recognised as an haphazard, fire-fighting botch up. Perhaps instead we may create the encouraging environment, organisational goals that give clarity of purpose, a job that has been designed to tell us how to do it, and a spirit in the organisation that will make us want to be involved in modern management.

Management Therapy

C. E. D. WOOSTER. *O. and M. Bulletin*, Nov. 1969, No. 4

THE AUTHOR, a director of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, is pointing the finger at those who say: "You can forget what you learned at so and so . . .", and suggesting that attendance at all courses must be linked to some form of career planning. Many courses are criticised for being too short to promote a sense of fluency and it is interesting that our middle management course for P.O.'s and C.O.'s have a sandwich element to lengthen the learning period. Conventional courses, it is suggested, are not able to meet the needs of an individual because they are not tailored to his situation. Mr. Wooster believes that the best management improvement is that which line managers bring about themselves. Presumably because they are then wholly committed to bringing about change—and not sitting on the side line waiting for consultants to come up with the rabbit out of the hat. Several interesting examples are given in this article about the use of conferring and about the way it kindles interest and fosters change at the right pace, because it relies on those in post understanding their own problems and doing something about them. At the end of the article five cases of "conferring" are given to show how this method of communication can produce very positive action.

P.H.

The review committee of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL welcomes suggestions about books or other "media" which readers have found interesting.

Please write c/o the editor.

Prison Problems and the Mass Media

IN "NEW SOCIETY"

Not only does *New Society* carry recruiting advertisements for the Prison Service: it now carries advertisements for assistant governors in the Scottish Service. It is obviously assumed that the sorts of people coming into the Service do read *New Society*. Perhaps the next step is for copies to be provided for inmates.

The last three months have been a bit strange in *New Society*. There have been only two items of direct relevance:

"Education and Society", Basil Bernstein, 26-2-70.

"Black and White in Prison", Tom Clayton, 26-3-70.

The first of these is one of those "difficult" articles which have to be read several times over and argued about. It follows on from Robinson's article in a previous PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, "The Roles of Language in Learning and Performance", which was tremendously important for anyone working in the borstals. The second article was a piece from the book *Men in Prison*, (Hamilton) which was very well reviewed the following week.

But the strange thing about the last three months has been the affair of Geoffrey Parkinson. He is a London probation officer who wrote *I Give Them Money*, (5-2-70). The article took a bit of a swipe at the use of "deep" casework, saying that it sometimes makes sense for the probation officer to forget the "complex psychoanalytical theories and insights into human behaviour" and just to hand over some money. This way, the client would understand what was going on and there was a chance of maintaining some sort of "coarse, casual contact until perhaps age and an overdose of prison made him more benign".

Well, the next week, people were leaping about in alarm. Parkinson was said to have "(deliberately?) misunderstood and mis-stated so-called principles of case-work", he was "smugly self-satisfied", he was naive, he was possibly implying "that a kind heart and a key to the petty cash tin were the main requirements of a probation officer". A week later, someone said Parkinson was guilty of "petulant inconsistency". All the same, Parkinson had a note in the issue about the

latest report on detention centres. A week later another letter suggested that people hadn't seen the point about the original article—it was meant to be a joke. Parkinson rested the next week but had a review of Sally Trotter's *No Easy Road* in the following issue. There was then a month of silence, capped by Parkinson again—*Unpromoted*, (16-4-70). The next week he was there again, reporting a N.A.C.R.O. conference and two letters followed up his article. One of them wryly noticed that although Parkinson might not have been promoted in his job after 16 years, he'd got on quite well as a part-time journalist.

The whole series of issues gives the outsider some idea of the real conflicts faced in the professional social-work world and, particularly some idea of how social workers react to a ventilation of the problem of the client who isn't too ready to talk about his difficulties. Certainly, the argument of the original article has not been answered and it is an argument which would repay discussion by Prison Service staff.

Radio and Television

The man who taught me to drive never tired of saying that it is the driver's job to drive the car: he shouldn't let the car do the driving. I usually appreciate how right he was when I'm just about to collide with something. I've just realised that the same thing applies to newspapers, television, and radio. I've become accustomed to them using me. I used to think that I used them. What made this obvious was the mucking about that the B.B.C. have done with radio programmes. I had become a slave to them, the way they were. I do know people who set their family up as a committee which goes through the *Radio Times* and *TV Times* to plan what they will listen to or watch.

People like that in the Service will have listened to "Prisoners of the Moor", produced by Brian Skilton and Colin Thomas (25-2-70), Radio 4, an account of Dartmoor "as seen by the prisoners and the officers in charge of them". I missed it. People like that will also have seen "Horizon"—"Let the Therapy Fit the Crime" (16-3-70), B.B.C. 2. I caught that. Produced by Michael Andrews and Brian Gibson, it was a marvellous programme. It packed in a terrific amount of information, it looked to the future, it avoided the glibness which takes over in so many programmes. It was so good that it ought to be bought up for showing on all the closed circuit television equipment that the Service has at its disposal.

But those people who plan their programmes would miss a lot. It is hard to realise that in the last three months the "Capital Punishment" chestnut has come and gone, almost for good. Gone with it was the panel of implausible consultant cons called in by "24-Hours" for an intelligent chat with Ludovic Kennedy. That was the best bit of burlesque since Flanagan and Allen. Since then, we've been having a touch of the

"Law and Orders" and the "Bovver Boys".

To my mind, the chief culprit in dishing out instant opinion is breathless William Hardcastle of whom we get another hour a day on Radio 4. Even Hardcastle, though, couldn't do anything to damage the impeccable answer which the Home Secretary made to the Lord Chief Justice's call for longer terms of imprisonment, especially for murderers. But that item was an exception to the general rule, which was illustrated with luckless Ludovic again, trying to make something out of a chat with an ex-bodyguard of the Prince of Wales about a plan to swap one viscount for a couple of Krays. The item was a non-starter from the word go. The ex-constable somehow lacked the presence of, say, Mandy Rice-Davies.

Just as it is possible to become a slave to radio and television, it is also possible to come to believe that they deal in *real* events. But they do this in a rather cosy way. The other day, I went with a party of people, some of whom were a bit delicate, to see "Women in Love". Apart from the fact that it was a very good film, it wasn't the least bit cosy. I just didn't realise how much films had grown up in the last couple of years. "Women in Love", it seems to me, is a film which would be a great experience for both tender-minded and tough-minded people, and pretty good for people in-between.

Perhaps the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL needs someone to comment on recent films. It probably also needs someone to make a better job of this section. Get a friend to volunteer. M.B.

Letter to the Editor

Two Cheers for Parole

To the Editor,

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Dear Sir,

In your April issue you published an article from me about the working of the parole system, and in comparing the percentages of recommendations by Local Review Committees it said that Spring Hill's figure for 1968 was only 28 as compared with Leyhill's 67. For Spring Hill read Sudbury. I took my figures from what I'd better describe as an "unimpeachable source" which has turned out to be impeachable. Spring Hill's prompt discovery of the error stopped it going into a more official document, and from this a small grain of comfort may be extracted. Apologies all round, nevertheless. The correct figure for Spring Hill is 63.

Yours sincerely,

C. H. ROLPH.

Integration of Different Treatment Methods

Dr. OTTO WILFERT

From a lecture given to a Council of Europe seminar in Vienna, 1966

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK of the growing humanisation and increased social safety of the individual as well as the efforts undertaken to protect the latter's rights, the attitude and opinions of the community towards that group of people who occupy our penal institutions because they have committed crimes must necessarily undergo changes.

No longer do we want to look upon them as hopeless individuals living outside the pale of humanity, condemned to segregation or extermination, and at the utmost, only able to serve as an example of deterrence for the socially adapted member of the community. We are always striving to make the enforcement of sentence meaningful by seeking ways through which the delinquent can be brought back to conforming to the accepted patterns of society.

In the course of such efforts, we soon observed that the traditional systems of prison administration—namely, the correct but rather impersonal treatment of prisoners by the officials, strict surveillance, stimulation to regular work by means of a system of reward and punishment organised as well as possible—did not suffice to crown our efforts with success.

Furthermore, a situation developed which made urgent the introduction of changes in the basic methods of prison administration. The increasing humanisation, occurring in all ways of life and sectors of society in the modern State, reached out and enveloped the Prison Service. Here too, living conditions underwent improvements, amenities increased, and the elements of deterrence were restricted or abolished. Hand in hand with this development which has been taking place for generations, a call was launched to find a substitute to replace the deterrent concept, the established background of which had been considerably weakened. Surprisingly enough, this

occurred at a much later date.

In dealing with the problem of crime control and social readaptation, we should try to avoid exaggerated pessimism and unjustified optimism. Neither refusal tinged by emotion nor overestimation of modern methods of treatment appear pertinent in this context. Nevertheless, the conclusions arrived at after due consideration compel us to look for a substitute to replace the weakened deterrent idea. In all likelihood, this can only be achieved by changing the methods of prison administration.

If we try to introduce new methods and plans into prison administration, then they will mainly consist of reforms of a social-educational and clinical-therapeutic kind. The social-educational method is first mentioned since this field is broader and also capable of creating a suitable basis for special therapeutic treatment.

I shall not consider in detail the various forms of treatment of an educational and psychiatric nature, or of individual and group work. Single basic principles will only be mentioned if they are relevant.

If we want to influence a person by means of training or therapy, we must constantly keep in mind that there are other influences to be considered, that is, those exerted by the milieu, family and various contact groups. In context with treatment, the effort will be made to prevent the milieu from interfering with the treatment—or at least, to neutralise it so that detrimental influences are excluded. If this does not take place to a sufficient degree, and if the contra-indications are too marked, then therapy will not be possible and a change of milieu will be indicated, such as transfer to an institution or clinic of educational or therapeutic orientation.

Considerable time had elapsed before special institutions of this kind were investigated to see if their milieu corresponded to the aims of treatment. Attempts were made to determine if the formal structure of these educational institutions or psychiatric clinics corresponded to the informal structure; also, if the attitude and the value-system of the staff met the aims and expectations of the governor of the institution; and finally, if the group norms and conduct regulations of the inmates or patients could be harmonised with educational or therapeutic goals.

Such investigations[1] showed that very often, contact groups, forms and norms of behaviour developed which in no way met the aims of the institution and sometimes resulted in behaviour and influences which were exactly contrary to the intentions of the institution.

Many more difficulties may arise when modern methods are introduced in prison administration. In the community of criminal prisoners socially jeopardised individuals are thrown together, of whom each one as a rule has his own serious problems to cope with, besides having been forcibly thrust into the environment of a penal insti-

tution and brought into confrontation with the behaviour standards of this institution which in no way meet his personal desires. To a great extent, this means that we must reckon with the building of informal groups with their own relational norms and systems exerting a stong influence on the individual inmates. These groups are also strongly opposed to the pattern of values and behaviour advocated by the directing staff. Under these conditions, when treating an individual case, the therapist would not be acting realistically if he expected the prisoners who form the community of a cell or workshop to help the therapy or at least not to interfere with it.

On the contrary, it is to be feared that if a neurotic prisoner receives individual therapy, the reaction of the inmates will be such as to further the development of new influences which might well intensify the neurosis of the prisoner and render the prognosis uncertain. Besides, it can hardly be expected that prisoners living under crowded conditions will be capable of surmounting, or willing to tolerate, temporary difficulties related to therapy.

Therefore, in carrying out individual therapy, it should be absolutely kept in mind and acted upon accordingly, that the relationship group of inmates exercises decisive influences by virtue of the intense closeness of the milieu in which they live.

It may frequently be necessary during individual therapy to eliminate uncontrollable influences of the relationship group of prisoners —either through stricter segregation or, if necessary, by influencing the contact group itself in the form of intensified group treatment from a social-educational aspect. Since increased segregation during individual treatment brings many problems with it, it is often regarded as an increased punishment and can hardly screen off the "climate" of the relationship group, even if applied thoughtfully. The second possibility is usually favoured, namely, the carrying out of individual and group methods at the same time. In this way, it is possible through group treatment to aim at reducing the tension in the milieu so that a more favourable "climate" for individual treatment will evolve.

The critic will be justified in observing that in this close milieu, cell community or working group, will not remain segregated but will be greatly influenced by the community of all the prisoners. Especially in large institutions, mass reactions as well as relationship groups and informal systems develop, which are difficult to control and do not facilitate the introduction of new methods and concepts throughout the whole system. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that only a certain group at a given time, often representing a minority, offers chances of success in the application of special methods of treatment. At the same time, treatment will change the prisoner's concept of life by offering

him the right to make his own decisions in certain situations and participation in increased social responsibility. Especially in large institutions, there is then danger that differentiation in the methods of treatment will cause essential differences in the way the prisoners live, and thus lead to the formation of sub-groups, and evoke rivalries and strong tension on both sides. On the one hand, this would lead to new and dangerous outbursts of aggression, and on the other hand, result in increased tension in the group under treatment, all of which is contrary to the planned mitigation.

We are thus justified in maintaining that the application of modern methods in large institutions may result essentially in increased difficulties. Consequently, in modern prison administration, the possibilities of differentiation in the methods and treatment of prisoners of a large institution remain restricted. They are considerably better if classification of the institutions can be made and specialised treatment in special, smaller institutions is carried out.

It will be difficult to do justice to the subject "Introduction of New Methods in Prison Administration" without considering the question of what reactions are to be expected from the personnel and officers. This staff is organised, more or less, as a military unit and enjoys its advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are the clear norms of attitude, definite organisation and rank system, which makes it possible to create a reliable system. This means that even persons who do not possess above-average abilities can be incorporated and trained. Through an organisation of this kind, it is certain that definite basic demands of prison administration can be guaranteed to a maximum degree—such as the greatest possible security in respect to dangerous prisoners, precise regulations as to the attitude to be maintained towards prisoners in order to avoid unjustified favouritism or prejudice, avoidance of personal use of force, constant surveillance and control in large institutions, and ability to react quickly on the part of the entire staff.

The disadvantages will become evident when strict standards are lowered and the personnel may be called upon to handle flexibly and adapt itself to a given situation. Then it becomes urgent that the custodial staff rise above the safety of the rigid but clearly defined system, whereby they often have to carry the burden of making individual decisions and in this way are confronted with a situation which is absolutely strange to them, and for which they have not been trained.

Furthermore, the ability to act intelligently and strength of personality are called for here and these qualities are often lacking to some degree.

When new methods are introduced in prison administration, this means that these new, different concepts and forms of attitude, are suddenly confronted with a

traditional, more military system.

In so far as treatment is regarded as a task to be carried out by the specialist and the structure of the penal institution has not been basically changed, the danger of mutual misunderstanding may arise. In this context, the specialist tends to underestimate the function of security and order in favour of the therapeutic or educational aspects, whereas the prison officer considers the expert's viewpoints as being unrealistic and sees them in the light of undermining discipline and order of the institution.

If treatment is carried out from a social-educational aspect, the methods will not seem so specialised and therefore will be more comprehensible for the prison officer. Such a treatment, however, calls for a thorough change in the entire system of the institution and at least as partial reorganisation of the structure of the traditional patriarchal vertical system into horizontal systems. Flexibility, ability of adaptation, and an easing up of discipline will then be necessary, making the uniformed official feel insecure, so that emotional reactions on his part may lead to the development of antagonism, fear and aggression.

If we consider the possible reactions of the staff and convicted prisoners discussed above, then it must be admitted that through the unprepared introduction of new methods, the maintenance of stability in penal institutions may be jeopardised. Disadvantages may result which under certain conditions may overshadow possible benefits achieved by treatment.

Therefore, it is important to reconsider as to how much and to what extent, the prison official can be and should be enlightened in regard to special methods, even if he himself is not actively involved in the treatment. If essential changes of the structure—such as those relevant to a social-educational concept—are aimed at, it is necessary to begin by fixing the limits of such changes. These limitations are not only dependent on the personal abilities of the staff involved in the plan, but also on the size of the institution. In a small institution, such a programme can be more easily and thoroughly realised, whereas the large institution needs more rigid standards and principles to maintain order for the purpose of avoiding uncontrollable conflicts of competences, discontent and interference in the maintenance of order. Furthermore, we must think of what new securities can be offered to the officer who has been deprived of his safe system of norms, so that he can be incorporated into the new situation, devoid of fears. Such safeguards are above all a thorough, specialised training which meets the necessary requirements, and the organisation of a system of supervision.

It is pertinent here to mention that these problems of integration and the study of possible attitudes of the staff in context with the introduction of new methods have only recently received special at-

tention and even today often are unjustifiably neglected.

The task of finding possibilities of integration in respect to new systems can not be left primarily to prison officials employed in traditional systems, but must be allotted to specialists. These must not only possess a thorough knowledge of their own special system of treatment, but in addition must know how to introduce the system with a minimum of risk and a maximum chance of success. It is therefore absolutely necessary that a thorough and general knowledge of the system and management of an institution be a prerequisite and at the same time, a study of the particular situation of the institution in which the change is scheduled be insisted upon. If these supplementary demands are not met by the specialist, then an experienced consultant in this field should be called in—a demand which has been on the whole neglected until now, but which would indeed have avoided many problems.

Other difficulties in integration arise when the specialist's ideas on the concept of work and conditions under which it is to be carried out do not coincide with those of the institution—in our case, the penal institution—and may even partly contradict them.

R. L. Morrison[2] reports that in correctional institutions, attempts were first made to uncritically apply a treatment, taking as a pattern that is used in medical and psychological practice, and which mainly had been developed on voluntary and individual basis. This soon proved to be unsatisfactory. An educational institution functions under other norms and conditions, which accounts for the necessity of changing the clinical patterns of treatment first, and then accommodating them to the situation in the institution.

When such a demand is raised for the accommodation of methods in special forms of treatment when integrating them in educational institutions, it will appear even more urgent when it applies to the introduction of new methods of treatment in our penal systems and institutions.

In his report, Morrison demonstrated this with the following example. When group treatment was to be carried out by the prison staff, confusion and misunderstanding reigned at first. The necessary prerequisites essential to group work—indirective manner, far-reaching tolerance and complete confidence—could not be made to harmonise with the necessary regulations which were needed for the maintenance of security, protection and order. It was only after various difficulties and dissonances had developed that it became evident that it was well nigh impossible to expect the staff to have complete confidence, since as a result of its work with delinquents and dangerous individuals, it was particularly responsible for the safety of the institution. This necessitated particularly a change in the treatment technique, whereby some traditional and basic ideas

of the institution had to be accepted as reality.

The same necessity of accommodation is also present when the staff is to apply casework methods.

All these types of treatment within penal institutions cannot develop on a voluntary basis, since the prisoner is being legally held against his will. Under such conditions, the term "voluntary" is problematic and should in any case be differently evaluated than in the case of a voluntary patient in a psychotherapeutic outpatients department. This difference must not necessarily result in circumstances unfavourable to therapeutic treatment in penal institution. The fact that in a penal institution the fate of the inmate and his attitude towards life can be determined to a greater extent than in any other walk of life could offer special possibilities, to create situations in which therapy is furthered.

The discussion of such problems is being carried out on various levels, including international levels, and permits us to surmise that further development, beginning with the unaltered clinical model, will progress to a concept of treatment which corresponds to the needs of the institutions. However, this development has not progressed beyond the initial stage and has not enough foundation to offer a special method of treatment in correctional institutions and prisons.

A further obstacle to integration is to be found in the fact that a growing differentiation of institutions runs parallel to an increase in specialising among the personnel. In institutions organised on a traditional basis, it is frequently almost impossible to avoid tension among the different categories of staff as custodial staff, workshop and teaching personnel and often between younger and older officials, especially in large institutions. Now we must expect additional subgroups of personnel who in the main work in institutions organised along therapeutic-educational lines and to some extent in traditionally organised institutions. As a result the danger of mutual rivalry and depreciation develops and is often reflected in the treatment of prisoners.

Then too, among the staff of an institution of therapeutic or educational orientation, it is not always possible to expect harmonious co-operation. The cause of integration difficulties are not only attributed to the difference of education between the appointed specialists, such as psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers—and the majority of custodial staff. The varied functions of the personnel employed in the specialised institutions and the different spheres of competence and responsibility may also cause tension.

The specialist usually has a consultative function and in this position exerts considerable influence over the entire institution. To some extent, he is also involved in individual and group treatment. In all these situations, he is more responsible for the contents of

institutional life, whereas the responsibility of the prison officer is more concentrated on the daily routine of the institution. He has to see to it that the prisoner behaves according to the prescribed order, carries out the allotted work, conforms to certain required forms of deportment, has no possibilities of escaping, etc. Thus it must be admitted that the prison officer is often justified in feeling that though his activity is considered to be less important than that of the specialist, the responsibility that he bears is more clearly defined. If he commits an error, it is easier to single him out than the expert who has much less to do with the daily events and therefore carries a responsibility which is more theoretical and flexible. In this way, the latter's errors are less easy to perceive and point out.

Furthermore, the structural organisation of an institution is usually such that in a specialised institution which is under the administration of a governor *and* a team of specialists, the governor of the institution personally will be held responsible if a complaint is made. It is almost impossible for a prison governor to delegate this formal responsibility to the team of experts; he can only pass it on to the officer lower in rank.

On the other hand, if the expert tries to give up his status, which in a certain respect lies outside of the hierarchy of the institution, and if he still wants to participate in the routine life of the institution, he jeopardises his neutral position which he as a therapist has been striving to attain.

Finally, we shall discuss a problem which may result in the course of the increasing specialisation of penal institutions, and which we consider pertinent: It is understandable that a social-educational or therapeutically orientated institution will often show a tendency to promote new possibilities and effects in treatment by not only mitigating conditions but also by raising the standard of living from a material viewpoint. In this context, it must be constantly kept in mind that the specialised institution is a member of the total system of penal institutions and to a certain degree must conform to this total system and find possibilities of integration. If the purpose of the special institution is to receive and treat convicted prisoners whose presence in other institutions had become undesirable as a result of difficult behaviour, then it is absolutely necessary that the extent to which the standard of living in the institution rises be submitted to limitations. Should these institutions offer more material amenities than the traditional penal institutions, then the danger prevails that although successful methods of treatment may be instilled in the specialised institutions, they are nevertheless indirectly the cause of prisoners in other institutions behaving badly in order that they may be sent to a special institution in which they can enjoy these material advantages. This means

that the provision of pedagogical and therapeutic work which could be obtained by a higher scheme of material reward will be sacrificed for the sake of integration in the entire system of imprisonment. In addition, it is erroneous to believe that the introduction of new methods of treatment must always be associated with an increase in the material side of the living standard. Such methods are concerned mainly with the essence of human life and experience, with rehabilitation obtained through therapeutic influences and social readaptation, and made meaningful through possibilities of activity, co-operation in creative work, and mutual responsibility within the framework of treatment which is of social-educational orientation. They are therefore essentially connected with the reorganisation of the social way of life, human functions and human interrelationships, but not necessarily with an increase in material amenities.

If, instead of offering possible solutions, I have raised more questions and problems, this should not be the cause of discouragement. Without doubt, in many countries we are at the very beginning of a reorientation of our penal system, but we can already point to various successful experiments. I have tried to indicate the manifold aspects of the problem in order to warn against prejudice and narrowness. Just as traditionally-trained prison officers and governors were not able to carry out alone new development in prison administration, psychiatrist, psychologists, pedagogues and sociologists can not take upon themselves the whole responsibility. Only co-operation based on understanding between all specialists and special fields and clear aims based on real possibilities will make success possible with a minimum of risk. Finally, this will lead to the avoidance of unfavourable developments and give new meaning to correction.

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