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REPORT ON PROGRAMS
FOR
LONG-TERM OFFENDERS

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Report on Programs for Long-Term Offenders

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Clark

PREFACE

On July 19, 1976 a working group within the Ministry of the Solicitor General was appointed to prepare a report for submission to the Minister on programs for long-term offenders by the end of 1976. The terms of reference of the group are attached as appendix A to this report.

PROGRAMS FOR LONG-TERM OFFENDERS

TO: The Honorable Francis Fox, Solicitor General of Canada

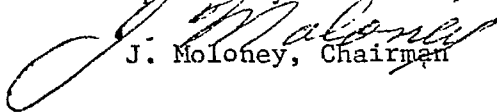
Working Group

J. Moloney, Assistant Deputy Commissioner, Inmate Programs CPS

G. Depratto, Director, Policy Planning and Evaluation, NPB

Dr. H. Haley, Chief, Corrections Research, Ministry of the Solicitor General

Respectfully Submitted,


J. Moloney, Chairman

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PART I INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of the Study

The working group was established primarily because Bill C-84, or the Criminal Law Amendment Act (No. 2), 1976, had received Royal assent on 16 Jul 76 and came into force on 26 Jul 76. The act amended various sections of the Criminal Code of Canada and resulted in the abolition of capital punishment in Canada. It also provided, in cases of first degree murder and high treason, for mandatory sentences of life imprisonment without eligibility for parole until twenty-five years has been served, and in cases of second degree murder, mandatory sentences of life imprisonment without eligibility for parole until ten to twenty-five years has been served. Although lengthy periods of imprisonment, without eligibility for parole, have been in effect in Canada for some time, either because of NPB regulations or statute, it was anticipated that the coming into force of the Criminal Law Amendment Act (No. 2) 1976 would markedly increase the number of inmates required to serve ten years or more in prison before parole eligibility. Concern was expressed in Parliament, by workers in the correctional field, by the news media and the public about the possible or probable adverse effects on inmates of such long term imprisonment. The working group was established to identify programs which might counteract any negative effects of long terms of imprisonment to be served without eligibility for parole.

2. Minister's Instructions

On 21 Jul 76 the Minister, the Hon W. Allmand, and the Deputy Solicitor General, R. Tassé, Q.C., met with the working group. At that meeting the Minister briefly outlined his ideas on the tasks facing the working group. He indicated that he wished to have the broadest possible

interpretation put on the word "programs". He further stated that the group should not be concerned with either the political or financial implications of its program proposals. In essence, the Minister appeared to be wanting what might be called a shopping list of programs and projects.

3. Sources of Information

a) On 24 Aug 76 the Solicitor General, his Parliamentary Secretary, the Vice-Chairman of the NPB, the Commissioner of Penitentiaries, the DCIP, CPS, the Chairman of the working group and the Executive Assistant to the Commissioner of Penitentiaries had a half day meeting with a number of widely experienced and senior officers from various jurisdictions in the United States. The meeting was held during the American Congress of Corrections in Denver, Colorado. The meeting was devoted to discussion of programs for long-term offenders. Minutes were taken and are attached as appendix B to this report.

b) In August a letter was sent to all Regional, Divisional and Institutional Directors of CPS soliciting their ideas, those of their staff at all levels and those of the inmates in their institutions, where applicable, on programs for long-term offenders. A significant volume of correspondence was received on the subject. Due to extensive overlapping among the suggestions, they were collated to avoid duplication. The collation of these proposals is attached as appendix C to this report.

c) Again in August the Ministry through its Research and Systems Development Branch contracted with Professor Bryan McKay of the University of Ottawa to have a review made of the literature relating to the effects of long-term institutionalization. Professor McKay was instructed to submit periodic reports on the result of his studies so that they could

be evaluated without waiting for a final report. His report is attached in both summary and complete form as appendix D to this report.

d) In September the Chairman and one other member of the working group attended a two-day symposium sponsored by the Ontario Association of Corrections and Criminology on the subject of penal colonies. A summary of the discussion at the symposium is attached as appendix E to this report.

e) From 4 Nov to 7 Nov 76 the Chairman and one other member of the working group attended the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology in Tucson, Arizona. Attendance was authorized because without eligibility for parole than do those in any other penal jurisdiction in the United States. A meeting was held with Dr. A. Lamont Smith, Deputy Director, Research, Program Planning and Evaluation of the State of Arizona Department of Corrections to solicit his ideas and benefit from his experience regarding programs for long-term offenders. Unfortunately, Dr. Smith felt he was unable to contribute anything further on the subject than he had already done during the meeting with the Minister in Denver, Colorado. During the sessions of the Society's meeting the Chairman learned by accident that a program, which he had first encountered, and was impressed with, at the United States Federal Bureau of Prisons maximum security institution Marion, Illinois, was operating at a large minimum security institution at Fort Grant, Arizona. A visit to this institution was arranged and the chairman was able to discuss this program for several hours with some of the inmates involved in it, and its director, a black parolee, from Marion. This program will be discussed later in this report.

f) Apart from the foregoing, ideas on programs for long-term offenders were solicited from a number of organizations working in the private sector of the correctional field. Only a few submissions from such organization were received.

g) The Solicitor General Component of the Public Service Alliance of Canada was also requested to make representations to the working group. A reply from the Executive Secretary Treasurer stated that they were not prepared to make recommendations at this time because in their opinion it would be premature to do so.

h) Comments, suggestions and recommendations are still being received by the working group at the time of writing. However, because of the deadline for reporting to the Minister it is felt that the preparation of the report can no longer be delayed. Because most of the material received has been repetitious it is felt by the group that few if any original ideas are likely to be received in future. If any are received a supplementary report will be submitted.

PART II ELEMENTS TO CONSIDER

1. There are some major problems in suggesting programs for long-term offenders as defined in the terms of reference of the working group. Such offenders have and will continue to have a wide variation in personality structure. In consequence, the CPS will be dealing with offenders ranging from what are commonly identified as violent psychopaths to comparatively placid individuals. This means that programs suitable for one may not be suitable for another. They will vary in the degree of dangerousness they present to the public, institutional staff, other inmates and themselves. In consequence, the degree of security that will also vary widely.

*the
Cohen et al.*

2. Some of the offenders, covered by the terms of reference of the group, will be unable to live in normal association with other inmates, e.g., sex offenders and informers. CPS is already well aware of this problem which was also discussed by Cohen, S.; and Taylor, L. in Psychological Survival: The Experience of Long-term Imprisonment (1972).

3. An indeterminate factor in proposing programs for long-term offenders is the reaction of the inmate to his sentence. Furthermore, this reaction will to a significant degree determine the programs that may be, or should be, provided for any given individual. Subjective opinions of practitioners in the area that some inmates may react with intense hostility which could easily be translated into attempted suicides, destruction of institutions, desperate escape attempts, hostage taking, assaults on staff or other inmates and a concomitant need for a high degree of security. Others may deteriorate into a depressed state, treating the individual's positive self image and desire for self improvement. Some may accept with equanimity, the long-term sentence without eligibility for parole, and without evidencing any particular resentment to authority and confinement, making good productive use of long-term incarceration.

The literature as reviewed by McKay, et al, shows a paucity of empirical information or systematic research on this subject. To quote Radzinowicz in his 1968 Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System to the British Home Office:

"... practically nothing is known about the vital subject of the lasting effects on human personality of long-term imprisonment, yet pronouncements of the subject continue to be made and very long prison sentences continue to be imposed."

Information that has been collected since the Radzinowicz Report indicates that there is more psychological suffering than actual physiological deterioration caused by long-term incarceration. But acknowledging that the effects of long-term imprisonment may not be as destructive as many people predict does not deny that few people could calmly face the prospect of from ten to twenty-five years imprisonment under prevailing conditions without eligibility for parole. It would have to be a traumatic experience.

While there are and have been many inmates in Canadian penitentiaries who have served more than ten years on a sentence without any form of release and who have not evidenced any spectacular form of personality deterioration or disorder, it must be borne in mind that only a handful of such inmates have up to this point in time served such lengthy periods without some hope of release from prison at an earlier date.

PART LII APPROACHES FOR CONSIDERATION

A. Basic assumptions

In considering programs for long-term offenders there are two points which are readily apparent. The first is that many programs suitable for long-term offenders can also be beneficial for the short-term penitentiary inmate. The second is that, out of a multitude of program suggestions, many of them are already available in some or all penitentiaries. Therefore, no attempt will be made in presenting program proposal for the long-term offenders to differentiate between those who are also suitable for the short-term penitentiary inmate.

B. Approaches

1. Utilization of Dispersal Model

One program suggestion, generally favoured by respondents, was the random distribution of long-term offenders in all institutions. Using the dispersal model avoids the dangers of violence, rioting and hostage taking that likely will result from contrating a large number of potentially hostile and the dangerous inmates in a seperate institution. Geographical spread of long-term offenders would considerably ^{enhance} ~~enhance~~ contact with families, friends and homes which has been a recognized problem for years with the existence of only one penitentiary for women inmates in Canada.

2. Utilization of Concentration Model

As compared to the dispersal model another program suggestion was for the concentration of long-term offenders in a specific institution. While the dispersal program does have advantages it should be bourne in mind that dispersing a wide variety programs over a large number of institutions can be very expensive. Use of the concentration

model could also facilitate development of specialized program to meet the need of long-term offenders.

3. Matching of Staff with Inmates on a One-to-One Basis

Though empirical evidence is sparse on the effects of long-term imprisonment without eligibility for parole, there is general agreement that the initial impact of such sentences is likely to be heavy. Therefore, it is felt that a concentration of effort by all the best personnel in an institution receiving such inmates should be devoted to counselling directed towards having the inmate accept his sentence without becoming dangerous and violent or retreating into a state of depression which might result in suicides or is becoming a vegetable. It is generally felt that there was always hope for any inmate and that the light at the end of the tunnel should not be cut-off because of the length of sentence. An intensive induction program for the long-term offenders appears to be an absolute necessity. Matching up of staff with inmates on a one-to-one basis received a lot of support.

4. Matching of New Long-Term Offender with Older Long-Term Offender

One suggestion was received from a group of inmates serving life sentences is that new long-term offenders should be matched-up with another long-term offender who has already spent a considerable number of years in penitentiary without psychological deterioration.

5. Establishment of Penal Colonies

Although many people has strongly apposed a concept of "penal colonies" this reactions was often base on a misconception that these communities must of necessity be establish in the far north in order to provide proper security and that inmate would have to be forced to go to them or that it would be virtually impossible to recruit adequate

numbers of staff, particularly professionals. There are, however, other alternatives. Penal communities could be established in inaccessible, but not necessarily remote, areas such as Canada's National Parks or on islands. Such communities could be built by inmates. Their families could be permitted to join them if they wished to do so. Inmates could be employed on improving the environment in their own particular penal community, working for private industry or setting up their own industries. Hopefully they would be employed on productive work for which they should be paid at least somewhere near the going wage for such employment. They could support their families, make income tax payments, make contributions to and become eligible for welfare programs such as the Canada Pension Plan. Conceivably these penal communities could to a greater or lesser degree be self-governing and thereby develop amongst the inmates a sense of community responsibility. Such communities should be located in areas which are not accessible by road and where staff could be frequently relieved by being flown in and out by helicopter. One such community has been established in Mexico. It is the Trés Marias Penal Colony which is located on a 34,000 acre island in the Pacific. On it there are some 800 long-term inmates who live a near normal life with their wives and families.

6. Establishment of Both Short and Long Term Programming

Almost all respondents identified a need for both short and long term programming with goals and objectives clearly set out. Clearly identified rewards should be attached to the attainment of each step in such a program. On a long-term basis such a program could be similar to Mutual Agreement Programming a modified form of it, such as Inmate Program Planning which is already being developed within CPS. On a short-term basis it was suggested that the Norval Morris model which is in operation at Butner, North Carolina, should be adopted. However,

there is some feeling that the Butner Program should not be adopted until it has proven itself as being effective.

7. Establishment of Productive Work

There was universal endorsement for the principle that long-term inmates should be assigned where possible to other than menial, boring or unproductive work. Furthermore, it was generally felt that such work should be paid for, at least at the current minimum wage. Other suggestions along this line propose further extension of inmate co-operatives and the possibility of inducing private enterprise to establish industrial operations in our institutions. There were some suggestions that the inmates should be paid only on a piece work basis and only be permitted to purchase amenities as a result of hard work and adequate production.

8. Establishment of Family Visiting Program

Virtually all respondents proposed that family visiting should be introduced. However, these suggestions varied from straight conjugal visiting to so-called family visits where, for instance, an inmate might be able to spend a few days with his wife and children, if any, or with his parents and immediate family if he was unmarried. It was also suggested that marriages be permitted within Penitentiary for single inmates. Though the literature generally supports the maintenance of relationships between husbands and wives and children during imprisonment it was suggested that in some cases it would be better to terminate the connection. An excellent paper on conjugal visits produced by the Research Division of the Ministry is attached as appendix F.

9. Establishment of a Prison Visitors System

There were numerous suggestions that a prison visitors system

be established for those inmates without family or friends. However, it was pointed out that when such systems were set up on a one-to-one basis there was a tendency for the visitors to sooner or later lose interest and discontinue their visits thereby creating despondency amongst the inmates concerned. In view of this it was suggested that any prison visitors program should be established on a group basis and that one-to-one attachments should be discouraged.

10. Utilization of a Penitentiary as a University

A suggestion was made that one Penitentiary be established to operate solely as a university on a full time basis for those long-term offenders capable of benefiting from its curriculum. There are various ways such a university could operate. One method would be to have an inmate work force, which would not be involved in the university program, but would perform the essential chores around the institution. Another would be to totally populate the institution with students and operate it on a trimester basis with the students spending two semesters taking academic training and devoting a third semester to institutional maintenance work. The third method would be to operate the institution similar to the Butner model which would have all the inmates as students but would require each of them to devote 3 or 4 hours a day to institutional chores. It was not felt that such a university program should necessarily be career oriented but that it could provide education for education's sake as it is believed that advanced education could lead to a higher degree of maturity amongst the inmates involved in it. However, it was suggested that inmate graduates who were qualified to do so could be engaged at the going rate of pay in government work. Some examples given were employment as teaching assistants in other penitentiaries, computer programmers for our own or other departments' Management Information

Systems and SSEAP Programs.

11. Utilization of Qualified Inmates as Teaching Assistants

It was also suggested that inmates who are or became highly qualified tradesmen should also be employed at the going rate, as teaching assistants for other inmates in vocational shops, industrial shops, or institutional maintenance.

12. Utilization of Community

The need for community involvement was prominent among the suggestions received. These proposals took two forms. The first would be that of community groups coming into the institution to engage in a variety of socio-cultural and recreational activities. Activities of this nature, are, of course, already being carried out in most of our institutions. The second involved the provision of community services by the inmates. Even though long-term inmates would not be eligible for temporary absence until three years prior to their parole eligibility date, it was felt that they could still provide valuable services to the community while in prison. Some suggested means of doing so were the typing of braille books for the blind, projects similar to that now operating at Matsqui Institution for retarded children toy repairs and day-care centres.

13. Utilization of Inmates for Medical or Social Science Research

It was also suggested that inmates could perform a valuable community service in making themselves available for medical or social science research. There was no suggestion in this proposal that they be guinea pigs for drug development or other types of medical treatment. However, the proposal did suggest that there was a vast amount of research that could be done on bodily functions using inmates as subjects and about which there are wide gaps in present medical knowledge. The same

applies to social science research which can be carried out using the inmates as subjects.

14. Development of Inmate Self-Help Groups

There were several suggestions that inmate self-help groups be developed for the long-term inmate. There are currently such groups organized in Canadian Penitentiaries under such names as, Life-servers, Quarter-Century Clubs and 10-Plus Groups. Such groups appear to have a beneficial effect in reducing hostility and aggressiveness and in keeping long-term inmates abreast of the socio-cultural developments occurring outside the prison community.

15. Development of Therapeutic Community

The suggestion was made that an intensive type of therapeutic community be developed on the model of Aesculapion Program, which appears to have been highly successful in helping inmates accept and adapt to long sentences in institutions, i.e. the USA Federal Prison at Marion, Illinois and the Arizona State Prison at Fort Grant. This program does not adhere to any particular philosophy of life but uses various psychiatric and psychological theories.

16. Utilization of Spiritual Program

There is some evidence to indicate that involvement in spiritual programs can have a beneficial effect on inmates and it was suggested that every effort should be made to engage long-term inmates in them.

17. Special Training for Staff

A number of suggestions in regards to staff were received. It was generally agreed that, where possible, staff dealing regularly with long-term inmates should receive special training for this purpose and that only the best qualified staff should be assigned to such duties.

18. Utilization of Inmate's Input in the Planning of His or Her Program

It is suggested that the long-term offender must be treated in as humane an environment as possible, provided diversified and productive utilization of time in programs suited to his needs. His program involvement should be planned not only for him but with him.

WORKING GROUP ON CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS FOR LONG-TERM SENTENCESTerms of Reference:

To examine ways and means of improving correctional programs concerning inmates with long-term sentences (i.e., with parole eligibility of 10 years or more, or with indefinite terms) with a view to making the life of these inmates in institutions more bearable, thus facilitating their eventual return in the community in keeping with the requirements of security, and to recommend options so designed for consideration.

"Programs" in this context refer to work, education, sport, social and the like activities inside institutions, including activities involving members of the community. It also includes outside activities involving inmates under escort.

The Working Group should attempt to identify relevant programs in other jurisdictions through a literature review.

Members:

Chairman John Maloney - Canadian Penitentiary Service
Gilles Depratto - National Parole Board
Hugh Haley - Research Branch, Ministry Secretariat

Target date for Report:

End of 1976

July 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

DCIP

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO COMMISSIONER

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION - DE SECURITE
OUR FILE - N° REFERENCE
YOUR FILE - V° REFERENCE
DATE September 7, 1976.

SUBJECT / OBJET: MEETING OF THE SOLICITOR GENERAL, TASK FORCE ON PROGRAMS FOR LONG TERM OFFENDERS AND SELECTED MEMBERS OF AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION

I have attached a report which summarizes the main points made during our discussion with A.C.A. participants in Denver.

André F. Charette.

AFC/ljd

Encl.

For October

Re: Linda - While at Denver, Mr. Almond initiated a meeting with the people listed on the back page to poll their thoughts re long term incarceration.

I think this would make a good article - possibly you should interview one or more of our Canadian representatives to get their reactions to the meeting.

Mention the work being set up with Gordon Holmes & Dr. Hugh Haley + Peter Depatta - what they will do.

MEETING OF THE SOLICITOR GENERAL, TASK FORCE ON PROGRAMS FOR LONG TERM OFFENDERS AND SELECTED MEMBERS OF AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION

Minutes

On Tuesday, August 24th, 1976, during the Annual A.C.A. Conference in Denver, the Solicitor General of Canada and his Parliamentary Secretary, together with a group of his departmental officials, met with selected members of the American Correctional Association to discuss traditional and less traditional solutions to the problem of incarcerating for long periods of time dangerous and non-dangerous offenders.

The list of participants is attached in appendix "A", and illustrates well the fact that the discussion group brought together a well balanced cross-section of practitioners in the field of Corrections, academics with solid reputations in this field, and others with both an extensive practical and academical background.

The Solicitor General opened the discussion by welcoming the American participants and thanking them for accepting his invitation to join their Canadian colleagues in a discussion on the problems of long term incarceration.

The Solicitor General explained the circumstances in Canada at this time (death sentence abolished and replaced with long sentences with late Parole eligibility, etc.,) and illustrated why the discussion should not be seen as a purely academic effort. Canada at this juncture has an unusual opportunity to take action, to implement untraditional solutions to the complex problem of long term confinement.

The Solicitor General's comments initiated a very lively discussion on the problem and solutions of long term imprisonment. For purposes of clarity and to facilitate the review of the many comments, suggestions and recommendations made during the discussion, they will be summarized below in a fashion that does not necessarily reflect the order in which they were made or the exact wording used in making them.

1- The challenge of long term incarceration:

Traditional types of confinement have usually proven to be successful only at turning human beings into very violent individuals or "vegetables". The challenge is to identify untraditional solutions which will maintain hope and reduce the probability that men and women will be turned into vegetables, suicide statistics, or extremely dangerous inmates and citizens.

2- Who is involved:

A variety of individuals with a great diversity of backgrounds, situations, and needs. The point was often made that there is a critical need to be able to properly classify those involved. This in order to be able to separate the really dangerous inmate from the non-dangerous, the potentially productive/industrious from those who are not, etc.,. Obviously, the solutions identified to handle long term non-dangerous, one time, well educated convicted murderers, and hardened contract type convicted murderers will not be the same. *

There are also a number of long term inmates who are not murderers e.g. in Canada Dangerous Offenders under Bill C-83 could fall into this group.

3- Types of institutions to be used:

Not surprisingly, a good portion of the discussion centred on the types of institutions best suited to the incarceration of long term offenders. Generally speaking, the dispersion model was preferred to the concentration model. It was thought to be better to disperse dangerous inmates amongst a large number of institutions rather than try to concentrate them in one only. *

The conclusions on isolated institutions were mostly negative. The major problem is one of staff. Isolated institutions in the U.S. have experienced great difficulties in staffing positions, specially "professional" positions. Once they are staffed the turnover is often too low and in-breeding becomes a serious problem.

Penal colonies were also considered. The consensus appeared to be that this solution could be used for long term "cooperative inmates"; as long as staff would have frequent opportunities to move in and out; and the inmates enjoyed the right to participate in government rather than have the privilege of self-government.

4- Institutional Programs:

It is worth mentioning again that the group stressed the need for an effective classification system to ensure that programs and inmates are well matched. A great number of comments were made on the subject of programs including:

- well paid employment is critical, is often not considered an inmate program of a voluntary nature, and greatly benefits from the involvement of the private sector; *

- educational programs can also be very beneficial, often educational programs for education's sake;
- there is an evident need to bring the community into the institutions;
- there is a need to provide inmates with the opportunity to maintain contact with somebody from the outside;
- related to this last point, family visiting (often referred to also as conjugal visiting), can be very useful to maintain effective outside contact, even if the family is a "cousin" (who would find it difficult to prove her family lineage); besides reducing the effects of what one participant called the greatest punishment - sex deprivation;
- it is necessary to provide inmates with an opportunity to establish one on one relationships with staff inside the institutions;
- when special or control units are used, it is necessary to set goals for the inmates in these units, and to regularly monitor progress.

In summary, three major themes permeated this segment of the discussion: first, the need to normalize (eliminate small causes which generate large consequences); second, the need to humanize (to reduce tension generating activities which result in-hostility); finally, the need to democratize (enhance communication but not to the point of self-government).

The overall sentiment at the conclusion of the meeting, as expressed in answer to the Solicitor General's question "is there hope?", was that there will always be hope. No one can be finally written off. Even though there does not exist and will never exist a universal cure-all, specific efforts will bring specific results.

Furthermore Canada at this stage, because of the situation facing the country, because the country is willing to innovate (for example, with smaller type institutions), has some unusual opportunities to experiment and develop less traditional and maybe better solutions.

As a result of the discussions in Denver, a number of follow-up activities are being initiated:

- 1- Researching material referred to during the discussion, including:

- Working Paper on Long Term Imprisonment presented at the Fifth U.N. Congress on Crime in Geneva;
 - Future of Imprisonment, by Norval Morris;
 - Maconochie of Norfolk Island, by John Barry;
 - Countdown for Death, by Dr. Lamont Smith;
 - Criteria used at the Marion Institution to determine when inmates can be released from the special unit;
 - Adult Typology in use at the Oxford Institution (Federal) in Wisconsin;
 - Battery of Tests used to measure hostility in institutions (R.F. Howard Kitchener, Director of Research, U.S. Bureau of Prisons);
 - Minutes of the discussion on Problems of Classification at the National Institute of Corrections (R.F.A. Travisono).
- 2- Visits to a number of institutions referred to during the discussion are being contemplated, including:
- Oxford Institution, Wisconsin;
 - Butner Institution, North Carolina;
 - Marion Institution, Illinois.
- 3- We are considering meetings similar to the one in Denver with Canadian criminologists from the private sector, universities, as well as our own services.

(August 1976-AFC/ljd)

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1) from Canada:

The Honourable Warren Allmand, Solicitor General

Mr. Hugh Poulin, Parliamentary Secretary to the Solicitor General

Mr. André Therrien, Commissioner of Penitentiaries

Mr. Claude Bouchard, Vice-Chairman of the National Parole Board

Mr. John Braithwaite, Deputy Commissioner/Inmate Programs,
Canadian Penitentiary Service

Mr. John Moloney, Assistant Deputy Commissioner/Inmate Programs,
Canadian Penitentiary Service

Mr. André Charette, Executive Assistant to Commissioner, Canadian
Penitentiary Service

2) from the American Correctional Association:

Mr. William Loeke, President of the A.C.A., Director of Corrections
State of South Carolina

Mr. Anthony Travisono, Executive Director of the A.C.A.

Mr. Roy Gerard, Assistant Director/Programs, Federal Bureau
of Prisons

Dr. C. Moeller, Chairman of the Commission on Accreditation

Dr. Lamont Smith, Deputy Director of Corrections (Research,
Program Planning and Evaluation), State of Arizona

Dr. George Beto, Professor, Sam Houston State University
(Former Director of Corrections, State of Texas
Past President of the A.C.A.)

Dr. Elis MacDougall, Commissioner of Corrections, State of Mississippi

Dr. Robert Fosen, Executive Director, Commission on Accreditation

LONG-TERM PROGRAMMING

The suggestions received on the subject of long-term programming were from a wide variety of sources which included inmates, program personnel, security personnel, institutional Directors and Regional Directors. A brief outline will be provided on each of the program ideas presented.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Many suggestions were directed to the area of Social Development which probably offers the broadest range of activities for long-term offenders. The suggestions will be broken down into their various components:

1. Arts & Crafts:

Participation in hobbycraft should be encouraged; hobby requests could be considered on an individual basis and reviewed by the Head, SD and Security before authorization is granted; and, art courses and artistic development, as well as music studies and instrumentalization should be considered.

2. Recreation:

Many respondents emphasized the need for inmates to keep fit through the maintenance and expansion of sports and other recreational programs. Individual cellular exercise programs could be organized with the aid of 'fit-kits' produced by the Dept. of Health & Welfare. Also, yoga exercises and meditation groups could be established and movies could be shown.

3. Self-Help Activities:

The AADACK series relating to drug and alcohol dependency could be made available in tapes, records and written information.

4. Sociocultural Activities:
Studies could be limited to individual interest and made possible in the area of native languages, cultural appreciation, etc.
5. Library:
A self-contained library with a full-time staff member in charge of Library Services, reading material and the coordination of texts and reference books, etc., has been proposed.
6. Special Projects and Clubs:
Special projects with a self-help component could be conducted to include such things as making tapes for the blind, repair of toys & dolls for service clubs, etc. Ten Plus clubs could be organized as well.
7. Correspondence:
The use of correspondence material should be encouraged except in rare cases.
8. Life Skills:
A Life Skills program should be developed and operated for long-term offenders. One suggestion specified that emphasis be laid on the acquisition of practical skills such as, home financing, budgeting, etc., which would be mandatory before release is granted.
9. Community Participation:
Inmate involvement in the community and community involvement or citizen participation with the institution should be encouraged.
10. Inmate Committees:
Inmate Committees for long-term offenders should have separate representation; also, a SD person should be available to this group when required.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STAFF AND INMATES

Most replies stressed a need for inmates to establish and maintain a one-to-one relationship with staff members, especially Classification Officers and Security personnel. Smaller caseloads for Classification Officers should be encouraged. Consultation with inmates and ex-inmates and with staff and the PSAC was suggested.

VISITING

1. Family visiting:

All respondents stressed the need to maintain family relationships through increased visiting contacts. A suggestion arose that it might be feasible to establish an adjunct program to assist with family life education which would involve the inmate, his spouse and immediate dependents. We could explore the idea of the inmate's family living with him on week-ends or holidays.

2. Conjugal Visiting:

This was perceived by many respondents as the best way to re-affirm the intimacy of relationships and provide the inmate with an outlet for sexual frustration. Most respondents agreed that the concept of conjugal visiting requires further study and perhaps could be achieved at a specific point in an inmate's sentence.

OCCUPATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Most of the respondents concentrated their suggestions in the area of OD in recognition of the importance of the inmate's daily work routine and academic training in the formulation of his general outlook on life.

1. Inmate Pay:

Unanimous agreement exists on the necessity to provide adequate wages for work performed (at

least minimum wage as on the outside). With better wages, the inmate could help support himself and his dependents as well as invest money in his own company.

2. The Employment Program:

An attempt should be made to get away from work that is routine and boring. The private sector should be encouraged to get involved in the work program and inmates should be able to see their products on the free market and form their own companies, operated from within the institution. Inmate co-operatives are also recommended.

3. Academic & Technical Training:

Inmates could pursue development in either academic skills or in trade or business skills vis-à-vis correspondence courses. Tutorials on a supervised basis (one-to-one) could also be arranged.

Respondents agreed on the need to provide educational programs in an effort to upgrade education standards without necessarily having the university degree as the end result.

4. Special Work Projects:

There was unanimous agreement that a broad spectrum of activities could be made available to long-term offenders vis-à-vis special work projects which are both creative and innovative.

CLASSIFICATION & PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

Contact and communication should be maintained at a high level between Classification and Psychological staff in order to provide continual assessment, evaluation and treatment to inmates. Special counselling and case management teams, as well as psychological surveillance should be encouraged.

Periodic checks, boredom evaluations and offence assessment could be performed on a regular basis. Therapeutic communities could be developed.

TEMPORARY ABSENCE PROGRAM

There should be a carefully developed temporary absence program which would form part of a re-entry group and allow inmates to earn their way back into normal population.

CHAPLAINCY PROGRAMS

Individualized religious programs could be established and a part-time or full-time Chaplain could be assigned per unit. Also, discussion groups on Christian education could be set up, along with drama, musical appreciation and reading groups to be run in conjunction with the volunteer aspect of the program.

LIVING ACCOMMODATION

A suggestion arose that we increase cell sizes and create an inter-city inside the prison walls where entry would be dependent upon prior approval based on evidence of satisfactory behaviour. This inter-city would involve certain restrictions, yet, many more social responsibilities and privileges and increased opportunity for decision-making.

PENAL COLONIES

Some respondents favoured the development of penal colonies or work camps in areas removed from general civilization e.g., the far north. Here, inmates could be employed in such occupations as: oil exploration, road projects, environment control, etc., and, perhaps, then be transferred to a regular institution to serve out the last 5 years of their sentence.

TECHNIQUES OF CLASSIFICATION

There will be a need to properly classify inmates in order to separate really dangerous from non-dangerous;

the potentially productive/industrious from those who are not; and, ensure that programs and inmates are well matched. We need to develop techniques for the prediction of violence.

PROGRAMS FOR INMATES

Programs should be geared to maintain activity and interest. Individually designed programs like Mutual Agreement Programming were suggested in which a concentrated effort would be made to maintain productivity along with a gradual release to lesser security. Intensive induction programs should be established to offset initial depression.

DIVISION OF SENTENCE INTO "TOURS OF DUTY"

A suggestion arose that a sentence could be broken down into 3 tours of duty:

1. First tour - 3 to 7 years in maximum security with 2 weeks vacation per year consisting of special privileges during that period.
2. Second tour - 5 to 10 years in medium security with 3 weeks vacation per year at a special CPS camp.
3. Third tour - would cover last period of incarceration and would be served in minimum security camp or within regular minimum environment.

CONCENTRATION VS DISPERSION

There are two distinct modes of thought on this subject:

1. Concentration - some respondents suggested that we bring together all inmates serving long-term sentences in one or two institutions. If separate prisons for long-term inmates are not feasible, then separate facilities should be built based on the living unit concept inside existing prisons. Most respondents favoured a concentrated model for inmates who have reached a certain point in their

sentence in which they are now considered ready for lesser security. A suggestion arose regarding special institutions for sex offenders.

2. Dispersion - This should be used with some exceptions: long-term inmates classified as dangerous could be managed in super-maximum security reception units, built in all existing maximum institutions. Use of concentrated facilities does not allow the programs available in the dispersal system which uses institutions differently.

SECURITY

A model of individual risk analysis should be developed as suggested by the Mohr Committee: an intensive reception process should be designed along with an adequate information system. Some respondents favoured the use of intensive continuous surveillance as an alternative to conventional prison settings, while others favoured stronger perimeter security with a more relaxed security inside.

INDUSTRIALLY ORIENTED PENITENTIARIES

A suggestion arose that we keep our maximums at about 400-500 capacity and that they be designated as industrially oriented penitentiaries.

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CRIMINOLOGIE

OTTAWA ONTARIO
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CRIMINOLOGY

August 26, 1976

Effects of Extended Incarceration: Progress ReportProcedure

A search of the available social science literature dealing with the effects of long-term confinement has been initiated. To date we have located, obtained and/or requested texts or reprints of many of the works which are deemed most pertinent to this area of investigation. In addition, several source and abstract searches are in progress or have been completed. For example:

- a) The Research Branch of the Ministry of the Solicitor General forwarded the results of a L.E.A.A. search; some relevant articles; and, have recently requested a comprehensive search from the American Psychological Association.
- b) The University of Ottawa library facilities (Social Sciences, Common Law, Criminology and Medicine) were employed to search for key journal articles and texts; and,
- c) A series of searches have been initiated through the computer facilities of the Institute for Behavioral Research located at York University in Toronto of which the University of Ottawa is a consortium member.
- d) Finally, informal interviews have been conducted with faculty colleagues and other professionals familiar with aspects of long-term confinement to ascertain other potential sources of information.

These procedures will continue to be followed and the resources further utilized as the accumulated information suggests areas not identified to date.

Initial Observations

Perhaps the most striking impression in conducting a search of literature in this area is the paucity of systematic research devoted to it. The published works reflect a veritable "hodge-podge" of approaches and findings with representation from almost every conceivable discipline and profession. To complicate matters further much of the most significant literature is not directly related by investigators to the problem of long-term imprisonment. However, a number of dominant themes that lend themselves to a very rough form of categorization have emerged.

Clearly recognizing the difficulties inherent in specifying such categories as "effects" this term will be tentatively utilized herein void of any implication of causality. Simply stated, our reading of the literature to date has indicated that many of the variables which have been claimed as "effects" are not only confounded but are frequently confused with "causes" or conditions that may produce certain other effects. For instance; social, sexual, sensory, intellectual, cognitive or physical deprivation are frequently cited as "effects" of prolonged confinement. Similar statements are made regarding: loss of privacy; restriction on space of free movement; crowding; over-routinization; and the like. In one sense it is quite accurate to state these as "effects" of prolonged confinement. However it might be more appropriate to suggest that many of these "effects" qualify as descriptions of environments or the conditions under which long-term confinement has occurred and been studied. Thus it appears that one rough categorization is indicated by an explication of those factors which have been identified as being associated with the limiting conditions of environments in which extended

incarceration has taken place. Obviously, such literature can be of considerable assistance in identifying and ameliorating those conditions which may have adverse consequences.

A second categorization is suggested by the enumeration of more specific and often observable consequences to the individual confined for prolonged periods. Observations have included: boredom; altered time perspective; anxiety and stress; "prisonization"; "institutionalization"; prison neuroses and psychoses (e.g., Ganser Syndrome); altered states of consciousness; changes in measures of self-concept, intelligence, abilities, personality and attitudes; and, anomie.

In a more reductionistic vein, a third categorization would likely include specific physiological changes associated with long-term confinement.

The above are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive categories and are only meant to serve as a guide in our attempts to search and integrate this literature. As the project progresses each of the above will be more clearly defined, elaborated and references provided.

Comments

Another strong impression from preliminary readings in this area is of a methodological nightmare. Perhaps this can be better understood by recognizing that it is an area of experience that does not lend itself easily to systematic empirical investigation. The rather unique and extreme set of conditions that are associated with incarcerating individuals for significant portions of their lives is not an easy subject for quantitative analysis. The difficulty in identifying and separating meaningful variables which can be manipulated in the natural environment or simulated in the lab is nearly

insurmountable. For example, of the "effects" noted above it is quite possible that at some time during a period of prolonged confinement, an individual may experience any one, combination or all of these. Thus, it should not be surprising to find that much of the significant writing which attempts to communicate the effects of the experience of long-term imprisonment is of a qualitative nature. The phenomenological approach serves well in enabling investigators to reach some minimal understanding of the power and complexity of the experience of long-term incarceration.

Clearly, both quantitative and qualitative approaches contain valuable information for the investigator and should be pursued in this project. However, we are persuaded of the necessity for also looking at literature which approximates, or is analogous to the conditions of long-term imprisonment. For instance, isolation and confinement may be approximated in the literature of the military (e.g., hardship postings, submarine personnel) or, in certain religious orders (e.g., monasteries). The experience of an extreme disruption or sudden and unalterable change in physical and social environments may find its analogy in disaster studies, migration literature, accounts of labor and concentration camp experiences. Accordingly, we are initiating preliminary steps in this direction (for instance, the Chaplain the Reverend John Nichols of Canadian Penitentiary Services was contacted and interviewed and contacts with Canadian Armed Forces Research Branch will be initiated).



Government of Canada / Gouvernement du Canada

MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

TO / À
 A
 Mr. J. Maloney
 Assistant Deputy Commissioner
 Inmate Programs, C.P.S.

FROM / DE
 DE
 Chief, Corrections Research
 Research Division

SUBJECT / OBJET
 CSJET
Effects of Extended Incarceration

SECURITY - CLASSIFICATION - DE SÉCURITÉ
OUR FILE - N/RÉFÉRENCE
YOUR FILE - V/RÉFÉRENCE
DATE 30 December 1976

Attached for your information is a summary of Bryan McKay's report on " Effects of Extended Incarceration".

D. Tomkins
 pp Hugh J. Haley, Ph.D.

HJH/pmt

Long Term Offenders Program.

"Effects of Extended Incarceration" by H. Bryan McKay,
C.H.S. Jayewardene and Pennie B. Reddie

This report is based on an examination of literature pertaining to the prison environment, and other institutional environments, as well as instances of voluntary prolonged confinement.

Various studies among this literature have found evidence of effects associated with confinement. However, the authors emphasize that, because of the paucity of research in this area, the lack of systematic investigation, and the overall methodological weakness of the research that has been done, few reliable conclusions can be drawn about the effects of long-term confinement.

The authors identified several variables which have been investigated, although the findings of separate studies were often conflicting.

One of the most salient factors of long-term confinement is time perspective. The literature suggests that inmates suffer considerable stress in facing a long sentence, although the most stressful element is the indeterminacy of sentence length and the consequent uncertainty. It was notable that inmates develop widely varying techniques to handle the problem of time.

Psychological functioning and the possibility of cognitive deterioration has recently been investigated by a group of researchers in England. Their findings revealed no evidence of psychological deterioration while verbal intelligence was found to significantly increase over time. The same studies indicated a significant reduction in hostility, and an increase in emotional maturity.

Several researchers have looked at changes over time in self-concept, with conflicting results, although it is apparent that changes (both an increase and a decrease) do occur throughout confinement and are related to the stage of the sentence, although the evidence is not sufficient to establish a causal relationship.

Some studies have attempted to identify a relationship between time served and personality change, again with conflicting results. The authors conclude that the methodological weaknesses of these studies do not permit any causal relationship to be drawn between length of imprisonment and personality change.

There is frequent reference in the literature to the psychopathological effects of confinement, and in particular to the 'Ganser Syndrome', which has been described as a form of psychosis, in which there is considerable disagreement about the syndrome, many observers claiming that it is a well-developed malingering strategy, by which the individual can escape difficult situations and personal responsibilities. The most frequent conclusion in the literature is that the disorder is genuine, but that its incidence has not been systematically observed and there is scanty evidence for its association with imprisonment.

The authors noted considerable reference to 'prisonization' as one of the effects of long-term confinement. 'Prisonization' can be described as assimilation into the prison culture and the adoption of an identifiable 'inmate' role. The degree of prisonization depends on a variety of factors -- personality, prior history, length of incarceration etc. Some researchers attribute its occurrence as an attempt by inmates to alleviate the pains of imprisonment by the formation of a strong unified subculture which opposes and rejects the formal institution structure. Other researchers emphasize the importance of pre-incarceration history and suggest that prisonization is simply

a continuation of prior identification with the criminal subculture. The authors suggest that further research should be undertaken to ascertain the functional value of the process of prisonization.

One of the interesting findings noted by the authors is that the impact of imprisonment is not always negative -- many inmates have self-reported positive changes. However, these impressions can not necessarily be associated with long term confinement, and the literature is scarce and non-systematic.

A further finding by the authors is that the literature on forms of confinement outside of imprisonment suggest many similarities between the effects of these confinements and imprisonment - depression, emotional difficulties etc., and they suggest that this could be a fruitful area for future research.

The authors conclude that our present knowledge is extremely limited, but that attempts to minimize the pains of imprisonment should focus on reducing the malevolent aspects of prison life, and the provision of facilities to meet inmates' basic needs for comfort, control (i.e., availability of choice), and meaning.

EFFECTS OF EXTENDED INCARCERATION

by

H. Bryan McKay
C.H.S. Jayewardene
Penny B. Reddie

Criminology Ottawa

1976

EFFECTS OF EXTENDED INCARCERATION

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Purpose of Project

To initiate a preliminary search and assessment of the psychological, sociological, criminological, psychiatric, and medical literature pertaining to long-term or extended incarceration in order to identify effects of such institutionalization on incarcerated populations. The review has resulted in the identification and enumeration of a number of psychological, social, and physiological variables known to be associated with prolonged confinement.

Procedure —

A search of the available social science literature dealing with the effects of long-term confinement was initiated. Texts or reprints of many of the works which are deemed most pertinent to this area of investigation were located for review. In addition, several source and abstract searches were conducted. For example:

- a) Annotated bibliographic searches were compiled from the I.E.A.A. and the American Psychological Association abstract services;
- b) A series of abstract searches were conducted through the computer facilities of the Institute for Behavioral Research located at York University in Toronto of which the University of Ottawa is a consortium member.
- c) The University of Ottawa library facilities (Social Sciences, Common Law, Criminology and Medicine) were employed to search for key journal articles and texts; and,

- d) Finally, informal interviews have been conducted with faculty colleagues and other professionals familiar with aspects of long-term confinement to ascertain other potential sources of information.

Initial Observations

Perhaps the most striking impression in conducting a search of literature in this area is the paucity of systematic research devoted to it. Radzinowicz noted in his 1968 Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System to the British Home Office:

"... practically nothing is known about the vital subject of the lasting effects on human personality of long-term imprisonment, yet pronouncements on the subject continue to be made and very long prison sentences continue to be imposed."

The published works reflect a veritable "hodge-podge" of approaches and findings with representation from almost every conceivable discipline and profession. To complicate matters further much of the most significant literature is not directly related by investigators to the problem of long-term imprisonment.

It is important to note that our assessment of the literature to date has indicated that many of the variables which have been claimed as "effects" are not only confounded but are frequently confused with "causes", or conditions that may produce certain other effects. For instance: social, sexual, sensory, intellectual, cognitive or physical deprivation are frequently cited as "effects" of prolonged confinement. Similar statements are made

regarding: loss of privacy; restriction on space of free movement; crowding; over-routinization; and the like. In one sense it is quite accurate to state these as "effects" of prolonged confinement. However, it might be more appropriate to suggest that many of these "effects" qualify as descriptions of environments, or as the conditions under which long-term confinement has occurred and been studied. They represent the limiting conditions of environments in which extended incarceration has taken place. Obviously, such literature can be of considerable assistance in identifying and ameliorating those conditions which may have adverse consequences. Thus, it is important for any discussion of the "effects" of long-term confinement to be aware of the causal implications of employing such terminology.

The preliminary search and assessment procedure has also resulted in the enumeration of more specific and often observable consequences to the individual confined for prolonged periods. Observations have included: boredom; altered time perspective; anxiety and stress; "prisonization"; "institutionalization"; prison neuroses and psychoses (e.g.; Ganser Syndrome); altered states of consciousness; changes in measures of self-concept, intelligence, abilities, personality and attitudes; and; anomie.

Another strong impression from preliminary readings in this area is of a methodological nightmare. Perhaps this can be better understood by recognizing that it is an area of experience that does not lend itself easily to systematic empirical investigation. The rather unique and extreme set of conditions that are associated with incarcerating individuals for significant portions of their lives is not an easy subject for quantitative analysis. The difficulty in identifying and separating meaningful variables which can be manipulated in the natural environment or simulated in the lab is nearly insurmountable. For example, of the "effects" noted above it is quite possible

that at some time during a period of prolonged confinement, an individual may experience any one, combination or all of these. Thus, it should not be surprising to find that much of the significant writing which attempts to communicate the effects of the experience of long-term imprisonment is of a qualitative nature. The phenomenological approach serves well in enabling investigators to reach some minimal understanding of the power and complexity of the experience of long-term incarceration.

Clearly, both quantitative and qualitative approaches contain valuable information for the investigator. Another direction pursued in the project was the examination of some literature concerning experiences which approximate or may be analogous to the conditions of long-term imprisonment. For instance, isolation and confinement may be approximated in the literature of the military (e.g., hardship postings, submarine personnel) or, in certain religious orders (e.g., monasteries). The experience of an extreme disruption or sudden and unalterable change in physical and social environments may find its analogy in disaster studies, migration literature, accounts of labor and concentration camp experiences. Accordingly, this review includes a brief sampling of this literature under the rubric of behavior in other deprivation environments.

In summary, these initial observations are meant to serve as a guiding framework for the review and assessment of the literature pertaining to long-term incarceration. A final note of caution preceding this review is needed. "Long-term" confinement is operationalized nonsystematically by investigators and can mean confinement ranging from six months to more than twenty five years. The focus of this project was meant to be on periods of confinement longer than ten years. Clearly, however, some of the research

not directly utilizing a decade (minimum) time frame provides valuable information and cannot be ignored. As will be seen in the ensuing discussion, this presents some problems in inference, interpretation and ecological validity of various findings.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF IMPRISONMENT

Time Perspective

Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor (1972) in their landmark study of long-term, maximum security prisoners devoted an entire chapter to the problem of time, the mechanisms employed by inmates to cope with the passage of time and the fear of deterioration over time. It is evident that the way in which time is perceived or the very notion of time itself as a "problem" becomes a complex and important variable in an environment in which "doing time" is the appropriate metaphor. Curiously, very little is known about the psychological mechanisms involved in adaptive or maladaptive time-framing. Although theorists have suggested that time perspective should be considered an important variable in studying environments which exercise (fate) control over individuals, empirical research in this area is sparse (Lewin, 1948; Thibaut and Kelley, 1967). There appears to be some consensus among investigators that the indeterminacy of a sentence has far different effects on time perspective than when clear and determinant terms are imposed (Bondy, 1943; Cohen, 1953; Farber, 1944; Thibaut and Kelley, 1967). One of the few studies to look at time perspective in the prison situation is reported by Farber (1944). His main interest was to determine factors which influence prison behavior, i.e., whether length of sentence imposed, length of sentence served, or the remaining time of the sentence left to serve, exerted any influence on the prisoner's behavior, attitudes or emotional responses.

The study, conducted at the Iowa State Penitentiary, included men (N = 40 in the sample) serving differing lengths of sentences, lengths of time served and time remaining to serve, age groups and reputations (different "types" from case files). Data were collected through interviews conducted individually at the prison. Each interview was extensive and semi-structured covering such topics as the prisoner's attitude toward his sentence, toward the time he had served, the prison way of life, plans for release and relations with persons on the outside.

Farber concluded that feelings of injustice toward the sentence and the time served could be better related to length of sentence and time already served than to variables which serve to describe the environment. The data also suggest that despite length of sentence, etc., prison behavior appears to be dominated by the need to get out and consequently, inmates concentrate on means to fulfil that end. Farber also notes that one of the variables closely associated with inmates' perceived degree of suffering was sentence indeterminacy.

Galtung (1961) has noted that one of the effects of routinization in the prison is to elongate prisoners' time perceptions. Thibaut and Kelley (1967) suggest at least two types of adjustment to time-framing that can shorten or lengthen one's time perspective. These involve psychological mechanisms which entail the re-evaluation and/or readjustment of one's perceptions of the environment. Rogan (1975) has found that inmates' ability to respond in a "time competent" manner increases as they progress through imprisonment. Finally, Cohen and Taylor (1972) have discussed a number of coping mechanisms which long-term prisoners employ to deal with the problem of passing time and to reduce the stress associated with the fear of deterioration of self while serving time. For instance, thinking about the future is resisted; the belief that "one's life is experienced in prison" is rejected; and a

great deal of effort is expended in finding new and appropriate ways to "time-frame". Events are sought which serve to divide the day as well as providing something to look forward to. In some instances these represent more external forms of time-markers (e.g., visits, letters), but it appears that they must be supplemented by internally generated means of measuring time passage (e.g., slow but perceptible bodily changes from weight-lifting, reading a particular series of books).

It is curious that the area of time perspective has received little attention by investigators. One of the major consequences of breaking the law is the deprivation of certain freedoms and liberties for a period of time. What is most interesting in the limited literature on time perspective is the strong suggestion of vast individual differences in the subjective experience and/or estimation of time. Furthermore, there appears to be a number of both adaptive and maladaptive strategies for dealing with the problem of time. - Certainly this area calls for more comprehensive research.

Cognitive Functioning

A series of investigations conducted recently in the United Kingdom by Banister and his colleagues (1973a and b, 1974, 1976) are perhaps the methodologically most rigorous studies reviewed to date that deal with psychological correlates of long-term confinement. The aim of the first phase of this comprehensive research program was to determine whether or not comparable changes existed among men serving long periods of imprisonment (Banister, Bolton, Smith and Heskin, 1973a). A long-term prison sentence was defined as either a determinate sentence of ten years or longer, or an indeterminate sentence of life imprisonment or detention at Her Majesty's pleasure.

The total population of men serving life sentences in English and Welsh prisons as of the end of 1968 was approximately 1,100 men. A final sample of 175 male inmates was selected for study. This sample was divided into four groups, matched for age but differing in mean length of imprisonment (the four groups are divided in terms of mean years served:

Grp 1.	$\bar{X} = 2.47$	SD = .83
Grp 2.	$\bar{X} = 4.94$	SD = .62
Grp 3.	$\bar{X} = 6.99$	SD = .77
Grp 4.	$\bar{X} = 11.29$	SD = 2.41

The N's for Groups 1, 2 and 3 = 50, for Group 4 N = 25).

The following tests were administered:

- Gibson Spiral Image
- General Aptitude Test Battery (form-matching)
- Wechsler Memory Scale (associate learning and visual reproduction test)
- Purdue Pegboard
- Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale
- Reaction Time Tests

The data obtained on the psychological correlates of long-term imprisonment offered no support for the view that increase in length of imprisonment is associated with intellectual decline. (Scores on the information, comprehension and vocabulary sub-tests tend to rise, although non-significantly.) It is interesting to note that a marked decline in perceptual-motor speed occurred in the subjects who had served a mean total of seven years and not in those who had served a mean total of eleven years.

The investigators cannot offer an explanation for this rather curious finding, however, it might be suggested that similar declines in perceptual-motor functions have been reported for certain groups of hospitalized psychiatric patients. It is suggested that a comparison of these literatures might be of some benefit in future work.

Most quantitative studies dealing with cognitive functioning are surprisingly devoid of attempts to measure long-term effects. The inclination has been to assess cognitive functioning by means of standardized intelligence tests upon intake only, occasional institutional re-assessment, and post-release follow-up. The search of the literature to date has indicated that very little is known about the effects of long-term confinement in contemporary correctional settings on cognitive functioning. It appears, however, that some investigators are beginning to undertake the steps necessary to remedy this situation. For example, Bolton, Smith, Heskin and Banister (1976) have reported the most recent phase of the United Kingdom project, a longitudinal study in which the identical Battery of tests was administered a second time to those subjects who still remained incarcerated after 19-07 months from initial testing. These results were compared with the initial results and with a group of non-prisoners, working in a wide range of occupations. This second group of subjects was matched for age with the prison sample. In total, 88% of the original sample were available for follow-up assessment. The tests mentioned in the previous stages of the study, examining intelligence, ability, personality and attitudes, were administered.

"Analysis revealed no evidence of psychological deterioration. On the contrary, verbal intelligence showed a significant increase between first and second testing, and there were significant reductions in hostility, which were associated with increasing emotional maturity."

(Bolton, et al., 1976, p. 46)

Results such as the above must always be treated with a considerable degree of caution. The tendency to draw a causal relationship should be resisted or at least tempered with the clear recognition that methodological issues are still contentious (e.g., subject motivation). This cautionary note should apply whether results show improvement, deterioration or no change in test scores.

Self-Perception and Personality Variables

Another phase of the United Kingdom study was concerned with the question of how the inmates' attitudes to various relevant concepts are affected by the experience of imprisonment and whether imprisonment itself may be implicated as a causal variable (Heskin, Bolton, Smith and Banister, 1974). The same sample was used and a Semantic Differential Test administered.

Perhaps the most significant finding was a decrease in self-evaluation found among men who have experienced longer terms of imprisonment. "For the concept of 'myself', group 3 scored significantly ($p < .001$) lower than group 1 and significantly ($p < .05$) lower than group 2, although the mean for group 4 is slightly above that of group 3." (Heskin et al., 1974, p. 152). In other words, the group who had served a mean total of 6.99 years in prison scored significantly lower on the concept of self-esteem than the groups whose mean length of imprisonment was 2.47 and 4.94 years respectively. Graphically, this resembles a reversed "J" function (∩). There was also evidence that more unfavourable attitudes towards work and father were associated with increasing imprisonment. This was felt to be associated with major changes in the pattern of relationships with the family.

It should be noted that the findings related to inmates' self-perceptions are somewhat contradictory. Culbertson (1975) reports in a study of incarcerated adolescent male offenders that self-concept scores did not decrease significantly for the total population studied, however, for those boys not previously incarcerated, the decrease was significant and linear. Stratton (1963) found no significant or consistent shift in self-esteem scores related to different stages of imprisonment. Atchley and McCabe (1968) report no systematic pattern in self-esteem changes in incarcerated populations. A report prepared by the (Kansas) Committee on Penal Reform (1973) claims that lowered self-esteem is an inevitable consequence of imprisonment. No data are reported to substantiate this statement.

Gendreau, Gibson, Surridge and Hug (1973) report a study which attempted to assess changes in self-esteem after six months' incarceration. The sample included 82 first offenders in the Guelph Correctional Centre. (Educational level was grade 9, Range - Gr 3 to 1 year university; IQ = 102, Range - 84 to 131; and age - \bar{X} = 18, Range - 16 to 24 years)

A test-retest design was employed with the first testing taking place 2-4 weeks after the subjects' arrival at the Centre during September 1969. The second test period occurred six months later, approximately at the mid-point of the subjects' sentence (because some subjects had been sent to other Ontario correctional centres, only 70 subjects were available for the second test). The tests administered included:

- Self-Esteem Inventory (SE)
- Adjective Check List (ACL)
- Selected MMPI Scales

The statistically significant results of the data are as follows:

- a) There was a significant increase in self-esteem, $p < .01$
- b) Subjects reported fewer depressive symptoms, $p < .01$
- c) There was a significant increase on the following scales:
 - i) autonomy, $p < .05$
 - ii) aggression, $p < .01$

There was a significant decrease on the following scales:

- i) abasement, $p < .01$
- ii) affiliation, $p < .05$
- iii) intraception, $p < .05$
- iv) nurturance, $p < .01$
- v) personal adjustment, $p < .01$
- vi) self-control, $p < .01$
- vii) succorance, $p < .05$

Wheeler (1961) has suggested that changes in self-esteem of incarcerated individuals represent an inverted U-shaped function over the period of institutionalization; i.e., self-esteem would increase after the initial period of incarceration, remain fairly high during the mid-portion of confinement and begin to decrease again as the individual contemplates release. Bennett (1974) failed to support this hypothesis in a recent study. Most of the inmates in his sample experienced an increase in self-esteem during the first few months of their stay which maintained throughout the remainder of their confinement period including pre-release periods. Gattshall (1969) found that an increasing openness to negatives attributes of the self-concept, a strengthening of the moral-ethical self-structure, an increasing acceptance of integrated self-perception and a lessening of; or adjustment to basic

personality defects were related to length of incarceration. Finally, in contrast with Wheeler's hypothesis, it should be noted that the Heskin, Bolton, Smith and Banister (1974) results (reported above) resemble more closely a reversed "J" function (∩) than an inverted "U" over long periods of confinement.

Banister, Bolton, Smith and Heskin (1973b) have examined the relationship between length of imprisonment and personality change. As part of the United Kingdom project, the tests administered to the same sample of long-term prisoners included:

- Eysenck Personality Inventory (Form B)
- California Psychological Inventory (masculinity-femininity scale)
- Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (Form B)
- Hostility and Direction of Hostility Questionnaire

The major findings indicate that intro-punitiveness, reflecting both guilt and self-criticism, increases with length of imprisonment with a trend toward declining extroversion. The results show that prisoners are significantly more neurotic than a non-prison sample although neuroticism does not tend to show any consistent relationship with length of imprisonment.

Most typically, however, personality scales are employed in the prison setting either to predict adjustment or to provide information to facilitate treatment intervention (Baughman and Pierce, 1972; Eysenck and Eysenck, 1973; Stump and Gilbert, 1972; Truxal and Sabatino, 1972). The applicability of such results to inferences regarding personality change over periods of long-term confinement is negligible. The current debate in psychology

concerning the cross-situational consistency of behavior related to personality dimensions or the stability of personality measures over time raises a complex issue for this literature (Mischel, 1967; Bowers, 1973). Thus, the assessment of any literature on personality change must be done within the framework of expectations we know to be associated with time-lagged correlations (Bem and Allen, 1974).

There are, of course, a number of other difficulties in comparing these apparently contrasting findings. Different measures were used, different samples, etc., but the most obvious difference is in the nature of the samples employed. Specifically, with the exception of the United Kingdom study, the majority of research deals with short-term sentences and frequently the subjects are experiencing their first incarceration. It appears that the bulk of this research indicates that speculation regarding any inherent lowering of self-esteem related to imprisonment is not supported by the evidence. That is, any attempt to draw a causal relationship between lowered self-esteem and imprisonment will encounter precisely the same difficulty as attempts to establish a causal linkage between increases in self-esteem and incarceration. Simply stated, the research reviewed to date does not contain the critical measure that would allow such inferences to be made. We do not know what effect the period of contact with the criminal justice process prior to sentence disposition has had upon self-esteem. Furthermore, the absence of adequate comparison groups has been characteristic of this research. The conclusion then is, any particular piece of research that claims to have demonstrated a change related to imprisonment must be treated cautiously. The findings must always be tempered with the question -- change compared to what? For example, what assumptions can be made regarding a "base rate" of self-esteem prior to any criminal justice contact?

Finally, the interpretation of change scores over time must always consider the nature of the sample tested and the situational demands. There are a number of test biases in the prison setting that do not appear to operate in most other settings. For example, there are, depending upon the setting, strong reasons for "faking" good or bad on many test inventories. Furthermore, the populations are frequently "test-wise" and thus exceedingly difficult to detect in deliberate response distortion.

Psychopathological "Effects"

One "effect" frequently noted in literature dealing with psychological consequences of long-term incarceration is the Ganser Syndrome. Because this research provides an excellent illustration of the difficulties encountered in describing psychological disorders associated with imprisonment, it will be given further consideration in this report.

The Ganser Syndrome was first described by Dr. Sigbert Ganser in 1898 as a "peculiar hysterical twilight state" (Shorer, 1965, p. 126). Ganser (in: Shorer, 1965) described four essential clinical features of the syndrome as:

- 1) The giving of approximate answers;
- 2) The clouding of the consciousness;
- 3) The features of somatic conversion (including hysterical stigmata); and,
- 4) A transient state with subsequent amnesia for the manifestation of the above symptoms.

One distinguishing characteristic of the Ganser Syndrome is the giving of approximate answers to simple questions. This has frequently been referred to as "vorbeireden": to talk past or beside the point, and "vorbeighen": to pass the correct answer and give one close to it. Patients suffering from the Ganser Syndrome usually give false answers to the examiner's questions. Although these answers are wrong, they are "... never far wrong and bear a definite and obvious relation to the question, indicating clearly that the ^{10a}questing has been grasped." (Anderson and Maillinson, 1941, p. 383).

Views concerning the psychopathology vary considerably. Some authors argue that the syndrome is a psychosis while others claim that it falls in the category of pseudo-dementia. Still others maintain that the disease lies somewhere between malingering and a true hysterical state.

The feature of consistently giving approximate answers makes Ganser patients distinct from others clinically. However, a more difficult feature to determine is whether the provision of wrong answers appears at the conscious or unconscious level. Thus, much of the debate in this literature has focused upon ascertaining whether this is a true psychological disorder or simple malingering. Ganser (in: Shorer, 1965) clearly considered this syndrome to be a unique clinical entity with features consistent with hysterical reactions. The features that Ganser considered both significant and fundamental to the "hysterical twilight state" were the combination of the fluctuating level of consciousness with defects of memory, accompanied by symptoms of hysteria. This combination of features was essential in determining a diagnosis of Ganser syndrome. Clearly, the total ^{symptom} constellation is critical since Ganser himself agreed that any or most of these symptoms might appear in other psychiatric conditions. This view is shared by Tsoi (1973). In addition, Tsoi (1973), in his study in Singapore of 10 males with a Ganser diagnosis,

suggests that older patients are apparently more prone to develop this disease. P.D. Scott (in: Shorer, 1965) examined some 8,000 delinquent girls and boys and failed to detect a single instance of the Ganser syndrome. Scott also notes that those delinquents who claimed amnesia for their offences were confined to murderers.

Although Ganser agreed that symptoms of the Ganser syndrome could appear in various other psychiatric conditions, he maintained that the syndrome was a manifestation of hysteria and, as such, should be classified independently of other mental illnesses. Enoch and Irving (1962) favour the inclusion of the syndrome within the group of hysterical reactions. Although relatively rare, these authors insist that the Ganser syndrome does exist and should be regarded as an independent illness, distinct from either malingering or true dementia. Hysteria is here defined as "mental or physical symptoms, not of organic origins which are produced or maintained by motives never fully conscious, directed at some real or fancied gain to be desired from these symptoms." (Enoch, et al., p. 220). Therefore, in hysterical reactions, the symptoms, although they provide secondary gains for the patient, are said to be of an unconscious origin. In malingering, the patient is aware that he is simulating and is carrying out his actions for a pre-conceived purpose.

Other authors argue that the syndrome is simulated by those wishing to escape difficult life situations or personal responsibilities. Henneberg (1904) (in: McGrath and McKenna, 1961) asked normal subjects to feign mental illness and found that the answers given by the subjects corresponded closely to those given by Ganser patients. In contrast, Anderson, Trethowan and Kenna (1959) found that approximations of correct answers were given more often by patients with pseudo-dementia than by simulants, normal controls or those with organic dementia. McGrath and McKenna (1961) assume that "... all

simulators make a conscious decision to produce an illness for a conscious motive of gain or avoidance." According to Anderson, et al. (1959), purposeful feigning is almost impossible to sustain. Goldin and MacDonald (1955) claim that the Ganser state occupies some "intermediate" position between the malingering and hysterical states.

Mayer-Gross, Slater, and Roth (1961) equate the Ganser syndrome with hysterical pseudo-dementia. The patient claims a loss of memory for portions of his past life and often refuses to recognize relatives. These investigators suggest that the symptoms in the majority of cases are not genuine and are used "... in a most consistent way to defeat investigation... There is often a discreditable incident to be concealed." (p. 141). This pseudo-dementia is most often observed in prison where there is a failure of memory and intellect accompanied by the acting out of an artificial psychosis, an attempt to escape from the reality of the situation. Prison, it is suggested, provides all of the appropriate stimuli.

Anderson, Trethowan and Kenna (1959) disagree with Mayer-Gross et al., and argue that the absence of a disturbance of consciousness in pseudo-dementia is the differential feature. According to Anderson and his colleagues, the Ganser patient shows much greater psychic disturbance and may become schizophrenic, whereas pseudo-dementia is usually transient, situational and the patient operating much closer to conscious simulation.

Goldin and MacDonald (1955), in reviewing the relevant literature, state that "all of the cases reported since the early German literature appear to have some kind of psychosis in addition to the Ganser state." (p. 267). This is consistent with their position that the majority of cases reported in the literature are not in fact examples of Ganser syndrome.

Anderson and Maillinson (1941), concerned with describing the Ganser syndrome as a major psychosis, point out that a majority of authorities on the Ganser syndrome describe it as some form of psychic abnormality.

As noted, other symptom constellations may resemble this syndrome. According to May, Voegele and Paolino (1960), an increase or decrease in stimulation outside a person's range of tolerance may produce psychotic reactions similar to the Ganser syndrome. These reactions have been reported by arctic explorers, solitary ocean sailors and persons in isolation chambers.

Weiner and Braiman (1955) contend that Ganser patients are psychotic and state that many reported cases show symptoms of what is more accurately described as a fugue state. Stengel (1943, in: McGrath and McKenna, 1961, p. 158) defines fugue as a "... condition produced by the coincidence of neurotic and psychotic mechanisms." McGrath et al. (1961) agree with Stengel's definition of a fugue and maintain that the definition applies to the Ganser syndrome. Fenichel (1945, in: McGrath and McKenna, 1969, p. 158) states that "... sometimes an ego otherwise intact is capable of temporarily turning away from an unpleasant reality in 'schizophrenic episodes' of short duration which were called 'hysterical psychosis' in older psychiatric terminology." McGrath and McKenna (1961) contend that the Ganser syndrome can be explained in psychological terms as an example of the defence mechanism of undoing, thereby supporting Fenichel's (1945) view:--

"A compulsion to annul antecedent decisions brought about by a reactive increase in the strength of a drive to oppose the original intention of distorting the perception of reality and cognitive functioning." Unconscious components, which are present in the originally ego syntonic attempts to modify reality, assume primacy over a basically weak ego and are

perceived as ego alien. The typical answer is a compromise, simultaneously carrying on the original attempt to simulate and attempting to regain the lost reality by convincing both the patient himself and others that apprehension of the environment is still operating. The result of the message is a contradictory one, conveying 'I am insane, yet sane'. Hence the confusion in the diagnostic constructions put upon this relatively rare state. To use a Freudian analogy, the horseback rider believes himself in control of the horse but in fact is obliged to guide it where it wants to go."

The incidence of the syndrome is very hard to determine since obviously there is considerable disagreement on a precise definition. According to Lewis (1941, in: Shorer, 1965), the Ganser syndrome is typically found in prisoners awaiting trial. However, Mayer-Gross, et al. (1954, in: Anderson et al., 1959) reported the syndrome in sentenced prisoners who were later diagnosed schizophrenic without any apparent clear line of demarcation. May, Voegele and Paolino (1960) report on three institutionalized persons who developed the Ganser syndrome just prior to being released. This is in contrast to most published reports stating that the syndrome is most likely to develop upon entering a freedom-restricting environment. These authors suggest that, for these patients, staying in the institution represented a secondary gain, i.e., this environment was a condition necessary for the functioning of the patients. When the risk of losing the protective and secure environment was imminent, the patients exhibited disturbed behavior approximating Ganser.

Since 1941, there has been a revival of interest in this syndrome, due partly to various accounts of men trying to avoid or escape military service (Anderson et al., 1941).

In summary, evidence for the incidence of the occurrence of this particular psychopathological disorder which is so frequently associated with imprisonment is scanty and the subject of considerable confusion. Most of the difficulty surrounds the lack of a precise definition that would facilitate differential diagnosis and a discerning standard for evaluating the reported cases in the literature. The debate concerning Ganser syndrome is quite similar to that which has taken place over the diagnosis of psychopathy/sociopathy (McKay, 1970). In brief, most clinicians agree that an independent and identifiable clinical syndrome (Ganser) does exist yet disagree on the symptom pattern and its interpretation.

FACTORS RELATED TO IMPRISONMENT

Prisonization

Clemmer (1940) states that prisonization indicates "... the taking on in greater or less degree the folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary" (p. 299). Zingraff (1975) has defined prisonization as "... the degree of assimilation into the inmate contraculture and the particular type of social role assumed by the inmate" (p. 366). According to Clemmer, the assimilation process carries the following implications:

- 1) That a process of acculturation occurs in one group whose members originally were different from those of the group with whom they now associate;
- 2) That those assimilated come to share these sentiments, memories and traditions of the static group; and;

- 3) That this assimilation is a slow, gradual, more or less unconscious process, during which a person learns enough of a culture of a social unit into which he is placed to make him take on the characteristics of it (p. 298).

Simply stated, Clemmer coined the word prisonization to describe those changes that inmates undergo during incarceration. Stated differently, it is a description of the socialization process into the prison culture. In most early studies, researchers appeared interested in differentiating between social typologies to ascertain changes in inmates during imprisonment. For example, Clemmer (1940) employed three categories: the elite, the middle class and the hoosier whereas, Sykes (1958) relied on prison argot for differentiating prison roles.

According to Clemmer, the degree of prisonization may be affected by the following factors:

- 1) Personality of the offender and his susceptibility to the inmate subculture. This is seen as primarily dependent on the type of relationships which the offender had prior to incarceration;
- 2) The type and extent of relationships which the offender had prior to imprisonment;
- 3) The extent of the offender's affiliation with various prison groups. This, in turn, is related in part to factors (1) and (2);
- 4) The role of chance: e.g., cell location; proximity to other types through work placement, etc.;

- 5) The acceptance or rejection of the dogmas or codes of the prison culture; and,
- 6) A complex of all other and inter-related factors such as demographic characteristics (age, race, nature of criminality).

Zingraff (1975), in a review of this literature, suggests that the degree of prisonization can be determined by:

- 1) Length of time incarcerated;
- 2) Interpersonal ties with other inmates;
- 3) Proportion of time served;
- 4) Social role adaptation of the inmate;
- 5) Post-release expectations of the inmate;
- 6) Degree of alienation from the larger society;
- 7) Degree of alienation from the institution;
- 8) Self-concept of the inmate; and,
- 9) Organization variations.

Two models have been suggested to explain the process of prisonization (Cline, 1968). The first, the 'deprivation model' is based on the assumption that imprisonment is a degrading and depriving experience. Inmates, in an effort to alleviate the "pains of imprisonment" formulate and maintain a subcultural normative system which emphasizes physical toughness, rejection of the formal institution and exploitation of prison programs and staff. The negative orientation of the inmates' subculture is seen as derived from the coerciveness of the formal organizational structure (Zingraff, 1975). Advocates of this model maintain that the pressures associated with imprisonment foster high levels of prisonization. The power of the organizational structure of a prison is seen as a major factor in the generation of stress and conflict in the inmate population.

In contrast, the importation model stresses the importance of the background of the inmate prior to incarceration. Well-defined attitudes and behavior that accompany the inmate into the institution are seen as an integral factor in determining the subsequent degree of prisonization. This is largely influenced by factors external to the inmates' immediate or current environment; thus, the degree of prisonization is seen as primarily related to pre-prison experiences and reflecting previous contacts with criminal subcultures and the subculture of violence (Thomas, 1972).

Both models suggest that prisonization has a significant impact on inmates that cannot be considered conducive to resocialization. For instance, Clemmer (1940) suggests that prisonization implies:

- 1) Opposition to the overall organization of the institution;
- 2) Increased priority placed on group loyalty to the inmate subculture; and,
- 3) Denial of the legitimacy of the legal system of justice.

Clemmer (1940), among others, suggests that more "universal factors of prisonization" are evident in most, if not all, correctional environments. These include the inmates' acceptance of an inferior role, interest in and accumulation of facts concerning the organization of the prison; and, the adoption of the local language or prison argot. Thus, each offender entering a penal institution undergoes some degree of prisonization. Although such "universal factors" have not been the focus of a great deal of attention by investigators, Clemmer suggests that they are nonetheless significant when dealing with long term inmates:

"Even if no other factor of the prison culture touches the personality of an inmate of many years residence, the influence of these universal factors are sufficient to make a man characteristic of the penal community and probably so disrupt his personality that a happy adjustment in any community becomes next to impossible."
(p. 300).

Thomas (1972) has highlighted the powerful mediating effect that post-prison expectations have upon the process of prisonization. If an inmate has low expectations regarding post-release lifestyle, then the degree of prisonization will be greater than if post-prison expectations were high. Clemmer (1951) has noted that inmates serving life sentences hold little if any post-release expectations and thus experience a high degree of prisonization.

Most investigators agree that the strongest determinant of a high degree of prisonization is a long sentence (Clemmer, 1940, 1951; Garabedian, 1963; Wheeler, 1961). In the context of this report where the period of confinement under consideration is more than ten years, the expectation of a high degree of prisonization is clear and inevitable. Prisonization as a consequence of long term confinement must be reassessed in view of these new expectations regarding length of incarceration.

One issue for investigators would be to ascertain to what extent the processes involved in prisonization have functional value, contain adaptive mechanisms for dealing with an environment which will be the inmates' home for a substantial portion of his life. It has been assumed that the process is always negative. Certainly, in the context of potentially retarding the offenders' resocialization into the community it has obvious deleterious effects.

However, when dealing with time frames of twenty years or more, the issue of prisonization must be evaluated from a far different perspective. We must seriously entertain the possibility, for example, that any process which has the potential for facilitating adaptation to the environment and society which will become the offenders' sole "community" for many years deserves considerable scrutiny by investigators.

If the period of incarceration is to exceed a decade, then serious thought should be given to a complete re-orientation of supportive services provided to the inmate. For example, whereas the focus of many of the efforts of correctional service workers today is on the post-release re-integration into the community, the emphasis with long-term inmates would be shifted to facilitating adaptation to the prison community. Thus, support would be provided on the basis of reducing distress associated with imprisonment and assistance in accomodating to the correctional environment and society.

Institutional Impact

Garrity (1961) has reviewed and discussed much of the literature dealing with the impact of imprisonment. He notes that imprisonment does not always affect prisoners adversely and in some cases continued prison experiences actually increase chances of successful adjustment upon release. Recent research has measured impact of imprisonment, the experience of incarceration. Eynon, Allen and Reckless (1971) have employed an Impact Scale (originally developed by Eynon-Reckless) which attempts to measure inmates' perceptions of their institutional stay. In this and other studies (c.f., Sindwani and Reckless, 1973; Miller, 1974; Reckless and Sindwani, 1974) the investigators have tended to devote their attention to cross-cultural comparison, inmate versus staff perceptions, maximum versus medium prisoners' perceptions, and the like. Generally, the research indicates that the experience of imprisonment

is not always adverse and, in some cases, favourable perceptions of its effect are (self) reported. Kay (1961) reports that the most unfavourable institutional impact was on younger inmates in a sample consisting of both females (N=324) and males (N=336). No difference in their findings in this area related to sex of the offender. In contrast, Sindwani and Reckless (1973) report that the perceptions of younger inmates were, on the whole, more favourable than the perceptions of impact of imprisonment on older inmates. Cochrane (1974) has suggested that a major impact of incarceration on younger inmates is the retardation of development of a mature and an independent set of values. Eynon et al. (1971) found that staff perceptions were considerably more favourable than inmates' perceptions regarding the impact of imprisonment.

In summary, it appears that the literature on impact of imprisonment is non-systematic and not yet extensive although more recent attempts by Reckless and his students have indicated that measurement is possible and certainly desirable in this area.

LONG-TERM INCARCERATION AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Perhaps most surprising in our preliminary search of the literature is the paucity of research dealing with effects of long-term imprisonment on the family relationships of the inmate. Most writings in this area are anecdotal at best and offer few insights into what must obviously be a complex issue. For example, Burkhart (1973) has described the feelings of self defeat and loneliness experienced by incarcerated women engendered by separation from their children. In his study of 93 incarcerated negro males and their families, Schneller (1975) found that financial and sexual-emotional

frustrations underwent significant changes as time in prison increased and that these issues became problematic for a majority of families in the Schneller sample. Of the 93 families studied, most encountered significant problems in terms of social acceptance of the family in the community. However, of the myriad of variables employed in this research to test for family change, only two were found to be significant. First, common-law wives experienced significantly greater negative sexual and emotional changes than did civilly married wives, and second, "happier" married wives tended to be more faithful to their husbands than less "happier" married wives. It is perhaps indicative that this particular study is unique in the area, it attempts to measure systematically change over a specific time period in terms of impact on the family. It is, however, a retrospective study, inmates and wives were asked to estimate the change that had occurred during the period of incarceration.

Friedman (1965) reports a study which suggests that committing a father to jail is soon accompanied by a depression in the school performance of his children, and especially for daughters. This study compared the school performance of the sons and daughters of jail inmates, where the father had been confined for a minimum period of six months, with matched controls in the school setting. Blackwell (1959), reporting on research in Spokane County, Washington, involving selected families of men committed to prison, concludes that family adjustment depends largely on conditions that exist in the marital relationship prior to the involuntary separation. The study suggests that factors which predispose a family to attempt to keep a marriage intact or to end an already unstable relationship account for most of the results in the deterioration of the relationship. However, it should be noted that Blackwell also concludes that there is a demoralization in family relationships that occurs when a man is imprisoned that does not occur in other types of separation. Anderson (1966) has also noted this process but finds that not all families experience this as a "crisis". In contrast, some families appear to adapt

quite well to the "bread winner's" imprisonment and that this adaptation is dependent largely upon how crisis, itself, is defined by the members of the family.

Surprisingly, little is known, at least in the literature reviewed to date, about the potential effects of long-term confinement on family relationships. It is an area which requires a great deal of careful thought from all professions and disciplines in terms of providing the most appropriate and valid information in counselling and support. For example, is it realistic to expect family relationships to survive a quarter-century of separation? What type of support can be provided to the inmate and his/her family, immediate and extended, in preparing to cope with the consequences of a long period of incarceration for one of its members? At this point, there is a profound lack of assistance from the social science literature in addressing such critical issues.

OTHER DEPRIVATION ENVIRONMENTS

As noted earlier in this report, a brief sampling of literature pertaining to deprivation and isolation would be undertaken.

According to Mullen (1960), danger, cold and hardship are not the major sources of stress in isolated Antarctic living. More stress resulted from individual adjustment to the group, the sameness of the environment and the absence of certain accustomed sources of emotional satisfaction. These conclusions were reached after interviews with approximately 85 personnel who had lived in non-experimental Antarctic stations for 7 or 8 months and were nearing the end of their winter stay.

Among the findings was the report that the absence of hardship and danger were sources of considerable disappointment and disillusionment among the subjects. Also noted was an absence of openly expressed hostility. In this small, closed society, the men could not afford to alienate themselves from the group since each man was dependent on every other man and on the group as a whole for his feelings of security, worth and acceptance. Mullen also found the frequency of headaches related to this controlled aggression. A fairly widespread phenomenon of sleeplessness was also found. Mullen suggests that the causes of this sleeplessness seem related to such factors as the accumulation of group and personal tensions, the reduced physical activity of the dark-winter period and group suggestibility. He also reports a widespread lack of intellectual energy which was severe after several months of isolation. Findings of impaired memory, alertness and concentration ranged from absentmindedness to mild fugue states and seemed to occur after several months of isolation. Mullen suggests a relationship here between impairment of memory, alertness and concentration and prolonged exposure to "sameness" and a reduction in sensory stimulation. Finally, his results indicated that oral needs were enhanced. Food consumption was enormous with weight gains averaging 20-30 pounds. He notes a slight increase in the sexual content of dreams and proposes that this was indicative of repressed sexuality which had been replaced with a primary focus on oral gratification. This tendency and an increase in the frequency of masturbatory activity became more apparent toward the end of the stay.

Several other researchers have reported a high incidence of sleep disturbance, depression, headaches, irritability and other minor emotional problems in adjustment to the Antarctic environment. (Gunderson, 1963, 1968; Gunderson and Nelson, 1963; Mullen, 1960; Nelson, 1965; Seymour and Gunderson, 1971).

A study conducted by Butcher and Ryan (1974) attempted to investigate and objectively describe the personality characteristics of a group of Antarctic volunteers who remained in the polar station during the winter of 1970 (8.5 months). They also tried to assess any personality change which may have taken place during this period.

Subjects (n=15) were volunteers from a group of 21 scientists and navy support personnel. All subjects had undergone extensive screening which consisted of physical examinations and an interview with both a psychologist and psychiatrist. The base was self-sustaining and the only contact with the outside world was by a short-wave radio.

To each subject, an MMPI and PRF (personality Research Form) were administered at the beginning of winter, during mid-winter and prior to re-opening the station at the end of the winter. The control subjects (n=30) were selected from a group of 200 male U.S. college students. They were given the same tests on 2 occasions, eight months apart.

The Antarctic volunteers appeared better adjusted; they showed significantly less anxiety, $p < .001$; less bodily concern, $p < .05$; more conventional and less alienated attitudes, $p < .05$, $p < .05$; more able to withstand stress $p < .001$; more achievement oriented $p < .01$ and more serious minded $p < .001$. The college students more frequently sought sympathy, protection, love, advice, and reassurance $p < .05$. However, there were no significant differences for any of the MMPI or PRF scales between the test-retest period on the Antarctic sample. Although some of the volunteers experienced symptoms of maladjustment such as headaches, depression and irritation, these problems were not sufficient to alter significantly the MMPI profiles over the period of isolation.

Perhaps the most extensive and comprehensive review of literature dealing with isolation and confinement in environments other than prisons has been carried out by Rasmussen (1973). His review includes sensory deprivation effects in laboratory studies, field studies of prolonged confinement in underground caves, isolated farms, arctic expeditions and the like. In his review, Rasmussen has concluded that there is a certain degree of validity in the investigative techniques employed in this area which would allow us to develop general principles about how men and women in isolation behave and are affected by their environment.

In summary, it appears that the results of the few studies reviewed in this area suggest a remarkable similarity to some of the effects known to be associated with imprisonment and subsequent to a period of social and physical deprivation. Clearly this literature has much to offer future investigators. It appears a fruitful ground for deriving hypotheses and testing ideas with voluntary subjects.

SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

Little has changed since Radzinowicz's (1968) statement cited earlier in this report. We have an astounding lack of knowledge about the effects of long-term incarceration yet we continue to recommend and impose longer prison terms.

That so little is known about this area is itself an intriguing phenomenon. The reluctance of scientists and professionals to conduct research related to this area of human experience is at least partial testimony to the compelling and persuasive writing found in personal accounts of long-term incarceration. Such records are clear and consistent in their presentation of long-term confinement as unique, powerful and almost incomprehensible. It is, in fact, almost impossible for us to grasp the impact of being imprisoned for two or more decades. There have been a number of significant attempts to communicate this experience in writings by and about long-termers (Alper, 1974; Berkman, 1970; Burney, 1952; Clayton, 1970; Cleaver, 1969; Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Gaddis, 1956; Griswold, 1970; Hassler, 1955; Jackson, 1971; Knight, 1970; Leopold, 1958; Manocchio and Dunn, 1970; Minton, 1971; Pell, 1972; Serge, 1970; Solzhenitsyn, 1968). In fact, this literature seems to attest to man's powers of adaptation and ability to withstand adversity under even the most extreme conditions. What emerges is the feeling that the idea of long-term confinement is frequently more extreme than the environment(s) in which it occurs. The deprivation of liberty entailing restrictions on the space of free movement and the giving up of a certain degree of control of one's environment for a considerable portion of a lifetime is an extreme event. Perhaps reading this literature has the effect of overwhelming investigators. The enormity and complexity of the issue is far from attractive to empirical researchers and, coupled with the numerous problems long associated with prison research, has almost guaranteed a paucity of good research in this area.

It is worth a note of caution that the phenomenological, the qualitative literature cannot be discounted as merely interesting. It should be evaluated on the basis of providing a plentiful source for hypothesis derivation and construction. Obviously, some and often considerable bias exists in these accounts. For instance, it is unlikely that many reports are written or published that described a positive adaptation to confinement (e.g., "The Joys of Imprisonment").

One of the strongest impressions to emerge in reviewing long-term confinement literature is the striking discrepancy between personal accounts and the data-based research describing it. As this review has indicated, the observable and measured effects of long-term incarceration are by no means clear. In many cases, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions because the data that would allow us to do so simply do not exist. In some instances (e.g., cognitive functioning), the measured effects appear far from adverse. Furthermore, in areas which have been subjected to methodologically rigorous investigation, the ecological validity of the findings respecting long-term confinement is questionable at best. Perhaps the most outstanding example is the literature pertaining to the "deprivations". As noted earlier in this report, this may be more appropriately considered a statement describing the limiting conditions of the environment. The deprivations of: stimulation of the senses, physical heterosexual relationships, and privacy are not necessary "effects" of the environment. They are, in fact, modifiable conditions, variables which can be manipulated to produce effects. In contrast, the deprivation of unrestricted freedom of movement is, by definition, a necessary condition of long-term confinement. With rare exceptions, the relationships which exist between the state and the offender are nonvoluntary. The offender wishes to leave, escape the constraints, whereas the function of the state authority is to prevent him from accomplishing this end (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959). The offender has relinquished the right of unrestricted access.

to society. The deprivation of one's freedom alone is a powerful consequence of illegal behavior. This point should be emphasized in any deliberations concerning the provision of facilities, the environment(s) under which long-term confinement will occur.

It is, at this point, that a possible explanation for the discrepancy between the personal accounts and other data suggests itself. When a confined person's environment appears to take on malevolent or even persecutory characteristics, we find not only adverse, but severely debilitating physical and psychological effects (Bettleheim, 1960; DesPres, 1976). This is not meant to imply that it is our intention to be malevolent toward those we incarcerate. Certainly, our attempts to humanize such environments, promulgate a rehabilitative ideal, provide meaningful programs within custodial limitations and our abolition of capital punishment attest to this. It is more likely that malevolence arises out of what Mattick (1973) has called the "mundane" routines" of prison life. As Jayewardene, McKay and Krug-McKay have recently noted (1976), it is in the everyday relationships between inmates and custodians that we find the etiology of perceived malevolence which may have disruptive potential. Some authors have described processes and conditions in these environments which likely contribute to the inmates' perception of malevolence. For instance, Goffman (1961) speaks of the "mortification process"; Sykes (1958) describes the "pains of imprisonment"; Atkins (1972), Wright (1973) and Ohlin (1973) refer to "the overcrowded and often barbaric living conditions".

Cohen and Taylor (1972) have documented a perfect illustration of how even the most mundane situations can assume malevolent characteristics (pp. 68-70). The restrictions, censorship of personal correspondence; the potential abuse of such information by custodians to embarrass or humiliate

prisoners, may seem like relatively trivial issues to some. However, it is precisely this context which leads to perceptions of persecution with malevolent intent.

Clearly, the question of security with long-term prisoners is of paramount importance. The public demands this assurance and it must be met by its agencies. We must recognize, however, that it is possible to justify nearly every conceivable action or policy on the basis of being a "security requirement" and thus for the public good. Policies which may appear compelling and rational to correctional administrators may, of course, be evaluated differently by inmates. The effect of actions and policies is largely determined by the way in which the inmate perceives them. For instance, there is a point at which surveillance and monitoring of long-termers' activities becomes excessive and can border on the malevolent. Should this occur, other effects tend to follow closely: For instance, these (mis)perceptions can advance a "we/they" psychology leading to an inevitable escalation of conflict. In turn, it tends to romanticize for the inmate his struggle against a "malevolent" authority, a symbolic struggle between good and evil. This is one way of imbuing an otherwise monotonous existence with some meaning.

Most current psychological thinking would suggest that inmates in long-term environments have certain basic needs which must be met to avoid adverse effects. These would seem to be reflected in the following categories:

1. Comfort: This encompasses all of those things which most of us accept as basic "creature comforts" including access to food, shelter, medical services and protection from physical harm. In addition, the person should have access to sensory and cognitive stimulation and to some means of satisfying those needs which are seen as fundamental to human experience. For example, Rotter (1964) has reformulated Murray's (1957) "list of needs" as follows:

" 1. Recognition-Status: The need to excel, to be considered competent, good or better than others in school, occupation, profession, athletics, social position, physical appeal, or play. That is, the need to obtain high position in a socially valued competitive scale.

2. Dominance: The need to control the actions of other people, including family and friends; to be in a position of power, to have others follow one's own ideas and desires.

3. Independence: The need to make one's own decisions, to rely on oneself to develop the skills necessary to obtain satisfaction and reach goals without the help of others.

4. Protection-Dependency: The need to have another person or persons prevent frustration, provide protection and security, and help obtain other desired goals.

5. Love and Affection: The need for acceptance and liking by other people, to have their warm regard, -- concern, and devotion.

6. Physical Comfort: The need for physical satisfactions that have become associated with security and a state of well-being, the avoidance of pain and the desire for bodily pleasures. (pp. 58, 59)

It is suggested that the inmate will seek ways to satisfy these general needs if they remain unfulfilled within the legitimate structure of the institution.

2. Control: Lefcourt (1976) has presented an extensive argument for a fundamental need of man to believe that he exercises some form of control over his fate and environment. If control, or the illusion of control is removed and the person loses hope of regaining it, the results can be powerful, long-term and enduring, -- even fatal. What is suggested by this line of reasoning is that, in the desire to control

the inmate's environment, an excess of zeal can lead to the removal of even the "illusions of control". This could lead to a number of adverse psychological consequences. It does not take a great deal of ingenuity to develop ways in which control in the environment can be exercised. Choices must be made available. Hospitals, for example, provide even those on a restricted diet with choices in selection from available options. In military life there are built in choices that do not threaten authority or order.

3. Meaning: This encompasses that broad area which is reflected in religious, philosophical or experiential concerns. The most fundamental tenet common to all of these is that man's existence must have some meaning. If the means for establishing this are not provided by the legitimate structure of the institution, then it will be sought elsewhere.

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PENAL COLONIES

1. The following will briefly summarize the discussion that took place during a two day symposium held in September 1976, in Toronto, on the subject of penal colonies. It was sponsored by the Ontario Association of Corrections and Criminology.
2. The symposium was attended by the Chairman and one other member of the working group of the Ministry of the Solicitor General. This summary was prepared by the chairman of the group.
3. The symposium was conducted by having a panel of six criminologists speak on the topic followed by open questioning and discussion of their statements by an audience of approximately forty-five people of obviously mixed backgrounds but presumably with some interest in the particular subject or in criminology generally.
4. The panel members were: Professor Graham Parker, Osgoode Hall, Professor Michael Mandel Osgoode Hall, Uri Luryi - Queens University & former Russian political prisoner, R.M. Charbonneau - Representing the Vice-Chairman of the National Parole Board, Professor Cyril Greenland - McMaster University and Professor Justin Ciale - University of Ottawa.
5. Professor Parker commenced the proceedings by sketching the history of British Penal Colonies. He referred to the indentured labour of convicts sent to the American colonies, the transportation of convicts to Australia and the involvement of Canada both in the transportation of its convicts to Australia and the consideration given to using Canada as a British penal colony. He stated that the British use of penal colonies was abandoned because:

- (a) the British Home Office concluded that their use was not sufficiently repressive;
- (b) there was too much contamination of younger minor offenders because of the lack of any adequate classification system; and
- (c) normal immigrants were complaining about an excessive number of convicts being transported to and being at large in the colonies concerned.

Professor Parker intimated; though he did not come right out and say it, that he thought penal colonies had considerable merit and that if properly set up would continue to be of value.

Professor Mandel came out rather strongly against the establishment of penal colonies in Canada. It is apparent that he equated a penal colony with an establishment situated somewhere in the vicinity of the Arctic Circle (in fact most of the discussion seemed to centre around such a proposal). He further felt that a penal colony could only be established by forcing inmates to go there because nobody would volunteer to do so. He spoke of the incapacitation of the offender as being most likely to succeed in remote prisons because of the lesser danger of escape or danger to the public if inmates did escape. He was also concerned about the fact that the costs of such remote projects would outweigh any benefit that would be gained from them. After considerable discussion during which it was pointed out that penal colonies did not necessarily have to be located somewhere north of the tree line, and that inmates might not have to be forced to go to them Professor Mandel appeared to concede that penal colonies might be useful provided that only volunteers would be sent

there; cheap labour would not be employed; that inmate's families might possibly be allowed to live with them; and, that penal colonies might have a far less repressive atmosphere than a normal prison.

Uri Luryi spoke only regarding the use of corrective labour settlements in Russia. His main concern appeared to be with the extremely hard labour the inmates were required to perform and the lack of an adequate diet to sustain their biological needs. He did concede that a high degree of security was provided by remoteness from urban communities.

R.M. Charbonneau of the National Parole Board provided a prepared paper on behalf of the Vice-Chairman of the Board who was unable to attend the symposium. Once again the specter of the far north was raised although the need and demand for labour in that part of the country was recognized. Owing to the fact that the Vice-Chairman, who had prepared the paper, was not present there was no discussion regarding it.

Professor C. Greenland presented a paper which was totally concerned with dangerous offenders and their treatment. As he did not discuss penal colonies as such, the content of his paper will not be discussed here.

Professor J. Ciale summed up the discussion but did not contribute any new material to it beyond remarking that one state in the USA had taken over a defunct mining town which it ran as a prison community. He did not identify the state.

26.11.75

APPENDIX "F"

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON
CONJUGAL VISITING

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ABSTRACT

The literature on conjugal visiting programs is reviewed, with some consideration given to the major alternatives, family visiting, and temporary absences. Because of its largely subjective and unscientific nature, the literature is summarized under the headings of perceived advantages and disadvantages of conjugal visiting, emphasizing the interpretive aspects of the material. This restricts the scope of the review, to the extent that facts about conjugal visiting are not dealt with so much as impressions; these are nevertheless, valuable in highlighting potential areas of concern for both researchers and administrations.

In general, all three alternatives are seen as having both positive and negative consequences within the correctional system. The main perceived advantages of conjugal visiting include the effects it has on: 1) maintaining inmate family relationships, 2) relieving sexual tension, 3) reducing homosexuality, and 4) enhancing inmate morale and 5) acting as an incentive to good behaviour. The major disadvantages of conjugal visiting are perceived to be as follows: 1) conjugal visiting does not help to integrate the offender into the community, 2) it creates tension, 3) it allows opportunity for corruption, 4) it involves increases in security risks, 5) it is expensive, 6) it involves increased risk of venereal disease and unwanted pregnancies and 7) it does not enjoy the support of either prison administrators or the public.

By comparison, alternatives such as family visiting and temporary absences appear to offer a number of the benefits of conjugal visiting while avoiding some of its drawbacks; however, the alternatives have limitations as well. For example, while temporary absences are seen as more flexible, less costly, and more likely to receive inmate and administrative support than conjugal visiting programs, they are also associated with graver risks of the inmate committing offences, escaping from custody, or contracting venereal disease.

how have they?

In view of the dearth of valid and reliable research on the subject in the Canadian context, conclusions as to the relative merits of these different programs would be premature.

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SCOPE OF REPORT

A. INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history, the Canadian criminal justice system has seen a continuing search for effective means of dealing with inmates. Related to this search has been a concern about prisoner's rights, and a parallel recognition of the need for humane treatment in corrections. Within the context of these issues, in recent years the question of conjugal visiting in prisons has increasingly come to the attention of those involved with correctional work.

In part because it represents a nexus of these concerns, and partly because of a growing awareness among penologists of the central role in rehabilitation played by the inmate's family ties, conjugal visiting programs, aimed at the strengthening of family relationships, have been seen by some as holding considerable promise. However, the issues relating to conjugal visiting remain unclear, and whether or not this promise can be fulfilled is uncertain.

This paper, a review of the literature on conjugal visiting, is an attempt to clarify the fundamental issues involved by specifying the kinds of argument which have been advanced.

B. DEFINITIONS

In the field of corrections, the term "conjugal visiting"

used in its broadest sense refers to any sort of visit between husband and wife. Although there is no necessary implication that conjugal visits involve sexual intercourse or that they take place within the prison, in practice penologists tend to use the phrase in this restricted way. Following this convention, "conjugal visiting" will be used here to mean visits to inmates by wives, consorts, or prostitutes which take place within the institution and which provide the opportunity for sexual relations.

In contrast, a "family visit" is one in which relatives other than the wives are included in the use of special visiting accommodations, while a "temporary absence" may be defined as an unsupervised visit away from the correctional facility for the purpose of visiting the inmate's family, attending a job interview, or for some other reason. It should be noted that whereas female prisoners are commonly permitted temporary absences (in Canadian institutions, at least), conjugal visits by the husbands of female inmates have only been reported in one institutions.¹ For this reason, unless otherwise specified, in this report, "conjugal visit always implies a visit to a male prisoner.

C. RESEARCH ON CONJUGAL VISITING: LIMITATIONS

In order to arrive at an appropriate assessment of the results of conjugal visiting programs developed elsewhere, it

is important to determine the degree of relevance to the Canadian correctional scene of the information reviewed. There are several reasons why a consideration of foreign programs may not provide an adequate basis upon which to predict the potential advantages and disadvantages of conjugal visiting in this country.

First, there is very little of what may be termed "hard research" to be found in the literature. Practically all the material reviewed consists of anecdotal, subjective, and opinionated information which by no means can be considered reliable or valid. It must be strongly emphasized that while this information may be of value in the identification of the perceived pros and cons of conjugal visiting programs, and may highlight potential areas of difficulty relating to their administration, for the most part, impressions, not facts, are reviewed here. Although the sources of these opinions may be informed, it is unrealistic to assume that personal viewpoints are wholly free of distortion and bias.

A second factor limiting the literature's applicability relates to the necessity of considering conjugal visiting within the larger context of the social system of which it is a component. Naegle (1964) has argued that problems even arise in applying American observations to the Canadian setting, due to cultural differences of value and emphases and orientations. The point is that cultures vary from one country to the next, sometimes in ways that are not immediately apparent. Because of this, for example, the reported success of a conjugal visiting

visiting program in Mexico may give little assurance that a similar program would work in Canada, owing to differences in economic and social structures between the two countries (Hayner, 1972).

A final problem in interpreting the literature concerns the extent to which the material is out of date owing to the inevitable time lag between the development of a program and the publication of its results. Unfortunately, there is not guarantee that the information about conjugal visiting programs summarized here² is either exhaustive or current. It is likely that programs exist for which information is not available. Moreover, the need to depend on a limited number of sources in compiling program information raises some question as to the reliability of the information that is available.

For all these reasons, the interpretation of the literature on conjugal visits and its application to the Canadian scene demands the exercise of considerable caution.

D. EMPHASIS OF THIS REPORT

The main focus here is on conjugal visiting. However, because programs involving family visiting and temporary absences have been seen as important alternatives, they will be given brief consideration as well. The intent is not to review information on these alternatives so much as to develop additional perspectives on the possible advantages and disadvantages of conjugal visiting.

SUMMARY OF LITERATURE ON CONJUGAL VISITING

A. GENERAL REMARKS:

To emphasize the subjectivity of the literature on conjugal visiting, the material submitted here is organized under the headings of perceived advantages and disadvantages.

B. PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES

- 1) Conjugal visiting strengthens and preserves family relationships.

Opinion on this issue has been somewhat divided.

Johns (1971) has argued that conjugal visiting tends to detract from the strengthening of family tradition to the extent that explicit sexual visits may be embarrassing and degrading for both the inmate and his wife. Certainly the administrative atmosphere which underlies conjugal visiting programs would be likely to influence the potential for embarrassment. It is by no means clear, however, that the administration of a conjugal visiting program must necessarily intrude in this fashion. For example, at Parchman Penitentiary in Mississippi, it has been reported that there was little embarrassment in connection with conjugal visiting; the atmosphere was one of consideration rather than censure. Hopper (1965, 1969a) interviewed inmates both at the time of their incarceration in an institution which had a conjugal visiting program and one year following release; his findings were both the inmates and their wives were grateful for the program and considered it valuable in maintaining marital ties. Similarly, at the California Correctional Institute in

Tehachapi, the program of family visits has been cited by wives and inmates, as well as by the administration, as important in preserving family relationships. (Wilson, 1969)

These reports take on some importance in view of numerous findings that those inmates with more active family interests are more successfully rehabilitated. For example, Holt and Miller (1972) concluded that the central finding of their research "was the strong and consistent positive relationship that exists between parole success and maintaining strong family ties while in prison." (p. v) In view of this relationship, it was suggested that penologists should regard the inmate's family as a major treatment agent, and the maintenance of family contacts as a prime correctional concern.³

- 2) Conjugal visiting helps to relieve sexual tension among inmates and reduces homosexual behaviour.

Although it is difficult to estimate the incidence of homosexuality in prisons, Nice (1966) has suggested a range from 5% to 90% of the inmate population. In 1950, Kinsey reported that he had "never secured histories from any long-term institution in which fewer than sixty per cent of the men were engaged in such activity...." (in Nice, 1966, p. 30)

3. For comment on the importance of the inmate-family relationship to rehabilitation, and on the possible deleterious effect imprisonment can have on an inmate's marriage, see also: Glaser, 1964; Morris, 1965; and Waller, 1974.

Whatever the precise proportion of inmates engaging in homosexual behaviour, many administrators agree that homosexuality is a problem within their institutions. Questions of its legality aside, these officials appear to object to homosexuality partly on moral grounds, and partly because they feel that such behaviour disrupts discipline and creates tension among the inmates.

In formulating strategies to deal with prison homosexuality, it is important to distinguish between "true" homosexuals and "institutional" or "opportunistic" homosexuals, the latter being those inmates who outside the prison are heterosexual, but who turn (or are forced) toward homosexual outlets when they are deprived of contact with women.

There is in the literature considerable faith that conjugal visiting programs may serve to relieve the sexual frustration of some inmates and hence reduce opportunistic homosexuality.

Certainly this faith provides at least part of the rationale behind the main tenance of conjugal visiting programs. In the United States, Hopper (1969) found that at Parchman Penitentiary prison administrators in direct contact with inmates agreed that those inmates receiving conjugal visits engaged in much less homosexuality, an opinion shared by some of the inmates. Braswell and DeFrancis (1972) concur, arguing that the need for homosexual relations for some

prisoners would be reduced by conjugal visiting programs. Balogh (1964) and Wilson (1969) have reported similar attitudes among administrators.

Of course, it must be realized that in our culture conjugal visiting programs would only serve a portion of inmates, that is, those with wives, or at least officially recognized common law relationships, so that such programs could only offer a partial solution to the problem of sexual needs during confinement. Moreover, it has been suggested that conjugal visiting might promote homosexual activity among the single inmates "by making them even more sex conscious and causing them to turn to homosexual activities to satisfy their sex desires". (Vedder & King, 1967 p. 53.) In assessing this issue, it is clearly important to recognize both the sensitivity of the subject and the corresponding lack of conclusive research in the area.

Administrative Considerations

3) Conjugal visiting enhances inmate morale and increases good behaviour

It is clear that if conjugal visiting is made contingent upon good conduct, then it may provide additional incentive for the inmate to make the necessary adjustment in order to qualify for the privilege. A former warden at Parchman (in Vedder & King, 1967) has reported that the conjugal visiting program was "a big help" to prison authorities in keeping down trouble among inmates, even though visiting privileges were granted independently of the inmate's behaviour. Although not

all inmates were eligible for conjugal visits, the overall effect on the morale of the institution was "very positive". This in turn was believed to have been responsible for an improvement in discipline. Similar observations have been reported at the Tehachapi and Regina institutions.

4) Conjugal visiting is consistent with a humanitarian approach to penology

Reflected here is the debate concerning the extent to which prisoners are considered to have rights, and the delineation of what those rights should be. Many commentators would agree that certain basic facilities, as an irreducible minimum, should be made available to inmates in recognition of the general humanitarian principle embraced in our society; such features as adequate food, clothing, and shelter are included in this category. Some individuals (cite reference - Johns?) go farther and suggest that sex between married couples also represents a basic right which should not be denied to prisoners, and support which should not be denied to prisoners, and support conjugal visiting programs on this basis. The opposing stance on this very controversial issue is that such activities are not rights, but privileges (cite reference).

*7.
... ..
... ..*

PERCEIVED DISADVANTAGES

Rehabilitative Considerations

- 1) Conjugal visiting programs do not serve to integrate the prisoner into the community in some important ways

Although conjugal visiting may help to strengthen an inmate's bond with his wife, it does little to smooth his transition from prison to community living. Alternatives such as temporary absence programs permit the inmate to establish outside contacts on a number of levels, and therefore have been seen by some as preferable. (For a fuller discussion of this point see page 22.)

Administrative Considerations

- 2) Conjugal visiting creates tension between inmates who receive visits and those who do not.

Balogh (1964) reports that the feeling among his sample of American and Canadian penal administrators was that conjugal visitation privileges, if granted, should be restricted to legally married persons. If single men are not permitted visits, it has been argued that the differential treatment of single and married prisoners creates a considerable potential for resentment and disciplinary problems. Evidence from Parchman Penitentiary, however, suggests that such resentment among non-participating inmates need not arise; for example, in one survey, 80% of 822 non-participating inmates supported conjugal visiting programs (Hopper, 1969).

3) Conjugal visiting allows opportunity for corruption within the institution

It has been pointed out that with conjugal visiting programs, the potential exists for abuse by both inmates and staff (Balsugh, 1964). Research conducted at two United States prisons (Parchman and Tehachapi), however, has not revealed this to be a significant problem. In any case, it is possible that whatever abuse may occur is not directly attributable to conjugal visiting programs as such, but rather to difficulties arising from administrative concerns such as selection of inmates, problems associated with accurate identification of legal wives, meeting supervision needs, selection of appropriate institutional staff, and staff development programs.

4) Conjugal visiting programs contribute to custody and security problems.

It has been suggested that any program which increases an inmate's contact with persons outside the prison necessarily imposes greater pressure on security measures. The increased security risks, it is asserted, could be offset if workloads or numbers of staff were increased, but this would entail further expenditure of limited funds. An illustration in support of this argument is provided by the observers in Columbia, in which a type of temporary absence program had to be terminated as a result of increased escapes, which were attributed to a lack of sufficient supervisory personnel (Hayner, 1972).

It is clear from the literature, however, that security problems are not necessary concomitants of conjugal visiting programs. For instance, there have been few security problems in Regina as a result of the conjugal visiting; in seven years of operation, there has been only one escape. The situation is similar at Parchman, where, in addition, twelve of fourteen camp sergeants asserted that the conjugal visiting program there cause no additional work for them (Hopper, 1969).

5) Conjugal visiting programs are expensive

Conjugal visiting programs can be expensive in several ways; for example, the cost of building facilities, maintaining them, and increasing security measures are three expenses that may arise. Although these costs may be considerable, some reports indicate that the expenses of conjugal visiting programs need not be great. At Parchman, the housing facilities were relatively inexpensive because the inmates built their own visiting houses from scrap lumber, and currently personally⁴ maintain them. Security costs at Parchman didn't rise and the staff felt there was no significant increase in work or risk due to the program.

4. That the conjugal visiting program at Parchman has received institutional acceptance is indicated by the specific inclusion of conjugal visiting facilities in the construction of a new camp.

6) Conjugal visiting is not supported by correctional staff

Successful programs require considerable administrative support, yet there is some evidence to suggest that this support may be lacking. Balogh's (1964) survey of 73 wardens in the U.S. and Canada found that only 13% of the 52 respondents were in favor of conjugal visiting, while 56% of the wardens were opposed. While the results were somewhat inconclusive (in part because many officials refused to commit themselves to answering what they perceived to be sensitive questions), the consensus of opinion in this small sample was that sanctioned sexual behaviour in prisons is unrealistic in view of the prevailing cultural standards, and undesirable to the degree that such programs would heighten rather than relieve tension in institutions. It is not known to what extent these respondents may have had experience with conjugal visiting programs. In any event, these findings should be interpreted with caution, in view of the small and possibly unrepresentative sample employed in the survey.

Social Considerations

7) Conjugal visiting may allow wives of inmates to become pregnant

The possibility of increasing the number of children born to so-called "inadequate families" is clear. Balogh (1964) warns that children born out of such programs would create an unfavorable public impression, partly because of a belief that prisoners do not make good fathers, and partly

because many of the families are already on welfare and another child would simply add to the taxpayer's burden. However, as Johns (1971) has pointed out decisions regarding conception may be viewed as a question of personal choice and responsibility for citizens, outside the ambit of administrative control. In any event, it has been suggested that with appropriate counselling and sex education, no substantial increase in children need be expected.

8) Conjugal visiting is opposed by the public

There is a reported feeling among prison administrators that the public is not receptive to conjugal visiting. (Balogh, 1964). Since it has been argued that public support of a program is essential for its success, this lack of support is seen as militating against the development of such programs. Countering this view are several reports which suggest that if the public is informed as to the nature and purpose of conjugal visiting (particularly if its importance in maintaining family ties is made clear), then public opposition is minimal (Adams, Gaffner, & Associates, 1973). Even without an extensive program of public education, there has been little public opposition to the program at Tehachani, and there is no evidence in the available information of opposition to the Parchman or Regina programs. In the absence of surveys designed to gather reliable information about public attitudes, however, it is easy to either over-estimate or under-estimate public reaction to this issue.

Medical Considerations

- 9) Conjugal visiting increases the risk of venereal disease in the inmate population

This drawback of conjugal visiting has been reported in some Latin American countries. To combat the spread of infection, officials began to admit prostitutes⁵ only after health examinations⁵. In any event, it should be noted that venereal disease is not an inevitable concomitant of conjugal visiting, provided that all inmate participants are given regular health examinations. Alternatives to conjugal visiting, such as temporary absences, which are subject to less supervision may in fact present a greater health hazard in this regard.

Ethical Considerations

- 10) By sanctioning cohabitation by inmates within the prison setting, conjugal visiting cheapens love and sex

This view has been advanced only by a limited number of individuals. In contrast, it has been reported at Parchman that those officials, inmates and wives with experience with the conjugal visiting program have not felt conflict in this regard.

5. The idea that inmates' wives might be infected was apparently not considered.

ALTERNATIVES TO CONJUGAL VISITING

A. GENERAL REMARKS

Inasmuch as this report is focussed on conjugal visiting, alternative programs such as family visiting and temporary absences will be considered only briefly. The discussion in this section will centre on an examination of the similarities and differences of these programs with respect to conjugal visiting, in terms of the consequences both for the inmates and for the prison administration.

B. FAMILY VISITING PROGRAMS

As distinct from programs of conjugal visiting, with their emphasis on strengthening the marital relations of inmates, family visiting programs represent attempts to replicate within the prison the inmate's family setting. For example, at the California State Prison at Tehachapi, housing previously occupied by staff has been set up for families to visit eligible inmates during the pre-release phase of their sentences. Inmates occupy private three-bedroom apartment units with their families for periods of two or three days; facilities for cooking and recreation reinforce the familial atmosphere of the visit. Initial reactions to this arrangement have been favorable.

From the Tehachapi experience, it appears that the family visit avoids several of the objections raised about conjugal visiting. For example, although no research has been

done, it has been suggested that both the public and the prison administration are more likely to support family visits as opposed to conjugal ones. Moreover, it is felt that because the sexual purpose of conjugal visiting is de-emphasized in family visiting programs, that love and sex are not "cheapened" and that the visits themselves are not degrading. Of course, the family visit shares many of the limitations of the conjugal visit: it serves only a minority; it is probably realistically feasible only under fairly unique circumstances (for example, where housing facilities are available); and it does not serve as a vehicle for integrating the prisoners into the community in other important ways (e.g. to attend job interviews.) As Johns (1971, p. 50) concludes, the family visit is "only... one step toward smoothing the transition to community living."

C. TEMPORARY ABSENCE PROGRAMS

Some correctional administrators have stated that while conjugal visiting is considered to be a specific treatment program, the temporary absence program is seen as far broader, providing for much greater flexibility in aiding the reintegration of the offender into society (Markley, 1973.) As an alternative to conjugal visiting, temporary absences are thought to offer a number of potential advantages (Braswell & DeFrancis, 1972):

1) Although conjugal visiting may be helpful in maintaining marital ties, it is felt that it is somewhat demeaning to the inmate and his wife, and the artificial setting of the visit may lead to anxiety. Marital relations associated with temporary absences, on the other hand, can take place in a more private and natural setting (for example, the inmate's home).

2) A conjugal visiting program is more expensive than a corresponding program of temporary absences. In contrast to conjugal visiting, the costs of a temporary absence program are absorbed not by the prison but by the inmate's family.

3) At present, official interpretation of our cultural standards precludes the availability of conjugal visiting for single inmates. Temporary absences, however, can be made available to inmates regardless of sex or marital status.

4) Conjugal visiting programs are believed to contribute only minimally to an inmate's resocialization and reintegration into the community. By contrast, the temporary absence system is seen as a more valid approach. It gives the inmate an opportunity to deal with responsibility and exposes him to more social norms, enabling him to effect a more gradual and realistic transition back into society. In addition, temporary absence programs are more flexible in the

sense that they afford the inmates the chance to develop outside contacts on additional levels, for example, with prospective employers.

5) Another perceived advantage of a temporary absence system over conjugal visiting relates to the issue of public and administrative support for these programs. Although reliable information is unavailable, the concensus reported in the literature is that while conjugal visiting may be "inappropriate in our Anglo-Saxon culture, the same objective... could be realized by granting temporary absences periodically to selected inmates..." (Vedder & King, 1967, p. 61).

This is not to suggest that temporary absence programs are without limitations. For example, whereas conjugal visiting and temporary absences both carry with them the risk of unwanted pregnancies, contracting venereal disease, the reduced supervision associated with temporary absences presents much graver risks of the inmate committing offences, & escaping from custody. To reduce these problems of the temporary absence system, prospective participants must be carefully screened to eliminate poor security risks. To the extent that only a limited number of prisoners take part, the temporary absence program, like conjugal visiting, represents only a partial solution to the problem of easing the inmate back into the community.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

A persistent theme throughout this paper has been that there is a critical need for valid and reliable research on conjugal visiting programs to permit administrators to arrive at informed policy decisions. Reviewing what is known about the conjugal visiting programs of other countries, Hopper (1969a, p. 11) found it "impossible to detect any meaningful pattern in countries which permit conjugal visits as compared to those which do not". The problem is not that there is an insufficient volume of material from which to develop conclusions. It is the quality of the available literature that is inadequate.

What are the actual benefits to be derived from conjugal visiting? Is there likely to be a significant rehabilitative effect? What are the real drawbacks? Would public opposition to conjugal visiting really be as strong as some believe? These are questions important to the policy-maker which cannot be answered without further research.

It is therefore appropriate that the major implication stemming from this review be framed in the form of a recommendation. In view of the dearth of hard research on the subject, if the question regarding the merits of conjugal visiting is to be pursued by Canadian correctional administrators, it is apparent that objective studies need to be undertaken to evaluate the potential utility of these programs within the Canadian correctional scene.

Because there is some reason from the literature to believe that alternatives to conjugal visiting have their own advantages, it is imperative that the design of any contemplated research encompasses a comparative exploration of the major alternatives as well.

The main question to be asked in such investigations may be derived from the literature reviewed here; the primary research goal would be to verify the relevance of the perceived advantages and disadvantages discussed earlier. What effects do conjugal visiting, family visiting, and temporary absences have on family relationships, homosexual behaviour, inmate morale, and discipline? What are the attitudes toward these programs of the inmates, their wives, the correctional staff, and the public? What is the effect of conjugal visiting or alternative programs on recidivism or other criteria of success or failure?

Whatever emerges from enquiry on this subject, research alone will represent only one component of the mechanism responsible for developing policy decisions relevant to the needs of the correctional system; for at the basis of such decisions lies not just information, but rather, the fundamental values of those who shape the policy of the criminal justice system. Yet, it remains that only when administrators are fully aware of the actual benefits of a program in relation to its cost that a responsible and informed decision can be made.

A P P E N D I X A

APPENDIX A OUTLINE OF CONJUGAL VISITING PROGRAMS

A. GENERAL REMARKS

In assessing foreign experiences with conjugal visiting and related programs, it is important to recognize the limitations of the information summarized here. First, because the data is derived from a very few sources, all of them removed from the actual administration of the programs, there is no absolute guarantee of accuracy. Moreover, because of the time lag between program and publication of results, there is no assurance that even if the information was correct at one time, that it is still current. In addition, many of the conjugal visiting programs described below represent experiments carried out at particular institutions, with the administrative procedures not standardized, but idiosyncratic. It should not be assumed that because one or more prisons in a country permit conjugal visits that the practice is general, or that there exist standardized regulations governing the programs within each prison. Finally, when drawing parallels between programs in different countries, the difficulties of interpreting cross-cultural comparisons should be borne in mind.

B. OUTLINE OF PROGRAMS

Bolivia

A few prisons permit conjugal visiting by the wives or fiancées of inmates; prostitutes are not allowed. Visits generally take place within the inmate's private cell, a system

which appeals to officials in preference to temporary absence because it is less administratively demanding, and minimizes the risk of escapes (Hayner, 1972).

Brazil

At Lemos Brito Penal Institution, selected married inmates are allowed weekly visits by their wives. Prostitutes and fiancées are not granted this privilege.

At Esmeraldino Bandeiro Penal Institution, selected prisoners are allowed conjugal visits with their legal wives, with women who have been "companions of the household" for more than five years, and with fiancées if there are children. The administration at this institution prefers home visits as an alternative to conjugal visiting. (Hayner, 1972).

Canada

Regina Correctional Centre⁶

Since 1968, a program of conjugal and family visiting has been operating at the Regina Correctional Centre, a

6. Information on the three Canadian programs included here was obtained through personal communication with staff at each of the three institutions in December 1974; the text in draft form was later verified by the personnel concerned. The authors are indebted to Mr. Terry Thompson, Director of Corrections, Department of Social Services, Sask., Mr. Ron Lisk, Supervisor of Counselling, Regina; Mr. Stewart Shaw, Supervisor of Counselling, Prince Albert; and Mr. Ralph Crawford, Director of Pine Grove Correctional Centre.

provincially-run medium-security institution⁷. Program facilities consist of a bungalow duplex located outside the perimeter of the institution⁸, comprising two private apartment units each containing two bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen and a bathroom.

The building was originally opened for the purpose of family counselling, emphasizing the treatment of problem relationships between the inmate and his wife or family. Since eligibility for the program depended on having a problem which could be treated, the family therapist quickly found himself overwhelmed with a caseload of "troubled" inmates anxious to use the visiting facilities. On the recommendation of the family therapist, the focus of the program shifted away from the compulsory counselling of inmates after the first year. In its place, conjugal and family visiting was encouraged, aimed not so much at the treatment of relationships as with their maintenance.⁹

7. The inmate population numbers about 270 prisoners, approximately half of which are native; the average age is around 23 years. Since the prisons are provincially administered, by law sentences do not exceed two years less a day. The average sentence of those serving between 3 months and 2 years less 1 day is approximately 8 months.
8. Although the visiting facilities are outside the walls of the institution, they are nevertheless still on prison grounds. For this reason, their use by inmates does not require the granting of temporary absences, since technically the inmates are not at large while they remain on institutional property.
9. There remains a treatment component in the program, however, since about 10% of the visits still involve counselling by the treatment staff.

The facilities are available for conjugal visits to inmates who are legally married or who have verified common-law relationships of at least six months duration. In addition, they may be used for family visits with the inmate's immediate family (parents and siblings). The visits, which are virtually unsupervised, usually take place on the weekend, with the average length of stay about two and half days. All inmates may apply for visiting privileges, following a waiting period of 21 days subsequent to arrival to permit the staff to form preliminary impressions. After this, provided that adequate conduct is maintained and depending on the extent to which facilities are used, visiting is permitted as often as every four or five weeks.

Over 600 prisoners have participated in the program since its inception, averaging about 90 each year. From April 1973 to 1974, the facilities accommodated 143 visits, an increase of fifty from the previous year. It is reported that the advent of the alternative temporary absence program has not seriously diminished the use of visiting facilities, in part because inmates are required to have served considerable fractions of their sentences¹⁰, before they are considered for temporary absences, whereas every inmate upon reception may apply for a family or conjugal visit.

10. One sixth for non-violent crimes, and one-third for violent ones.

Although visits are private and unsupervised, there have been few problems and only one escape, possibly because the visiting privileges are highly prized by the inmates. The only reported problems associated with the program have been the occasional use of alcohol or drugs. In addition, there have been two cases of venereal disease.¹¹

The main strength of the program is considered to be its impact on the maintenance of the inmates family ties. According to an informal survey, participating inmates are very positive towards the conjugal visiting program, although naturally temporary absences, with the greater sense of freedom they offer, are preferred. It is reported that the staff at Regina also favour the visiting program, with their initial skepticism apparently having been overcome by their impressions of improved inmate morale and discipline. Finally, although the program has attracted considerable journalistic attention, it is reported that there has been no adverse public reaction.

Prince Albert Correctional Centre ¹²

A program of conjugal and family visiting was begun here in 1970, closely modelled after the Regina program. As at

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11. Although possibly not representing a problem for the institution, two or three conceptions have also been reported.
 12. There are about 300 inmates held here, about 65% of whom are native; the average age is around 19 years. The average length of sentence is two and one-half months.

Regina, facilities consist of a bungalow duplex located outside the walls of the institution but still on prison property.

Eligibility criteria for the program are very similar to those at Regina, and inmates are permitted to apply for visits about as frequently.

One difference with regard to the Prince Albert program appears to be the extent to which facilities are put to use. From 1970-73, it is reported that, as was the case at Regina, the apartments were occupied about 75% of the time. Since then, the use has declined to the point where the units are used to only one-third of their capacity. This decline has been attributed to a change in sentencing practices which has reduced the average age of inmates (19 years) to the degree that few can qualify for conjugal visiting privileges; this fall-off is not believed to be related to the use of temporary absences, not is it considered to be an indication that conjugal and family visiting programs have become superfluous. According to the director of the treatment staff at Prince Albert, even if the program is phased out in its present form, there will remain a need for something similar to be used when temporary absences are unfeasible.

Pine Grove Correctional Centre (Prince Albert)¹³.

13. Pine Grove is a small fairly open institution for female offenders, consisting of about 30 inmates, Three-quarters of whom are native. The average age is about 23 years, and the average length of sentence is about two months.

A limited program of conjugal and family visiting began here after the Prince Albert visiting facilities were constructed. Owing to the small number of inmates and the extensive granting of temporary absences, use of the visiting facilities is very restricted; women participated in program only eight times in 1974.

All the inmates are eligible to apply for visiting privileges, provided that they meet the usual requirements of being married or having a verified common-law relationship. However, as distinguished from male inmates, at Prince Albert and Regina, in practice female inmates without children rarely take part in the visiting program.

According to the director of the institution, there have been no serious problems with the program, and no adverse reactions from inmates, staff, or the community. Overall, it is felt that the program fulfills a small but real need, and is useful in cases where the more feasible temporary absence program is ruled out.

Columbia

Although neither conjugal visiting nor temporary absences are currently permitted in this country (as of 1972), both of these programs have run in the past.

Conjugal visiting by legal wives was permitted within the inmates' cells (which were not private); it is reported that the program was discontinued when it became evident that some inmates were in fact unmarried and being

visited by prostitutes. In addition, there was an experimental program of temporary absences, with excellent initial results. Later on, this program had to be terminated because of a resulting increase in the number of escapes, which was attributed to a lack of sufficient supervisory personnel (Hayner, 1972).

DENMARK

Prisoners are not permitted visitation, but may apply for temporary absences after being incarcerated from six months to a year (Hopper, 1969a).

ECUADOR

Conjugal visiting within the prisons is usually permitted on Sundays and on Festival days. Wives, fiancées, and prostitutes are all admitted; the latter only after examination for venereal disease (Hayner, 1972).

EL SALVADOR

All male inmates are eligible for conjugal visits twice a month by wives, fiancées or prostitutes. Prison administrators view conjugal visiting as a privilege to be earned by the inmates for good conduct (Hayner, 1972).

GREAT BRITAIN

No conjugal visits are permitted; however, prisoners serving terms of two years or more may obtain temporary

GUATEMALA

Conjugal visiting, administered by the prison's medical staff, is allowed for inmates' wives, "companions of the home", fiancées, and prostitutes (the last group requiring clearance by the Public Health Service.) Facilities are located in a special section of the prison, and are partly maintained by nominal fees charged to participating inmates (Hayner, 1972).

HONDURAS

Conjugal visiting is available to all inmates who maintain a record of good conduct. Inmates who are legally married or who are part of a recognized family unit (with children), are permitted two visits per week. Unmarried inmates are eligible for weekly visits by prostitutes who have been certified by public health authorities. For security reasons, the prison administration prefers that conjugal visitation take place within the institution itself (Hayner, 1972).

IRELAND

As an alternative to conjugal visiting, temporary absences are granted to inmates every weekend for the last six months of their sentences, provided that they have maintained good behaviour and are deemed good security risks (Hopper, 1969a).

MEXICO

Until 1950, male prisoners were traditionally permitted weekly conjugal visits, regardless of their marital status. More recently, Hopper (1969a) reported that weekly conjugal visits were permitted only for inmates who had wives or recognized consorts. In some cases, prisoners have been permitted to marry in prison and spend a honeymoon period of two or three days in their cells.

In addition to their conjugal visiting programs, the Mexican authorities have established the Trés Marias Penal colony, located on a 34,000 acre island in the Pacific, where some 800 long-term inmates live a near-normal life with their wives and families. In contrast to conjugal visiting schemes, both male and female prisoners are allowed to marry during their sentences and bring their spouses to the colony.

PERU

Conjugal visiting was first introduced in 1945, but the program was later discontinued. Further information regarding this program is not available (Hayner, 1972).

SOVIET UNION

Conjugal visiting is permitted once a month for married inmates. Wives of prisoners are transported to the prisons at government expense, and stay with their husbands in special building for several days (Hopper 1969a).

SWEDEN

Conjugal visits within the prison are allowed for all male inmates, about once per month on the average. Selected prisoners are permitted to serve the final portion of their sentences outside of the institution with their families. (Hopper, 1969a).

UNITED STATES

Parchman State Prison (Mississippi)

The first penitentiary in the United States to publically announce a conjugal visiting program, Parchman is a prison composed of sixteen prison camps each of about 150 inmates, for a total of 2100 prisoners. Conjugal visiting privileges have been permitted on an informal basis as long ago as 1918; today the program is still described as being informal, since it remains outside of official concern.¹⁴

Parchman reportedly has the most liberal visitation policy of any American state prison. Three kinds of programs are in operation: a temporary absence program, available only to selected inmates; a system of conjugal visits, open to most

14. Recently the visiting program has received official notice in the sense that plans for the construction of a new camp included conjugal visiting facilities.

inmates; and a general visiting program, also open to most inmates.¹⁵

Prisoners who have records of good behaviour for three years are permitted ten days of temporary absence from the institution each year. The program is considered successful and relatively trouble-free; in 1963, only three of 275 inmates granted temporary absences failed to return voluntarily.

In contrast to the temporary absence program, conjugal and general visits are freely available to all inmates, regardless of behaviour,¹⁶ sentence length or crime, with the exception of female inmates and those in maximum security custody. Visiting is permitted in fourteen of sixteen camps every Sunday for two to four hours, with visitors allowed to go anywhere within the area of the prison camp. Married inmates and their wives may see each other privately within special

15. The general visiting program at Parchman is noteworthy in that visits with families and friends may take place in a relatively unsupervised parkland area within the prison grounds. For this reason, a general visit to an inmate by his family offers many of the advantages of a family visit as defined earlier, despite the fact that at Parchman an inmate's family makes no use of the visiting accommodations, which are set aside for conjugal visits. It would be instructive to compare this situation with at Tehachapi (p. 31), where facilities are maintained for family visits as such.

16. There is an implicit criterion of good conduct which inmates must meet to participate in the visiting programs, in the sense that troublemakers are transferred to maximum security custody and thereby become ineligible for visits.

inmate-constructed houses, each consisting of five to ten rooms. Camps which permit visiting have up to three of such houses apiece.

In general, the inmates' attitudes towards the conjugal visiting program have been positive, according to the results of a survey of 1500 inmates, of which 822 were unmarried, 464 were married and receiving conjugal visits, and 314 were married but not receiving visits. The majority of unmarried inmates (89%) did not resent the married inmates' visitation privileges, an attitude reflected in the consideration shown to female visitors by all prisoners. Apparently the fear expressed in the literature that visitation "of an explicitly sexual nature" would prove embarrassing and degrading to the female visitors and the inmates is not justified. In fact, the inmates themselves de-emphasized the sexual aspects of conjugal visits, claiming that the most important function of the program was the strengthening of marital ties.

The staff at Parchman reportedly have a similar outlook on the purpose of conjugal visits, considering them to be simply a logical development in a general program in which family contacts for inmates are emphasized. On the topic of sexual contact for inmates, those officials surveyed were of the general opinion that sex is an integral part of marriage, and so they approved of this aspect of the program. Although homosexuality was not considered to be a "major problem" by

most staff surveyed, all agreed that conjugal visiting contributed to a lessening of homosexual behaviour. While the use of prophylactics was left to the inmates' discretion, the staff reported that venereal disease was not a problem, since prostitutes were rigidly excluded from the visiting program.¹⁷

Like the inmates, the staff at Parchman felt that the major value of the conjugal visiting program was its contribution toward the maintenance of the inmate's ties with his family. A subsidiary benefit, according to the staff, was the positive effect the program had on prisoner morale. It is difficult to properly assess the importance of this factor on the behaviour of the inmates though because the visiting program is only one of the many privileges accorded to Parchman inmates. It has been suggested that the program could make a more direct contribution to maintaining discipline if its removal were used as a threat to keep inmates in line, but this has never been done.

In general, Parchman officials have been encouraged by the results of their program, but have expressed an awareness that it would not suit every prison. Hopper (1969) has concluded that the rural location of the prison, healthy inmate and staff attitudes and, in particular, the small size of the individual prison camps are the main factors responsible for the success of the program.

17. Once again, the possibility that the inmates' wives could be carriers of venereal disease was not discussed in the literature, and presumably not considered by the prison administration.

Tehachapi Prison (California)

A program of conjugal and family visiting has been established with the emphasis on the strengthening of marital and family relationships of inmates (Wilson, 1969).

Facilities consist of "family houses" comprising two separate three-bedroom apartment units, located inside the perimeter of the institution.

An inmate who has displayed six months good conduct and who is within his minimum parole date is eligible to participate. As at Parchman, only legally married inmates are permitted private visits, while single prisoners are allowed to see only their immediate family. Inmates are permitted to spend up to two days and nights with their visitors in these houses. It is reported that about half of the visits are with families rather than wives.

Survey results indicate that inmates who do not qualify for the program nevertheless are in favour of family visiting (88% of 98 randomly selected inmates approved.) Inmates have reported that they felt the visiting program helped to keep their marriage intact, because it presented opportunities for effective communication.

The prison staff surveyed are generally pleased with the operation of the program, reporting no serious problems. There has been little reported public opposition, and according to the staff, the overall effect on the institution has been very positive.

A P P E N D I X B

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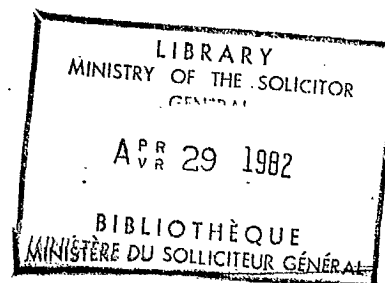
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