

PRISON
SERVICE
JOURNAL

JAN 1973	FEB 1974	MARCH 1975	APRIL 1976
Sun 1 8 15 22 29	Sun 5 12 19 26	Sun 5 12 19 26	Sun 2 9 16 23
Mon 2 9 16 23 30	Mon 6 13 20 27	Mon 6 13 20 27	Mon 3 10 17 24
Tue 3 10 17 24 31	Tue 7 14 21 28	Tue 7 14 21 28	Tue 4 11 18 25
Wed 4 11 18 25	Wed 1 8 15 22	Wed 1 8 15 22 29	Wed 5 12 19 26
Thur 5 12 19 26	Thur 2 9 16 23	Thur 2 9 16 23 30	Thur 6 13 20 27
Fri 6 13 20 27	Fri 3 10 17 24	Fri 3 10 17 24 31	Fri 7 14 21 28
Sat 7 14 21 28	Sat 4 11 18 25	Sat 4 11 18 25	Sat 1 8 15 22 29
MAY 1977	JUNE 1978	JULY 1979	AUGUST 1980
Sun 30 7 14 21 28	Sun 1 8 15 22 29	Sun 2 9 16 23	Sun 30 6 13 20 27
Mon 1 8 15 22 29	Mon 2 9 16 23 30	Mon 3 10 17 24	Mon 31 7 14 21 28
Tue 2 9 16 23 30	Tue 6 13 20 27	Tue 4 11 18 25	Tue 1 8 15 22 29
Wed 3 10 17 24 31	Wed 7 14 21 28	Wed 5 12 19 26	Wed 2 9 16 23 30
Thur 4 11 18 25	Thur 1 8 15 22 29	Thur 6 13 20 27	Thur 3 10 17 24 31
Fri 5 12 19 26	Fri 2 9 16 23 30	Fri 7 14 21 28	Fri 4 11 18 25
Sat 6 13 20 27	Sat 3 10 17 24	Sat 1 8 15 22 29	Sat 5 12 19 26
SEPT 1981	OCT 1982	NOV 1983	DEC 1984
Sun 3 10 17 24	Sun 1 8 15 22 29	Sun 5 12 19 26	Sun 3 10 17 24
Mon 4 11 18 25	Mon 2 9 16 23 30	Mon 6 13 20 27	Mon 4 11 18 25
Tue 5 12 19 26	Tue 3 10 17 24 31	Tue 7 14 21 28	Tue 5 12 19 26
Wed 6 13 20 27	Wed 4 11 18 25	Wed 1 8 15 22 29	Wed 6 13 20 27
Thur 7 14 21 28	Thur 5 12 19 26	Thur 2 9 16 23 30	Thur 7 14 21 28
Fri 1 8 15 22 29	Fri 6 13 20 27	Fri 3 10 17 24	Fri 1 8 15 22 29
Sat 2 9 16 23 30	Sat 7 14 21 28	Sat 4 11 18 25	Sat 2 9 16 23 30

Editorial Board

DAVID ATKINSON
H.M. Borstal, Hewell Grange
IAN DUNBAR
H.M. Prison, Long Lartin
GEORGE FERGUSON
H.M. Prison, Pentonville
KEN MOODY
Staff College, Wakefield
JOHN ST.Q. ROSS
South-west Regional Office, Bristol

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Office: H.M. BORSTAL, HEWELL GRANGE, REDDITCH, WORCS.

For orders through H.M.S.O. for delivery by post:

Single copies . . . 7½p

Annual subscription 25p for four quarterly issues

The editorial board wishes to make it clear that the views expressed by contributors are their own and do not reflect the official views or policies of the Prison Department



Contents

Editorial	1
"C" Wing—Parkhurst	3
B. D. Cooper and A. J. Pearson	
Control • Treatment	6
A. H. Papps	
Reflections on R.A.P.	8
The Domestic Murderer	9
F. S. Richardson	
Parole Refused	12
R. E. Leeves	
Psychiatry and Prisoners	13
John Gunn	
Wilforde House	16
F. Oakes	
Readers Write	17
Carpe Diem	18
A. R. Richards	
Women Voluntary Workers	20
Duncan Fairn	
The Turmoil of Youth	21
D. W. Wickham	
Council of Europe Seminar	23
J. L. Rham	
Book Reviews	24



EDITORIAL

THERE are two main problems facing those of us at present working in prisons. One is acute overcrowding. The other, long term imprisonment. The former is being tackled with a degree of urgency by directing a large flow of capital and resources into new institutions, many of which come off the stocks in the near future. Such investment in future penal hardware is not without its critics—particularly among those who reject the concept of imprisonment outright; but coupled with recent legislation aimed at keeping people out of custody it is a policy which, as time goes on, should meet with success.

The same cannot be said for the latter. Each year the average length of sentence increases along with the number of long-term men in our care. This is creating a growing problem for the future which must be a cause for some concern. Recently the concept of "natural" life has been introduced within our walls for the first time. The result will be a large change in emphasis within many of our prisons and ultimately throughout the whole Service for all staff and inmates alike.

Other countries have lived with the concept of very long terms of imprisonment for many years now—and it must be said, not on the whole too successfully. In this country, like Topsy—"it just grewed"—somewhat more rapidly however, arising within the last decade from the social legislation and change in sentencing policy of the sixties.

Consequently, as we look into the seventies and beyond, more of our thought and attention will be diverted towards the long-term prison and the long-term prisoner.

At present, 22 out of 64 prisons are concerned with treating the long-termers in some aspect, either for allocation, training or dispersal purposes. Since the Mountbatten and Radzinowicz reports, public debate has focused largely on the policy of dispersal. The security of our prisons has improved enormously, almost to the point where it could be argued it is no longer a pressing problem. Certainly there is now no need for public concern. It is being dealt with professionally and well. But the dispersal debate has never really been about security, far more has it been about control, and this in the long run, is the nub of the problem of the very long sentence and the kind of man serving it. His personality is likely to be unstable, aggressive and even dangerous and the prospect of imprisonment stretching almost into the unseeable future is not likely to moderate these characteristics.

The controversy over concentration or dispersal is usually stated in mutually exclusive terms which fails to look at other less startling possibilities. Further, it avoids facing the disturbing fact that dealing with such men for long periods of time is going to be problematical no matter what general policy decisions are made about their allocation, and we have accepted for the moment, Radzinowicz' argument that on balance, dispersal is likely to lead to fewer problems. No one would argue it solves them.

No, the more important dialogue must be to tease out and examine the structure and regime necessary to run successfully the prisons holding such men. It is a job which in all conscience is bound to be difficult as it strives to attain the critical balance between security, treatment and control.

Just as security could be seen as the concern of the sixties, control will be the dominant theme of the seventies. We must face the predicament now; no matter how large a challenge it is going to be to the Prison Service of the seventies, it can be dealt with successfully.

This edition of the Journal starts looking in this direction. It focuses on attempts at present being made to organise regimes for the long-term prisoner, albeit from different viewpoints.

Brian Cooper and Tony Pearson discuss the setting up of "C" wing at Parkhurst in the aftermath of the disturbances there, to deal with the disturbed and disruptive prisoners. What is encouraging is that they appear to be in sight of their primary task in achieving a constructive way of managing difficult prisoners so that they are able to attain an optimal level of behaviour consistent with their make up.

It is an approach which means focusing on the prisoner as an individual and on the total community in which he lives. It means full involvement by all staff. It is more demanding, it is more satisfying and one hopes, more successful. Purely in control terms, this appears to be so. As it points to the future, it is an article which provides valuable insight particularly into the social organisation and management necessary for its success. The need now is to see how such extensive care can be extended from the wing to the larger organisation.

At Kingston it appears that precisely this is being done although the population is different. All the men are domestic lifers serving long, indeterminate sentences. Fred Richardson describes how he and staff are setting what are hoped to be realistic goals for institutional attainment in spite of the obvious constraints. All staff are fully involved and individual prisoners' needs are examined in the hope they can be catered for in a positive fashion.

As in "C" wing the resources of the whole community are mustered to deal with individual problems. It is a multi-discipline approach where each department mobilises its resources along with others to tackle the total situation. What links these two approaches is the tacit awareness in both of the dangers of long-term imprisonment and the attempts being made to counter them. The physical and mental deterioration which can occur; the fears of men who feel they are degenerating the longer they are cut off from society. Even more difficult to counter is the sameness of each day which comes and goes without any apparent indication that time is passing. Is it any wonder that so many of our charges retreat into phantasy, hibernate in a twilight world of inactivity or occasionally lapse into short, sporadic violent outbursts?

Aware of the pitfalls, it is possible to keep the individual in contact with reality, of helping him to function as a human being in the restricted prison environment, of making prison life relevant and meaningful for the ultimate day of release.

When this is done, Al. Papps would argue that concern about control is less necessary. His article on control and treatment is a timely overall look at the difficulties prisons are already facing. It has already served as a valuable basis for discussion on recent dispersal conferences.

It underlines the general dilemmas we are facing and is consistent with what we are learning from "C" wing and

Kingston. Conscious attempts to control may produce the very situation most feared. Paradoxically if our approach is treatment oriented then the chances of achieving effective control may well be enhanced. The evidence appears to be incontrovertible.

The times ahead are going to be difficult. If, however, we concentrate on the quality of life of the whole prison environment by caring for what happens to our charges we can be sure that any future problems will be well within our competence and our contribution to penal philosophy in the latter part of this century substantial.

THE REASON WHY

Should prisoners be told the reasons behind their non-selection for parole? This is the question posed by R. E. Leeves in his challenging article (p. 12). Prison staff are familiar with the arguments, which do not apply only to the parole situation but to many areas of decision which closely affect the lives of inmates. Indeed at one level there is a universal issue here, reflecting the perennial conflict of the individual with anonymous authority. Paternalism is not bounded by a prison wall. Anyone who has ever applied for a job, for promotion, for a personal loan, for a grant or a refund or concession, knows the frustrations of that Kafka-like world in which one is judged and sentenced by bland impersonal forces—"the editor's decision is final".

The advantages of the board decision are manifest—it is economical, it is safe, and (happily for the bureaucrat) it can be defended on the more respectable grounds that it is "in the best interests of the client". This is at least debatable. There are a host of political, administrative and personal "reasons" why it may be inconvenient, embarrassing or threatening to have to explain the thinking behind decisions, and perhaps to expose the real sources of power to naive scrutiny, or the identity of the busy administrator to accusations of prejudice and bias.

We should all like more "open government"—or we say we should—and indeed it has been promised, but the instinct of the bureaucratic machine will always be to protect itself against identification; and indeed, if the alternative were to be trial by popular Press or by television, many would question which was the lesser of the two evils.

But this is a far cry from the need (or right?) of a prisoner or of any other disadvantaged applicant, to be told why, in the common expression, his "face doesn't fit". Social casework theory is in no doubt that to deny this information is to treat a person as less than a responsible adult—as a child or a moron. And the dependency-creating characteristics of institutions are powerful enough without adding to them. If we have treatment in mind we should have the courage to expose our own dilemmas and imperatives more honestly to our charges, and invite them to work at it with us, or if need be to live with it. The response would often surprise us; treated rationally, it is remarkable how rational the most unlikely people can be—and the process, though time-consuming (and here perhaps lies the rub) is beneficial to both parties. A man who has served a very long sentence for the killing (unpremeditated in the course of an emotional domestic outburst) of a police officer, recently told me, quite solemnly and dispassionately, that he "had a great deal of sympathy for the Home Secretary" when called upon to review a case like his own for release, "in the light of recent events". "I honestly don't see", he added, "how he can do otherwise than turn me down. It's a bit rough on me, because I should have been out by now in the ordinary course, but I have to admit that in his position I would do the same". Touché.

"C" Wing—Parkhurst

An approach to the management of the long-term disturbed and disruptive prisoner



Brian D. Cooper is 28 and single. He qualified at Charing Cross Hospital and holds diplomas in Public Health and Psychological Medicine. He is a member of the Royal College of Psychiatrists and in 1971 visited the U.S.A. and Canada as a Churchill Fellow to study the management of disruptive long term prisoners. He has been Medical Officer at Parkhurst Prison for six years



Anthony J. Pearson is 32, married with one daughter. He is a graduate in Economic History from Exeter University and holds the Oxford Diploma in Public and Social Administration. He joined the Prison Service in 1962 and has served at Maidstone and Albany Prisons before joining the Parkhurst staff in 1970

THE management of the long-term, disturbed and disruptive prisoner has exercised penal administrators for many years. More recently, two factors have increased the concern about this problem. There has been a significant rise in the number of young, aggressive men sentenced to long periods in custody and at the same time the current interpretation of the 1959 Mental Health Act has meant that an increasing number of mentally disturbed men are committed to prison rather than mental hospitals. In this second group there is a high proportion of chronic psychotics and psychopaths. In a recent survey at Parkhurst, 50 per cent of the population were shown as suffering from either frank mental illness or personality disorder and one in six had a history of mental hospital treatment under an order.

SETTING UP THE UNIT

It was against this general background and the specific issue of the disturbance of October 1969 that it was decided to set up a self-contained unit within Parkhurst to deal with the disturbed, disruptive prisoner. In essence the intention was to mobilise a range of resources—discipline, hospital and specialist—so that they might colla-

borate in the day to day management of the unit. By utilising a range of experience and skills it was felt that more effective use would be made of the resources.

C wing was chosen as the setting for this experiment. Two factors determined this choice. The wing is a traditional three-storey, galleried building which has three additional rooms attached to it in the shape of a clover leaf. Thus with suitable modification, living, working and recreational facilities could be incorporated in one unit. Geographically, C wing is close to the hospital, and while it was acknowledged that the wing should not act as an annexe to the hospital, it was accepted that the hospital would provide essential back-up services, and ease of movement between the two buildings is essential. It is perhaps ironic that during the nineteenth century, C wing's function was to house what were then described as the "feeble-minded prisoners".

AIMS OF A MULTI-DISCIPLINE APPROACH

Within the broad framework of managing a volatile section of the population more detailed aims were established by a working group comprising the medical officer, principal

psychologist and assistant governor. From the outset there was a deliberate decision to pitch the objectives at a relatively low level since experience from other attempts to tackle similar problems indicated that there are no proven methods of hastening long term personality changes in a highly disturbed group of prisoners. It was felt that operating on a day to day basis with realistic expectations set for both staff and prisoners was the best approach. With this in mind, the following aims were established:

1. To achieve a constructive way of managing difficult prisoners so that they are able to attain an optimum level of behaviour consistent with their make up.
2. To individualise the management of prisoners so that account is taken of varied personalities and behaviour handicaps.
3. To integrate discipline, hospital and specialist staff in day to day management.
4. To develop a preventive regime in which danger signs are noted and action taken before disasters occur.
5. To deal with a potentially disruptive group and so relieve other parts of the prison of some serious control problems.

The criteria for admission to C wing are deliberately kept within wide limits and repeated behaviour patterns, rather than an isolated incident in any particular setting, are seen as essential prerequisites for admission. Importance is therefore placed on repeated behaviour in the following areas:

1. Violence towards staff and/or prisoners.
2. Attempted suicide and/or self mutilation.
3. Mental breakdown.
4. Regular hunger strikes.
5. Chronic sick reporting.
6. Offences against discipline resulting in formal reports.
7. Damage to property within institutions.

THE "CLIENTS"

Clinically there are four main diagnostic categories, which in order of importance are seen as—

1. Personality disorder.
2. Mental illness.
3. Low intelligence.
4. Epilepsy.

There is, however, no clear cut diagnosis in many cases and invariably considerable overlapping. Moreover, all prisoners considered for admission have lengthy institutional experience and a conscious effort is made to avoid

"labelling". Repeated evidence of unacceptable behaviour is considered more important than a tidy clinical label. The evidence collected by the psychologists demonstrates the multiplicity of problems presented by prisoners so far admitted. There were 48 admissions up to November 1971. Of these, 46 were serving five years and over, with 10 lifers in this group; 33 had been convicted of crimes of violence including sexual violence; three convicted of arson, 10 of theft and two for other sexual crimes. The majority fell within the age group 22-39 with a preponderance (22) between 22-29 years. In terms of institutional behaviour, 11 had more than 15 disciplinary reports, 13 more than five reports, 11 had attacked staff and 18 attacked other prisoners; 18 had histories of repeated smash-ups, 26 self inflicted injury and 23 had spent portions of sentences on Rule 43 for subversion or protection. Long institutional experience is shown by the fact that 22 had spent varying periods in mental hospitals; 30 had over 10 previous convictions and 25 had served sentences of more than five years before their present sentence. Perhaps it is not surprising that given such disturbed personalities and lengthy custodial histories many of the prisoners admitted have been those who under any form of stress in prison become psychotic and have been noted in the past as suffering from "prison psychosis".

The regime is based primarily on a two-pronged approach. One area concerns the community as a whole, the other the individual. The community approach to the problem rests on constructive manipulation of prisoners' pay and privileges as a positive reinforcement of socially acceptable behaviour. In terms of pay it was recognised at an early stage that financial reward would play a key part in encouraging prisoners to modify their behaviour. The traditional earnings schemes, incorporating minimum, maximum and average rates were felt to be insufficiently flexible. An experimental approach is now being developed in which the rates of pay vary between nil and something like 90p per week. But of equal importance with the range and flexibility is the attempt being made to reward not only work but behaviour during non-working periods. This is still in the experimental phase and there is no operational experience to report. The difficulties at present concerning us are the ways in which non-work behaviour can be appropriately reported by basic grade staff. In the long term it is planned to link financial reward with progression

from the ground floor living area to the top floor, which ideally should be seen as a pre-discharge area. Considerable structural alterations have been made, leaving the wing with a ground floor which houses staff offices, food servery, cells for new admissions and those whose behaviour is causing concern. A small isolation unit comprising six cells is sited at the end of the ground floor and will be used for short periods for especially refractory prisoners. The second floor has a large area of floor space which is used for association periods. The top floor is a conventional galleried area with extended bridges across the width which afford space for recreation. Once again, operational experience has been limited because all landings have been in use for only six months. While reconstruction work proceeded there were periods when one landing only was in use. But the intention is to use the flexibility afforded by partially separated landings in order to maximise the demonstration to prisoners that it is possible to be rewarded for acceptable behaviour and also to take account of the tensions and difficulties individuals encounter in living in a closed community.

ALL STAFF INVOLVED IN TREATMENT

The individual approach is based on officer support for individual prisoners. All members of the basic grade staff are nominated as supervising officers for one or more prisoners. Written into the supervising officer's job description is the following: "... oversight of treatment of a small number of nominated prisoners, for maintaining documentation on these prisoners and reporting on them as and when required". It is felt that this enables officers to exercise responsibility according to their ability and interest. Equally, prisoners become aware that supervising officers have a share in decisions about treatment and the situation in which recidivist prisoners feel the need to talk to the most senior member of staff on all occasions is reduced. Conventional psychiatric support is used in the treatment of prisoners suffering from mental illness. Drugs play little part in the long term treatment of psychopathic personalities but are used to tide individuals over periods of tension and in acute outbursts. Transfer to the hospital at Parkhurst is used for the very disturbed where intensive treatment can be undertaken.

In staffing C wing there has been a deliberate effort to break down traditional barriers between discipline, hospi-

tal and specialist members. An assistant governor I is accountable to the governor for the management of the wing. His responsibilities cover selection, support and training of staff and in collaboration with colleagues, utilising the resources to perform the wing task. The medical officer has specific responsibilities for selection and physical and psychiatric aspects of prisoner treatment. The psychologists are involved in three areas, they have a testing and assessment function, an important role in staff support and thirdly, a crucial role in devising methods of evaluating the work done in C wing. A welfare officer is assigned to the wing, in common with other wings in the prison. He takes part in staff meetings, case discussions, and is involved in discussions on the regime. Reference has been made earlier to the role of the basic grade staff. A hospital chief officer II is the head of the uniformed staff and he certainly occupies a vital cross-over point. By reason of experience and training his loyalties are traditionally towards the medical officer. In the C wing situation he acts for the assistant governor when necessary. There is a pairing of discipline and hospital staff at principal or officer level. The ratio of discipline to hospital officers now stands at four to one, but it is hoped to increase the number of hospital officers. The only work specifically restricted to hospital officers is issue of medication. Otherwise all duties are shared.

STAFF PREPARATION AND SUPPORT

Although it was felt necessary to specify individual duties as clearly as possible at the outset this was not in order to compartmentalise the work. The very essence of the job has been the joint working of various disciplines and pooling a variety of experiences. There was a bonus to begin with because the C wing project was new and untried, but having worked through the initial anxieties about working together the joint approach has paid dividends. All staff from senior officer downwards are volunteers. When recruitment began it was soon apparent that there was considerable anxiety about C wing and hostility towards the concept. One result was that in the first intake of staff 80 per cent had less than two years' experience in the service. A number of factors probably produced this response. Recruitment began in the troubled atmosphere of early 1970, senior staff in C wing were new to Parkhurst and there was perhaps an unwillingness from staff to commit themselves to an untried situation.

From the outset there has been a commitment to staff support and development. All staff attended a preliminary "shake down" week at the Staff College before the wing opened. This was an important venture, since staff were removed from the immediate working situation and, in an informal fashion, able to work through some of the feelings. This has been followed up by all staff spending periods of detached duty at Broadmoor Hospital, Grendon and the local psychiatric hospital. Of these, experience gained at Broadmoor was most relevant. All these experiences have helped to focus attention on the management in various ways of the disturbed person in one form of custody or another. Of equal importance has been the use made of local resources within the wing. The weekly staff meeting is also seen as a valuable training medium, as are the weekly case conferences. These two weekly events help to maintain open and flexible communication and provide stimulus and support. In such a small unit there is also the advice and help given by staff to each other in informal ways.

Staff changes have occurred as a result of promotion, posting and a wish to return to more traditional work in the prison. No firm time limit has been set for length of service in C wing, but it is felt that there should be a review of staff after two years' service. On the positive side this may avoid over-specialisation which would not improve overall job experience for staff coming within the promotion field. On the other hand, it is felt necessary in some instances to offer relief from the closed community environment.

REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS

A number of advantages accrue to staff working in the wing. There is a definition of task, however difficult it is to achieve. It is a small unit, in which cohesion at all levels ought to be possible. Experience has shown that regular work in a small identifiable group generates its own cohesion and commitment. There are opportunities for individual and group skills to be acquired and once acquired to be practiced. There are also disadvantages. Continuous exposure to difficult, sophisticated, manipulative prisoners is a wearing experience, since all prisoner activity takes place within the wing. Maintaining morale is also an issue, since the prognosis for the majority of prisoners is very poor and they do not present themselves as good candidates for any of the early release schemes. Thus it is necessary to maintain realistic expectations about prisoner performance and learn to live

with the failure to learn from experience, hostility and manipulation of many C wing prisoners. The danger of a polarisation of attitude also has to be acknowledged. At one extreme there have been examples of over-identification by staff with individual prisoners, while at the other end of the scale is the anger and hostility which can centre on certain prisoners.

The prisoner response has, as expected, been varied. There has been a slow build-up forced on the wing by reconstruction and renovation. A balance between the young, verbal, aggressive prisoner and other kinds of management problem has been maintained. The view is taken that a wing full of the first type would be counter-productive and a balance of extremes has been sought. Likewise, a balance between age groups has been attempted. The age and offences of the wing community both cover a wide spectrum. Notorious sexual offenders have been able to live with their peers and the current feeling on this issue is that with all the prisoner population having some form of skeleton in the cupboard individuals are loath to castigate each other openly.

The dialogue which has been established between staff and prisoners is seen as acceptable to the majority. This has a number of important results in terms of overall management. Tense situations which inevitably develop between prisoner/prisoner or staff/prisoner tend to be more acceptably defused. Information flows in from prisoners, not necessarily in the traditional "grassing" fashion but because the influence leaders in the prisoner group have a need to ensure that a state of equilibrium is maintained. This is particularly the case with prisoners who recognise that they are long stay members of the community. In individual cases there has been evidence of prisoners recognising signs of their own impending breakdown and either withdrawing of their own accord to the safety of the cell or seeking other forms of help.

Resort to formal disciplinary reports has been minimal. Two cases of minor assaults on staff have been dealt with by the Board of Visitors and other adjudications have totalled 13. As confidence among staff has grown so the wish to resort to formal measures has fallen away. In any case, such evidence as is available indicates that formal punishment at some stage after the event is not very successful in dealing with the disturbed prisoner.

Sentence planning is seen as an important feature of the dialogue between staff

and prisoners. At a basic level this helps overcome the fears of some prisoners that C wing is a final destination. In fact the options open include transfer back to the main part of Parkhurst, to Parkhurst hospital, transfer to other prisons, state hospitals, N.H.S. hospitals, hostels and release. It is true, however, that C wing prisoners are poor risks for parole, P.R.E.S. and home leave, and in a large number of cases transfer to a local prison in the prisoner's home area has been arranged for the final weeks of sentence. This is seen as a vital stage in mobilising the maximum support from the community-based medical and social work agencies in post-release planning for aggressive and disturbed prisoners. Given the volatile nature of many prisoners discharged from C wing, it is also seen as a responsible way of preparing the prisoner and those who may have to care for him for release at the end of a fixed term.

SOME ENCOURAGING SIGNS

After two years' operational experience it is perhaps worthwhile hazarding a few tentative conclusions. On the debit side there are two areas which continue to cause concern. The constructive management of the young, aggressive prisoner is one which has not been completely solved. The disruption of the community caused by this group is out of proportion to their numerical strength, and at present C wing can only cope with a small number of this group in the total wing population. In addition the needs of the community are such that certain individuals have to be segregated for short periods because they attract the concerted hostility of others or because they are themselves hostile towards their peers. Segregation as a management tool is accepted and its therapeutic validity when properly used recognised.

On a more hopeful note it is felt that there are a number of advantages accruing from the C wing project. As far as Parkhurst is concerned the wing offers alternative outlet for the more disruptive and bizarre prisoner. The staff have moved from hesitancy towards confidence and the value of the development of staff is reflected in demands for similar experiences from members of staff working in other parts of the prison. It is felt that the viability of a multi-disciplinary approach has been demonstrated, and there may well be lessons which can usefully be passed on to the Service and certainly to those parts of it dealing with similar problems. The identification of this group of



A. H. Papps took a degree in history at Cambridge before joining the Prison Service in 1965. He worked as an assistant governor at Huntercombe Borstal before being seconded by the Department in 1969 to Newcastle University to take the Diploma in Applied Social Studies. Since then has been a tutor in the Social Studies Department at the Staff College. Over the last 18 months he has been involved in all the dispersal prison study groups held at the Staff College

Control • Treatment

With particular reference to long-term maximum security establishments

A. H. PAPPS

A DUAL TASK

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to develop the thesis that control is ultimately inseparable from treatment, and that truly effective control depends upon a dynamic, genuinely committed attitude towards treatment. By isolating control as a concept, by seeing it as "the problem of the seventies", there is a great temptation to over-react and concentrate upon gaining immediate control to the exclusion or postponement of all else. One need only look to Northern Ireland to see an analogy. Before the assumption of direct rule one of the many "fixes" in the very complex social control problem that is Northern Ireland today was precisely this attitude—"we will only discuss a long-term political settlement once we have controlled the immediate situation". In fact, both the gaining of immediate control and the search for an ultimate political settlement should be pursued concurrently and equally vigorously. Dr. Martin Luther King once described riots in another context as "the language of the unheard". The very cornerstone of successful penal treatment is listening courteously and attentively to our charges. The argument of this paper is that, paradoxically, if one concentrates exclusively on gaining control the chances of losing it are increased, and yet if one concentrates upon treatment the chances of gaining more effective control are enhanced. However, as T. S. Eliot pointed out:

The last temptation is the greatest treason,

To do the right deed for the wrong reason.

One must concentrate on treatment because one is genuinely committed to the ultimate betterment of the inmate, however difficult he may be, and not because one views treatment as merely a control device.

Some definitions may be helpful at this stage. Control has connotations of checking, verifying and hence regulating; calling to account, reproving,

reprehending, exercising restraint or direction upon the free action of individuals; dominating, commanding, and ultimately overpowering. Treatment can be defined very generally as action or behaviour towards a person in some specified way. More specifically, in political terms, the verb to treat means the action or act of treating or discussing terms, parleying, reaching for agreement; dealing or carrying on negotiations with another with a view to settling terms; bargaining. In medical terms the verb to treat means to deal with, or operate upon in order to relieve or cure.

Both concepts, that of control and that of treatment, involve an interaction between human beings—the interaction in the control area tending to have negative static connotations, the interaction in the treatment area tending to have positive, dynamic connotations. Dr. Peter Scott¹ has indicated that "a closed or maximum-security unit, even more than other institutions, cannot stand still. It must either keep moving towards therapeutic goals, or else slip back into a custodial function which is ultimately inseparable from brutality". In other words, where human beings are involved together in a captive community, individual relationships and the pattern of collective relationships can never remain static. They are always moving in one direction or another, either towards the more negative, static connotations associated with control or towards the more positive dynamic connotations of treatment. In the context of an institution "moving towards therapeutic goals", control takes on positive characteristics, for it is geared to the ultimate benefit of individual inmates or the inmate community as a whole. In the absence of movement towards treatment objectives it becomes merely custodial which in the long run defeats effective control.

THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY

Control is a manifestation of authority, and much has been written in recent years about the nature of authority and its use in the context of social

IT has been said recently that the problems of the sixties in our Service were problems of security, and the problems of the seventies will be problems of control. This is clearly an over-simplified aphorism but, like many such dictums, contains considerable truth.

There is no doubt that in the sixties, and the late sixties especially, we were pre-occupied with security problems in their most obvious manifestation, namely, escapes. It is now generally felt that in terms of escapes, particularly from maximum security institutions, we can afford to feel confident about our perimeter defences in the light of more intelligent planning and co-ordination, together with sophisticated technical developments in this area. However, it is also generally thought that when the possibility of escape is remote there tends to be a rise in incidents within the institution of trouble-making behaviour—assaults, suicides, riots, "smash-ups". If this is so we can expect a higher incidence of control problems. What is more, western civilisation in general is now experiencing social control problems of increasing intensity in political, industrial, cultural and educational spheres. Authority in general is more readily questioned. There is little evidence to suggest that these trends will decrease in the seventies, and clearly what is happening in society at large will sooner or later be reflected within its prisons. Hence the problem of control.

casework. Eliot Studt² refers to the emergence of authority in an organisation as "a device which is used when human beings come together to accomplish a given task", and Studt sees authority as a "special form of legitimised power which is created in order to get the task done properly". In other words, the use of authority and the exercise of control are only legitimate when used to accomplish a given task properly. In the context of long-term maximum security establishments, the task is long-term custodial treatment. A. G. Sheriffs³ has commented on the same subject—"He must, in setting limits on the activities of the client, do so in a reasonable and consistent manner. Always the goal must be the good of the client and society. A punitive authoritarian attitude, or an attitude of guilt for acting as authority, will remove the opportunity that exists for gain". This statement is particularly applicable to dispersal prisons in the light of the Radzinowicz Report's comment⁴ that "prison authorities should never be, or be allowed to become, apologetic about the intelligent use of a segregation unit", provided of course that the unit is being used for the good of the inmate and the inmate society. Kenneth Pray⁵ has pointed out that "rightful social authority provides limits which—like those of physical strength and capacity, mental ability and social limitations—are relatively inviolable and real satisfactions can be found only within them". Again control should be exercised in maximum security establishments for just the same reason in an attempt to help inmates to see that their true social satisfactions lie within certain social limits. In other words control should be exercised as an inextricable part of a treatment process.

In the particular context of social casework, Beatrice Pollard⁶ has commented that "even in work with delinquents, caseworkers cannot properly exercise authority for the sake of doing so or for punitive reasons. They can only exercise it intelligibly in the hope of fostering the client's authority over himself". This fundamental principle is as applicable to long-term maximum security establishments, as much, if not more so, than to social casework agencies and in fact is the key to understanding control. For it means that control should be exercised, not for its own sake, or to relieve anxious feelings on the part of the staff, but ultimately for the benefit of the inmate, so that he may be enabled to develop self-control or be protected from his fellows. The corollary of this principle is that the

inmate's ultimate benefit must be a matter of deep concern to the staff and this concern must be communicated. This applies to a Brady, or a Kray or a Straffen or a Richardson as much as it does to an inadequate feckless borstal boy. Foren and Bailey⁷ have pointed out that when an authority enforces and controls "in the interests of the client" it is "perhaps even more important that such techniques should be applied with skill and understanding, compassion and concern, than it is in respect of more permissive techniques". The segregation unit of a dispersal prison must be used with professional skill and expertise but also without loss of faith in human nature. The staff of a segregation unit must work repeatedly for an inmate's repeated re-entries into the main community of the prison. As soon as an inmate is written off as untreatable a segregation unit becomes a mini Alvington. In fact, the nettle which the Radzinowicz Report grasped firmly, and in so doing rejected concentration in favour of dispersal, was that inmates with very long sentences, who have committed horrifying crimes and have behaved with bizarre violence, are nevertheless still members of our society with innate worth as human beings and must, therefore, never be written off and consigned to an Alcatraz-like Alvington. The fact that must be faced is that one day they will be released and we must, therefore, be working towards that end, with all the concomitant implications of preserving identity and mitigating the worst effects of long-term incarceration. An incidental pay-off of adopting this approach is that the chances of serious control problems are minimised. The more someone is written off as untreatable the more he will behave that way. The converse is also true.

COMMUNICATIONS THE KEY TO CONTROL

Viewing the extreme situation can sometimes illuminate a subject. Extreme loss of control is the riot situation when inmates are united against their controllers—Parkhurst, for half an hour in October 1969 in one small area of the prison, Attica for several days in September 1971 throughout the whole prison—or when inmates are openly warring with each other and their controllers are unable to exercise control or collude with the warfare—so vividly illustrated by George Jackson in some of his letters from prison. Situations in which control has been lost, never existed, or is in the process of slipping away, are nearly always characterised by a lack of real communication between

staff and inmates. The commanding, reproving, dominating role of authority is to the fore, and a "siege", "end of the road", "no hope", "eye-ball to eye-ball" confrontation mentality prevails, with well-established, deeply entrenched positions. It has been described by inmates and staff as a situation in which fear is almost tangible. The institution has regressed into a custodial function which is entirely negative and static. The dynamic "room for manoeuvre", negotiating, discussing element characterising a treatment situation has withered away. The hatches have been battened down within the inmate community. The openness in communication, to be monitored to provide the regulating element characterising effective control, is entirely absent. Thus authority plays safe and control becomes purely coercive, dominating, commanding and ultimately brutal in that it attempts to overpower with sheer force.

On the other hand, the traditionally recorded characteristics of a successful treatment oriented prison community, are a flattening of the authority pyramid, a sharing of decision-making, and a very open pattern of communication between staff and inmates and between inmates themselves. In Dr. Martin Luther King's terms inmates are listened to with respect. In purely pragmatic terms, support for authority although probably latent, is diffused throughout all levels of the inmate community. The main body of the inmate population perceive their controllers as basically concerned about the quality of life within the prison and as people who care about the ultimate betterment of inmates. What little research evidence there is in this area would support the contention that trouble-making behaviour is closely related to the inmates' definition of the institutional situation as a negative opportunity structure, a negative authority structure, and an arbitrary and externally controlled environment.⁸ The implication of this research for practitioners is that trouble-making behaviour can be minimised by ensuring that we define clearly that opportunities *are* available, authority *is* benign, and internal control and predictability *are* feasible.

In the context of an institution which has achieved this climate, it is far more difficult for extremist elements in the inmate population to generate and exploit grievances against authority, and particularly so, if this element is dispersed in several different establishments rather than concentrated in one

institution. Inmate leaders, hostile to authority, ultimately depend upon generalised support within the prison community if they are to translate their hostility into purposeful action, in the same way as guerrilla leaders depend upon the support of the indigenous population. The I.R.A. or the Viet Cong may be said to swim like fish within the waters of a disenchanted population. Additionally, this flattening of the authority pyramid involves what systems analysts would call a dispersal of the critical information points throughout the social system, thereby making the seizure of control more difficult.

Yet, some so-called treatment regimes, especially in long-term establishments dealing with difficult inmates, develop a cynicism in their treatment techniques which springs from the need to achieve short-term control of people in whom it is difficult to see any prospect

of effecting lasting change. Traditional diagnostic assessment, subsequent meeting of individual needs with the resources available, together with intelligent sentence planning, the use of inmate committees, and even positive inmate/staff relationships, can too readily be seen as short term control devices in themselves and not as tools with which to effect change to the ultimate betterment of the inmates concerned. This very understandable cynicism will sooner or later be communicated to the inmate population and effective control/treatment in the long run will be lost for the sake of short term gains.

For control to be ultimately effective it has to be extricably bound up with treatment with the result that the interests and needs of the inmates must be of paramount concern, genuinely felt, and what is more this concern must be communicated by the staff.

REFERENCES

1. Unpublished paper about secure establishments written in 1967. Dr. Peter Scott.
2. "An Outline for Study of Social Authority Factors in Casework", *Social Casework*, vol. xxxv, No. 6, June 1954. (Reprinted in *Social Casework in the Fifties*. Ed. Kasius, F.S.A.A., New York 1962.) Eliot Studt.
3. "Authority in the Client-Worker Relationship—Asset or Liability." Alex. G. Sheriffs.
4. "The Regime for Long-term Prisoners in Conditions of Maximum Security." Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System, (H.M.S.O.) Para. 167.
5. "Social Work in a Revolutionary Age and Other Papers." Kenneth L. M. Pray.
6. "Social Casework for the State." Beatrice Pollard.
7. "Authority in Social Casework." R. Foren and R. Bailey.
8. "Trouble-making behaviour in a correctional institution—relationship to inmates' definition of their situation." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Wood, Wilson, Jessor and Bogan. Vol. 36, No. 5, October 1966.
9. "A systems analysis of the July plot: the coup d'etat as a support stress crisis." P. A. J. Waddington. Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Leeds University, September 1970.
- 2, 5 and 6—All quoted by Foren and Bailey in (*Authority in Social Casework*.)

Reflections on R.A.P.—by a correspondent

I WENT to the Central Hall, Westminster, to the anti-Holloway rally held by Radical Alternatives to Prison.

The audience 500 strong; young, intense, intelligent. A smattering of older people, but the audience classless, nothing to distinguish it from that at any other similar gathering. Half an hour of appalling folk songs. Two ex-Holloway prisoners, on the indignities and problems of being separated from young children and families. A psychologist on the development of community treatment for offenders overseas. Dick Pooley of P.R.O.P. with anecdotes of 20 years of prison. Michael Zander of the *Guardian* on the gaping holes of the Legal Aid System.

Surprise and a welcome break! Fifteen minutes' music from John Williams—almost the best part of the evening. Then back to business with a beringletted Des Wilson on his usual theme of minority groups and the underprivileged. Finally, Renee Short presenting a superb example of the technique of the public orator, marshalling the arguments against the rebuilding of Holloway and reminding us that women offenders especially should be treated in society rather than in total institutions, not even in the "Hilton Holloway".

The treatment of offenders in society is the kernel of R.A.P.'s platform, and there is certainly abundant evidence, from California and Holland, to suggest that such treatment is a viable alternative to imprisonment in the majority of cases, given the financial and human resources, together with the will to achieve that end. R.A.P. is in existence to persuade "them" to do just that. Some offenders they admit will have to be detained in institutions for their own or other people's safety: the vast majority can and should be dealt with in society.

Their arguments are unimpeachable, given the premise that offenders and other deviants are

the products of their environment and that all human behaviour "is the result of the interaction of the individual with those around him—his family, his school, his work and the wider community—and that criminal behaviour is no exception". Given this, criminals are therefore no different from anybody else. Criminal behaviour is to be seen as an expression of needs common to all of us and "crime is a symptom of the sorts of needs, stresses and inequalities inherent in a complex society". It follows, therefore, that the label "criminal" is dangerously misleading.

To attempt to evaluate the validity of R.A.P.'s platform is beyond me. I am neither academically equipped nor emotionally inclined to attempt it, but the thoughts and impressions of someone who 10 years ago thought of himself as radical, but who now finds himself decidedly square, if not downright reactionary, may be of more than just passing interest.

It is humbling, if not humiliating, to realise that my much vaunted "caring" role is viewed by its recipients as nothing more than paternalistic and patronising posturings on my part. I have become insensitive to the depths of the needs of others; worse even, I have become hurt and resentful when my charges fail to respond in a respectful and grateful manner to the magnanimous trivialities and privileges I permit them. I have become legalistic, so used to saying "no" that I forget to ask why I say "no". Surely, if I really were to practise what I claim I believe, I would behave in a very different way?

It is galling to attend a gathering where people demonstrate publicly that they care for prisoners to the extent that they are prepared to give their money and their time to further a cause they believe in profoundly, and this is an area where I claim to be the professional "carer". Some of the arguments advanced by R.A.P. may be fallacious: some of the facts may be incorrect,

but this in no way detracts from the intensity of their concern for individuals. Certainly they are idealistic, in some cases wrong-headed, but the quality of their caring is not strained by recourse to rules nor tainted by outworn philosophies.

Why then do I still feel doubt and reservations about R.A.P.? Is it that I basically belong to another generation and am unable to accept the method of its presentation? Can I be simply so prejudiced that I cannot accept that mere amateurs are perhaps more spontaneous and untrained in their concern for others than I am? I would like to think that this is not the whole truth.

I came away with the slight but unmistakable sense of exploitation, that people's goodwill and integrity is being used for other purposes besides that of penal reform. I believe profoundly that crime and punishment must be kept out of the political arena. It is far too emotive and emotional an area to allow it to be used for political ends. Society, like institutions, must grow and be allowed to find its own way towards new ideas and attitudes. Change brought about too fast, before people can accept it emotionally, leads to chaos and anarchy. Certainly there is enormous room for improvement and recasting in the existing system, but prison staff and prisoners must learn to grow into change gradually and painfully. They have to learn to see each other in different ways and that is always painful and difficult.

R.A.P. is, I am sure, here to stay. We shall have to learn to live with it, to have it continually gnawing away at our consciences. I wonder though how long it will be before it too becomes an institution? When John Williams appeared on the platform to make music—and this is in no way a reflection on him—it passed through my mind that R.A.P. was already a solidly middle-class institution. Who's ever heard of a classical guitar being played at a radical rally before?



F. S. Richardson, Governor of Kingston Prison, joined the Prison Service in January 1949 after serving for 10 years in the Royal Air Force. For six years, he was a discipline officer at Durham Prison, and on promotion to Assistant Governor II served as housemaster at Lowdham and Rochester borstals. In 1964, he became Deputy Governor of Leyhill Prison and on promotion to Governor, he took charge of Portsmouth Borstal Recall Centre in 1968 and one year later was given the responsibility of redeveloping this establishment into a Class B security prison

And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. Genesis iv, 8.

AND so it all began.

Cain and his crime have been familiar to civilised society since time immemorial: yet the concept of the "domestic murderer" has yet to gain real acceptance and understanding among people who have been acquainted with the figure of Cain and his motives since their childhood. Murder is instinctively regarded as the ultimately inhuman act, the crime which puts a human being outside the social group. It is, therefore, paradoxical that the majority of murders—a fact seldom appreciated by the general public—take place in a "domestic" context.

K. Svalastoga, who made a study of a large group of Danish murderers, found that it was in one case only out of every 10 that the murderer did not know his victim personally before the event. Of the remaining nine, six of the victims were murdered by a member of their own family and the remaining three by an acquaintance.

THE AFTERMATH OF ABOLITION

In May 1968, adopting a pattern which had been successful in the planning of Coldingley, a project team from the senior members of the Portsmouth Recall Centre staff was formed under the chairmanship of the governor. Members of the team were told by a Head Office guiding com-

The Domestic Murderer

The regime at Kingston (Portsmouth)

F. S. RICHARDSON

mittee that Portsmouth would be rebuilt as a class B security prison, and that it would take selected life sentence prisoners, and that the majority of these prisoners would be of the "domestic murder" group. The team was also given a directive by the guiding committee which was the detailed planning and development of the project. The reason for the establishment of this prison was the increasing number of "lifers"—inevitable because of the abolition of the death penalty—and the need that some special provision should be made for them.

There were two questions which arose immediately, and which are still frequently being asked. Why call it "Kingston" and what exactly is a "domestic murderer"? When I first transferred to Portsmouth Recall Centre as governor, I asked, on reaching Portsmouth, several passers-by where the recall centre was, but no one knew or had even heard of the place. Fortunately, the last one suggested that I might mean "Kingston Gaol" and directed me there; it turned out indeed to be where I was trying to reach. I later learned that almost everyone referred to the centre by its old local name of Kingston Gaol—even the official street map has it so marked—and during a meeting with the Portsmouth city officials, when they were being informed of the proposed change from a borstal to a prison, the officials requested that the prison should be known as "Kingston".

THE BURDEN OF GUILT

The second question is of course the more profound. In its narrowest meaning, a "domestic murderer" is one who has murdered within the family circle. In selection for Kingston this has been widened to include those who have killed girl-friends, common-law wives, mistresses, and the children of common-law wives and mistresses, even though they might not have been fathered by the man concerned. It has been thought desirable to contain such men in one

centre for various reasons. Principally, they do not see themselves as criminals in the normally accepted sense—nor are they so seen by other prisoners. In terms of behaviour and discipline, one could call them "model prisoners" (although personally I distrust the term); while, from their own point of view, their guilt—and many suffer from an intolerable burden of guilt—is easier to bear among others similarly afflicted.

With a population nearly all of whom had been convicted of the same type of offence, the initial assumption that a general treatment/training programme might be devised which would meet most needs, did not seem to be too unrealistic; unfortunately, experience has proved otherwise. The only common denominator, it would seem, among the domestic murderers is the act of committing a domestic murder; in every other way they are different, and their needs differ likewise. I will try to illustrate this statement by selecting three figures from literature well known to most of us.

Cain, the very first domestic murderer, was from farming stock and killed his brother Abel because of jealousy in work achievement; Othello, of noble blood and undoubted intelligence, killed Desdemona as a result of sexual jealousy, plus his own feelings of insecurity from being a negro; while Bill Sykes, burglar and thug, killed his woman Nancy in a fit of violent and unthinking rage. The development of a regime to cater for men such as these is the very problem we are now tackling at Kingston.

IMPORTANCE OF STAFF TRAINING AND INVOLVEMENT

In-service training started here some months before the first "lifer" entered Kingston, and is still a most important feature in the general programme. Fortunately, Kingston is situated centrally in Portsmouth, thus enabling us to make full use of the many facilities available—psychiatric, medical, educational, etc. Full use has been made of

these in staff training because I considered that the party officer, the trade assistant, the case officer and wing officer, have greater opportunity to affect attitudes or behaviour than the specialists who see much less of the prisoners.

The staff, having learned a little of what to look for and why, now have to record this information. The deputy governor and the psychologist were given the task of creating and introducing a documentation procedure which would enable the collection of all relevant information, and ensure that this information in report form would be readily available at the various stages in the "lifers" stay at Kingston. Initially, reports on each prisoner are called for quarterly when a wing board meets to discuss his progress and problems, and to recommend training needs. The prisoner is obliged to attend his first quarterly review board when he is informed of his response to his transfer to Kingston; but on subsequent boards, he only need attend if he wishes.

Of course, if his reports warrant his presence at this board, he will be called up. The annual review of each prisoner is carried out at the Kingston board, chaired by the governor, and this membership consists of senior members of staff. Any prisoner on whom an F75 is called for is discussed at the Kingston board, and his case officer is usually invited to attend. Perhaps it should be explained that each prisoner has a case officer (a basic grade discipline officer who is a member of the treatment group), someone he can go to for advice etc. It follows that case officers are expected to know more about their prisoners than do other members of the staff. A case officers' meeting is held regularly, and is chaired by the governor. Case officers and their prisoners are not chosen indiscriminately. For example, one case officer is a first-class musician and his group consists of prisoners who are interested in music; another case officer who is Singhalese has a group consisting mainly of coloured prisoners; another case officer with over 20 years' service to his credit and of phlegmatic temperament, has the more difficult prisoner: in every case there is a good reason why a certain prisoner was put on a selected officer's case load. At every stage in the development of our regime we have attempted to ensure that our aims are clearly thought out and defined and that work planning is strictly related to these aims. For example, during the early planning days, the project team submitted the following paper to the Guiding Committee; it is self-explanatory.

AIM OF THE TREATMENT REGIME AT PORTSMOUTH FOR THOSE SERVING LIFE SENTENCES

Over 70 years ago, the Gladstone Committee recommended, *inter alia*, that men and women discharged from prison should be better, physically and morally, than when they came in. If we are to be realistic, we may have to settle for less than this when dealing with those serving life imprisonment, and be more than satisfied if mental and physical deterioration can be kept down to that resulting from the normal ageing process.

Until about 10 years ago, those men serving life imprisonment were kept in a form of limbo for the greater part of their sentence, resuscitated at an "open" prison for the remainder, and then returned to a society which had altered beyond all recognition as far as they were concerned.

Conditions now are generally much better; but we as a project team feel that because there is time to plan and prepare, new ground can be successfully broken. The treatment programme at Portsmouth must be wide and varied in content. There must be sufficient stimuli to keep buoyant every type of personality, but at the same time the regime must be flexible enough to make allowance for the potential of each individual.

We should aim at building up a community of shared interests, and the development of a corporate sense of responsibility. Inmates should participate as much as possible in the organising and running of the community within the framework of Prison Rules. The loss of autonomy is perhaps the greatest deprivation suffered by a long-term prisoner and it can be the most damaging to his personality.

Unquestionably, the offender sentenced to life imprisonment is in a very special category, and we should never lose sight of the fact that he is the prisoner most likely to vegetate if great care is not taken. Like everyone else, he has individual abilities, needs, etc. and these must be catered for if we are to try to offset damage to the personality caused by incarceration for a very long period. This is not to say that our sights must always be aimed at this relatively low level: they must however, never get any lower.

INMATE INVOLVEMENT A VITAL ELEMENT OF THE SYSTEM

We have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to create inmate participation in certain areas in the day to day running of the prison. Attempts have been made to introduce some of the recommendations on "choice" in the report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System "The Regime for Long-Term Prisoners in Conditions of Maximum Security". To give each prisoner a certain sense of identity and its related responsibilities, he is issued on reception with his full scale of personal clothing and bedding which he retains. He is responsible for getting it laundered, even to the extent of deciding which items, and filling in his own laundry ticket.

Community meetings are held every two weeks; wing staff and inmates attend. The purpose of this meeting is to develop and maintain a community of shared interests and, whenever possible, shared responsibilities. Our intention was that once this meeting had been established, its chairmanship would be taken over by an inmate and that any subject other than security and individual members of staff could be discussed. From this community meeting, various committees have been formed—messing, games, film, TV, etc.—thus giving them ample opportunity to exercise "choice" in some portions of their daily lives. The forming of committees has been a slow, and at times, a painful business. For example, all our efforts to persuade a prisoner to take the chair in the community meetings have been successfully resisted. The chair is usually taken by the governor or the deputy governor. One could not fail to sense that the greater majority find comfort and security in a highly structured environment; this desire not to be involved can be better understood after reading the paper given by Mr. D. Hewlings on "Treatment of Murderers" when he refers to a period of time in their sentence between the second and sixth years as "the sleep period", when most life sentence prisoners would prefer nothing better than to hibernate for this period of time.

THE NEED TO GIVE

One activity which was suggested from the floor of one of the community meetings and has enjoyed almost complete success and, again, almost 100 per cent support from all inmates, was a general desire to help children in need. A local children's home was contacted and the prisoners here send each child in the home a birthday and a Christmas present. Our men do not know the names of the children other than their

Christian names and the children in turn know only one prisoner, by the name of "Uncle Ray". The motivation behind the men who contribute towards this fund can be most interesting—for example, one man who is not allowed contact with his children rids himself of some frustration by depriving himself of small luxuries in order to provide these unfortunate children in the home with presents he cannot give his own.

Prisoners work a 40-hour week (less breaks) and are paid under an incentive earnings scheme. They are employed in the rebuilding of the establishment. Of course the "lifer" is subject to all manner of stresses, and these are often reflected in his work output. The prisoner who is approaching a seven-year review, when his case is first put to the Local Review Committee, with a possibility that he might ultimately be granted a discharge date, can become so tense that his work efficiency can drop alarmingly. Our trade assistants and civilian workmen have developed expertise in dealing with the "lifers"; they can recognise symptoms and know how to deal with the men as a result.

Education, in its broadest meaning, plays a most important role in any prison setting, but more so in long-term establishments. At Kingston, it is still developing and I am confident that when we are fully operational we will have a system of education which will be as good as most and better than many.

We have the service of a full consultant psychotherapist who carries out group therapy sessions for certain prisoners who are referred to him by prison medical services.

GOLDFISH BOWL?

There is little restriction on movement within the prison. There is free movement between the wings and recreational areas. Apart from an availability period lasting 45 minutes, when the "lifer" is obliged to remain in his cell, the cells remain unlocked from when they are opened up in the morning, until locking up at night. The main advantage of Kingston Prison is that it is small—six acres in size—prisoners cannot slip away into anonymity as at larger establishments. It is small enough to build up a web of human relationships, everyone virtually known to everyone else. The staff/inmate relationship which is a cornerstone of any training situation, is first class; the interest shown by staff at all levels in this project and their degree of involvement has been pleasantly surprising.

Although we, the staff, see the smallness of Kingston Prison as an advantage, many of the prisoners see it to be very

disadvantageous. They, the prisoners, while agreeing almost unanimously that they much prefer to be at Kingston than to be at any other closed prison, feel sometimes that they are living in a goldfish bowl. "I tore an examination paper up during an 'A' level exam. and within 24 hours, the medical officer, the deputy governor and all the others wanted to know why", was the lament of one prisoner. Other prisoners feel the smallness of the prison. When in a large prison, even though their movements are restricted, they do not have the feeling of living in a telephone kiosk—another comment made to me. One prisoner said to me that when at Wormwood Scrubs there was always the feeling and the knowledge that he might be called away to another part of the prison which could be several hundred yards away. Here, the width of the prison in one section is a little longer than a football pitch and some of the men feel occasional claustrophobia.

Another distinct disadvantage, a temporary one because we have only one-third of our ultimate population, is that all the men here have merged into one large single group. That one or two splinter groups exist cannot be denied, but these exist in what can be termed the "family group". If something seriously distressing happens to one prisoner, the whole group appears to be affected by his depression. For example, when the first result of the Parole Board's findings since our reopening were given to the prisoner concerned, and it was a "no" to a release date, the whole wing became demoralised. Evening class attendance during

the next week fell by more than 30 per cent. At the time of writing, there has been very little movement out during the 23 months we have been functioning; the only three movements we have had have been transfers to Leyhill. The result is a rather apathetic attitude on the part of some prisoners which, in my opinion, will be dispelled as soon as the system is seen to be working: by this I mean as soon as we have frequent transfers to Leyhill and others receiving dates of release.

A more complex issue which should be studied at length is the peculiar effect of an indeterminate sentence upon a prisoner. Experience in Kingston with the opportunity of a more than usually close study of "lifers" reaction to this indeterminate sentence has shown that it can lead to disproportionate pessimism and melancholy and it frequently stultifies attempts to make adequate preparation for release. I can myself understand this hopelessness, this lack of certainty, resulting from my own "indeterminate sentence" as a prisoner of war for three and a half years.

This is one of the problems which lives with us in this learning situation. We are working from the premise that every prisoner in our charge will one day return to society. Not only have we to prepare him for this, but we have to help him come to terms with himself and his life in prison. To end on a very personal note, I now see a new level of meaning in the lines of Oscar Wilde:

For each man kills the thing he loves

But each man does not die.



"Act Nonchalant!"

Parole Refused— *can the prisoner be told why?*

R. E. LEEVES

PAROLE has now been with us for over four years and it seems time to consider whether we are making the best use of the system. Although less than one-third of eligible prisoners are granted parole there is much activity surrounding the selection process. Unfortunately this effort is not being put to the maximum use and one possible way would be to link this "know-how" with the proposal to tell a prisoner why his parole application has been refused. Probably for the first time many prison officers are being given an opportunity to formulate and write down an assessment of prisoners. In addition, officers attached to prison classification units consciously look at many factors surrounding a prisoner's past history, and the classification form, although somewhat cumbersome, does allow for choice in assessment. It is therefore suggested that already there is a closer involvement with the prisoner which should help him and, at the same time—because it demands more skill—enhance the role of the prison officer.

The next step is to use these developing skills to allow for parole refusal to be used as an opportunity for helping the prisoner face the reality of the situation. First it is necessary to define the reasons. This is clear in many cases and does not need more than a thorough examination of the detail in the parole dossier. Unfortunately the reasons given in the Local Review Committee's decision are not always as full as they might be and it is then necessary to look at the full record.

A TEAM DECISION

However, I would like to suggest that it is helpful to involve a team comprising selected prison officers (especially the classification unit) and the prison welfare officers. The group's function could be to consider what appeared to be the main reasons for parole refusal and then discuss how these reasons could be placed before the prisoner. Moreover, the group could decide who might best deal with the prisoner and indeed there might well be occasions when the task would be shared. It is not envisaged that the governor should play any direct part in explaining the reasons although he would still formally tell the prisoner whether or not parole had been granted.

There are various ways in which the

prisoner might discuss the situation and it would be essential to do so over a number of interviews. A bald statement of reasons given in a formal way would not seem to help the prisoner look at the reality and especially the implications of his previous conduct nor his needs for the future. In the United States a check-list of reasons for parole refusal was introduced by the Federal Parole Board in April 1972 in some institutions and it is intended to be nation-wide—in federal institutions at least—by July. Already there have been criticisms and one lawyer representing 20 prisoners who are attempting to discover reasons for refusal has said: "If it's just checking reasons . . . that isn't enough. It's got to involve reasons that relate to a guy's specific case".

However, in Canada there has been considerable discussion and the prisoner is told the reasons for the decision.² The grounds for this practice are outlined as being—

1. To help to modify his behaviour so that either he can get parole at a later date or can otherwise prepare himself for his rehabilitation.
2. To help others interested in the inmate's welfare to understand the expectations of the board so they too can assist the inmate in his rehabilitation.³

It is also suggested, both in Canada² and by the U.S.A. Federal Board chairman,¹ that not every reason can always be given. For example, a psychiatric report may contain detail of a prisoner's mental illness and it may not be appropriate to inform him of every factor. Fortunately only a handful of prisoners would be in this category.

However, the majority would, I believe, benefit from being told why parole had been refused.

FACING REALITY

It is now necessary to consider in detail why the reasons should be discussed with the prisoner. The prisoner in a prison setting is in an unreal situation and is not always encouraged to face the reality of his way of life. To discuss with him the parts of his attitude and behaviour—both in and out of prison—which seem to undermine other people's confidence in him and his ability to cope seems to be an attempt to confront him with reality.



Joined the Birmingham Probation Service in 1950, but came to Oxfordshire in 1956. On appointment as Senior Probation Officer here became responsible for the oversight of prison welfare in Oxford Prison but will relinquish this post on 1st October. In 1967 was appointed to the Local Review Committees at Aylesbury and Oxford prisons, but currently serves only on the Oxford Local Review Committee. In 1971 was awarded a Winston Churchill Travelling Fellowship and visited the U.S.A. and Canada to study the criteria for release on parole

It would be confirmed by many prison officers that there are prisoners who see prison as an escape from the reality of everyday living.

But to discuss a man's attitude may also lead to helping him explain how he sees the people and life outside. If the listener is then able to be both sympathetic, practical and realistic, the prisoner may well begin to trust him. Anyway, it is not always necessary to tell a man why he is in trouble or why he did not get parole. Certainly some prisoners when asked if they think they will gain parole are quite clear as to the reasons why they are likely to be refused. A further example of this ability to be realistic is when a prisoner is interviewed after declining to be considered for parole. He may well say: "Get parole? With my record I don't stand a chance".

To outline the reasons for parole refusal may also act as motivation for change. A writer in a recent book on parole writes: "The tragedy of the system is that no one has yet solved the problem of using such a powerful incentive in a therapeutic way" and "A man needs insight about the reasons if any change of attitude is to be achieved".⁴ This would apply particularly where a prisoner is eligible for another review. In California, attempts are made to induce motivation long before a prisoner is due to be considered for parole. Parole Board members or examiners interview a prisoner in the early months of his sentence: they discuss his plans, suggest courses of action (e.g. attendance at an Alcoholics Anonymous group) and fix a date for his first review. Should he fail to do as he

promised he will have to answer for not involving himself in his rehabilitation programme. Obviously this is open to abuse since a prisoner may appear to be involved in useful activity, but may in fact be going through the motions without actually making constructive use of the activity.

But having seen many English and American parole dossiers it is difficult to believe that all prison officers or others professionally involved in parole are likely to be fooled by superficial attempts to prove self rehabilitation.

MOTIVATION FOR CHANGE

If my hypothesis is correct and prisoners could be helped or motivated for change by being told the reasons for parole refusal, it is not immediately clear as to the arguments for opposing this practice. Do the Parole Board believe

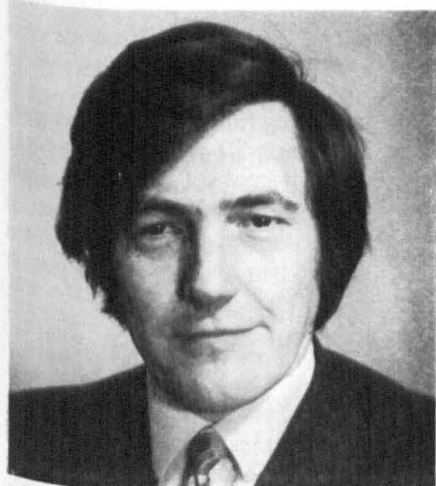
that their reasons or the Local Review Committee reasons might be misinterpreted and misunderstood by the prisoner? And that he might then feel even more rejected and become difficult? Yet every day prisoners' appeals are dismissed. Does this make for trouble? Every day prison welfare officers are having to help a man face the fact that his wife has said she is separating from him. Likewise probation officers may well need to remind a man that this time he goes to Court he is likely to face incarceration in some form or other. In all these instances, whether the person alongside the offender is a prison officer, a prison welfare officer or a probation officer, it is often possible to use the disappointment in a constructive way. People are often more resilient than we give them credit for—but perhaps the reluctance to give reasons

reflects our fear of being unable to cope with the repercussions? The experience in those areas of North America, where prisoners are told, is of increased awareness among them. Not to do so is a lost opportunity.

So far no logical reasons—perhaps no reasons at all—have been advanced for not telling the prisoner the facts even though in a majority of cases he could benefit from this experience.

REFERENCES

1. *Wall Street Journal*, 14th January 1972.
2. "Minutes after the interview the inmate is told of the decision and the reasons for it." P. 6: "An outline of Canada's Parole System for Judges, Magistrates and the Police". (National Parole Board of Canada 1971.)
3. "Giving reasons for Parole Board decision." Private paper by Frank P. Miller, Executive Director, National Parole Service, Canada.
4. "The Future of Parole." Ed. D. J. West (1972), Chap. 3. J. P. Martin on "The Local Review Committee". P. 56/7.



John Gunn is Senior Lecturer in Forensic Psychiatry, working with Professor Gibbens at the Institute of Psychiatry in London. For some six years has been concerned with research into the health of criminals and prisoners. Teaches psychiatry to doctors and probation officers and until recently helped run a course in criminology in London which is mainly aimed at prison officers and policemen. Other interests include helping with the management of a number of prisoner after-care projects such as hostels and a club. A consultant at the Maudsley Hospital and has a small outpatient clinic there for offenders

Psychiatry and Prisoners

A retrospective look at Grendon Prison

JOHN GUNN

and penal system. Part of this general trend has been a considerable and increasing use of psychiatric facilities within the prisons themselves. Perhaps the most significant step in this direction was the opening of Grendon Prison in 1962. This remarkable prison seems, in some ways, to have been partly based on the famous psychiatric penal establishment at Herstedvester, Copenhagen, Denmark, but there the prisoners are sent on indefinite sentences and the centre has follow-up and outpatient arrangements, making it more closely related to our special hospitals (Broadmoor, Rampton and Moss-side). Grendon, on the other hand, does not deal with the mentally ill, takes prisoners on ordinary sentences, is supplied with men by the Home Office, not by the Courts, and tries to apply the principles of psychiatric treatment to persistent offenders.

In contrast to Grendon, many of our older "local" prisons have developed psychiatric clinics as part of the service provided by the prison hospital, and employ a number of visiting psychiatrists and psychotherapists for this purpose. Wormwood Scrubs prison in London provides one of the largest of these facilities.

When the Home Office Research Unit asked the forensic psychiatry unit (directed by Professor T. C. N. Gibbens)

to look into the whole question of psychiatric treatment within the prisons we had to define a number of tasks. Our first problem was to determine the nature of psychiatric treatment. Psychiatry is simply a sub-speciality of the medical profession. It deals with mental disorders, neuroses, brain diseases and behaviour disorders using a variety of techniques such as medicines, discussions, training procedures and therapeutic communities. This latter method is difficult to define exactly but it derives from recent developments that have occurred in mental hospitals in which the whole environment of the institution is geared towards helping the patient gain confidence, self understanding and a new approach to his personal problems.

In practice, of course, it is very difficult indeed to draw the line between psychiatry and other kinds of assistance. Is every prison doctor who listens to a story of misery and dejection and intervenes with reassurance, support, or perhaps anti-depressant drugs, a psychiatrist, or should this title be reserved for specially trained practitioners? Is every officer who sits and discusses personal problems with an inmate a kind of psychiatrist? Why isn't every well-run prison that tries to rehabilitate disorganised men by means of an understanding, educational system called

SINCE the end of the second world war there have been a number of trends in the general direction of regarding behaviour problems as falling within the purview of medicine. Psychiatry takes the lion's share of these problems because it traditionally deals with "insanity", "unreason", "odd behaviour" and so forth. Although it has always been possible to deal with some offenders as psychiatric cases by using the legal mechanism of irresponsibility by reason of insanity, it is only recently that a whole range of psychiatric disposals began to be used by the legal

a therapeutic community?

Even more fundamental than this, when a prisoner is taken on for "treatment", what are the treatment aims? To reduce the misery of imprisonment; to diminish the number of basic mental symptoms he normally suffers from; or to modify the degree and type of his criminal behaviour? Whatever the answers to these questions, there is no doubt that any type of caring and client-oriented service (including psychiatry) fits uneasily into the present prison system which, after all, was designed to punish.

Our second task was to take an empirical look at the kind of service that has actually been offered over the past few years. We did this by a retrospective enquiry into the prison records kept at Grendon and at Wormwood Scrubs and this paper, with the one that follows, reports the findings of that enquiry.

METHOD

Grendon Prison opened in 1962 and its first full year of operation was 1963. The case notes for 1963 were, therefore, examined. In addition, a recent year's notes (1968) were also examined to see if any major changes had occurred in the first few years of operation.

For 1963, 129 psychiatric case notes were examined and the 1968, 165 case notes. Each patient was referred on the special Prison Department 1980 form indicating that they had been deemed suitable for the special therapeutic community which operates at Grendon.

Clearly only information consistently and completely recorded could be used for statistical analysis. Perusal of the notes suggested that the following details could be gleaned for most inmates:

age; diagnosis; source of referral; sentence; offence; number of previous convictions; length of stay at Grendon; reason for discharge; and prognosis.

The penal system distinguishes between young persons (aged 15-20) who can be dealt with by approved school, borstal, young imprisonment, etc., and adults (aged 21+) whose only form of institutional punishment is imprisonment. Grendon has been designed to cater for both of these groups and they have both been examined in the survey but very few young persons have been included in the 1963 sample because the "boys" wing was not open at that time.

The sentence was examined both in terms of its length and its type (i.e. determinate, borstal, life or detention centre). Those were taken as mutually exclusive categories; where punishment

was given for offences in different categories then the most serious offence was rated—seriousness being determined by the length of sentence given.

Prognosis proved to be a difficult rating not only because some doctors failed to make an assessment at discharge but also because of the ambiguous terminology used, e.g. "prognosis guarded" was a frequent statement. Eventually an empirical check list of terms was converted to a three point scale:

- (i) Good prognosis.
- (ii) Fair prognosis.
- (iii) Bad prognosis.

RESULTS

Characteristics of the two samples—1963 and 1968

For 1963, four young persons and 125 adults were examined. Apart from the analysis of age the young persons have been included with the adults. By 1968, however, the new boys' wing had opened and so a bigger proportion of young persons was being treated. There were 46 cases under the age of 21 and one whose age was not known, making 165 cases in all. Therefore, for 1968 the boys and men have been analysed separately.

Age structure

Table 1

	1963	1968	1968
		boys	men
N	...	125	46
Range (years)	...	216-1	16-20
Mean (years)	...	31.6	19.1
		28.4	

Between 1963 and 1968 (men) there has been a mean drop in age which is statistically significant.

Diagnosis

Most of the labels attached to the prisoners are, of course, very opinionative and open to discussion, but for whatever it is worth most of them were called "personality disordered", i.e. were thought to suffer from persistent deviations of social and emotional function, only 13 per cent in 1963 and 3 per cent of the 1968 men were thought to be "psychotic" or mad. Around 20 per cent of all three groups were regarded as having an alcohol problem. There was a significant rise in the number of drug problems referred: 6 per cent in 1963, as opposed to 21 per cent of 1968 boys and 17 per cent of 1968 adults. However, the number of sexual problems fell from 32 per cent in 1963 to 26 per cent 1968 boys and 21 per cent 1968 men.

Source of referral

Designating the London establishments as Pentonville, Wandsworth, Feltham and Wormwood Scrubs, 25 cases, or 20 per cent, came from this

area in 1963, and 30 cases, or 27 per cent, in 1968. However, there was a marked drop in cases referred from Pentonville (14—1963, nil—1968) and a marked rise in cases from Wormwood Scrubs 1—1963, 20—1968. There was also a fall in the number of cases referred from Manchester, 12 in 1963 and two in 1968.

Pressure for referral

Most of the cases were referred by prison doctors but it was clear that about one-fifth had had a Court request suggesting they go to Grendon. There was no significant differences between 1963 and 1968.

Sentence structure

The 1968 boys were, of course, mainly borstal lads, whilst the adult prisoners were commonly sentenced to three years' imprisonment. There were no significant differences between the years.

Type of offences

These are listed in Table 2.

Number of previous convictions

The average number of previous convictions varied between the years. Only 3-8 per cent of offenders had never been in trouble before.

Table 2

	1963 (N=123)	1968 (N=44) boys	1968 (N=112) men
Property	71(58%)	22(50%)	68(61%)
Violence	13(11%)	11(25%)	24(21%)
Homicide	2(2%)	1(2%)	1(1%)
Sex	24(20%)	3(7%)	11(10%)
Drugs	3(2%)	5(11%)	0
Drink	1(1%)	0	0
Rape	1(1%)	1(2%)	1(1%)
Arson	6(5%)	0	6(5%)
Others	2(2%)	1(2%)	1(1%)

The number of sex cases fell from 1963 ($X^2=4.93$ p 0.05) and there was a trend for the number of violence cases to rise ($X^2=3.72$ p <0.1). None of the other differences was significant.

Length of stay at Grendon

The average length of stay varied between eight and 10 months, although men commonly only stayed three to five months and boys one month. There were no differences between the three groups.

Reason for discharge

About half of the prisoners leave because they have come to the end of their sentence, however, up to 19 per cent are removed because of "disruptive behaviour", an ill-defined term which presumably includes fighting, not co-operating with the therapeutic community, overt homosexual acts, etc. The proportion who are rejected in this way has risen from 7 per cent in 1963 to 17 per cent (men in 1968). Twelve per cent of boys are sent away because they

are considered "unsuitable" for treatment. Over the years there has been a trend for discharges due to psychotic illness to fall from 10 per cent to 4 per cent.

Prognosis

A statement about outcome was available for only half of these cases. Of this half, about one-half were thought to have a bad prognosis and only 14-15 per cent to have a good one. There were no differences between the groups.

Within group relationships

Regarding the 1963 and the 1968 men as one big group it is interesting to see which factors are related one to the other. There was, for example, an expected trend for the men serving longer sentences to be discharged for reasons other than "time expired", and sexual offenders were less likely to be discharged for disruptive behaviour than other prisoners. However, there were no relationships between the degree of optimism expressed by the doctors in their prognostic ratings and any other variables.

Courts were more likely to recommend sexual problems, but less likely to recommend men serving long sentences (who often made their own requests).

DISCUSSION

Clearly this study has all the deficits of a retrospective enquiry. The results are based upon data gleaned from case notes and these case notes were not designed as research instruments and we were not able to test consistency one with another, nor carry out checks on validity. The use of ill-defined terms by different individuals is an especial problem, for example, about 70 per cent of the patients at Grendon were regarded as suffering from "personality disorder" a term which probably means different things to different people and may not, therefore, tell us a great deal.

Nevertheless, this is the best data available about Grendon Prison for the years in question and it is, therefore, well worth a cautious examination.

The first important point that emerges is that there is a great similarity between the years 1963 and 1968. Although it might have been thought that 1963 would be typical as it represented the first full year of operation, this has not, in fact, proved the case. The few changes can best be summarised as follows:

- 1968 showed a slight drop in mean age;
- fewer psychotics and sexual problems accepted;
- more drug problems accepted;

a sharp fall in referrals from Pentonville and Manchester and an increase from Wormwood Scrubs;

more violent offenders and fewer sexual offenders were referred; and

more patients were discharged because of disruptive behaviour and fewer because of psychosis.

This may seem a long list but very few of the changes are fundamental. The shift in prison referrals is probably dependent upon changes in Prison Department policy. Pentonville has now more psychiatric facilities of its own and deals almost exclusively with short term offenders. Wormwood Scrubs is being increasingly used by Dr. Gray (P.M.O. Grendon) as a place where doubtful Grendon cases can be vetted before final acceptance. London referrals still form the same proportion of the whole (one-fifth to one-quarter). From the beginning, Dr. Gray has tried to avoid the role of a "mental hospital" and has indicated that psychotic patients are usually unsuitable. Perhaps the fall in referral rates of patients deemed psychotic reflects success in communicating this policy. The decrease in sexual problems and increase in violent men is interesting. It may reflect a shift in Grendon policy and alternatively reflect similar changes in the prison population as a whole. The increase in discharges for disruptive behaviour probably reflects the lowered proportion of sexual offenders being referred because they were especially unlikely to be discharged in this way. No doubt the slight increase in the numbers of drug addicts received reflects the general pattern of drug offending in the community since 1963.

It seems reasonable to conclude that in 1968, as in 1963, the "typical" adult Grendon patient is: in his early twenties, designated as having a "personality disorder" by the medical staff (often with a concomitant sexual disorder or drinking problem); has been selected by a prison doctor; is serving one to three years' imprisonment for a property offence; has six or seven previous convictions and stays three to nine months at Grendon, usually until the end of his sentence but often given a poor prognosis by his doctor.

Looking at the relationships of the variables to one another within the group as a whole it is perhaps not surprising that the long sentence men are discharged before their sentences end (and there is no trend for them to be more often discharged because of disruptive behaviour). It is a little sur-

prising, however, that the sexual offenders seem to be regarded as less "disruptive" than other groups especially when it is realised that the "disruptive" definition included forming overt sexual liaisons with other patients and disturbing sexual behaviour of this kind, perhaps they are better motivated. It is equally surprising that no relationships could be found between "prognosis" and other factors. The impression gained was that the doctors were not optimistic about any of the sub-categories they are treating.

This last point raises a most important issue—prognosis in regard to what? The case notes did not specify whether the doctors at Grendon thought they were trying to treat psychological problems as distinct from criminal problems (or as one therapist put it, trying to make happier, more effective criminals), or whether they are trying to reduce criminality in the men referred, or both simultaneously. This is no simple dilemma to resolve and future penal policies will have to state their objectives more clearly. Sometimes it is said, for example, that the objective is to reduce the reconviction rate, this can hardly be true for the man who is detained for 20 to 30 years, and simpler ways of reducing reconviction rates would be to either change the laws so that the prisoner's behaviour is no longer illegal (this has been done in respect of homosexuality and is being advocated in respect of cannabis smoking), or reduce the efficiency of the police force. Those who know Grendon are aware that it is not engaged in a naive success-failure game in terms of reconviction rates, but unfortunately the case notes examined here did not set out the aims of treatment in a way which can constantly be checked against.

It is also worth noting that Courts are more likely than other sources to refer sexual problems. Does this mean an increasing public demand for medical intervention in this area? Does it imply that prison doctors and the prisoners themselves are less sanguine about the efficacy of Grendon for this type of patient? Does the higher proportion of long sentence prisoners requesting Grendon treatment reflect good motivation amongst those men, or just a tendency on the part of prison doctors to give a long sentence man who requests treatment the benefit of the doubt?

It is hoped that further light can be shed on some of these issues by a prospective study of Grendon prisoners which the Institute of Psychiatry is now undertaking.

Wilforde House

An experiment in co-operation

F. OAKES

F. Oakes joined the Prison Service in 1963 after five years in the R.A.F. Regiment and served eight years as an officer at Eastchurch Open Prison. At Hollesley Bay Colony Open Borstal he shared in the pre-release experiment which inspired this article. He is now serving at the new prison at Acklington in Northumberland.

SINCE Sir Alexander Paterson said "you cannot train men for freedom in conditions of captivity" the Prison Service has, consciously or unconsciously, been progressing towards non-captive captivity. Open prisons, hostels, home leave, parole and extra-mural working parties have been and are being used, but the bulk of the prison population remains in prison, where, though many changes take place, the basic conditions remain. There are still the rulers and the ruled, the free and the captive, the staff and the inmates: so, if prisoners are to be trained for freedom in conditions of captivity, how is it to be done?

At Hollesley Bay Colony, in the discharge unit, there may be the rudiments of an answer. This unit, known as Wilforde House, is a new purpose-built unit housing 60 borstal trainees in their last few weeks of training. The house is run on well established principles of shared responsibilities which, though restricted in their application by the framework of borstal rules, have an incidental resemblance to those principles which inspired Homer Lane, David Willis, A. S. Neill and others in their exemplary exercises in self governing communities. It is not in the mechanics of running the house, however, that the secret lies, but rather in the changes made in the attitude and conduct of staff and inmates.

SHAKING OFF OLD HABITS

In placing the onus for running the house on to the trainees the traditional position of staff is changed from a supervisory to a participant one, and the environment of the trainee is changed from an "officially imposed regime" to what it should have been from the start; the resulting consequence of his own actions. The staff have to place their trust in the trainees, knowing that the trust may well be betrayed, for the scheme of things is not to create a semblance of trust but to establish a climate in which trust can grow. The inhibitions created in the staff by monumental piles of rules and regu-

lations, by years of frustrated efforts, by acts of downright wilfulness witnessed in the past, by association with the worst in human behaviour, have to be painfully and forcibly shaken off. A massive task. But being released from most of the minor disciplinary and administrative chores which have long been a source of aggravation and conflict, (these being handled by the trainees' own democratic machinery) staff have a greater opportunity to arrive at a more satisfactory relationship than is possible in an orthodox regime. Thus, having extricated themselves from the minor tasks, the staff have enhanced their own authority for, when they do become involved in disciplinary and administrative problems, it is usually on a matter of some importance. They are also better placed to get past that well known, hard to pull down, false front that trainees are known to put up to impress their peers and as a defence against authority.

REMOVING THE MASK

The response of the inmate to this kind of regime is, of course, not immediately accepting. They too have their traditions; "to do your bird easy" has never been an idle saying. It has long been a way of prison life to put on a cloak of conformity and so traverse all but the longest sentence without conceding one iota of their character to exposure or risk of change. This phenomenon is the greatest single obstacle to the prison worker who wants to do more than a mere holding job, and many, many man-hours and much compromising has been wasted trying to get a glimpse of the man behind the facade. Even on those odd occasions when this armour is penetrated it is rarely with anything resembling a remedial attitude. In Wilforde House by giving the trainee a say, be it ever so small, in the creation and administration of his own code of conduct, the need for and the ability to sustain a false front has been largely eliminated. When it is the practice to put a complaint or suggestion to the test

of a meeting of your peers it has to be substantial, as any pretence is quickly stripped away. It is probable that the best therapeutic claims for group work are brought into play like this, and it is certain that the "herd" instinct, usually a disruptive force in prisons, is capable of a more constructive role.

At this stage, it must be said that this kind of regime would not work everywhere. There are many qualifications and disqualifications to be considered, nor should it be imagined that it means less work for the staff. On the contrary, the staff have to be exceedingly vigilant. Neither can a regime of this type be undertaken lightly since it must, above all things, be sincere or it will be seen through by all but those of the lowest intellect. The most frustrating thing to those trained in Civil Service procedures is the almost complete lack of firm and fast rules, for shared responsibility, even on a small scale, is an exercise in democracy, and democracy is a living thing prone to change as situations develop. Rules are made to fit cases and are forgotten when the climate dictates, and are often revived to meet problems different from those for which they were designed.

THE OLD RECIPES ARE NO LONGER ENOUGH

Undoubtedly, borstal institutions could profit from this idea. In a small way the Wilforde House scheme shows this. It seems, after all, a logical extension of the Huntercombe training system, and it is in line with the original reasoning that inspired that concept. As Huntercombe in 1960 "took cognizance of the rapidly changing social structure of Britain", so must we in 1970. It is time to recognise that the Patersonian doctrine of teaching a lad a trade and to play up and play the game while seeming admirable to one generation, is irrelevant to a lad who is confused about the values of a society he does not understand. Failing to understand, he cannot reason that the disappointments life in that society will inevitably bring, are not a personal attack on him as a individual. Teaching a lad a trade, and getting him trade union recognition, is indisputably a fine thing, but lads tend to accept them as a passport to success and this is not so. Skilled men, trained in more orthodox methods, have their backs to the wall these days, and the effect of unemployment on them, for the most part more stable than our lads, can be devastating. To let our lads face the same problems unprepared is begging the problem of backsliding and borstal failure of today is often the prison

problem of tomorrow. It would seem inevitable that trade training is invalidated if it is not matched with equal awareness of the trials and tribulations of that inefficient but desirable social system we care to call democracy.

Inmates cannot see the problem of authority if they are not allowed to be part of that authority, and the only way this can be possible is if we are prepared, within the limits of our legal and moral obligations, to make them responsible for as much of their environment as possible. Youth at least, must surely be as exercised in the use of democratic methods as they are in the arts of building houses and farming land. How else are they to develop the skills required to appreciate how individual freedom is related to the freedom of society as a whole?

CAN DEMOCRACY BE TAUGHT IN AN AUTHORITY SETTING?

Democratic regimes in penal establishments are not new, they have been tried before. They were not a great success as the benefits obtained were always exceeded by the disadvantages, but the common factor in these regimes was that democracy was used as a means of administration, with training being incidental. Consequently a democratic machine tried to achieve the efficiency only obtainable by authoritarian means. Practice proves the adage that democracy is inefficient. Wilforde House practice seems to prove that this deficiency can be partly overcome. How big this part is, is in direct proportion to the effort and skill of the staff involved. It is their task to see that the machinery does the job it is required to do, to see that it remains democratic and that it does not degenerate into an inmate-dominated authoritarian regime. With our legal liabilities such regimes need, of course, well defined limits. These limits must be known by all and strictly adhered to. Within these limits, however, the regime must be truly democratic and the tools of administration available have as little restriction on their use as possible. It is plain to see that a true-to-life democracy, a transferral of the civil order into a penal establishment, is not really practical. The principles are, however, transferable and as the proposal is for an exercise in democracy and not a course in public administration then, if the resemblance to "civvy street" is only vague it is not too important. Indeed it could be argued that if the principles are learned in a "foreign" atmosphere they will be better applied and will retain an individual flavour in a "home" setting. Though the Hollesley Bay contribution to this concept is still in embryonic stage,

the problem of reconciling this regime and its resemblance to democratic practice with the requirements of borstal rules and regulations has received a great deal of thought as problems have presented themselves. And a mental projection of the concept gives no indication of any that could not be surmounted with a little imagination and a willingness to depart from what has long been considered orthodox. It is true that problems do arise, many more than one would expect or accept in an authoritarian regime, but few of these find their way into the normal disciplinary machinery. With inmates carrying the responsibility more problems come out into the open and the staff become aware of these earlier than normal, which gives time for remedial action and correction to be administered to these problems before they reach a size requiring the hand of retribution.

How far such a concept would work in an adult prison is, of course, a matter for the most serious consideration. It is evident that some categories could not be trusted with such a regime even if they were disposed to try it, and it is possible they would not. Having done my basic training in an open prison where the techniques of control were well developed I have no doubt that such places would lend themselves to limited inmate participation, certainly the more mature type of inmate would call for more vigilance but it would be easier to explain the limitations of the scheme.

The indications to be gathered from the Wilforde House scheme are mainly a matter of opinion, but it does seem

that trainee participation in the field of house-keeping, sport, and social activities is a valid proposition. In the forming of rules of conduct there seems to be plenty of room within the statutory rules to allow for a code of conduct to come from the inmate population. It is in the enforcement of these rules that most difficulty is experienced and Wilforde House has not yet developed any satisfactory techniques to solve this problem. We cannot and do not, of course, give any inmate disciplinary power over another, but we seem to survive quite well on voluntary system sanctions re-enforced by active but oblique pressure from the staff. There is ample evidence from other fields that a voluntary application of sanctions can work. Undoubtedly a meeting of peers is the best way to get implemented rules arrived at voluntarily by a form of democratic action. If we are to accept the maxim that people are placed in custody as a punishment, not for punishment, are we not then to give them the opportunity within these limitations for some say in their environment, and not to relieve them of the responsibility for all the mundane aspects of everyday life?

Editorial note

Ian Dunbar's article on Long Lartin, originally published in PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, July 1971, appears in translation in the March/April 1972 edition of *Bulletin de l'Administration Penitentiaire*, published by the Belgian Ministry of Justice.

Readers Write ★ ★ ★

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

When I first came to your country I understood that you intended to separate your remand prisoners from the convicted. I remember a rather passionate argument with the then governor of the local prison of Leeds whether the situation of the average prisoner in a German local prison was more unpleasant than the situation of an English prisoner. I am afraid I did not succeed in persuading my colleague that we were worse off, but I am convinced he won the argument by his linguistic superiority. Well, after all these years

we have stopped putting more than one prisoner into a single cell. Beyond that I don't see much change. My students often tell me that the prisoners when arriving at the penal institution are severely spoiled for our treatment aims by the long stay in local prisons. Part of the problems we try to solve by our treatment are produced by the preceding time as prisoner on remand. I remember you started to build remand centres in the mid-sixties in order to keep a selected minority of prisoners on remand out of the local prisons. Now and then I find a reference to these remand centres in the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, but I never read a contribution on the experience with

these new institutions. Could you kindly help me to get information on that theme?

K. P. ROTTHAUS,

Director of Training in the
West German Prison Service.

(Our German friends seem to have solved their three-in-a-cell problem. Mr. Rotthaus was a member of the Council of Europe Seminar held at Wakefield in 1965. Perhaps some reader would like to satisfy his wish for more information about the development and effectiveness of remand centres?—Ed.)

One officer's point of view

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

When I joined the Prison Service in 1963 I soon became aware that the old regime of para-military discipline was on the way out and I do not recall any reluctance on my part by its passing. I had then, as now, in common with all prison officers, certain ideas of how men in prison could best be assisted to reform and high on the list came communication, for without that one was only a gaoler, a position that I have never yet craved for. I was soon to learn that reform is a matter for each inmate to decide for himself. The proverb "You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink" holds true and so it was that I decided that my role should be to implement rules and regulations, tempered by commonsense, and encourage each inmate to make the right choice. Many inmates resented my attitudes preferring the old image "screw", to whom they could more easily direct their resentment. Slowly I gained a better understanding of inmate attitudes by conversation, explanation and daily contact with various individuals, more so than any training course could possibly have given me. I saw the introduction of many new reforms and welcomed many as long overdue. I began to feel that I was performing a worthwhile task and felt a certain amount of pride in the Service as a whole.

It is now 1972 and I am beginning to wonder what has gone wrong. The whole machinery of reform seems to have gone completely mad, it is as though he who has not yet mastered walking has suddenly decided to run. No longer, it seems, must we decide what an inmate needs but what he wants and give it to him as quickly as possible.

We appear to be teaching inmates that the more they demand the more they will get, the louder they shout the more they will be heard, the more aggressive they become, the more amiable we will become, in fact most of the attitudes that we so despise. Can this be reform? Of course every inmate is a potential member of our society outside and we should never lose sight of this but that is all the more reason to discourage any anti-social attitudes. I hasten to add that I attach no blame to the inmate, for why should he make the effort when things can be obtained so easily? Nothing can be obtained by taking backward steps but much damage can be done by leaping into the future no matter how well intentioned the ideal may be. Reform can, and must, be our aim but let us be sure that we do things with the intention of reforming and not with the intention of making us feel that we have performed some Christian act. It may be that some actions required for reform may prove distasteful; to ignore them, however, is a denial of our function and a betrayal of the inmate population. Prisons are not places to be admired or despised they are an unfortunate aspect of our society, an aspect that many claim should be torn down. I would only ask those making such claims in the name of reform to reflect back to history to when our cities were walled in order to afford shelter at night away from prowling robbers and thieves. Surely they would not wish us to go this far? It can be said that we are passing through a phase in society where many accepted principles are being questioned and that this is being reflected in our prisons. I do not profess to understand many of the arguments for change now being put forward for much of what goes on I see through the eyes of "Mr. Average", nor would I presume to teach the politicians politics, I only know that I have heard nine years of reasons why inmates commit crime whilst I try hard to give them reasons why they should not.

In closing let me say that the mere fact that this letter has been accepted for publication proves that reform is being sought inside our prisons. I only ask that one realises that I, as a basic grade discipline officer, must put into practice what others preach. Jules Verne wrote some very enlightened books on space travel and whilst his arguments were valid, to make the idea into fact demands time.

A. TAYLOR,
Senior Officer,
Northeye Prison.

Carpe Diem

*Gyda Anfreichiadau I
Ddylan—Arglwydd y
Gair Caneuol*

DAWNING is not yet and the night is still
in the camp that lies upon the hill.
The sleepers sleep in the silent throng.
Night-mulled faces seeking to right a
wrong.

Each finds what he seeks—
The first justification;
The second rests on redemption;
The third weeps over victimisation.

Deep dreams are dreamt in the dawning
night—the soft smiling face,
the empty hearth and warm fire-
place—children splashing in sun-
drenched seas.

Listen! The measured footsteps pound
the night away.

The moon-goons wake, whisper and
slide pussyfooting into nowhere.
The camp is poised for the breaking day.
Dew-dappled daisies dance and die
deepdown dark in the dooming
wood.

And the yellow-beaked blackbirds
sing in tune with the sleepy-hooting
sad owlhood.

White coats flash in the dawning sun
and wait for the bell that breaks
the day, counting the sleepers as
they lie like mice asleep in the sun-
warm hay.

Tired, tousled, tumble out of bed; glad
of the new day and the night that is
dead

But stop Listen! Hear that bell.
Its tolling tolls not for you, brother,
but it does for another—

New dawns the morning bright as dew,
off with the grey coat and on with
the new—

This day is his—one of the few.
Stand by the gate now and see him go.
A frightened smile and a quick
cheerio.

The gate of the world is open today.
The salt-sad, happy world;
the lovely and loveless world;
the women and children world;
the tripe and test match—
beer and Blackpool,
wicked working wonderful world.

Walking the low road with the man in
blue—mothballed suit and moth-
balled mind.

Must'nt be late now. Out of the gate
now—standing still sees in the neat
new dawn the custard-cream camp

behind whose walls are lives that pause and wait for the fullness of time.

Back in the clattering, babbling, bacon-smelling hall, the men who were mice are eating breakfast and talking time—

"Never slept a wink", Rip says to Van.

"You snored all night", Van says to Winkle.

"Got any sugar?" Cadger says to Con.

"Out with the snout", Con says to Cadger.

And swinging little white Whittington bags go whistling and worrying back to the wards.

Bells ring—clear your wards!

Steel tips chip and drag the concrete corridors.

Stand still, brother, still in the tallying silence.

Watch the swallows swoop and swank like trout in a mountain stream.

They preen and drink the crystal dew-drops, then off to toil and feed their yawning babies, while the cuckoo cons the nest and lays its lazy egg.

Stand still. The count is taken, the tally told.

Tally ho and off to work you go.

March off in your trudging twosomes, nattering and nagging the things that have no end.

Leader, gardener, builder, tailor,

Cleaner, cobbler, carpenter, cook,

Work, brother, work.

Tarry not, for work is the great harvester of time and the harvest is heavy and full on this dry, fallow earth.

The day wears on like a soft old shoe.

Like yesterday and tomorrow—till the shrill bell ends the working day.

Bells—Bells—Tally Bells—Cocoa Bells
Breakfast Bells and Hell's Bells.

Who lives in this belling world but John Smith, alias John Greycloth.

Soldier, sailor and currency maker.

Bondaged by a promise, the only chains he knows are those he makes—of paper.

Cut and gummed, tinselled and toileted, that rainbow round the Yuletide wards and bind him Christmas-close to home.

He is tall, short; fat and thin, and without him the camp would die—but there are others—

Peering through a window, fiddling his time, sits the minikin man, "Honest Foxy Bird".

His words slip sotto from the side of

his cheek and, acting innocent, his eyes slant sly round corners.

Take care, brother Foxy, the reins are light but the hand is firm, and there is no truth in your hunted, stunted, swagbag of a world.

Then there are the sheep-eyed men—
Lazy Bird—too tired to bother.

Dozing day dreams on his too-comfy bed.

His brow slowly wrinkles as he ponders whether to get up on the right side or the left side.

Twenty living minutes later he moves and, dazed by the effort, drags his feet down the corridors of time, his bird-bag heavy on his shoulders.

Me! Busy Bird, buzzing through my beehived-world.

No time to talk. No talk of time.

Non-stop—this side of the gate and beyond.

Who speaks with a voice as soft as a spider's web.

On whose tongue butter would melt—and turn rancid?

Words ooze oily from his mouth as he cons the Blarney Stone into dumb silence.

Beware his eyes—like great shallow pools of liquid truth.

Yes, beware the back-slapping, hobnobbing "friends" who calls you "Mate".

Lazy Bird sits staring up and listening to the gilt-edged tongue of Lolly Bird, the money man.

Who, puffed as a robin, wallows in his daily bath of Midas-mud and lives his dream of Eldorado—

"Had to sell the yacht, of course.

Things must be difficult for Agatha.

Cowes instead of Cannes this year.

Thank God for my tin shares"

and wonders what the dole is this year.

Time passes—work and wonder—
watch the gardens grow—

But beware, brother, be aware.

Be aware of the blooming beauty as you pass unheeding, hurrying to nowhere.

Of lupins and lettuce, tomatoes and roses, and pippy-red strawberries.

Of the shy delight in your visitor's eyes as she sees you, brown and bibbed with your bunch of sweet posies.

And the sweet sadness in her face as the precious minutes slip through your fingers like fine dry sand.

Grey-coated lines sit in the sun as the pin-top pines echo the smack of leather on willow and the rippling clap-clap for an over full of maidens.

Day is nearly done now.

The sun, glaring his sleepy red-rim-shot eye over the cedars, silently grumbling to the moon, shoos him to a sundown, goes slumbering down into the Severn.

Ice-cream-coated men wend the cinder-track way home to wives and naughty, pillow-fighting whipper-snappers.

Lights flicker out.

The long, quiet night begins.

Awake in the dozing darkness, in the snoring, wheezing, coughing darkness, you watch and see—the phantom Tallyman pad and plod the tick-tocking night, his torch-beam stabbing the gloom and flicking from face to face.

Remember, brother, as you dance through your dead-eyed dreams, that "time" is the only thing you possess.

You cannot sell it, buy it, lose it, or give it away.

Use it well.

Don't waste it, pipe-dreaming or snouting your way through this manacled world.

Remember, too, as you walk through this shadowed valley, that the Cross is your staff as well as your burden.

The quiet night thickens.

The hushed camp sleeps shrouded in moonlight, this one unchained night.

Dawning is not yet, and the night is still—

My

Eyes, through

Misty moonlight see

This page of Penal history.

This is the Way that Shapes the Will
In the camp that stands

On the Ley

of the

Hill.

ONE WHO WATCHES THOSE WHO WAIT.

Reprinted from July issue of NEW DAWN,
A. R. RICHARDS 1958.

"I have always considered that there has been a wealth of poetry and verse written by prisoners and staff over the years which could be brought together into an anthology of prison poetry. It is my intention to begin such a task and I should be grateful if you could bring this to the attention of all our colleagues and staff via the Journal."

This we now do, and readers who are interested in this idea should write direct to Alan Richards, Governor of Reading Prison.—Ed.



Duncan Fairn.

Well known in national and international penological circles. He retired in 1969 and became a member of the Parole Board where his active concern for penal affairs continues.

BEFORE 1971 dies away too far into the distance may I be allowed to put on record a small but, I think, not insignificant footnote to the history of the treatment of young law breakers in this country? At the beginning of 1971 an experiment begun as far back as 1922 came to an end: the use of a band of voluntary women social workers, in association with a nucleus of full-time colleagues in the process of borstal allocation at Wormwood Scrubs, was discontinued. Many, I believe, will share my view that work of this order done for just short of half a century must not be allowed to fade without trace.

In 1922, the late Sir Alexander Paterson had just been appointed a Prison Commissioner and he was known to have a special interest in the welfare of the young. At that time all boys sentenced to borstal training were sent to a separate wing at Wandsworth Prison for allocation to the appropriate borstal: later the centre was transferred to a separate hall at Wormwood Scrubs. On Paterson's inspiration, in the autumn of 1922 the Prison commissioners invited Mrs. Le Mesurier, O.B.E., an economist with some training in sociology, to become the first woman social worker to the Boys' Prison as it was then called. At first she worked alone, interviewing each boy, visiting his home where possible, and presenting a detailed report setting forth the facts, her impressions and inferences, for the guidance of the specially appointed medical officers whose job then it was to be responsible for allocation. Later she was joined by other women who gave freely of their leisure to meet the growing need. Thus, for close on 50 years, with the brief interval of the second world war, a band of women have devoted

WOMEN VOLUNTARY WORKERS at WORMWOOD SCRUBS

The end of an experiment?

DUNCAN FAIRN

themselves to this work, first under the leadership of Mrs. Le Mesurier herself, then under others of whom the most outstanding were Mrs. Hagedorn and Barbara, Lady Ruggles-Brise.

But why were these women recruited in the first instance? Mrs. Le Mesurier wrote a book about her work in 1931, and revised it in 1939, entitled *Boys in Trouble*. Alec Paterson contributed a foreword and he begins: "No man can know his own son; nor indeed can the mother. Only together can they comprehend the composite entity for which they are responsible. This simple and uncomfortable truth dictates a new policy in dealing with the young offender. It demands the co-operation of men and women in the analysis and classification of the lad who breaks the law". There in a few words is the basic justification. Later, he has this to say: As for the "lads already sentenced to borstal training, who come here for classification, it should be remembered that the educated parent spends many months of thought and enquiry before choosing the school for which his son is fitted. It is therefore right that the state should think hard, and ask for all the known facts before committing her most difficult children to the place that will fit them best. The Commissioners in their allocation rely on the reports furnished by the women visitors who see every lad on his way to a borstal institution, and visit the homes of all those who live in London. Furthermore, there is a gain in this visitation that cannot be gauged. The lad in the Boys' Prison, whether he be on remand or already sentenced, is visited by a woman of education and experience. It is a crisis in his life. He has not met such a woman before. He may fill her with some silly yarn. But often he receives her as a welcome aunt to whom he can say things he would not to anyone else. He values her friendship, which endures throughout his borstal career,



Barbara, Lady Ruggles-Brise, M.B.E.

A former leader of the Wormwood Scrubs team of voluntary workers whose contribution is described in this article.

and for years afterwards. Who can measure the value of such an influence?"

At the end of the second world war the work began again at Wormwood Scrubs under the leadership of Lady Ruggles-Brise, who had herself at one time worked in a borstal, and a diverse group of women was attracted to the service. Most were married and mothers of children. One had been an experienced magistrate in a juvenile court. Of the others, if they must be described by their husbands' professions, one was married to a distinguished historian, another to a Royal librarian, a third to a former chief education officer and frequent broadcaster, whilst the husbands of two were at different times head of the Prison Commission and of its successor, the Prison Department. And there were many others, all bringing a rich experience of life and motherhood and understanding of the young, free from sentimentality, to the task of befriending the newly sentenced borstal lad and of helping to decide with their professional colleagues the training regime appropriate to each one. Paterson wrote in 1931 that "(the boy) values her friendship, which endures throughout his borstal career, and for years afterwards". As a mere husband I can witness to this fact remaining true right up to 1971. Not in every case, of course, but often the relationship extended to the lad's family as well, even when with the increase in numbers and the development of the Probation and After Care Service, the practice of home visits had to cease to avoid unnecessary duplication.

The end came, partly through pressure of numbers and partly through the development of welfare work by the Probation and After Care Service in

remand centres and prisons generally, including Wormwood Scrubs itself. It would be stupid to be ungrateful for the positive reasons which led to the change. But if experienced borstal governors up and down the country were asked, I wonder whether they would say that they have in their dossiers all the reports that they require about the lads in their charge. I believe, in fact, many of them miss the perceptive and revealing reports which the women social workers, who were recognised by borstal lads as standing outside the discipline process, were able to give. One cannot be anything but regretful that borstal lads these days no longer have much chance of meeting a disinterested woman, who gave her time, her sensibility, her judgment and friendship without thought of reward.

Some of those who formerly made weekly visits to Wormwood Scrubs now visit other borstals and establish contacts with a few lads who are specially referred to them. At least one is training to be a probation officer. The Home Secretary's Advisory Council on the Penal System is currently reviewing the treatment of the young offender across the whole range. It is to be hoped that the council will find time to make some assessment about this experiment, now a thing of the past, and perhaps some of the good which has been lost might be recovered and used in new ways appropriate to the changed conditions of our day. Whatever the outcome one fact remains unchallenged: there are now in the community thousands of one-time borstal lads, now, in line with "rodent operators", called "trainees" who would acknowledge that they have cause to be thankful for "their lady visitor".

"C" Wing—continued from page five

prisoners and the concentrated effort directed towards their management has met an encouraging, if rather surprising, response from them.

There has been some development of a sense of responsibility to the community. They are sensitive to administrative changes, new arrivals and the difficulties presented by some fellow prisoners. Understanding of the boundaries of acceptable behaviour are acknowledged if applied consistently and provided transgressions are not dealt with indiscriminately.

For the future, the wing is seen as developing along the lines described, building on experience gained and benefiting from research which may give much needed objective information on the identification, prognosis and total management of the disruptive long-term prisoner.

The Turmoil of Youth

Some "consumer research" at a detention centre

D. W. WICKHAM

CAN the detention centre provide some kind of solution to the problems of erring youth? Can one in a trainee's average eight weeks, teach something about life and its obligations to someone who has missed out seriously in the most formative years?

The original concept of detention was deliberately punitive, but recent years have brought changes, and the past 12 months have undoubtedly been an eventful and important period in the development of the detention centre system generally, and in the resultant effect on my own centre, the routine and regime. We have seen the introduction of functional group working, manpower control, and the Advisory Council's report on Detention Centres, which led to last year's policy statement by the Department on detention centre regime and philosophy; and the educational policy.

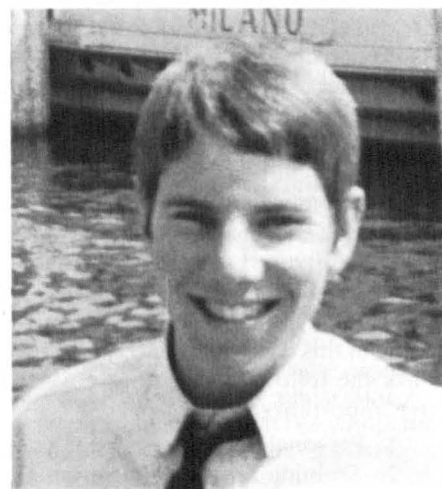
In general, the recommendations are that all aspects of the regime should be as constructive as possible, related to the needs of the individual trainee and geared towards preparing him for life in the community; and that the viability of such a regime is dependent on the knowledge and understanding by staff of inmates as individuals. The Advisory Council's report stresses clearly its belief that discipline itself can be constructive and indeed that discipline should remain firm, but tempered by sensible interpretation and application and made effective by the individual staff member's personality.

The prison officer, whether all concede it or not, has been given the role of "somebody who cares". It is for him to implement the policy in the practical, immediate situation. In my view such a policy enhances the prison officer's status, and represents his future.

VIOLENT REACTION

My impression is that basically all young offenders are unhappy and often unsatisfied with life and sometimes themselves. Older people react to stresses and strains more responsibly and when they are unhappy, worried or despondent tend to behave predictably and "crawl into their shells" to shut out the world and its problems. Youngsters are more volatile and openly

show disgust and contempt by actions—irresponsible and sometimes violent. Their generation has never been so mixed-up emotionally, morally, politically and so psychologically confused. They are engulfed in a tide of change in an often corrupt society which is confused about most issues. The youth of today is "lost", and is questioning traditional standards of law, religion and morality. They are not content with



Ex Local Government Officer, David Wickham, joined the Prison Service in 1968 at the minimum age and has served at H.M. Detention Centre, Aldington. Recently he returned from detached duty in Northern Ireland to prepare for the Assistant Governor's course at the Staff College, Wakefield

things as they are and wish to change them—by revolution if necessary. And what we call the "permissive society" reflects their, and our, confusion.

A WORM'S-EYE VIEW?

The inability to project personality and character are contributory failings in the make-up of so many young people in trouble today. This may stem from up-bringing, family and domestic backgrounds, for vapid parents are unlikely to produce socially outstanding offspring. For these nonentities, to whom society offers so little in real terms, the acknowledged leaders are often the more articulate few who have "opted" out or "dropped out" sensationally. We have this "anti" and rebellious element in detention centres, but because of their impressionable age, and the fact that they have not reached their peak of criminal sophistication

yet, there is hope, but only if we try to understand, and pay attention to the trainee's viewpoint. A "worm's eye view" can prove enlightening, and productive, certainly proposed changes which are supposed to benefit people are of little effect if they are thrust upon them for better or worse without understanding. It was the object of this paper, then, to ascertain as accurately as possible the trainee's view of his experience.

The Training Opinion Survey undertaken at Aldington Detention Centre, involved 100 trainee participants aged between 17-21 years of age, and was made possible by the co-operation of the warden and staff. Participation was optional, but all trainees who took part were required to answer all of the survey questions. The trainees completed these forms independently and were asked to answer honestly. There was no corroboration during the survey and trainees had no preview of the paper. A survey of this nature in a prison would not be successful, but detention trainees are not so criminally sophisticated, are more gullible, and do not always seek an ulterior motive, or seek to confuse.

To assess the success in terms of mutual (staff/trainee) desirability of the regime in this detention centre, I decided to ask the following questions covering three important sections:

1. Personal thoughts.
2. Training and treatment.
3. Staff/trainee relationship.

TRAINEE OPINION SURVEY— H.M. DETENTION CENTRE, ALDINGTON RESULTS

Part 1—Personal Thoughts

Ages 28 × 17 year olds
31 × 18 year olds
31 × 19 year olds
10 × 20 year olds

- (a) Was your sentence long enough?
YES 96%; NO 4%.
- (b) What shocked you most on reception?
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| (i) Discipline | ... | ... | 31% |
| (ii) Haircut | ... | ... | 20% |
| (iii) Loss of freedom | ... | ... | 49% |
- (c) Are you happy here?
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|
| (i) Never | ... | ... | 28% |
| (ii) Sometimes | ... | ... | 66% |
| (iii) Always | ... | ... | 6% |
- (d) Have you ever thought of escaping or absconding?
YES 29%; NO 71%

Summary and comment

Parts (a) and (c) provide interesting statistics, but (b) and (d) are the important questions. It is apparent that there

is a need for security measures as on their own admission 29 per cent of trainees have thought of escaping or absconding, and as a "closed" establishment we have certain obligations to fulfil. My own views regarding security are complementary to the Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System, in that I foresee a detention centre which, apart from a security reception wing where trainees undergo full documentation and are taught the rudiments of community life, and our expectations of them, has only perimeter security to deter the hot-head. This would encourage and allow greater flexibility of routine and afford opportunity for staff to assess trainees in terms of getting up in the morning, personal appearance and time-keeping, etc., without the "tedium" of constant lock, unlock and harrying. This would be more "akin" to reality and would provide an accurate gauge by which to measure individual progress. The Advisory Council's Report would probably have hoped for a higher percentage than 49 per cent for (b) part (iii), Loss of freedom, as this is the only approved punitive function of a detention centre, but in fact 31 per cent considered the discipline to be more "shocking". The discipline I advocate would require trainees to be respectful to staff, obedient, alert and encouraged or driven to achieve high standards in all aspects of their training. Yet, by the same token staff should be, by their example and behaviour, humane, approachable and understanding. Is it really necessary, important, or beneficial to enforce a regimental drill routine with parades, etc.? Where does this blend with normal community life? Haircuts are no longer "short back and sides" in this detention centre, but youths still resent this personal intrusion, which by conventional standards is severe. Perhaps haircuts should be optional—providing no medical reason prevails—and hair is kept clean and does not impair performance at tasks.

Part 2—Training and Treatment

- (a) Is detention tough?
YES 54%; NO 46%
- (b) Do you work hard?
YES 81%; NO 19%
- (c) Would you compare detention with a strict school?
YES 38%; NO 62%
- (d) Are there enough privileges?
YES 28%; NO 72%
- (e) Do you have spare time?
YES 40%; NO 60%
- (f) Are there adequate facilities for—
(i) sports/recreation; (ii) hobbies;

(iii) education?

YES 65%; NO 35%

- (g) Have you gained anything by detention training?

(i) Maturity	...	...	24%
(ii) Educational	...	...	18%
(iii) Vocational	...	...	10%
(iv) Physical	...	...	32%
(v) Any criminal knowledge or bad influences or habits	...	...	16%

Summary and comment

It is rewarding to know, in the light of prison labour and attitude towards work, that 81 per cent of our trainees feel that they do work hard. It is puzzling to note that only 54 per cent find detention tough. This may indicate that trainees accept constructive hard work in the spirit intended, rather than as a tough measure of the system. Should we set out to be "tough"? I would personally like detention centres regarded as very strict schools. This prompted me to ask question (c) which showed that only 38 per cent of trainees compared detention with a strict school. Yet there is a great emphasis on education at this establishment. The Advisory Council's report recommends that education should be of a character suitable for young adults and as informal and personal as possible. This would be far more successful if conducted in a semi-scholastic atmosphere, than in a prison atmosphere. Part (d) was polled exactly as anticipated as there are certainly not enough privileges at this establishment due to lack of space and facilities. The trainees obviously feel that there are not enough individual "carrots" for any achievements they make. This could be remedied by a revision of the grade system, and the provision of a scale of privileges whereby each step of progress is rewarded by the use of a particular facility, e.g. TV rooms, library, coffee room/record room, or even private rooms for the senior grades.

Part 3—Staff/Trainee Relationship

- (a) Would you still respect staff dressed in "civvies"?
YES 69%; NO 31%
- (b) Do you like staff to participate in sports, etc.?
YES 61%; NO 39%
- (c) Do you like staff to be—
- | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| (i) Older men | ... | ... | 18% |
| (ii) Younger men | ... | ... | 15% |
| (iii) A mixture | ... | ... | 67% |
- (d) Do You trust Staff?
YES 43%; NO 57%

(e) Do staff understand you?

YES 36%; NO 64%

(f) Do you take advantage of staff if possible?

YES 52%; NO 48%

Summary and comment

This section is probably the most important and relevant to staff and therefore will be of interest to them. It appears from the survey results that there would be everything to gain by officers reverting to "civvies" as 69 per cent of trainees would still respect them. Uniform is sometimes a barrier and I suspect that trainees often feel that an officer can "hide" behind his tunic. Obviously some staff would prefer to stay as they are, believing that uniform befits a discipline service. This is fair comment and must be respected, but it is not the case in borstal and need not be in a detention centre. There must be mutual respect and understanding in a realistic atmosphere. It must be evident that officers are normally well behaved, rational people who want to help. The "fatherly" image is blurred when dressed in blue. Part (b) gives encouragement to all officers who participate in sports as 61 per cent like staff to do so and it is appreciated. I suspect that the remainder would not be keen sports types anyway. Part (c) will reassure the older members of staff who may have been feeling, particularly at this establishment, that the current trend is to flood the centre with officers young in years and service. Parts (d) and (e) are a disappointment in that 57 per cent do not trust staff and 64 per cent feel staff do not understand them. However, this is understandable for it is only in the last year that staff have received detailed instructions of what is now required of them. The role of a detention centre has changed and an officer now has many functions and it is only natural that time is required to absorb, assimilate and interpret in practical terms, a change of policy. Part (f) emphasises the need for staff to maintain a sound discipline as there will always be an element prepared to connive and take "fair" and "unfair" advantage of staff on the criminal die-hard "us" and "them".

CONCLUSION

I hope that my fellow officers will not regard this as a meaningless exercise, or a pandering to the whims of offenders. On the contrary, detention should not resemble a holiday camp and any relaxation of the system must be earned by maximum individual effort. I believe detention could still be an effective method of dealing with young offenders.

Council of Europe Seminar

ON THE TREATMENT OF LONG-TERM PRISONERS

held at Wakefield Staff College
from 12th to 23rd June, 1972

J. L. RHAM

I attended this seminar in which most European and Scandinavian countries were represented. The members were a mixed group of prison governors, headquarters administrators, judges and psychologists. Whilst it is perhaps true to say that no decisions or conclusions of great moment were reached, the information-sharing was, to me, an extremely useful experience. Perhaps the two most interesting points which arose were:

- (i) The fact that several European countries, unlike the United Kingdom, are experiencing a decline in prison population. This is not due so much to a decrease in crime as to the use of other treatments, thus it would be true to say that mental hospitals are used to treat the causes of delinquent behaviour to a far greater degree than in the United Kingdom. Parole is also used in a far larger number of cases for much longer periods than is currently our usage here.
- (ii) In the European countries, much more attention is given to the democratisation of prisons with prisoners taking a far greater part in the running of establishments.

I would consider that both of these factors are due to the public opinion of society in those countries and clearly those societies are much more interested in penal administration and treatment methods than is so in this country.

There seems to be a much closer scrutiny of prisons and punishment *per se*, particularly in those countries which suffered occupation during the 1939-45 war. This seems to be due to the fact that, during that period a considerable proportion of the "law abiding" members of those societies underwent a form of imprisonment or suffered the threat of imprisonment and are, therefore, far more conscious of the deprivations involved.

Lest this sounds a note of utopia to practitioners in this country it must be said that the pressures upon penal

administrations in these countries, whilst relieved of overcrowding problems, are probably greater than in this country. In Switzerland, for instance, it is possible for prisoners to take civil action against the penal administration, not only for their physical acts or omissions, but for statements in their case which may be thought to be libellous. In Denmark, the prisoner and, with his permission the Press, has total access to his case records and he may contest and question any decision made in his case. I would consider that, from our point of view, these practices are an indication of future developments here and are ones which we must both be aware of, and prepared for.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

Cropwood Short-Term Fellowships

It is announced that the Institute of Criminology, thanks to a benefactor who wishes to remain anonymous, is again offering Cropwood Short-Term Fellowships to persons having responsibility in the field of criminal justice and the treatment of offenders. The object is to enable the Fellows to be attached to the institute for a period of study concentrating on a definite objective. This might involve undertaking a specific piece of research (or completing an enquiry already begun elsewhere) and presenting the results in the form of a short monograph or article; preparing special lectures; or intensive reading on a particular topic of direct practical concern.

Fellowships will normally be tenable for a period of six weeks, three months or six months, their exact duration depending on the scale of work which is proposed. The award will be sufficient to cover living expenses in Cambridge. Fellows will have full use of the institute's extensive library; accommodation for study will be provided. The senior staff of the institute will be available for consultations or guidance.

No formal qualifications for candidates are laid down, but it is essential that they should have relevant experience of work in the field of law enforcement, the administration of justice, or the prevention or treatment of crime and delinquency (prevention will be interpreted widely to include aspects of child-care and youth work). A well-conceived plan of study is required as evidence of capacity to take full advantage of the opportunities offered.

Applications should be sent to the Secretary of the Institute at 7 West Road, Cambridge, to reach him not later than 30th November, 1972.

Looks at Books

THE EDUCATION OF OFFENDERS (BIBLIOGRAPHY)

D. L. HOWARD

University of Cambridge, Institute of Criminology, 1971. 75p

THIS bibliography, like all other bibliographies, may at first sight, look like a publisher's catalogue. However, on closer inspection one finds every entry has a short, apt description of the text. Mr. Howard, a former tutor organiser, has compiled a comprehensive list of texts, many accurately pinpointed with specific page references, by some 273 authors.

This work is the fifth in a series of bibliographies prepared for the University of Cambridge, Institute of Criminology. Its wide brief covers "Education in relation to prisons and other institutions for the custodial treatment of offenders" and is concerned chiefly with Britain and the United States of America but includes some items in European languages.

The compilation was completed in 1970 and the major sections include works published in Britain from 1800 to that date. In two sections, Mr. Howard has given preference to items of more recent times, particularly the post-1944 Education Act period.

The author takes a much wider view of education than classroom teaching and includes references to many titles under a section on "Socialisation processes in the Institution". It is not unexpected, therefore, that this section represents only a very small selection of the quantity of literature available in this field.

This bibliography will be a valuable source of information to those concerned with education of offenders and to researchers in this field.

UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY LIFE—TOWARDS A RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Edited by JACK D. DOUGLAS

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971. £4.20

"WHAT is ethnomethodology?" is not an easy question to answer and this volume which claims to be "the first systematic

presentation of ethnomethodology" provides no easy answers. As the book is addressed, implicitly and explicitly, to defining and establishing the boundaries of this aspirant discipline, it can only be said to have failed to realise its complete objective, for one is left with no more than a general impression of its approach and area of interest. Clearly it is concerned with the minutiae of social life as Roy Turner's interesting analysis of, literally, a few minutes' conversation illustrates. One can gauge from the affection with which Alfred Schutz and others are referred to from an abhorrence of positivism, that the authors take a phenomenological-cum-existential approach. However, as the dialogue (between Norman Denzin on the one hand and Don Zimmerman and Lawrence Wieder on the other) indicates, the work is not concerned simply with actors' perspectives of their situation, but rather with how they *create* order and are able to understand their daily affairs.

Three of the five sections discuss the nature of ethnomethodology itself. Jack Douglas leads off with a general sketch of the area of interest, followed by John Heeren's eulogy of Schutz. There is a section devoted to distinguishing ethnomethodology from symbolic interactionism which succeeds in confusing rather than clarifying. Peter McHugh's critique of positivism makes an uplifting finale if only because he is able to find an original argument with which to attack this already undermined doctrine.

The two centre sections deal principally with language and meaning, which is understandable as language is clearly an artifactual, rule-governed behaviour fundamental to everyday life. Again, however, the concern is not with how rules of language are imposed upon us, but with how we in the course of everyday life construct meanings.

This book is intended for those with academic rather than practical interests and because of the tortuous use of language (exacerbated by poor composition in several instances) is hard going. What it may provide the reader with, is an understanding of one of the more contentious theoretical perspectives in sociology.

P. WADDINGTON,
*Research Assistant,
Prison Service Staff College.*

INTIMATE BEHAVIOUR

DESMOND MORRIS

Jonathan Cape, 1971. £1.95

THE problem of physical contact has long been neglected and it was with interest that I started to read this book, but after reading it I was very disappointed by the way the subject had been dealt with. The approach is a pseudo-scientific one and the reader feels he is just about to be introduced to well researched work but this never materialises.

The style is easy to read, but the meanderings through the subject do not hold the reader's attention.

Dr. Morris is a zoologist and many eminent zoologists have questioned the validity of trying to equate animal behaviour with that of humans. In his interpretation of behaviour he tries to draw parallels between human and animal behaviour. For example, in discussing the female he compares the buttocks of the human female with the "sexual swellings" of other species and then goes on to say the breasts are images of the buttocks. This differs from interpretations in other behavioural sciences where the buttocks are said to be images of the breasts. The question is whose interpretation is right?

This is a book which will be read by the arm-chair socio-psychologist but offers little to the professional.

Perhaps a work like this will encourage more workers to look at the subject in a more professional way, as the problems of intimate behaviour are important to many fields.

Dr. ALAN WESTON,
*Consultant Forensic Psychiatrist to Leeds
Regional Hospital Board and Leeds and
Wakefield prisons.*

IMAGES OF DEVIANCE

Edited by STANLEY COHEN

Pelican, 1971. 40p

SOCIOLOGISTS are not, by and large, popular folk-heroes. The scientific obsession often renders their work ponderous and unreadable and, as people, they tend to be seen either as unsavoury radicals or arrogant eggheads, pompously pursuing their role of "outsiders looking in". It is easy to picture the sociologist unhampered by distractions such as joy, sorrow, humour and fear, suffering from a chronic dose of clinical detachment—studying "social relations in the lifeboat" after a shipping disaster, for example.

It may, therefore, be surprising to discover that even sociologists have their own establishment, the orthodox

as well as the heretical, and that they can be as critical of their fellows as they are of society. The contributors to *Images of Deviance* are all criminologists who have adopted the "sceptical position" to crime, deviance and social problems. They are sceptical about the value of mainstream criminology, and particularly about all the research done in the hope of showing how deviants differ from non-deviants. Instead, they maintain that deviance is "the product of some sort of transaction that takes place between the rule breaker and the rest of society" and, as good labelling theorists, that it is absurd to define a person as deviant without examining the social processes that contributed to his behaviour. However, they are wary of social determinism and stress, in the best Weberian style, the complexity of these processes, the stages of personal involvement and, essentially, the meaning that deviant behaviour has for the person concerned.

The contributors are conscious of the need to work out a coherent theory or position to hold their views together. They have not entirely succeeded in this, largely because of the wide range of subject-matter—from drugs and blackmail to suicide and soccer hooliganism, but several pieces, notably those on drugs, the police, and thieving, are worth reading anyway. The book shows convincingly how laws and penalties can be changed in ignorance of their likely effects, and makes salutary reading for anyone who believes in common-sense solutions, "damping-down", and the infallibility of the law. Refreshing, provocative, and mostly very good sense.

TONY LEWIS,

*Assistant Governor II,
Kingston Prison, Portsmouth.*

DRUG ABUSE AND PERSONALITY IN YOUNG OFFENDERS

R. COCKETT

Butterworth, 1971. £2.50

THIS book is a study of some thousands of young male offenders on remand who were involved in drug abuse. Control studies of non-drug-using young men, both delinquent and non-delinquent, were used, especially with a view to eliminating factors associated with delinquency alone.

There were two separate studies between 1967 and 1970 so that tendencies to change in the overall picture can be noted.

The cases of drug abuse were divided into four groups, ranging from those who had merely dabbled to those who were diagnosed as truly addicted. It is of interest that the whole range of drug usage was investigated, from soft (so-called) to the opiates, noting some who were confirmed users, though they did not use opiates.

When I first picked up the book, my attention was caught by a note in the preface as to the probable uses of the research, in that it was not necessarily of benefit to the individuals studied but "if not they themselves, then at least their like may in future benefit from some better understanding". This, contrasted with the frequent assumption that any enquiry is of benefit to many kind, is a token of the practical tone of the whole study, which impressed me.

There is reference to the problems of other countries, noting differences in epidemiological and sociological aspects, but the emphasis is all on our own home problem and results of investigations are fully given before conclusions are drawn. A wide range of tests is considered and also some individual assessments, both in relation to clinical data.

If I may quote again, "In the study of any phenomenon of human behaviour, and particularly in trying to draw conclusions about its causation or about what factors are involved in it, it is desirable to try to ensure that one's results or conclusions are not spurious". The emphasis on the distinction between the factors common to delinquency and drug abuse and the variations found in cases of drug use only are a measure of the importance that the author attaches to this precept.

Amphetamines and cannabis are noted as the most likely to figure as the first choice for new users and, while some users may not escalate to multiple drug usage, three in five of the ones who had started with cannabis did so progress. Stages of escalation were discussed and high correlation found between length of drug taking, tendency towards multiple drug usage and degree of involvement. A history of spontaneous cessation of drug taking was found in some of those who had tried drugs for the first time at an older age.

Much to my relief, the almost universal excuse of the broken home does not figure in the statistics, the picture being rather that of a neurotic child over protected, mostly by the mother figure. From my experience this is much more credible.

This study is, in my opinion, not only a reference book but also a most useful

instruction book since, apart from the actual tables, it is eminently readable. Medical staff will certainly find it of interest and probation, prison and social work personnel and, moreover, magistrates may well find it most helpful.

Dr. Cockett is to be congratulated and it is to be hoped that he will, in due course, give us a further paper on the growing menace of barbiturate usage.

Dr. C. S. SAVILLE,

Formerly Senior Medical Officer at Wakefield, spends some of her retirement working at a drug clinic at University College Hospital, London.

VOLUNTEERS IN PRISON AFTER-CARE

HUGH BARR

Allen and Unwin, 1971. £2.75

THERE is great interest in and concern about the implications of the use of volunteers in the field of prison after-care, and probation officers as well as all other workers in the field will look hopefully at a book such as this, which describes and reviews some of the problems involved.

Teamwork Associates was a project established in the Inner London area in 1966, and its specific task was to recruit and train volunteers who would work in close co-operation with the Probation Service. Hugh Barr was the director of the project for three years, and in this book he gives a detailed account of it, with informative tables and statistics which give a good idea of the amount of work involved. The first part deals with the recruiting, selecting, and training of volunteers, with some attempt to analyse their various motivations; Mr. Barr then goes on to consider the effects of the project and to discuss the implications of the wider involvement of volunteers in after-care, focussing specifically on the changes in the work (and the mental approach to it) of probation officers who are or will be using volunteers.

Throughout the book the thoughts and feelings of both probation officers and voluntary workers are carefully noted, but it is regrettable that apparently no attempt was made to include those of probably the most sensitive people concerned—the offenders themselves. If the work of volunteers is to

benefit offenders (and presumably this is its primary aim) then surely it would be invaluable to know how they felt about it?

Great emphasis is laid on the need for training voluntary workers, and both the A.C.T.O. and the second Reading Report advise this: "It is necessary to stress that this is not work for inexperienced amateurs. It requires a warm heart but also a clear head, compassion combined with insight, lack of illusion, and the preparedness for disappointment". This is, of course, a difficult and often contentious subject, but I could not avoid thinking—at least from the way this aspect is described—that if I myself was considering becoming a volunteer, I would be rather frightened by the various interviews and training and supervisory sessions considered necessary, and spontaneous personal feeling would have to be kept, if not hidden, then at least firmly controlled. As spontaneity is arguably one of the great assets brought to the work by a good volunteer, this is an unfortunate impression to convey and may put off potential volunteers who buy or borrow the book.

Close contact was kept with probation officers involved in the project, but there seems to have been no communication at all with assistant governors or prison officers. As staff have such a valuable contribution to make to the rehabilitation of an offender, their knowledge of him would add a new dimension and be invaluable to any voluntary associate whose task it was to befriend him on discharge; and, conversely, contact with volunteers would widen the horizons of those who work only in institutions, helping them to see custodial treatment not merely as an end in itself but as part of a continuing process. If the often-heard truism about after-care beginning on the day a man goes into prison is ever to have any real meaning at all, it is essential to establish much closer liaison between everyone who is concerned with an offender, both before and after his release. In the triangle formed by associate, probation officer and members of prison staff, it will indeed be a great pity if in the development of Teamwork Associates or any other similar scheme, greater care is not taken to combine the efforts and knowledge of all three, particularly as prison staff are more closely and more constantly in touch with offenders than anyone else.

Mr. Barr's book is short, though at times the way it is written make parts of it seem unnecessarily lengthy. But

in such a new and comparatively unknown field of experiment and enquiry, it will be of considerable value to anyone who asks himself, or others, the questions: "Why is there a need for Voluntary Associates, whom can they help, and how?" The book highlights the basic points for consideration and outlines a structure on which to build; and certainly its emphasis on training and supervision should reassure the Prison Department and I hope, encourage them to support such schemes. Probation officers too who read the book might afterwards more readily accept the genuine offer of help to them in their work, which is carefully described.

But hopes for a strong, constructive and steadily-growing voluntary associate scheme of this or any other kind lie really in the hands of the public, and Holden's words in *The British Journal of Criminology*, which Mr. Barr quoted are still as true to-day as when they were written eight years ago:

Most associates are not primarily interested in reducing crime, nor even in the moral reform of their clients. They are concerned to befriend someone whose life has, until now, been a misery to himself and to others, and to try to bring some happiness into his world by enabling him to form, perhaps for the first time, a stable relationship with someone whose motives, as far as he is concerned, are disinterested.

Mr. Barr's book is an important attempt at arousing interest, and I hope its readership will not be confined entirely to those who already know something about his subject.

ELIANE GIBSON,
Mrs. Gibson is Prison Welfare Officer at Brixton. With her late husband, Douglas Gibson, she has been involved in much work with offenders and their families.

THE POLITICS OF THE FAMILY

R. D. LAING

Tavistock, 1971. £1.50

THESE revised talks are not about the politics of the family but rather an attempt to look at how the faults of our forefathers are perpetuated. The author claims that the talks are intended "to evoke questions rather than provide answers". Some answers of a psycho-analytic nature are provided.

The basic tenet is that we internalise

family relationships. We have more than just memories of mum, dad, brother Jim and Uncle George as people—it is their relationship with us which we internalise and these relationships are not altruistic. The members of the family try to act on our inner world in order to preserve their inner world. They give us an identity and perception of the world that might be largely true or false and they also fight hard to keep us enclosed so that these assumptions can be sustained. Subsequently the internalised family keeps us enclosed and creates a mapping of the past onto the present and future. An example is given of the Clarke family where the mother had a strong need to recreate her father's qualities and foibles in her son. It is not "normal" for the recipient to become aware of such mappings but he is aware of the orientation it gives and whether true or false, happy or unhappy he clings to it as a means of survival as a person.

The attempt to get someone to embody one's projections is called an attribution and the author considers that attributions are many times more powerful than orders because an order tells a person what to do whereas an attribution is to get someone to be what one wants him to be. This process of attribution is seen as negative and obviously it is if the result is scapegoating, delinquency or schizophrenia. Parents are criticised for using attribution because of the negative features and ultimately because the socialisation of the child has been achieved at the expense of the child's real identity. So often this is not seen as a problem but parents can be confused by a child who does X when they tell him to do Y and indicate that he is X. To what extent do we or "society" tell the offender to do Y when in various ways, verbal and otherwise, we tell him he is X?

Social workers who are attracted to doing some work with the family receive no encouragement from the author: "The shadow of the internalised family darkens our vision. Until we can see the internalised family inside, we can see neither ourselves nor any family clearly". If we have the temerity to proceed then we are warned that social situations are the field for the self-fulfilling prophecy, no one in the situation knows what the situation is and taking a history from one or two parties is just a sample of the situation.

The author is challenging but it is difficult to understand what his solution might be. He may be offering truth and a vision of life free from other people's attributions but he does not state clearly the way to get there. The fact that last

year the author dropped everything to enter a Buddhist monastery in Central Ceylon will undoubtedly please those who think that religion provides the important answers. But religion also provides cultural concretions. We need our Dr. Laings to put our assumptions into a different perspective, and describe some of the sinister things we do to people while blandly making the aside, "There, but for the grace of God, go I".

K. C. W. PARRIS,

*Probation Inspector,
formerly Senior Welfare Officer at
Gartree.*

THE ENGLISH PRISON OFFICER SINCE 1850

A Study in Conflict

J. E. THOMAS

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972. £3.00

THIS book has, as its theme, a recognition of priorities—thus, the primary task of any prison system is defined as *the successful containment and control of prisoners*. A secondary task is to ensure that the prisoner, having undergone the experience of imprisonment, should not return to prison. And it is on that *secondary* goal, viz. the treatment of prisoners, that (almost without exception) writers have concentrated, to the exclusion of the primary function.

The opening chapters of the book deal briefly with an historical outline of purely local prisons, leading to the act of 1877 which centralised prisons under the newly-created Prison Commission. The Victorian era, with its newly-constructed prisons based on the Pentonville "model", and with the "silent" and "separate" systems which isolated prisoners and prevented them from practising effective communication, ideally suited the primary function of a prison service and in such circumstances containment and control were not difficult to enforce. As the author put it "The buildings, the staff structure, and the regime—based on the separate system—combined to ensure that the chances of successful escape or riot, were cut to a minimum. *Inability to secure prisoners was to be a problem for a later age*".

The author traces the gradual erosion of the authority of the governor and uniformed staff over the years of the present century and sketches an accu-

rate picture of the infiltration of what, nowadays, prison officers describe as the ever-increasing civilianisation of the Prison Service. Thus the old clerk and schoolmaster grade, which originally gave promotion outlets to the uniformed officers, became assimilated to the Civil Service clerical classes and the higher echelons on the clerical side equally eroded the powers of the governor. Tutor organisers in borstals (the creation of the borstal system is well described) became "housemasters" and they, in turn, became assistant governors. Thus (though the book does not specifically say so) "Paterson's light horse" brigade gradually infiltrated the ranks of the governors and imbued the Prison Service with borstal principles, with, according to a quotation (one of the many which appear in the book) from the *Prison Officers' Magazine*: "disastrous consequences to normal prison discipline".

The book tends to eulogise the late Sir Alexander Paterson and says he never became chairman of the Prison Commission because he was a "missionary not an administrator" and, perhaps even more surprisingly, asserts that all of the former chairmen, from Du Cane to L. W. Fox, "were eclipsed by Alexander Paterson". When one considers that among the former chairmen were men of the calibre of Sir Alexander Maxwell, Sir Harold Scott and Sir Lionel Fox, one cannot help but wonder whether "personality", ("charisma is the "in" word) has not been allowed to warp judgment and take priority over ability.

Through the periods of "the golden age of prison reform", and the "Dartmoor mutiny" the book takes us to the post-war era, in which changes in regime and the establishment of "open" institutions had created a situation whereby prisoners had much more freedom of movement, more associated activities, and the physical restraints of the individual cell had become largely ineffective. The inevitable resultant worsening of security control crystallised the "simple, inescapable and irreducible conflict between the staff, especially the uniformed officer, and the prisoner". This conflict is admirably defined, in what is probably the most fundamental sentence in the whole book, in these terms: "*The perennial and universal central fact of prison life, compared with which everything else is incidental, is that the officer must contain, restrict and reduce the movement and initiative of prisoners, and the latter seek to increase it*".

This theme is pursued in the ensuing chapters of the book, which deal progressively with the increasing prison population in the late 40's, the 50's and 60's, with the introduction of further "open" and medium security prisons and borstals, and because even these measures were insufficient to handle the problem, the eventual political decision to allow "threeing-up"—three men to a cell (the book does not say so but two to a cell was held to be undesirable because of its obvious moral dangers! "Since the 1967 Criminal Justice Act, with its more permissive approach to homosexuality, two to a cell has been widely introduced). The 1948 Criminal Justice Act had resulted in further complexities for the Prison Service, with the introduction of remand centres, detention centres (which in some quarters were seen as a challenge to the borstal system) and, at a time when more staff were vitally necessary to handle this situation, "as the prison population increased, the staff situation deteriorated".

It became impossible for staff to maintain effective control, "escapes could only be prevented by luck, and the fact that most prisoners did not wish to escape", and "it is to the credit of the Prison Service that complete breakdown was avoided". Despite the twin problems of overcrowding and understaffing the Prison Commission persisted in their efforts to maintain the reformatory impetus of the Paterson era. Such new schemes as the "Norwich system", the hostel scheme, home leave for prisoners, staff training and research work, all were introduced or expanded during this time. And it is one of the surprising omissions from this book that nowhere is there any mention of the "Morrison hour"—the system of one hour's regular overtime every week-day which prison officers worked from its wartime inception (when the late Herbert Morrison was Home Secretary) until abolished in June, 1966. Without millions of extra hours, prisoner activities would have been greatly reduced throughout those years.

The loss of control, demonstrated by an increasing number of assaults on staff and a higher escape rate, eventually led to the appointment of the Mountbatten Inquiry and the conclusions drawn by the author from the recommendations are remarkable in that he points out that they re-established the staff structure of the pre-Gladstone prison service! And this despite the introduction of sophisticated security techniques!

In the concluding chapters of this well-documented, well-researched book, the author concludes that although the primary role of the basic grade officer is necessarily of a repressive nature that does not mean that reformative skills cannot be introduced—provided that the officer can “feel reasonably contented, secure and able to indentify with the organisation”. A comment which draws attention to a further surprising omission from this otherwise admirable book—no reference is made to “Rab” Butler’s White Paper, “Penal Practice in a Changing Society”, which outlined the future of the modern Prison Service and gave the prison officer encouragement to be regarded, *and to regard himself*, as one of the team. Unfortunately this book—the best which this reviewer has ever read on the subject of prison officers—does tend to regard as inevitable that the part which the prison officer has to play in the team is purely custodial. And that will not prove an acceptable thesis to a large number of prison officers.

This book should be compulsory reading for all prison officers—and, indeed, for all interested in the Prison Service.

F. G. CASTELL, M.B.E.,

General Secretary of the Prison Officers’ Association.

THE ENGLISH PRISON OFFICER SINCE 1850

A Study in conflict

J. E. THOMAS

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972. £3.00

IN THE penultimate chapter Dr. Thomas maintains that “this has been a study of alienation”—a study of how, it is alleged, the role of the prison officer has been denuded of authority. And the principal cause?—“clearly the development of a reformatory regime”. The sub-title of the book refers to “A Study in Conflict”—a study of the role-conflict the prison officer has experienced as the manifest aims of the Prison Service have moved from deterrence and control to reformation. It is a fascinating historical-cum-sociological study of the Prison Service spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its distinctive contributions to penological literature are that the Service is studied from the point of view of staff rather than prisoner and that assump-

tions about the effectiveness of the Prison Service being judged primarily in terms of reformation rather than control and containment are systematically challenged. Indeed, Dr. Thomas explores four major hypotheses, namely that the primary task of a prison system is the control of the inmate population; that the prison officer’s role is to effect this control; that to involve the prison officer in significant reformatory work has led to conflict and confusion and that this has inhibited the successful achieving of controlling and reformatory goals.

Perhaps the key sentence to the historical interpretation is that “separation stopped contamination but it was the corner-stone of control”. It is a challenging analysis of the Gladstone Committee Report and its subsequent implementation that whilst the merits and demerits of the separate system were appreciated in a reformatory context, its significance for control was not and has not to date been fully understood or at least realistically faced. In other words in recommending the modification of the separate system on reformatory grounds, because reformation was now to be considered a primary goal, the Gladstone Committee negligently put in jeopardy the control and containment aims and in so doing alienated the prison officer. Implicit in this argument, however, is the contention that the prisoner sub-culture is essentially more destructive than supportive of control. More evidence is needed to confirm that “the more *malign* result was the growth of an elaborate inmate sub-culture”, particularly in view of contemporary sociological analysis which describe a pro- as well as an anti-authority element in the sub-culture.

The strength and vulnerability of Dr. Thomas’s study seems to me to rest on the fact that the hypotheses he examines stem, by conjecture, from his experience within the Prison Service rather than from the data of history itself. This is not to say that the material of history may not support his arguments but one is left with a considerable degree of uncertainty on this score. It is this uncertainty, however, which makes it exciting and a book I do not so much want to review briefly but argue point by point.

The contention that alienation and conflict for the prison officer stem from the uncritical substitution of reformation as a primary task, for control bristles with arguable assumptions. Dr. Thomas, for example, does not adopt a consistent approach to the

problem of control and containment. Sometimes he treats them as distinctive and separate, but related, aims but at other times as synonymous terms. This is important since, if they are distinctive, serious conflict for the officer could have existed in pre-Gladstone committee times. And what of the potential conflict between deterrent and humanitarian considerations—not least of the themes of nineteenth century novelists like Charles Reade. It is surely an oversimplification that role conflict for the prison officer stems primarily from reformation, if this implies the relative absence of role conflict in the earlier period. It is arguable as to whether the protests of officers in the early 1890s were merely about material conditions. There is, however, an even more problematic assumption which Dr. Thomas seems to make—namely that the Prison Service is more than a purely administrative unity, and that, therefore, there can be only one primary task for the Service. Du Cane, whom Dr. Thomas rescues from ignominy, observed “The conditions of the problem will, on the whole, be found to justify the conclusion that reformatory influences should predominate in dealing with the younger criminals . . . that in the older and more hardened the penal element should have the first place”. The diversification of the prison system, particularly in the post-World War II period, has emphasised this question of utility of the primary task concept for the Prison Service as a whole, as distinct from particular institutions. This is an aspect which I feel Dr. Thomas underplays in respect of his analysis of role conflict and of alienation. These problems have been effected for example, not only by the influx of “outside” specialists in the wake of reformation but by specialisation among officers themselves, most recently in the wake of different types of institutions some of which have manifestly a basic security aim.

One could go on questioning and examining Dr. Thomas’s extensive analysis—the loss of power by governors, the anachronism of a para-military structure where reform is concerned, the significance of escapes as a “means” rather than a loss of control. . . . A book well worth writing—and reading. It should be widely read.

Professor N. A. JEPSON,

Professor of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies at Leeds University. He was for many years Adviser on Studies and Research to the Prison Service Staff College.

Copies may be obtained from
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

49 High Holborn, London, W.C.1
Brazennose Street, Manchester, M60 8AS
13a Castle Street, Edinburgh, 2
50 Fairfax Street, Bristol, BS1 3DE
109 St. Mary Street, Cardiff, CF1 1JW
258 Broad Street, Birmingham, 1
7 Linenhall Street, Belfast, BT2 8AY
or through any bookseller

Printed in England £