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Editorial Offices:
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Editorial

"THE ARTICLES", said *The Times* "as might be expected in a periodical published by the Prison Commissioners are on the cautious side." "Complacency," said *The British Journal of Criminology*, "is of course one of the dangers against which any semi-official publication of this kind . . . has to guard itself." But both organs went out of their way to give our appearance a friendly welcome, as did many others.

There was, in some quarters, criticism of the amount of space devoted to book reviews but on the other hand the quality and high standard of these reviews was hailed as " most remarkable" (*British Journal of Criminology*) and "noteworthy" (*Hunts Post*).

As to book reviews, we regard it as part of our function to notice all publications which are relevant to our task and problems; but the balance between Articles and Features and Reviews in our first number should not be regarded as fixed. Its redress will depend in part upon the volume of your own contributions. For the rest it will perhaps suffice if we thank all those who wished us success; and promise to be neither too cautious nor too complacent.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Since our last appearance our most distinguished contributor has retired from the public service. It is likely that Sir Lionel Fox will also come to be recognised as the Prison Commission's most distinguished Chairman. If that recognition has been delayed it is probably due to his own reticence and dislike of personal publicity. As Chairman since 1942 he has had to contend with difficulties of a different order from any met by his predecessors in that office. It will have pleased him that the nature of his achievement in dealing with them, whilst at the same time pursuing a policy of development, should have been recognised in an eloquent leading article in the November issue of *The Prison Officers' Magazine.*

Sir Lionel has an international reputation not only as an administrator and practical penologist but also as a scholar. He has already published two books and numerous articles. It is to be hoped that his Fellowship at the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge will enable him to add to their number, and make available his thoughts on the perennial problems of crime and punishment about which he is uniquely qualified to speak.

We would like to conclude by wishing him a long, happy—and active retirement.

EDITOR

"It's the Prisoners who run this Prison"
—*a study of inmate leadership*

In examining the phenomenon of leadership in prison it is necessary to distinguish between form, function *and* levels of operation. *It is also necessary to distinguish between leadership based on* consent *and leadership based on* coercion.

TERENCE MORRIS, PAULINE MORRIS & BARBARA BIELY

ALL LEADERSHIP involves the exercise of power, either in a direct form—when one man tells another to do something or not do it, or in a diffuse form, when the control exerted by the leader is in the sphere of opinion making, in influencing other men and subtly directing them towards certain courses of action rather than giving direct orders. Where leadership is based upon consent, power is based upon the voluntary acceptance of the leader by his followers, he is respected, approved and even admired. Where leadership is based upon coercion, the basis of power is essentially fear; the followers are unwilling or at best ambivalent and the respect that the leader enjoys is an exacted due rather than something freely given. In civilised society the authority of leadership, or government, is based initially on consent, and only in the last resort upon coercion—most people accept the laws that Parliament makes because it is customary to do so; very few have to be coerced by the threat of punishment. In prison society, the forms of leadership tend to be much more distinct, that is to say, the leader whose position rests upon consent can be fairly easily distinguished from the leader whose position depends almost exclusively upon coercion.

Form

The *form* that leadership takes varies considerably. A leader may be the acknowledged head of a group of men (often known as a gang) who makes autocratic decisions about attitudes and behaviour to be adopted towards the staff or other prisoners. Alternatively a leader may be merely senior among three or four other prisoners of roughly equal status all of whom enjoy the respect of a wider circle of acquaintances.

Function

The *function* of leadership also varies. It can provide a kind of long term solidarity expressed in emotional terms—the 'we' continually opposed to 'they'. In so doing, inmate leadership helps to lessen the pains of imprisonment; it keeps a picture of the arbitrary injustices of the prison régime constantly in the forefront of the prisoner's mind and continually reasserts those unchanging values of inmate culture—'doing your own bird', never grassing—which, come what may, cannot be eradicated by the staff. Alternatively, the function of leadership may be merely to enable individual inmates to combine in order to exploit their fellows whom the prison authorities are generally unable (and sometimes unwilling)

to protect. This type of leadership tends to disrupt the unity of inmate society, for it gives rise to the development of 'protective' associations which frequently exploit in their turn. To the extent to which feuds and factions develop, inmate solidarity and resistance to custodial authority is diminished.

Levels of Operation

The inmate leader does not necessarily exert power throughout the prison, though he may. If prison society is likened to a national political community, then there are leaders who operate on a 'national' level and those who operate on a 'local' level. So too the level of operation varies in the sense that some activities effect the whole community and are directed towards group ends, while others are limited in scope and relate to the desired ends of individuals.

Sykes, in his analysis of Trenton,* distinguishes between 'cohesive' and 'alienative' responses in the face of imprisonment. The cohesive response is an action or series of actions which is collectivist in character in that it is directed towards the interests of prisoners *as a whole*. The alienative response on the other hand, is highly individualistic in character and directed towards the satisfactions of an individual, or small group, exploiting both staff and other prisoners as the need arises. Given this, two ideal types of leader can be distinguished which we will call 'Robin Hood' and 'Robber Baron'. Both types are 'troublemakers' as far as the prison authorities are concerned, nevertheless the 'trouble' they create varies appreciably.

*Sykes, G. *The Society of Captives.*

The Robin Hood

He is considered by the mass of the prisoner population to be a major asset in the task of minimising the pains of imprisonment. This leader is a strong-willed man, wise in prison ways, committed to the inmate code of minimal co-operation with the staff but careful never to provoke or bring down trouble upon himself or his associates. He is benevolent, sympathetic, and has many of the marks of a genuine altruist. Such a man was Smith, a forty year old club owner with ten previous convictions and six previous sentences. He was well above average in intelligence, a resilient, well integrated personality, not over enthusiastic about work, but shrewd in pursuing his objectives. His flair for organisation and control, manifest outside by his involvement with organised crime, was turned in prison to large-scale bookmaking. He dominated the prison by his intelligence and wealth, and although suspected of trafficking with an officer, almost certainly made his tobacco profits 'inside'. Though despising 'mugs' and 'tearaways' it is likely that he used the latter as lieutenants in his complex system of controlling the operations of bookmaking, as many of those closely associated with him were aggressive psychopathic individuals. His main claim to popular status was in helping unfortunate prisoners—by arranging for presents to be sent to wives, or children on their birthdays; or by assisting in matrimonial reconciliation. A wealthy man outside the prison, he would, if desired, make the services of his own solicitor available to other prisoners. In all this, of course, he furthered his own self interest—

other prisoners would be glad to do his work in the workshops, or to perform personal services for him. In his relationships with the staff he was 'polite and inoffensive', keeping well out of trouble.

Smith's role in the prison community was essentially cohesive. For prisoners he represented a tower of strengh—'cleverer than all these screws put together'. He advised, and controlled, the extent of his power and influence being sufficient to minimise many of the disruptive forces operative in the inmate social system. His economic interest, i.e. bookmaking, gave him a vested interest in the stability, not only of the inmate sub-system, but of the social system of the prison as a whole. Although the staff disliked him and regarded him as an undesirable exploiter of other prisoners, both he and they had a mutual interest in order and stability. Superiority of brain, and the ability to call upon brawn when necessary, gave Smith an unusual amount of power. It was based, however, upon *loyalty* rather than fear, his good and generous deeds making many men his permanent moral debtors. The staff, recognising Smith to be a leader, often alleged that he "is at the back of all the trouble on the wing at the moment," without any tangible evidence; the effect of their belief was to reinforce his status in the eyes of his fellows as the 'master mind'.

The Robber Baron

He is a very different sort of man, recognised by prisoners as an exploiter, a man whom they would rather do without. In many cases he is actually a tobacco baron or a bookmaker but frequently he is no more than an extortionate bully who demands protection payments or feudal services from those inmates unfortunate enough to come under his influence. He tends to be younger than the Robin Hood, to resort to violence with some frequency and on account of this to be feared by most other inmates. Furthermore his activities tend to be less consistently organised and to be concentrated upon short-run rather than long term objectives.

The *Robber Baron* then is not a leader who can make moral claims upon his followers, but relies upon coercion and fear. It is doubtful whether he is a 'gang' leader in that the term gang implies organisation and permanence which is seldom characteristic of the groups of men he attracts; the term 'near-group' is more appropriate in that it expresses the unstable and ephemeral nature of the bond between him and his immediate followers. In the words of one prisoner:

> "Today there are no really big-time barons, only about twelve of the lesser variety in the whole place. They can't do anything unless they go round in a gang—they are the really dangerous types in the prison. They come in with a reputation and others flock around, i.e. bathing in their reflected glory. The leaders are so-called villains, and like to think they're great shakes, but in fact they can't do anything alone. They are really afraid of trouble. The danger of them is that *if you have a square fight with a gang member you have to go on and fight all the gang in turn if they feel like it.*"

The Businessman

Strictly speaking a distinction needs to be drawn between the Robber Baron who deals in tobacco or bookmaking, and the man who provides other goods and services

at an economic cost. The distinction is not easy to draw because the dividing line between business enterprise which is successfully competitive and sheer economic exploitation or racketeering is narrow. Where the transaction involves simple exchange, for example, payment for getting an extra shirt, no difficulties normally arise. It is only when the transaction is protracted as in the case of gambling or tobacco debts that some additional device of enforcement becomes necessary. As there are no courts in the prison community to which the creditor may have recourse, there is no alternative but to employ coercion* and to this end many of the younger tearaways are employed by barons and bookmakers.

Not all Robber Barons are involved in such business enterprises. Higgins, for example, sold a little tobacco but was mainly concerned that other prisoners should perform services for him for which he was sometimes prepared to pay well above the normal rate of tobacco. A robber in his late twenties, he had sentences totalling seven and a half years to his credit, and was well integrated into the criminal underworld outside. In prison he was well adjusted but tended to be concerned excessively with himself. He rationalised the way in which he made men eager to serve him —cleaning his cell, looking after his contrabrand radio and so on— by saying that he was doing them a good turn. In reality he was buttressing his own ego at other people's expense. In his activities he had the moral and tactical support of Jones, an aggressive psychopath in his mid-thirties serving eight years for manslaughter. Large and physically powerful, Jones had a record of violence in and out of prison and was feared and 'respected' by staff and prisoners alike. A complex personality, he not only shared the control of activities on the wing— access to games, the choice of TV programmes etc., but would exert control over his sycophants by literally using them as furniture.

Stirrers

Alongside such men are others who exert more limited power, described by prisoners as *stirrers*. The stirrer gets other people 'to do his dirty work for him'. "He makes the bullets for other people to fire", and there is some evidence to suggest that a leader who has been defeated in a series of fights and supplanted by a stronger man may adopt such a role.

All these men have complex motivations. They wish their own prison life to be easier and get other prisoners to make it so, but at the same time they need to exert power. A reputation for toughness is important to them both inside and outside prison. Their images among other self-professed criminals must be unchanging.

The Old and the Young

Broadly speaking, as men get older they mature and become less prone to violence. The older men exert their power and influence by more subtle means than the younger, and although they may be able to give a good account of themselves in a fight, violence is frequently delegated to their younger sycophants. Many older prisoners fear the younger element

*Which may in *some* circumstances be limited to 'blacklisting' for future credit.

simply on account of their superior physical strength; as one prisoner (a confidence trickster in his sixties) commented,

"The prison is run by young thugs. The only way to adjust in here is to become a vegetable, otherwise you will be in trouble sooner or later".

Another, aged just over seventy, said he loathed

"... the young tearaways in here who rule the prison by force. Even the officers are reluctant to challenge them unless absolutely necessary".

By and large, these older men steer well clear of the toughs, and are experienced enough not to get into debt with tobacco barons and bookmakers, quite often because they have the kind of job in the prison which carries many 'perks' and allows them to perform services for other inmates for which they are paid in tobacco.

Protection

It is difficult for newly received prisoners to avoid the clutches of the baron although they are officially warned on their cell information cards not to become involved in tobacco or similar transactions. For many, until the modifications of the pay system in October 1959*, this was, and in many cases still is, a pious hope. Once involved, and unable to pay interest at anything up to fifty per cent compound per week, the debtor is in a serious position. Not all tobacco barons immediately order their henchmen to administer a 'going over'; after all, what they want primarily is the tobacco. The threat of violence is often sufficient to get a debtor to pay off some of his debt, but if it is a large one—of more than three or four ounces—he will never pay it off entirely.

*Whereby a prisoner was paid one week's wages on the day immediately following reception.

One resort is to apply for protection under Rule 36, of the Prison Rules, whereby the Governor may authorise arrangements for the prisoner to have non-associated labour in his cell. At the end of one month this arrangement must be approved by the Visiting Justices. Rule 36, however, is seldom an adequate solution, for neither the Governor—nor for that matter the Visiting Justices—are disposed to protect a man under the rule if he will not disclose the identity of his suspected assailants. Few prisoners can afford to flout the Prisoners' Code and 'grass' in this way; for one thing, this would almost certainly invite vengeance, and for another, the prisoner may be genuinely ignorant of the precise identity of his assailants. His creditor will, as part of the psychological terror, deliberately keep him in ignorance of who has been delegated to carry out the attack.

Self-Help

The remaining solutions must be sought by the prisoner himself. He may, in extremity, injure himself or swallow some object in order to be hospitalised, and although instances of this do occur, they tend to be the solutions of men of unstable personality. More reasonable, and in the long run more effective, is the solution of self-help. As Sykes cogently observes, the presence of home-made weapons discovered by the staff in the process of searching is partially accounted for by the prevalence of bullying toughs; they are weapons of self defence in the inmate community rather than offensive weapons to be used against staff.* To some extent self-help is most effective when collectively organised, but it

*Sykes. op.cit. p.92.

would seem that defensive activity presents more problems than offensive activity.

Rival Groups

Because many of the social controls in the inmate social system tend to be based upon external constraint rather than internal consensus, the equilibrium of the system tends to be symbiotic resembling the primitive world of nature. Just as in an aquarium, where one species tends to prey upon another, while other species are allowed to live in peace, a balance is achieved when the predatory species prey equally upon one another. So too, in the prison, violence and exploitation are kept within limits by the presence of rival groups who co-exist for the most part below rather than above the threshold of violence and overt conflict. When violence begins to assert itself it may be checked by violence, and in such situations can be perceived the beginnings of the metamorphosis of the *tough* into the *Robin Hood*.

Such a man was Brown, a twenty seven-year-old unskilled labourer who had achieved some distinction as an amateur boxer, then serving a five-year sentence for defrauding the G.P.O. Although his outside criminal contacts were extensive he differed from the normal *tough* pattern in that he was a hard worker. An illiterate man of primitive and aggressive feelings, he had little control over them, and he admitted to the research worker that he was frightened by his own increasing violence.

In the prison he attempted to limit the powers of the Robber Barons by what were (for the prison authorities) unorthodox means, i.e. by the use of force. Even the Governor had to admit that Brown kept order among prisoners, but became ambivalent as the number of his assualts on other prisoners increased. When, in an uncontrolled moment, he let fly at a prison officer and was taken before the Visiting Justices, another prison officer commented that he hoped the V.C. wouldn't be too tough and turn him against authority. "*He is a good man at keeping order in the prison*". It so happened that he was not harshly dealt with, but unfortunately he continued to be violent towards other prisoners. Nevertheless, his coercive activities were *positively* oriented; for example when a fight broke out, a weak-willed prisoner rang the alarm bell. Brown 'gave him a belting' for this quite flagrant violation of the inmate code. While the staff tended to perceive Brown as a nuisance when he got out of hand, prisoners regarded him as a man who, though wise to avoid, nevertheless maintained justice in inmate society.

'Legitimated' Inmate Leadership

In most prisons throughout the world the authoritarian character of the prison regime is diluted by the delegation of some staff functions to inmates. It is not, strictly speaking, a delegation of formal authority, for whatever task such an inmate performs, and whatever privileges are attached to the job, his status remains that of a captive. For the prison official the 'leader', 'redband' or 'stroke' is a valued asset. He is assigned to a position of trust and responsibility in the task of running the prison. In the eyes of his fellow prisoners

however, he is often a 'grass' or 'screws' man', and the subject of diffuse sanctions of disapproval. Nevertheless, if he performs his task well he contributes to the smooth running of the prison and indirectly to the welfare of his fellow captives. How then is it that he may be regarded with distrust?

The answer is not a simple one, if only because the role of such a leader (whom we can designate a *redband*) is complex. For while undoubtedly he serves the staff, he seldom does so in a spirit of disinterested altruism. The relative freedom accorded to him, and the work tasks he is assigned, enable him not only to lessen the deprivations of imprisonment for himself, but not infrequently to do the same for other prisoners by the supply of illicit goods and services. But however far he may go in this direction he is still basically suspect, if only because he has violated one of the ideal premises of the Prisoners' Code, namely that no self-respecting 'con' should do the work of a screw. The *redband* tends to be selected from among those whose attitudes towards authority tend to be positive, in the sense that they are neither overtly hostile nor passively non co-operative. To become a *redband* 'one's face has to fit'. There is little doubt that he tends to identify with authority, and his demeanour around the prison may antagonise the orthodox adherents to the inmate code—and alienate him from the bulk of inmate society. The *redband's* solution to this problem is frequently to act a double life, to leak information to the staff, but at the same time to leak information in the reverse direction.

Inmate Councils

In the 'training oriented' prisons there have been official moves towards developing inmate responsibility by the setting up of inmate councils* and there is no doubt that this move away from the Nineteenth Century ideas of consistent repression is in essence constructive. How far it is likely to have far-reaching effects upon the mass of social forces operating in the prison community for the intensification of criminality is another matter. The leaders meeting, as observed in one training prison, was essentially a 'grumbling session' and although this may have had some merit as a safety valve, there was little evidence to suggest that these were necessarily even the grumbles of the non-leaders. In fact there were unmistakable signs that the group constituted a socially isolated élite in the prison, remote from the real foci of power in the inmate social system.

Stability and Conflict in the Inmate Social System

In reality, the prisoner must steer a course between the Prison Rules and The Prisoners' Rules, and the task is frequently difficult. The prison as a whole is territorially divided between wings, workshops, and exercise yards, and in each of these areas inmate leadership will be exercised. As in most human communities, the ultimate equilibrium of the system will depend upon a balance of the forces contending for power, and power in inmate society is based sometimes upon concensus, sometimes upon external constraint,

*The Director of Prison Administration made history by directly consulting one of these a year or so ago.

and frequently upon a combination of the two. The physical, social, and psychological deprivations of imprisonment undoubtedly stimulate among most prisoners behaviour which is designed to to minimise them; at the same time the prison contains men with strong drives towards controlling other men and in so doing satisfying many of their inner psychological needs.

Restraining and Utilising Indigenous Leadership

It is a simple truth that in the face of *complete* and *massive* refusal to comply with his orders the prison official is powerless.

(a) COHESIVE ELEMENTS

The reason why large scale rebellion seldom occurs inside even repressive prisons is partly that inmate society is too heterogeneous to be capable of such unified action, but most importantly because numerous inmates have a conscious investment in tranquility. Even the *tough* who seeks to control the excesses of the barons and other toughs plays a cohesive role, but one which is likely to achieve only temporary stability. Finally one might note that 'the businessmen' who supply illicit goods and services and remain honest in their dealings, make stability worth investing in, and by lessening the deprivations of imprisonment make for a contented population.

(b) DISRUPTIVE ELEMENTS

Contrasted to the above types are the real contenders for power in the prison. These others are the truly anarchic elements who, undisciplined themselves, would if unrestrained, reduce the prison to a Hobbesian 'State of Nature' in which every man's hand was against every other. Their roles are essentially alienative in that their behaviour is ego-centric and inconsistent. Sooner or later their demands are resisted by others of their own kind and conflict ensues. It is perhaps because they are so often seekers after power *for its own sake* that they constitute such a danger in the prison community.

The Reality of the Situation

In order to control the activities of such individuals the full weight of the prison's coercive power needs to be applied, and unfortunately 'tightening up' bears resemblance to a non-selective insect killer which destroys not only the particular pest which happens to be its primary objective, but other insects which have themselves been instrumental in reducing the pest, at least to some degree. The first task of the administrator then is to distinguish effectively between different types of leader in the prison and to recognise that not a few of them are doing some of the work for him. Some prison officials are indeed able to recognise this, but their freedom of policy manoeuvre is generally restricted.

Classification and Segregation

The second task of the administrator is to buttress the cohesive elements of the inmate society and at the same time attempt a systematic erosion of the power of the alienative elements. The achievement of the latter objective tends to be made simpler by adequate classification and if necessary by segregation. The experience of Morrice at Peterhead Prison suggests that at least some of the troublemakers transferred there from Barlinnie responded to

psycho-therapeutic techniques,* although he notes that segregation is a "technique of *dealing* with subversive elements that raises problems of its own." By isolating them from their prey, tensions are built up in the group which bring them to the point where psycho-somatic symptoms and tension states render them amenable to treatment. Segregation then, can provide both protection for the general mass of inmates and the pre-conditions of treatment, but needs to be of significant duration. It is doubtful whether the use of Rule 36 in this regard is likely to provide more than a temporary solution.

Strengthening the cohesive elements in the prison raises implications for the stability of the inmate social system as well as for the formal structure of authority. It is difficult to look favourably upon the 'businessmen' who supply illicit goods and services, even though they constitute a major share of the forces working towards the maintenance of order and the status quo. What is striking about many of these men is their capacity for organisation and planning, and the consistency of their behaviour. If amelioration of those aspects of prison life which are the legacy of the Nineteenth Century (and have no place in the ethos of the *treatment* institution) proceeds, they will cease to have a function to perform. At the same time, there is every reason to believe that many of these men could and would play constructive roles on inmate councils. Unless there can be real sharing of power and authority, and the lowest ranks of the discipline staff can feel secure that such sharing neither diminishes their own authority nor renders them likely to be unsupported by their superiors at critical moments—unless these conditions are fulfilled, inmate councils and committees will be as meaningless as Parliamentary democracy under the Czars.

*Morrice, J. K. W., *Psychiatric Treatment of Habitual Criminals*, Brit. J. Delinq: X.1. July 1959. p.17-18.

Social Responsibility

It might of course be asked by those whose information and attitudes towards the treatment of offenders is shaped by the wildly distorted stereotypes of prisons, prisoners and prison staffs which still abound, what useful purpose would be served by such a development. One answer would be that inmate leadership cannot be obliterated, therefore any forward looking penal system must try to harness the forces associated with it rather than expend its scarce resources in a futile effort to contain them. Another would be that just as men cannot be trained for freedom in conditions of captivity, so men cannot be trained to accept social responsibility in conditions which, at their most extreme, reduce them to a state of near infantile dependency. The task here is to mobilise the social capacities of men who are seldom wholly anti-social in such a way that the words: "It's the prisoners who run this prison" are an expression, not of resentment on the part of a prison official who feels that things have got out of hand, but of achievement, that men who have hitherto failed to adjust to life in a socially acceptable manner have moved significantly towards responsibility and maturity.

Prison Authors

C. H. ROLPH

A MODERN logical fallacy has grown out of an assumed relationship between (a) going to prison and (b) writing a book. Its origin is the sound enough proposition that all human experience is the province of the reporter. Imprisonment is something that happens to a minority of people, crime and its consequences attract a majority of readers, books about prison life have had a wonderful vogue for the past thirty years or so — and all this has nourished the belief that because prison is something to write about, all those who go to prison come out writers.

They don't. They come out with a tale to tell, much less flesh-creeping than it used to be, and sometimes with the ability not only to write it down clearly but to be satisfied with mere clarity. ("Clear writers," said Walter Savage Landor, "like clear fountains, do not seem as deep as they are: the turbulent look the most profound.") But not one in a hundred of them is a writer. You might think that since the Prison Commissioners (or shouldn't one say Sir Lionel Fox?) decided some years ago to scrap the policy of official secrecy about prison conditions, and allow the Press to come in, look around, take their photographs, and write about what they saw, there has been less scope for ex-prisoners' "revelations". Certainly, if you compare a modern prisoner's reminiscences with Charles Reade's *It Is Never Too Late To Mend* or even with MacCartney's *Walls Have Mouths*, there is less now to reveal. And yet I doubt that the publishing world has ever before seen such a torrent of prison "revelations" as it is now coping with.

When I say that the publishers are coping with it I am using a figure of speech. They send the manuscripts to publishers' readers, an occupation left over from the slave-trade, and pay them two or three guineas a time to read a manuscript and report on it. In dealing with a non-fiction manuscript (a classification to which a prisoner's story is always charitably assumed to belong), the publisher looks for a specialist "reader" who knows something about the subject it deals with, and usually has to pay him a bit more. The ideal specialist, of course, is the man who can see both sides of a question, a consideration which may be felt to rule out the other obvious plan of sending ex-prisoners' manuscripts to members of the prison service to read. Because I have long been interested in the penal system, have visited many prisons here and abroad, and have written about the subject oftener, perhaps, than I would if I knew more about it, a lot of these manuscripts come to me. I am proposing to make no secret, here, of the fact that I sometimes pass them on to friends of mine in the prison service, asking for an expert opinion on some "revelatory"

passages (and, believe me, sharing the fee).

But if a manuscript reaches this stage it means that in my view at least, it's fairly good; and the proportion of which you could really say so much as that is about one per cent of the main torrent. The very first paragraph of a manuscript shows whether or not its author is literate—not "literary", which is not the same thing. The styles, of course, may be as different as Peter Wildeblood's *Against The Law* was from Frank Norman's *Bang To Rights*, both of which I read and reported on (with enthusiasm) as manuscripts, the former professional and cultivated writing, the latter the work of a "natural"—cheeky, vernacular, and I thought wildly funny.

I remember being puzzled about the reception of *Bang To Rights*. It wasn't sent to me by a publisher—it came from Frank Norman himself. I didn't know him then: someone suggested me to him as a possible source of advice about placing his manuscript. It seemed to me the work of a born writer, in the sense that W. H. Davies was a born writer, or Robert Burns. I tried it on a publisher, who was frightened of it. (It's fairly outspoken even in its present form, but its first draft spoke out more still.) I sent it then to a well-known literary agent, who returned it with the astonishing verdict that it was illiterate and that he really preferred not to try it out on any of his regular publishers. (He needs to retain a reputation for knowing a good manuscript from a bad one.) I showed it to a friend in the prison service and he said: "I don't agree with a lot of it, of course, and I think he's unfair, but I don't know how fair I should be in the same circumstances. Anyway if that's what he wants to say I think it ought to be published. Nobody would be able to call it dull." Eventually Mr. Stephen Spender published about 10,000 words from it in *Encounter*. I suppose you could hardly have a more distinguished literary judgment on it than that. It was made. The publishers came after it in full cry. Secker & Warburg got it, and Frank Norman has remained with that firm ever since.

What is more puzzling still is that, despite the intelligence and ability of a growing proportion of prisoners, no-one writes a temperate, constructive book about what is good, what is hopefully experimental, in the penal system. Not even to the ex-prisoner can prison today seem wholly bad. Ex-prisoners often tell me, appreciatively, about open prisons, about group counselling, about vocational training, about pre-release hostels, about individual members of the prison service who have stopped them (to use a constantly recurring phrase) from "going right up the wall". We could do with a first-hand written account of all this from the receiving end, to compare with the Governors' reports. I think you would hardly expect a panegyric from a man who had served the whole of his sentence in a local prison, but about these there is little more that is really printable to be said, at least in any objective sense. The subjective reaction to a prison sentence is always a thing of poignant interest, differing much with every human being to whom it happens, but only once in a generation, perhaps, do you get a book like *De Profundis* or *Against The Law*.

What I try constantly to bear in mind is the post-prison therapeutic value in the writing of prison reminiscences, whether anyone is destined ever to read them or not. By the time I receive a discharged prisoner's manuscript from a publisher, that stage has often been passed: the man has written his book, it is out of his system, he is getting over it, it belongs to a miserable past; he may not care too deeply now whether or not it is ever published. But when he comes to see me and says he *wants to write* his book, I know that he is moved by one of three things, the first two conscious motives and the third an unrecognised one. Either he wants to know which publisher will give him a cash advance in anticipation of royalties (answer: none); or he wants me to "ghost" his reminiscences for him (answer: sorry); or he has a load of chips to get rid of, and will feel better—and be much more manageable—when it is done. Books in the third category, however, seldom get beyond Chapter III. The first two Chapters are devoted to the exposure of a vile miscarriage of justice, and the third describes Reception Day at the prison—a chapter which, whatever the quality of the writing, always has the ring of true tragedy. "Send not to know for whom the bell tolls."

And what I've ventured to call the therapeutic value of autobiography for ex-prisoners encourages me to invade the hospitality of this Journal with a suggestion that involves a criticism of the prison regulations. It is that prisoners should be allowed to do as much writing as they like, on as much paper as they like, and take it all out of prison with them when they go. What possible harm could it do? It is the restrictions on writing that seem to me needless and harmful. And the lifting of all restrictions would need to be accompanied by a prompt completion of the slow-motion change-over to sixty-watt lamps (at least) in cells, so that prisoners could write without ruining their eyes. Only a minority would write, and a dwindling minority at that (today's privilege is always tomorrow's chore). Their output would no doubt contain much that was expendable, subversive, and obscene. Why would this matter? I believe that it wouldn't matter to anyone except the writer, and that to him (and thus, in due course, to society) it might do a power of good.

Rumour

Have you heard?
Not a word.
They say it's a fact,
Caught in the act.
Me on the spot?
Certainly not.
Sure it's correct?
Well, I just suspect.
Meet him face to face?
You know this place.
Perhaps I was wrong.
Got to go; so long.
It wasn't told to me;
I only heard.

S.M.

Casework in Borstal

ALAN ROBERTON

THE NUMBERS coming into borstal have risen, the rate of reconviction for those leaving borstal has risen and we are all aware that the difficulties of the people we receive seem to increase in complexity. If we add to this the kind of doubts which prediction scoring and recent Home Office research, for example, have cast upon our traditional methods of doing our job we have a situation which is, at the same time, stimulating and challenging, dispiriting, bewildering and dangerous. It might be wise to look first at some of the dangers lest in trying to meet the challenge we only further increase our bewilderment.

None of us tolerates the uncertainty aroused by this kind of situation easily. Surprised by its complexities, disconcerted by the increasingly irrational and paradoxical behaviour of our charges, we may be tempted to return to the authoritarian methods of the past rather than face the further uncertainty of new, untried, methods.

A more sophisticated danger, perhaps, is that we adopt new methods — developments outside the service making this unavoidable — but adopt them in such a way that they can be shown not to work and thus justify a return to the old.

It is possible that bewilderment may add a note of desperation to our search for ways of meeting the challenge. In our desperation we may seek new methods from other settings, embrace them before we adapt them to, or evaluate them in our own setting, invest them with magical qualities and build a number of unreal expectations on them. Case-work and group-work are two methods which clearly offer themselves. Should we build such unreal expectations on them we may finish by bringing discredit to ourselves. Worse still, we may disappoint and estrange colleagues who had hoped to get something of real value from such methods, a real value which they undoubtedly offer. If we use these skills to meet our own rather desperate needs, as waving banners to convince ourselves we are in the van of progress, then disappointment is likely to be bitter. If we are wise enough to adapt and use them to meet the needs of our clientele we are likely to avoid this disappointment.

That cautionary note expressed, let me say quickly and firmly that a knowledge of case-work concepts and skills, and the same applies presumably to group-work, would seem to add fresh dimensions to our job, a greater width of approach and a greater depth of contact and understanding. I would not see us as fully meeting our responsibilities were we not to try to adapt and use these skills, but I would repeat that it might be wise to be circumspect in their adoption and adaptation.

A satisfactory definition of case-work is not easy to find. Part of the difficulty is that it is a living, dynamic process with the interaction of feeling between two people, the worker and client, at its core. To express it in words is to render static that which is ever-moving, ever different, and to give emphasis to the intellectual rather than to the feeling content. Nevertheless, if we are to have a starting point, some attempt at definition must be made.

"Social case-work is a process used by certain human welfare agencies to help individuals to cope more effectively with their problems in social functioning."* Some elaboration is needed. Social case-work is concerned with the emotional life of the client as it effects his adaptation to society and the satisfactory adjustment of his personal relationships. Many of the problems with which the case-worker is asked to deal may be purely practical ones; but whether the problems presented are practical or emotional the client is unable to meet them unaided; the case-worker is there to assist him meet them or remove them.

The interview is the centre of all case-work though the worker may go outside the interview to meet and talk, for instance, with other people involved in order to get a clearer understanding of the problem. In the interview the worker gains information about the client and his problems in the course of which a meaningful relationship is established between them. On the basis of this relationship and the 'understanding' of his problems which the client feels the case-worker to have, they work together through the difficulties, the client being helped gradually towards a new appreciation and solution of his problems.

Most case-workers work from a psycho-analytic background, that is their view of human growth, development and behaviour is derived from psycho-analytic theory. This is not to say that the worker is doing analysis, or some imitation of analysis. He is strictly concerned with the present situation but will seek to understand, in terms of earlier relationships and development, the feelings, attitudes and reactions which seem inappropriate to the present.

Essential to case-work is respect for the individual human being. Following from this is the recognition of the need to start from where the client is accepting him as the kind of person he is, seeing and feeling his situation as nearly as possible as he does. It is no part of the case-worker's job to take over his client's responsibilities and decisions and to do things to and for him, but to help him mobilise his own resources so that he may deal more effectively with problems himself and in his own way. Help given is not normally by advice or reassurance but by using the relationship between worker and client to clear away the frustrations, the contradictions, the blockages so that the client is better able to focus on the problem.

Two quotations may help: "What is even more important, the case-worker has enough concern for the real interests of the people involved not to encroach upon their ultimate independence, but to offer advice in such a way that they will know that they can accept it or

reject it freely, being sure in any event of his continued interest. Only from this standpoint can one human being ever attempt to help another without the danger of impairing equilibrium and injuring personality"†. " . . . because case-workers first meet the individual when he is not independent but in need of help, and is, in consequence, particularly liable to be unduly influenced, they have to make a point of working with him with a view to establishing his ultimate independence, rather than of trying to impose their own ideas upon him for the sake of a quick solution of his difficulty which might still leave him without initiative when on his own. In the same way, and because of his temporary state of dependency, case-workers have to be scrupulous as to the way they acquire knowledge of the individual — which often otherwise would be private to himself—and as to the use they make of it."† These attitudes clearly imply that the worker will not make value judgements, will not see his client as good or bad, right or wrong. He will be non-condemning in his approach, will not be concerned to apportion blame but will seek to understand why his client's feelings and behaviour are what they are. From this understanding he tries not to bring about a change of personality, which would be an impertinence, but to enable his client to modify attitudes and reactions, making them more appropriate to present realities and demands.

It would be folly to suggest that this high level of approach is consistently maintained by all case-workers but it is an ideal at which most case-workers aim, which many achieve some of the time and some most of the time. It works and it is inspiring to see it work.

No case-worker would start work without having made as careful a diagnosis as was possible in the circumstances of the case or without, in the light of that diagnosis, having defined the range of possibility of help and set limits to the goal.

Normally the case-worker would carry only one role, that is a helping or enabling one. There are exceptions to this, notably the Probation Service where the worker has also to represent the authority of the court, to carry an authority role as well as a helping one. To avoid distortions in the picture at this stage let me quote again: "In addition to his personal responsibilities to his client, the case-worker is also a representative of society. He is this because he is a social worker; because part of his way of helping the client is that, while meeting him at his own level and accepting him as such, he also helps him to meet the demands which society makes on him, for one of his functions is to represent to him, by and large, the standards of society. . . . They are thus prevented from becoming too much absorbed in individual problems of particular clients, unrelated to social problems generally."†

Even from a description as incomplete as this it will be obvious that there are difficulties in transplanting case-work from the kind of setting in which it has evolved to our own. Most agencies, for example, deal with clients who come to them seeking help. This does not make the case-worker's job easy nor does it necessarily

guarantee a high degree of co-operation, but it does mean that the starting point is a recognition of need on the part of the client. By contrast most of our clientele are either not conscious of any need for help, or feel the need, but are too confused by the processes of conviction and committal to see us as straight-forward helping figures. Our first job, then, is to see where there appears to be such a need, then to see if it seems possible for the person concerned to recognise its existence.

Experience seems to indicate two really major difficulties. The first, perhaps the most serious, lies in the number of functions which we exercise in relation to the persons in our charge. We are, at the same time, providers of material needs, custodians in authority over them, investigating and judicial officers where misdemeanour should occur, welfare agents and, in borstal, with its grade system and indeterminate sentence, arbiters of their fate so far as return to the outer world is concerned. Committal can be seen as an expression of society's disapproval so that we too may be seen as society's representative, professional disapprovers. To a normally adjusted person who feels shame and guilt about his misdeeds this may not be too bad though I cannot see it as being positively helpful. To a less well-adjusted person who is anxious to see all that happens to him as the responsibility of agents outside himself the opportunity to see us as disapproving, persecuting people gives him the means to escape from his own inner, frightening sense of guilt and therefore from any need to do anything about it. In this kind of way many of our roles can be used by boys and prisoners as a way of denying, hiding from themselves their own inner feelings, fears and anxieties. If a boy is concerned, for some reason, not to see us as benevolent then it is easy for him to emphasise our judicial function, for example, in order to do this. Many boys, I am convinced, get themselves on report to keep us as punishing authorities in this way. Case-workers normally would not have to deal with this kind of confusion. The only way I think we can deal with it is to understand fully that it is an extremely confusing situation for boy and prisoner, to see as clearly as we can in what ways it is being used both by our charges and ourselves and to bring out clearly, when this seems beneficial, how it is being used. If we can be imaginative and humble enough to do this, and I don't think it is particularly easy for any of us in our type of service, then therapeutic opportunities may be presented in an almost dramatic way.

Community or institutional living presents the other difficulty. Case-work is ordinarily based on an exclusive relationship between worker and client in an exclusively private situation. This is impossible in an institution. An interview certainly may be private but it is not exclusive. Everyone knows that it has taken place and there may be many repercussions and side-effects from this. In outside case-work practise clients would normally be unknown to each other and have no contact. Probation is again an obvious exception though it is still true that clients are not known to each other through the medium of the agency working with them. All our clients spend twenty-four hours a day in each other's company and anyone

receiving case-work attention knows the others who are receiving similar attention. This can create very considerable difficulties from the boy who will seek constant attention without really knowing why to the boy who, though conscious of a need, will reject any help of this kind because it may label him in his own and in others' minds. A number of diverse rivalry situations are likely to arise but these are probably too complex to be dealt with in a paper of this length. I can see no easy solution to all this other than the exercise of considerable ingenuity. A reduction in the numbers per house would ease some aspects of this though it would not remove all the difficulties.

The other side of the exclusiveness problem is that the outside client sees, and judges, his worker almost entirely in the one situation. In prison and borstal it is a whole-day, whole-week contact with our lives impinging on each other's at many points. It might be difficult, for instance, to convince a boy that one's case-work interest and concern is genuine when he knows that he has no razor blade to shave with, no table tennis ball to play with, that his trousers are tatty and his food indifferent. Much of our success in the adaptation of case-work skills will lie in our ability to mould an active, demonstrative concern with more formal case-work practice. With a population which tends to act out its difficulties it may be that we have, to some extent, to act out our concern in all our contacts. Many of our charges tend to split the world into very clear blacks and whites or 'for' and 'againsts'. If they find themselves treated in one sphere with the dignity, respect and courtesy which is the right of every human individual and in another with less than this then they may, in their perplexity, find it simpler to consign us all to the 'againsts'.

Perhaps the clearest gain from case-work experience is the level of understanding and insight, in the ability to see what lies behind a boy's immediate and obvious behaviour. This increased understanding, of oneself as well as of others, leads naturally to a greater width of tolerance. There are fewer situations which are upsetting in the sense that one reacts overstrongly to them, fewer types of behaviour which cause one to react and behave in an irrational manner. Thus it may be seen that the boy who is repeatedly hostile, contemptuous and critical in his relationships with staff is not simply against the staff but is trying to make us behave in an unsympathetic and rejecting way because this will repeat his experience with figures in authority in the past. If he can make us confirm his earlier experience in this way he can go on feeling that all authority is and always will be against him. He will see no need to change his basic attitudes to authority though he may modify them temporarily in order to get his discharge. If we can deal with his hostility without having to be hostile in return, if we can absorb his criticism without ourselves being upset by it or having sharply to defend ourselves then some modification of the boy's attitudes becomes possible. The boy who makes fair start and then what seems an unnecessary and irritating mess of everything to which he puts his hand is not necessarily just lazy, inept and awkward but may be ridden by a sense of his

own worthlessness, a feeling so powerful that he cannot allow himself to succeed. If we do get irritated, become impatient and condemn him for his failures then it is likely that we shall only confirm his feeling of worthlessness. If we can remain patient, deal quietly with such situations as arise and avoid condemnation then we may enable him to succeed at something, to gain some insight into what is happening and so to begin to move away from the sense of inevitable failure. If case-work training makes anything clear it is that an intellectual recognition on the part of the boy that attitudes and patterns of behaviour are inappropriate and self-damaging is rarely enough to make any fundamental changes possible. Such attitudes as I have illustrated are emotionally based and real change is only possible when the intellectual desire for change is given depth by fresh emotional experience in relationships with other people.

In borstal we often tend to emphasise the good aspects of a boy's personality and to play down the bad on the grounds that this will encourage the good to become dominant. This may work sometimes but an increasing number of boys have predominantly bad feelings about themselves however much they may cover them up. If we can recognise and acknowledge these bad feelings without being condemnatory or rejecting, the boy is likely to sense a positive sympathy, to be able, for once, to let someone outside himself see in what poor opinion he holds himself. If we deny the bad and try to emphasise the good, the boy will be vaguely aware that we are not sensitive to what matters to him, to the feelings that really worry him. He may then have doubts about our ability to help and will tend to keep communication between us at a superficial, practical level.

The readiness to see the boy as he is, to respect him as the person he is, has the other effect of putting realistic limits on one's goal, keeping it reasonably in tune with the individual's capacity, with his eventual environment and with one's own capacity to help him. If we allow ourselves to expect more from a boy than he can give, and this is fatally easy to do when one's sympathies are involved as they must be if we are to do anything, then disappointment is inevitable and we may then tend to relieve our own sense of failure by blaming the boy.

The kind of knowledge that case-work training gives helps us to see the two terrible temptations in work with delinquents. On the one hand to stand solid with society so that the emphasis is on disapproval of behaviour and punishment for that behaviour. On the other hand standing solid with the boy, excusing his conduct, laying all the blame at other doors and refusing to see him as he really is. Neither attitude is helpful. At the same time we represent the standards of society and are deeply concerned with the boy's welfare. We cannot discharge either function effectively if we ignore the other. The boy normally has a shrewd appreciation of the framework within which we work. To aim at the maximum flexibility and adaptation to individual needs within that framework is clearly desirable but to be casual or inconsistent about it or to take undue liberties with the framework would be unhelpful. Such inconsistency

can only confuse the boy, may cause him to have some doubts about our general integrity and we may forfeit his respect.

The use of 'permissive' techniques is less easy and straight forward in our setting than it may be in others and there are perhaps some fears and misunderstandings about it. If, in an interview or group situation, a boy feels free to say whatever he likes, to express criticism and hostility if he feels that way, he is only likely to get any positive gain from this if the worker concerned can absorb his expression of feeling and can himself contain it. The boy is afraid of these violent feelings in himself and feels they are dangerous and damaging. If he is allowed or encouraged to express such feelings he may be helped if he finds that the person to whom they are expressed is not damaged, is less afraid of them than he is himself. If he senses that the worker finds it difficult to handle or contain these violent feelings the boy's anxiety about them is likely to be increased. Unless one is fairly sure of oneself it is perhaps wise to limit one's 'permissiveness.' There is some fear, too, that 'permissiveness' in groups or interviews will lead to equally free and violent expression in the ordinary run of the institution. Experience seems to show that it does not work this way but that day to day relationships are handled in a more mature way.

The other issue arising in these last few paragraphs is that of emotional involvement. How does one steer the course between over-identification and none at all? Most of the trouble with the boy's feelings is that they are, to him, uncontrollable or difficult to control. The worker must be involved if he is to understand the boy's feelings but he cannot be helpful unless his own feelings, unlike the boy's, are within control. "One must aim at the maximum sympathy combined with the maximum detachment, however unattainable this may be; and I would like to make it clear that 'detachment' is here used to indicate an attitude to oneself and not to one's clients."[†]

Experience so far seems to show that there is not much place for formal case-work on a regular interview basis. This is possible with odd boys, usually people who are, for one reason or another, rather isolated in the institutional community. Even then it is probably important that, besides dealing with their individual problems, one works through the ways in which the boy is using this special situation. Generally we have to think much more in terms of what might be described as case-work on the hop, of making use of the odd and informal contacts we have as well as of the more formal ones. We have to try to be wise enough to know when and how to use these opportunities and to be aware enough to see when the apparent purpose for communication is simply a means of indirectly asking for help about more serious problems. We have to understand enough of the institutional culture to know that communication will often be devious and indirect, partly because the direct approach to authority is doubtfully permissible and partly because the boy is uncertain of our role. In this situation we have to try to be perceptive enough to make the kind of comment or speculative

question which will reassure the boy sufficiently for him to overcome these doubts. Often we have to try to see the boy's difficulties and put them into words which make sense to him because he cannot see the difficulties clearly himself until they are expressed. Often we seem to work solely through relationship with little or no direct verbal discussion of problems. In these and other ways we may vary from normal case-work practise—we may be more active, we may have to 'make the pace' more often, we may use a wider variety of approach and of ways of showing our concern. It may vary enough to say that we are not doing case-work but working with a case-work orientation. Whatever is said, I think it is inescapable that case-work training and experience, the case-work orientation if you like, offers us an invaluable tool, and an increasingly necessary one as improving services junior to our own deal with the more straightforward delinquents at an earlier stage.

Questions about working in this kind of way without training, about the possibilities of training on the job, the extent of training necessary and how far these techniques may be appropriate, are left unanswered. Whatever the answers, a move towards a similarity of approach would be desirable, and experience here shows that this is quite widely possible.

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* Helen Harris Perlman. *Social Case-work.* University of Chicago Press.

† Una Cormack & Kay MacDougall in *Social Casework in Great Britain.* Ed. Cherry Morris. Faber & Faber.

‡ Margaret Tilley. *Casework with the Anti-social Client.* A.P.S.W., 1, Park Crescent, London, W.1.

Address manuscripts to:

THE EDITOR,
PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL,
STAFF COLLEGE,
LOVE LANE,
WAKEFIELD.

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The Homeless Offender

DOUGLAS GIBSON

IN THE YEARS since the war, states the White Paper on Penal Practice in a Changing Society, "crime has increased and is still increasing". Whatever our critics may say the causes of this increase are to a great extent outside the control of the Prison Commission. There have been both downward and upward movements in crime since 1945; and it would be as foolish for us to claim the credit for the former as to accept the blame for the latter. Yet for some part of this problem we can properly be held responsible. Statistics published in the Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for 1959 show that just on 87 per cent of men and 89 per cent of women of the Star Class discharged from all prisons in 1956 had not returned to prison under sentence by the end of 1959. The crux of *our* problem, however, is the treatment of those who do come back. It is somewhat bigger than the encouraging figures above might suggest, for well over half of the 36,730 persons received into prison during 1959 under sentence of imprisonment, corrective training or preventive detention were known to have served sentences of imprisonment previously. Amongst them are to be found what is known as the hard core of persistent recidivists. All the evidence suggests that a very large number of these recidivists are homeless; either because they have no home whatever or because they have broken all links with their families. It would be disingenuous to pretend that we have the answer to this difficulty. Yet attempts have been made to deal with it, and I want to say a few words about one such attempt, without however making any inflated claims for it.

The problem of discharge is one that starts at reception. The homeless prisoner is himself sharply aware of his situation; the help one gets from him is almost nil. The answers on interview are vague and evasive: "I don't know. I expect I will move off to the Smoke; I know a few people down there." Or, "I thought of settling in this area, I've been told there are plenty of opportunities up here." It can be even worse: "I don't think about it. Let's get my time done. something will turn up—it always does." These replies are not meant to be unhelpful; they are the exact feelings of the homeless man; he has no ideas, he has no real affections and he has no hopes for the future.

It was to try to meet the needs of men of this sort and to give them a better chance that the "Friends of Wakefield" scheme was founded. Its aim is to establish for the homeless man a relationship with a family which will try to make contact with him and provide for him an oasis within the desert which faces him upon discharge.

The practical application of the scheme can be seen below.

If a prisoner agrees to take part in the scheme:

(1) A family suited to the man's background, temperament and needs is selected,

(2) With the man's consent particu-

lars of his "case" and his needs are sent to the host.
(3) Letters are exchanged between them,
(4) A visit is arranged if possible and desirable
(5) The prisoner spends his home-leave with the family.

In conjunction with the Associate, normally the Probation Officer, they plan, during this period of home-leave, for the man's discharge. They seek suitable employment so that on release he will start work at once, and find suitable accommodation so that there is a definite place to live on the night of discharge, for men still leave prison with a travel warrant and only five to ten shillings in their pockets. Already fifty families up and down the country participate in the scheme.

In discussion of this scheme one is always asked: "Who are these people who take men?" They appear to us to be ordinary people who are interested in their fellows to the degree that they are willing to offer them for a few days the hospitality of their own homes in order to help the offenders to adjust more easily and at this bewildering time to be given some comfort and friendship which otherwise they would be denied. Most of our Friends are family people with children and the vast majority have some knowledge of social work either through the churches or through reading and listening to talks on the problems of the after-care of the prisoner.

At the start of this new venture we suggested to the prisoner that he might like to make use of such a scheme to help him plan for release. The response to this was mixed. He felt a very natural suspicion: "Who are the people? Why do they want to help me?" In many cases there was an immediate refusal even to discuss the possibility of their taking part. It was too tied up with prison and with myself as a prison official to be anything but a racket or a means of "keeping tabs on him" after release. But on reflection the man returned and discussed the scheme in greater detail and the possible benefits he might derive from it.

It was from this uneasy compromise that we made our first approach to the people outside.

In one case only, after the initial correspondence had taken place, the contact proved so unsatisfactory that leave was cancelled, because neither party felt that any good would result from their continued relationship.

At the time of writing, twenty-seven men will have used the scheme in the past eighteen months. These include eleven Corrective Trainees, three Trainable Ordinaries, five ex-Borstal inmates (all were C.T.s at Wakefield) eleven stars (not in prison before, but all convicted) two ex-approved school. It will be seen from the class of offender that all, including the stars, had been in difficulties before, though some for only minor offences. Seven of the group had been married but were either divorced or separated; the remainder were single men. None, when discharge was mentioned, had any fixed ideas or plans. All had resigned themselves to forfeit their home-leave and would have left prison with little hope for their future.

In an assessment of the practical value of the scheme it is too early to be categorical, but we may, perhaps, be permitted to draw some conclusions from the effects we have seen.

During the actual home-leave

period two cases have caused some difficulty. One of the young C.Ts. stole £1 from his host on the day he was to return to the prison. This was reported to me and when he was taxed with the theft he admitted it and wrote a letter to apologise for his lapse. Another man left his leave host after two days and went to a girl-friend who he thought might help him. He returned to his host on the last day of his leave, made his apologies and returned to prison in time. This man was a very sensitive person and had been uncomfortable in accepting this kind and friendly hospitality of his hosts. On discharge this man refused any further assistance and returned to a common lodging house in Manchester in preference to the private lodgings which could have been supplied for him. All twenty-seven men returned from leave on time.

Upon release one of the number left the country and is now teaching on the Continent. The remainder returned to the areas in which their leave had been spent and took up the accommodation and employment that had been found for them. Three of the C.Ts. left the district in a matter of days and disappeared, leaving no trace of their whereabouts. All three got into further difficulties and are now back in prison after having been at liberty only a few weeks. Four others have also been convicted since discharge and are serving further prison sentences. These seven failures are in the main psychopathic personalities and they found it quite impossible to establish any sort of relationship with their leave host. Two left their district after a few months and returned to friends whom they had met at Wakefield prison and subsequently got into trouble again.

The degree of support such a scheme as this affords is insufficient for this type of man who appears to drift back to prison almost willingly. Their only companions seem to be ex-prisoners and their friendship seems to provide a relationship which nothing we offer can equal. The only hope for this class of inadequate person lies in the leave host being a person of great sensitivity and with a great deal of time to give to the case. Normal relations are not enough. These people require constant support and without it collapse almost at once.

However some results have given great encouragement. One young C.T. has been in his work and lodgings for a year, has been promoted at work and is in the process of getting his own flat and furniture. He is in close touch with his host and the support and friendship of the scheme appear to provide the stimuli he needed. Another young C.T. has just completed his licence. This has been a year of almost constant crisis; jobs were thrown up at the slightest pretext, the police were accused of deliberate persecution and threats of violence offered as every fresh difficulty arose. It has been the patience and tact and above all the inherent unselfishness of the host and the Associate that supported this man. It is too early to say if this avoidance of an open clash with authority can last but one can hope that something has been learned and a degree of maturity obtained which would not otherwise have been possible.

The success of the scheme lies in the rapport that is established between host and prisoner. If they are able to talk together and discuss things freely, continuing

even when troubles arise, then they seem to overcome the minor difficulties which can often be the beginning of the road back to prison.

The alcoholic is a problem quite on his own. Three have used the scheme and one has returned to prison after a year of difficulty. Alcoholics are better catered for by Alcoholics Annonymous who have kindly entered the scheme and are maintaining close contact with all men who use it. Their support is given both during leave and on release.

It has been possible, in two cases, to get the ex-prisoner to accept psychiatric treatment after release and, in the case of one, this was accepted by the court as a condition of probation when it was suggested by the leave host, who himself appeared in court.

What the scheme has done so far is infinitesimal. If our main purpose is "to instil in men under our care the will to lead a good and useful life on release and to fit them to do so" then we must depend on individual case work and the devoting of much time to the homeless and inadequate person. For years men are isolated behind walls, living in a setting that is geared to such a slow pace that it seriously hampers their ability to readjust. Yet we talk as if a sentence is something which, *ipso facto*, must be beneficial.

Training is the foundation on which we build, but for what purpose? We isolate men miles from their homes and families. We still give far too few letters; and visits are looked upon as a privilege! After care is the one thing men fear to talk about and we encourage an almost ostrich-like attitude to the problem. The main burden of the after care of those men falls on the voluntary society, much abused nowadays but still the only refuge for hundreds of men on their first night out of prison. They do this neither for profit nor for any suspect motive but because they care for men as individuals and not as cases.

Until we ourselves do better our criticism might well be aimed inwards and not at those who are already giving a service no one else seems to want to tackle unless it be endlessly to discuss or criticise.

This scheme is in some small measure designed to meet a real need. We require far more addresses of willing people to offer hospitality. We need more research into the problem of the man who cannot establish a valuable relationship with his fellow men. Above all we need more careful planning for discharge. Norman House, the new hostel at Liverpool and the Wakefield scheme are small attempts to cope with a very large problem. As long as friendless and inadequate people leave prison uncared for and unwanted they will come back, not because they want us but because it is the only place where security can be found.

. . . .

Merfyn Turner the first Warden of Norman House once said that when a homeless man is discharged from prison he needs four things: Accommodation, money, a job to go to and a friend; and of these four, he added, the last is the most important. If we have learnt nothing else from our work with this scheme, it has confirmed the truth of that statement.

Inmate Participation

Twenty-five years ago

ROBERT M. LAING

WE HEAR A LOT today about Inmate Participation and other techniques designed to improve relationships with our charges. It would be idle to deny that there is often division in our ranks on these topics, or that some of the old certainties are crumbling. Whether you greet it like a New Dawn, or sigh for the days when an order was an order and contained its own justification, you cannot ignore the trend—for in Association, in Workshop and Wing and Sports and T.V. Committees, in Group Counselling, in many sacred fields, the Inmate is Participating as never before.

Or so it would appear. But looking back on 25 years I sometimes wonder what is really new after all. How often is a form of words mistaken for a principle? How often, in the fairyland of theory, is a ripe old pumpkin transformed into a glass coach? For even at Dartmoor, those many years ago, there were human relations and experiences shared—and it was not only prisoners who benefited. For the newly-appointed officer in those days "The Moor" was a tough nut to crack, and his senior colleagues lent precious little weight to his arm. "Find out, the same as I had to," was the trainee's daily bread. At "lectures" too we were stuffed with large indigestible hunks of Standing Orders, and there was one infallible formula for every awkward situation not covered in that august work—it was "at the Governor's discretion."

However, there were also the inmates, and they had their part in the scheme of things. Perhaps I can best illustrate this by relating a little story, from which the reader may extract his own moral.

Accompany me, then, on my first morning's duty at "The Moor." I have been told, with the usual economy of instruction, (Me: "What do I do?"—Senior Officer: "Find out, the same as I had to") that I am in charge of the Slaters' Party. This leaves a pretty wide field unexplained, but at least I know such a party exists, and that I am likely to find it waiting in the yard—which I do. It consists of two men, a tall, ugly one and a short, brisk-looking companion. The latter is plainly not accustomed to being kept hanging about, for as soon as I appear he leads off with a slightly reproachful air towards the F.O.W's office, where they are to receive their instructions. Both are apparently skilled workmen, for the conversation is carried on from both sides with a wealth of confidentiality and a great deal of technical detail. I know something of the trade, but it does not occur to anybody to test this or to put me in the picture at this stage. In fact, they ignore my presence completely—whether out of tact or something less flattering I cannot decide.

I am still mentally juggling with the problems of status involved in all this, when somebody decides he had better at least hand me for safekeeping the pass for the materials issued, and we proceed to the Inner Gate.

Gatekeeper and prisoners exchange laconic informations, ("You're working down at . . . ?" "Yes, that's right, Guv,") and we pass through. I pick up what I can of this, and even begin to square my shoulders a little.

Suddenly, Shorty stops and says, pleasantly but with disconcerting casualness, "You got the keys of the 'bunk', Guv?" I am taken aback. I know that the 'bunk' is the storehouse where tools are kept, and that someone, obviously, must have a key to it. However, Shorty comes to my aid again. "Just go back and ask for key No. 17," he advises.

I hesitate, and the Party waits impassively for the next move. The ball is in my court, so to speak. I return to the gate, where the gatekeeper confirms, with faintly raised eyebrows, that I do in fact require a key, and its number is 17. It was not his business, of course, to tell me so in the first place, and it is clear that he regards me as a bit of an eccentric, and wonders what the Service is coming to these days. I take the key from the glass case pointed out to me, and rejoin my party.

They drift on again, observing the customary rule of silence—but eloquent enough, I have no doubt, in their own way—until, as we draw near the Outer Gate, Shorty remembers my education again.

"You'll need a gun, Guv," he says firmly.

"Oh—will I?"

"That's right, Guv. Just slip over to the Gate Lodge and ask for No. 6 gun and belt."

There is no doubt now that my party's only desire is to have everything done right and according to precedent, and I have no reason for suspecting any other motive. I no longer hesitate, therefore, but go confidently to the Lodge and demand the gun and belt in question. The information is correct, the weapon is duly issued and bestowed about my person in the regulation manner, and off we go again. The initiation, I feel, is complete.

In a moment, however, it dawns on me that something is wrong. Shorty is hanging back, with a stubborn expression. I raise my eyebrows at him.

"Well?"

"What about inspecting the pouch, Guv, to see if the cartridges are all there?"

Deflated again, I oblige him. They are all correct. I snap the pouch shut with an air of finality, rally my forces for one supreme effort to control the situation, but it is no good. So far from being finally reassured, Shorty's face now registers acute apprehension.

"Well, what haven't I done now?"

"Aren't you going to open the breech, Guv, and make sure you haven't got one up the spout?" he asks reproachfully. "Somebody could get hurt".

And only when they are satisfied that I am at last thoroughly conversant with my duties, and no one is in any personal danger from my inexperience, does the Slaters' Party step out contentedly down the road.

"Give us the tools . . ."

GORDON B. HARDEY

A plea for a clearer sense of direction, more staff training and better employer-employee relationships in the Prison Service.

WHILE IT IS A DIFFICULT task to form an accurate estimate of one's individual work-a-day environment, nevertheless students of any Union's history should not evade their responsibilities in this respect; for nobody else could ever really comprehend better than we ourselves what is going on now within the Prison Service. Our very familiarity with the job lays a responsibility on those of us who can use the printed word as a satisfactory medium to survey the past with a constant eye on the present and an occasional glimpse towards the future. However, the majority of us tend to take for granted all that we find in our working lives ignoring the fact that history not only gives us a clue to the present, by helping us to understand how our present situation arose, but also produces a satisfactory basis for comparing those essential differences that must exist between yesterday and to-day. Even to-day most of us never discover what we really think of our work in prisons, except under pressure of necessity. Yet, in the long history of the Prison Officer, conflicts of notable interest will be found at those points where the need of an employee who wanted to emphasise a personal opinion clashed with his duty to the employing body.

No contemporary assessment of a Prison Officer's work, stated in general terms, can ignore the sense of unity given him by his Union, in his private life, his work, and in the broad movements of civil service history. Here I would put in a special plea for a much wider sense of unity—though this may be looking far into the future—embracing everybody who works to help the misfits of our society. However, partisanship is the bugbear here! In consequence, we must be forever defending or attacking where differences of opinion arise, ignoring the plain fact that a bigoted defence of ideals and beliefs in prison reform does not indicate an established confidence in them. This can be taken as an apology in advance; for an argument will be put forward—but without bigotry—regarding what would seem to be a weakness within the present employer-employee relationship. Yet the Prison Officer who criticizes the fixed order should offer his criticism in the knowledge that, as an employee, he belongs to the order in a sense which others, outside

the prison service, do not. He can, consequently, take a few assumptions for granted, for he has a basis of personal commitment which obviously the members of, say, the Howard League for Penal Reform, and others outside the Service, have not.

The employing body has tried to speak in a language which the average employee can be expected to understand and comprehend through media with which they are familiar. Yet, in this matter, on the face of it, the employer does not appear to go deep enough. The various outlines of penal reform, passed down from employer to employee, lack clarity. To obtain understanding and interest from their staff is one thing—but it is entirely another matter to get the employee to respond to what is being conveyed to him to the extent that it "comes alive" sufficiently for him to feel something of the necessity of making up his mind about it. The impersonalisation of relationship between the employer and the employee still continues. There is something humiliating about this—it seems wrong to behave as if it did not matter whether the employee is valued as an individual or not, so long as he is accepted as an integral, though impersonal part, of a system of human relationships larger than himself—the employing body and the man's Union.

The Prison Officer at his work is concerned with the immediate practical outcome of all his actions. This is all of which he is capable under existing working conditions. It is true that in his work he is no longer in charge of prisoners on a treadmill, but this does not mean that any world shattering change for the better has taken place in the mental state of the prisoner who now sits on a bench in a prison workshop. Countless external arrangements in prison life are new, but, deep underneath in the small world where the prisoner is confined and where the prison staff work alongside him—what is new? Greed? Lust? Cruelty? Remorse? Selfishness? Pardon?—Are these new?

We need not stress the remote and now often irrelevant events which embittered other days, but we must rather study why we are still prepared to allow such impersonal relationships to exist. We must alter these long standing artificial habits and critically examine factors in these relationships that were never even considered before and which we are, even now, most reluctant to question. Instinctively, the writer doubts that an ordinary Prison Officer of the basic grade will be able to make the matter plainer or, indeed, very popular, but there are numerous humane considerations which appear so obvious that it ought not and should not be impossible to popularise them. However, as an ordinary basic grade Prison Officer, I must confess that I lack a coherent working hypothesis in the light of which to interpret my mass of facts; and, also, I do not possess an overall picture of the incidence of the factors I purport to be studying.

We may well ask then what stops the great penal reforming ideas of to-day from "coming acutely alive" in the minds of contemporary society? Unless we can dig deep down to the underlying causes of this failure no

attempt to make penal reforms more understandable and interesting will achieve much. It is, perhaps, worth speculating that, if our employers could succeed in understanding this apathy to penal reforms *outside* the Prison Service, they could come to a better understanding of the situation within the ranks of their own staff. It is axiomatic to say that those working in the Prison Service are intelligent people, just as much as those of the general public outside, and are subject to the same influences which condition belief.

To explain even briefly the most recent developments in penal reform is an undertaking which is completely outside the scope of this article. The most immediate impression gained by the basic grade Prison Officer is that of a Babel of often conflicting voices. This Babel seems not only to be confined to the expert and the employing body, or, even, to the various Government Departments but will be found to exist among Prison Officers in their close working relationships and also in their Union activities. Yet it is precisely all these indisciplines which should give the attentive and sympathetic employer a firm assurance of the undeniable vitality of the modern Prison Officer; for criticism, at whatever level, must come to be accepted as one of the necessary aspects of the reformative work we are all trying to do together in our different places.

Clearly, the present situation, if allowed to continue, will benefit no one. The problems must be referred to our employers, who should be able to understand and control the drift to further impersonalisation of relationships by accepting the challenge and seeking to act persistently in face of the realities. They must alter this whole impersonalizing process. If they do this they will be able to tackle the problem in reality and not merely temporise with the symptoms. What this will involve it is impossible to develop in detail; but it has become increasingly difficult for the modern Prison Officer to see the relevance of penal reform to his work. It is not easy for any intelligent employee to feel that he can do much with the guidance of rules and regulations that claim so much, but, in reality, have so little effect.

As a social service, the Prison Service is a "hotchpotch" of good intentions. In the general *melee*, good is undoubtedly being done for many unfortunates; but we all salve our consciences on the good that we are able to do and conveniently forget the good we do not do. And it is the good that we do not do which should be the test of our good intentions. William Booth wrote some seventy years ago: ". . . the rough and ready surgery with which we deal with our social patients recalls the simple method of the early physicians. In social maladies we are still in the age of the blood-letter and the strait waistcoat. The jail is our specific for despair. When all else fails society will always undertake to feed, clothe, warm and house a man, if only he will commit a crime." Of course, to-day, we also "reform" him if only he will commit a crime.

Major Lloyd George, when he was Home Secretary, said: "The members of the Prison Service are highly trained and variously specialised workers in what is, I

repeat, an essential and valuable social service. I want this to be recognised."

Mr. Fred Castell, the Assistant General Secretary of the Prison Officers' Association, has put it on record when he wrote: "Quotations in similar vein could be reeled off almost *ad infinitum*, but, it appears to be very, very doubtful whether these admirable speeches have penetrated to the realm where they might be translated into something practical i.e., the recognition by the Prison Commission that if they are to attract the right type of person into the Prison Service in sufficient numbers to permit the transformation into a social service to be made, they will have to do a lot of basic re-thinking about the conditions under which they hope to employ their social workers."

The Prison Commission must find a sense of direction and the easiest and quickest way is to examine the field of social service and find examples of better employer-employee relationships.

Here is one practical suggestion. After establishment the Prison Officer should be encouraged to study for a diploma in penology. He should be prepared to do this during the first ten years of his service until he is ready to take the vocational examination and so fit himself for promotion. When he obtains this diploma he should be allowed to gain practical experience, if necessary, at a School of Social Study. The diploma should not count for promotion nor should an allowance be payable. It should not take an officer off his normal duties. I will elaborate no further although the idea is so full of possibilities that it simply cries out to be written about; but I must be content with one last paragraph.

Despite all that has been said, it is true to say that the average Prison Officer is so affected by his present general conditions of work that he feels that without some over-zealous personal social purpose, penal reform, so far as he is concerned, must be considered a luxury—something which he prefers to keep to the realms of imagination. Put so crudely the statement seems almost absurd. But, how can the average Prison Officer hope to extract from so multifarious an experience, gained from practical day to day contact with criminals in penal custody, any common factor at all? Where, among the differing opinions that separate groups of interested parties proffer, can any clear cut pattern of thought appear, which will give the answer to his dilemma. To unfold large potentialities with insufficient local resources and to redress the abuses, which have already established themselves in every sphere of penal work, seems an almost impossible task. Yet, it is noteworthy that in every case where some measure of stability has been gained, the Prison Officer has been prepared to meet his commitments to his employer (and to society at the end of it all) and to play his part. This experience is common to all prison staffs. So, if the Prison Officer finds it hard at times to determine exactly what the employer (and society too for that matter) requires of him, he is not alone in his perplexity.

Group Counselling at Pollington

MICHAEL BIRD

In our last issue we reprinted an article from the Daily Telegraph *and* Morning Post *which gave an account of the use of Group Counselling methods at H. M. Borstal, Pollington, from the viewpoint of an outside observer. The article printed below deals with the same subject but was written by a borstal officer who has been engaged in this work at Pollington.*

AFTER THREE YEARS' experience of Group Counselling at Pollington I am writing these notes on the subject which I hope may be helpful to officers who probably will be taking up work in this sphere in the future.

I am dividing this article into two parts. Firstly, the introduction of Group Counselling to borstal inmates here and, secondly, my own impressions.

When Pollington re-opened as a borstal in 1957 two changes were made from the old borstal. Firstly, the Mannheim-Wilkins Prediction System was introduced to select good "risks" and, secondly, Group Counselling was introduced. The aim of Group Counselling is to encourage inmates to discuss their problems and difficulties in a group in order that they may perhaps have a clearer indication of where they went wrong and to use this information for the benefit of other group members. These sessions at Pollington take the form of three 1½-hourly sessions per fortnight. The whole institution is covered by twelve Counselling Groups run by thirty-three staff members.

The Pollington system is modified from the American Correctional Association whose handbook "An Introduction to Group Counselling" by Norman Fenton, Ph.D., has become the standard textbook available to the Prison Service. From a handful of these textbooks and twenty lads the Pollington system, as we know it to-day, has developed.

As time passed and the number of inmates grew, it soon became apparent that the small number of pioneers would be insufficient to cope with the heavy group programme. Therefore Staff Study Groups were formed consisting of the Governor, Housemasters and officers who were interested. These groups are now divided into two which meet for approximately 1½ hours each week to discuss techniques and problems. The importance of this internal training cannot be over-emphasised for unless the Counsellor understands the psychological make-up of the inmates with whom he is dealing he cannot tackle his task with any degree of confidence.

Part of the Pollington staff have been very fortunate in being able to attend a series of lectures by Mr. Ottaway, M.A., B.Sc., of the University of Leeds, entitled "Group Psychology". These lectures have given us a far greater insight into our subject than any textbook and a further

series of lectures have been arranged during the Autumn term.

When told that Group Counselling was to be introduced, I with the majority of the officers looked upon this as just another brainwave of the Commissioners which would be a further encroachment on officers' free time. Therefore when I was asked if I would take part in Group Counselling it was with a considerable lack of self-assurance that I accepted. I felt this was not a subject that one could take up without considerable staff training and failed to see how this training could be carried out under institutional conditions. Gradually, after many initial mistakes and misgivings I found myself taking my group with a much greater degree of confidence.

The Group Counsellor will find through bitter experience, however, that he will not be able to conduct a 90 minute session of "all good group stuff". He will find, instead, a great deal of resistance and hostility from the group either towards himself or the authority he represents, or towards other lads in the group. This takes the form of long silences, stupid irrelevant remarks, attempts to turn the conversation into any channel but where the leader intends. The leader must not ignore these diversions however, but in a tactful way must try and guide the flow of conversation along suitable lines. Attempts will be made into making the Group Counsellor give "Yes" or "No" answers; these questions should be avoided. Attempts will also be made to discuss the leaders' domestic affairs or to play off one officer or department against another. Questions will be asked about the thousand and one happenings which go to mak up a lad's daily life. Thes questions, again, must be con sidered by the leader, as man have a hidden meaning which, probed, may have considerabl bearing upon the lad's problems Alternatively the answer to man questions is already known to th lad, or matters are raised to whic the answer must be sought in different sphere, i. e., Governor's applications, etc., are not within the scope of the counselling session.

Sometimes after a busy day and a difficult counselling session in the evening I have returned home feeling tired and depressed and wondering if this is all worth while. Alternatively there have been occasions when my group and I have really been able to get to grips with things and at these times I have felt quite elated. I think there is a great difference between compulsory Group Coun selling for borstal inmates and voluntary Group Counselling by the intellectuals of the prisons as practised at Wakefield. Prisoners, I would think, are more apt to be set in their ways and ideas, but the minds of lads between the ages of 16 and 21 years are much more easily moulded along the right lines.

To offset this, however, while a percentage of lads genuinely enjoy their group work, a percentage take part in groups only because they see this as a method of obtaining an early release and a percentage are the inhibited characters who find it most difficult to talk about themselves or on any subject. (The latter are the lads who I consider derive the most benefit from group sessions.) Lastly, there is a minority who

hate and detest Group Counselling in all its forms and only attend sessions because they have to, using their time to try and disrupt and disorganise the group.

The Group Counsellor must not be deluded into thinking all the brains are on his side of the fence as both borstal and prison inmates make very good amateur psychologists and can put forward excellent arguments to justify their past mode of living and misdemeanours.

After giving this a great deal of thought I would perhaps think that three 1½-hourly sessions per fortnight are too long and three one hourly sessions would suffice. I would also think that ten inmates plus a group leader is an admirable working number and except for training purposes there should never be more than one officer attached to a group. Also if this officer is on leave the group should discontinue their sessions until his return.

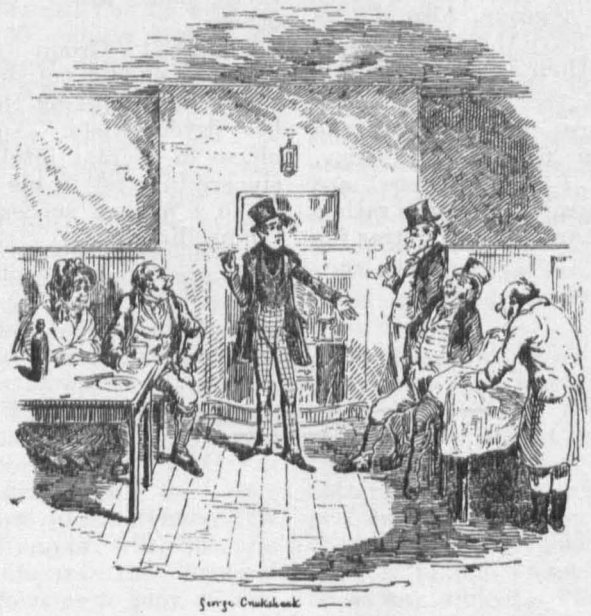
There are many textbooks available on Group Psychology. Personally I find these are difficult to read as they are rather 'stuffy' and are perhaps better for reference only. Staff Study Groups and Training Groups by experts of Mr. Ottaway's calibre are of much more value I would think. We have also been fortunate in that Mr. Morrison, Principal Psychologist at Wormwood Scrubs has been visiting Pollington each month for the past year and his technical knowledge and advice have proved extremely useful.

It may never be accurately estimated what value Group Counselling has in the training and rehabilitation of borstal inmates. On comparing the old Pollington system with the present one, I am convinced there is a lessening of tension in the institution not only between inmates and inmates but between staff and inmates. Secondly, through Group Counselling many lads have for the first time in their lives given thought for others.

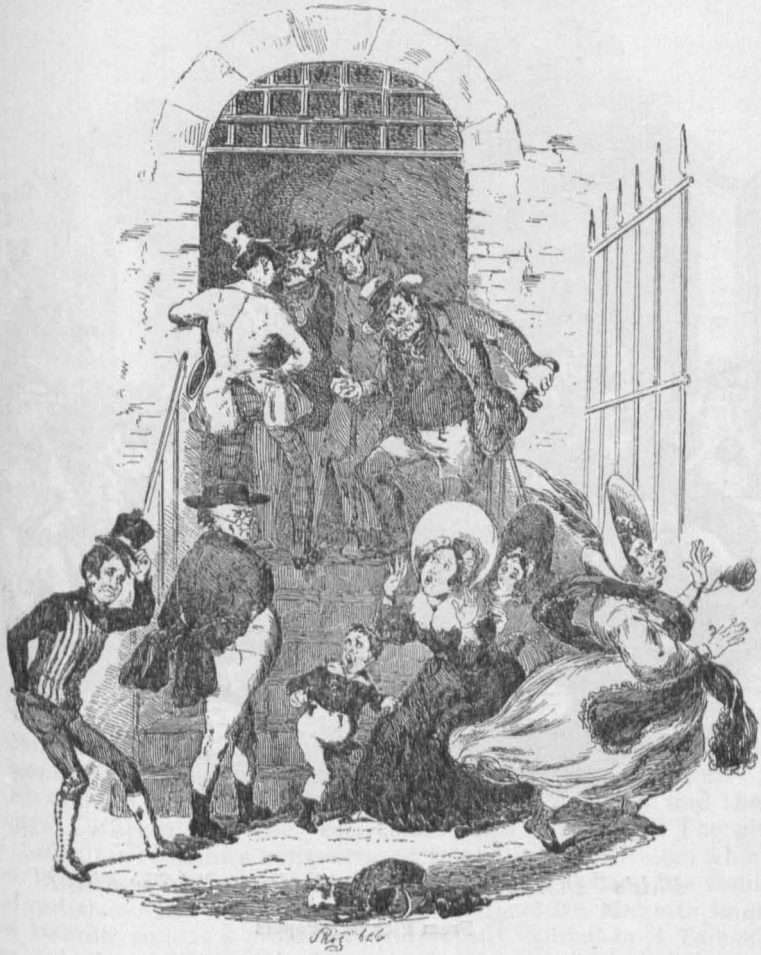
Potential Group Counsellors however, should not delude themselves into thinking they have to be psychiatrists. Any mature officer of average intelligence and sincere interest in his subject can make a modest success of Group Counselling.

Dickens and Prisons (2)

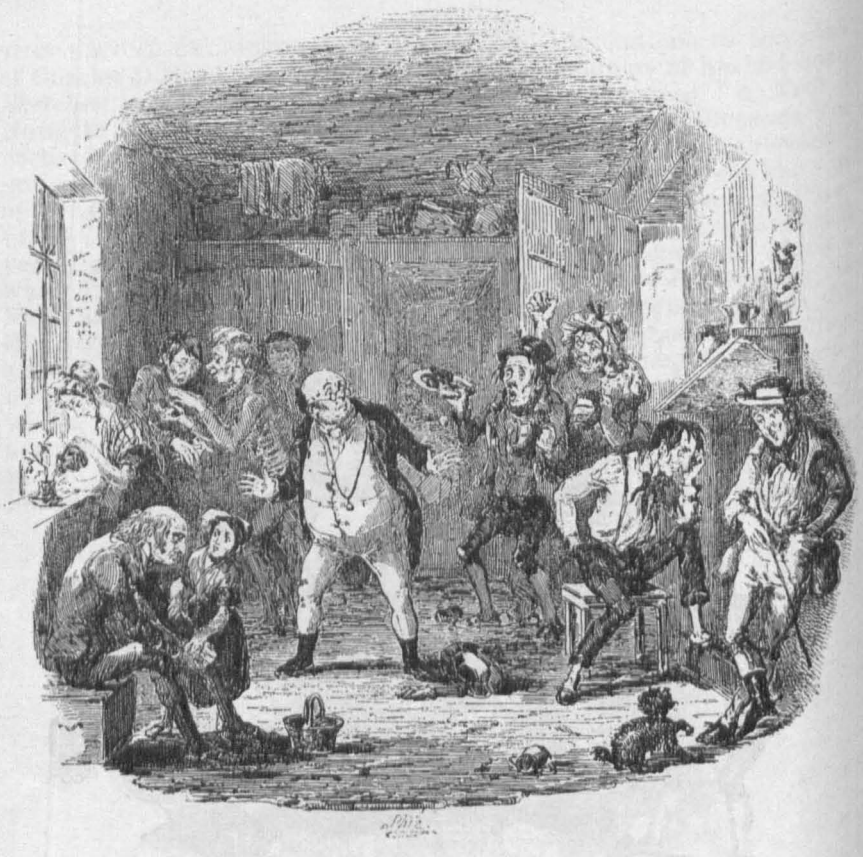
THIS SECOND SELECTION from the original illustrations to the works of Charles Dickens draws on both his earliest and one of his last books. *Sketches by Boz*, the earliest, contains his celebrated "A Visit to Newgate". Unfortunately George Cruikshank did not illustrate that particular sketch and the picture reproduced here, although relevant to our subject, is not one of his best. The other four pictures are the work of Phiz (H. K. Browne) who, beginning with the *Pickwick Papers* (1836-7) was to continue to illustrate Dickens' work for the next 20 years; *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) being the last novel on which he was employed. The intrusion into the latter half of a comedy like Pickwick of some grim prison scenes deserves comment. Even in this, the gayest of his works, Dickens was unable to forget his childhood anguish and humiliation during his father's imprisonment. But there is no oppressive misery about these passages and the material is skilfully woven into the plot. It was Edmund Wilson, the American critic, who first pointed out that during the months of Mr. Pickwick's imprisonment in the Fleet where a good many of the other characters in the story joined him, the whole book "deepens with a new dimension of



Cruikshank's "In the Lock-Up House" (Cursitor Street, Chancery Lane)
From Sketches by Boz

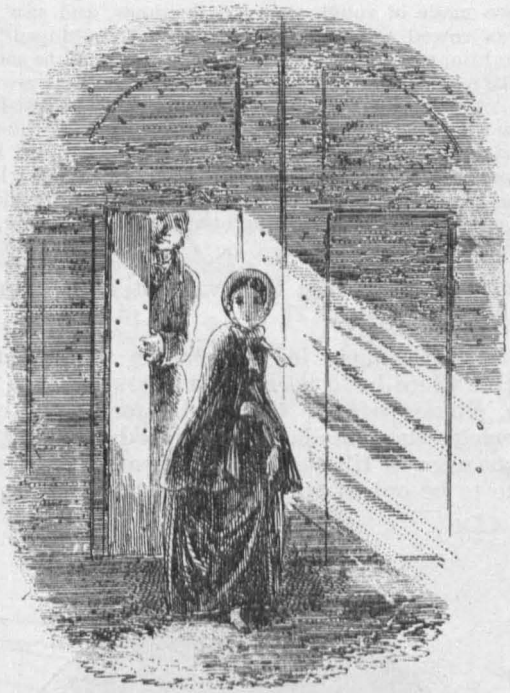


Phiz's "Mrs. Bardell encounters Mr. Pickwick in the Prison"
(The Fleet)
From Pickwick Papers



Phiz's "Discovery of Jingle in the Prison" (The Fleet)

From Pickwick Papers



Phiz's "Little Dorrit Emerging from the Prison"
(The Marshalsea)
From Little Dorrit

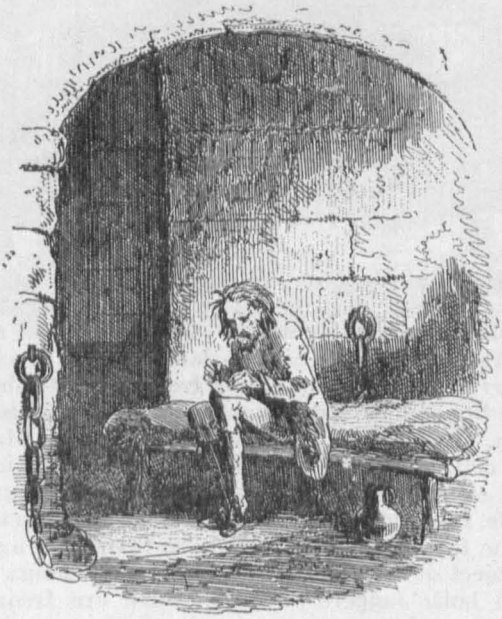
seriousness". Incidentally Sam Weller's comment on the subject of imprisonment is apposite even to-day: "I'll tell you wot it is, Sir; them as is alvays a idlin' in public houses it don't damage at all, and them as is alvays a workin' wen they can, it damages too much". The picture from *Little Dorrit* shows her emerging from the gate through which the young Dickens himself passed many times when visiting his family in the Marshalsea. The subject of the next picture, Dr. Manette immured in his Bastille cell, is a profoundly important symbol in *A Tale of Two Cities* which, significantly, Dickens originally intended to entitle *Recalled to Life*. In *Great Expectations*, his last complete novel but one, published in the following year, he was to turn once again for the last time to the subject of imprisonment. The convict Magwitch is a central character; and both Jaggers and Wemmick are frequent visitors to Newgate, accompanied on one occasion by the hero of the novel, Pip. As no illustration is available it may not be inappropriate to conclude with one of Dickens' brilliant word pictures from that novel. It is his description of the recaptured Magwitch being returned aboard the Hulk in the Medway.

"The boat had returned, and his guards were ready, so we followed him to the landing-place made of rough stakes and stones, and saw him put into the boat, which was rowed by a crew of convicts like himself. No one seemed surprised to see him, or interested in seeing him, or glad to see him, or sorry to see him, or spoke a word, except that somebody in the boat growled as if to dogs, 'Give way you!' which was the signal for the dip of the oars. By the light of the torches, we saw the black Hulk lying out a little way from the mud of the shore, like a wicked Noah's Ark. Cribbed and barred and moored by massive rusty chains, the prison-ship seemed in my young eyes to be ironed like the prisoners. We saw the boat go alongside, and we saw him taken up the side and disappear. Then, the ends of the torches were flung hissing into the water, and went out, as if it were all over with him".

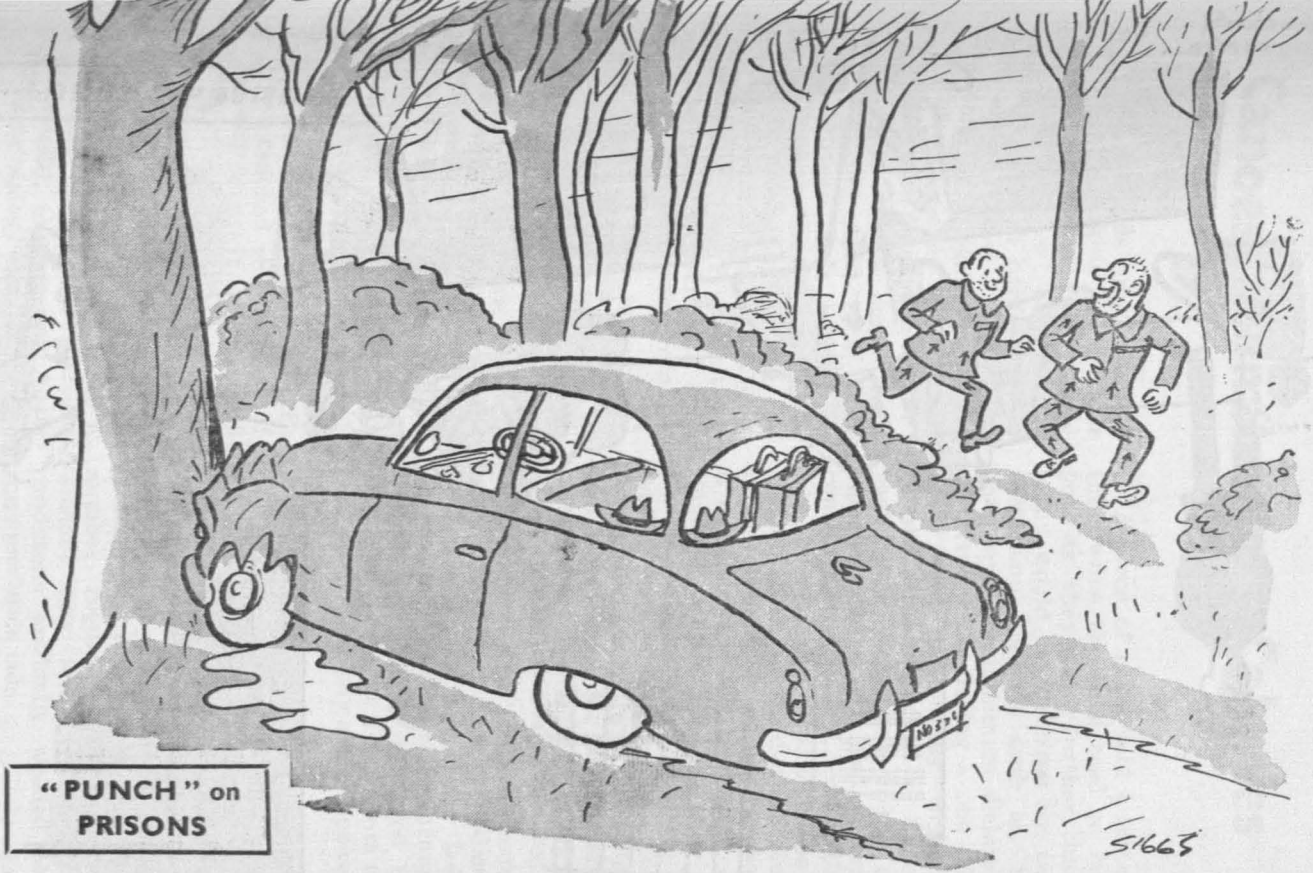
In the case of Abel Magwitch this was not, as it happened, the end; but for many like him it was.

It has not been our object in reproducing these pictures to induce complacency. But there have been great changes since the days when Dickens wrote. Some part of the credit for those changes — more considerable perhaps than has been recognised — should go to this man who never forgot even in the days of his greatest success and affluence what it felt like to be one of society's outcasts; and never lost the gift of indignation.

G.H.



Phiz's "Dr. Manette in his cell"
(The Bastille)
From A Tale of Two Cities



"She's kept her promise—here's the get-away car."

"PUNCH" on PRISONS

"We can never get him interested in our break-out plans"

Canoes, Canals and Calories

A GROUP of lads in Rochester Borstal were talking about their experiences. One said: "We should have trained harder"; another: "It taught us to work harder"; and a third added: "Now I know what they mean by stickability." What was the experience which drew such comments from such lads?

The story begins some three months before April 20th, 1960, when thirteen lads and three members of the staff set out from Bristol to cross England via the Avon, the Kennet and Avon Canal, and the Thames. It took them over a week, but there had been some hard work in the preceding thirteen.

Any lad who wished to try for this canoeing venture had to be in good health, he had to be a senior training grade (or to reach that grade a month before the trip started) and he had to be a satisfactory member of his working party. Character and health hazards past, he must be able to swim, to have passed an eight-week camp craft course and be attending voluntary gym at least once a week in addition to the ordinary P.E. and have reached the standard of a "black" circuit in circuit training.

There are many classes in any borstal, but the lad who wanted to travel from Clifton Suspension to Westminster Bridge had to be a satisfactory member of seamanship, first-aid, photography, boat-building or biology classes.

"A piece of cake" said a few of them when they had read so far, but, as they read further, how many would be deterred by the increasing demands such as "to have covered a minimum distance of fifteen miles during a one day hike, over moderately difficult country and carrying a loaded pack", and "complete a circuit of one-and-a-quarter miles obstacle course, carrying a load equal to the size and weight of a loaded canoe". This means one-and-a-quarter miles in about nine minutes—and a loaded canoe can weigh three-hundred pounds. Each would-be member of the expedition would have to receive basic canoe training on land and in water and spend two nights camping on different sites plus a minimum distance of thirty miles by canoe in one day.

A final complete medical check-up by the Institution's Medical Officer and the successful lads would be ready for the journey, that is, if they had managed to save from earnings a minimum of ten shillings towards pocket money.

The Housemasters had received the applications by the middle of January and preparations had begun. All the thirty-four prospective candidates engaged in canoe construction and clothing manufacture. The selection of the final number required was achieved without any fuss because the conditions gradually weeded out the unsuitable lads.

What of the trip itself? Did it really teach them to work together? The bare facts of the trip were that eight double canoes left Bristol on April 20th and reached Westminster on April 27th. They travelled up the Avon to Bath and transferred there to the canal. They travelled the length of this navigation negotiating 108 locks by portage. They joined the Thames at Reading and worked their way down to Westminster Bridge landing at the Festival Hall. The official report adds: "The expedition remained entirely self-sufficient throughout the journey"; there is also mention of "arduous conditions, especially in the numerous lock portages," but it is added, "morale remained at a high level throughout." Behind these rather cold phrases lies the story of a few days' adventure, a story we can piece together from entries in the daily log of the leader, Mr. Peter Antwis, tutor organiser at the Institution.

On the coach travelling from Rochester to Bristol it was quite remarkable how little the conversation concerned the coming trip. "If these boys are like this on their first day that they are discharged," thought Mr. Antwis, "it is obvious that we give them next to nothing in the way of real social training." Several of them "gawped" at every female they passed and were generally rather childish. Some of the others followed a pattern of silliness for a while, but most gradually settled down to sleeping and singing to while away the time.

Once in Bristol a small party went down to a lock on the feeder canal to investigate the starting point of the trip. It seemed obvious that most of the boys thought they were going to canoe for a while each day and then go out each evening to whichever cafe that happened to be available. There was a good deal of small talk that night, but little of it seems to have been about the forthcoming trip. On the day of departure breakfast was early and was cooked on the stoves out in the open courtyard of the University Settlement in Bristol where they had spent the night. Several members of crews tried to have scratch breakfasts, but were made to light their stoves and get down to serious business. Once the lorry came and was loaded they were off on their way to the lock. Despite all the training many of the boys were astounded by the weight of their loaded canoes and experienced some difficulty in getting them on to the water. They lifted them very daintily and eased them very gently down the bank. The journey went very smoothly from Bristol to Bath and each lock was opened for them and they passed along without incident, noting in passing that Bath was surprisingly uninspiring from the river, looking rather drab. After some difficulty they transferred to the Kennet and Avon Canal in the outskirts of the town. Of the three local people who were asked for guidance not one had any idea of the existence of the canal, and one recommended that the party catch the next train to Devizes where he was sure they would find something in the way of a canal because he had heard that they had races on it every year.

The first day brought its troubles when the party discovered a course of feeder locks, at the same time finding out that these locks did not work and had not been

opened for several years at least. The lads and the officers staggered rather than climbed up the hill with the loaded canoes past this ladder of nine locks. It may be interesting to note at this point that the boats, obviously the most important part of the non-human material of a trip like this began to give trouble at this early stage. First of all through an accident when one of the boats was rammed leaving a gaping hole in the side of the hull. These boats are fibre-glass canoes and one of them was three years old, but had been given a new hull canvas and a general overhaul before the trip. This was rather a heavy boat but was needed because it was roomy enough to carry the many extra items of kit needed by the leader. Two smaller canoes were used as well. All three boats proved to be extremely robust and stood up well to the strain of the many lifts or "portages" as these somewhat arduous movements are called by the experts. Although the boats were heavily laden they were often dropped into the water from the locks, slithered across grass and concrete and generally illtreated; they are remarkably stable and yet have a good turn of speed which can be maintained over long distances.

Each day on a trip of this kind brings its own problems, sometimes it was a mishap with the boats, sometimes a practical problem over a difficult portage, but the trip had its compensations and all the members of the party were impressed by the tranquil air of the canals and the somewhat derelict and out-of-this-world look about the canal countryside. "The lock-keeper" says Mr. Antwis in his report, "still lives in his cottage at the top of the hill; he was quite friendly but not at all concerned with the locks. He could not even be persuaded to leave his kitchen because he wanted to keep an eye on his television. He told me however that none of the locks here or on the rest of the canal would be in working order." Sometimes a stretch of three quarters of a mile could contain a ladder of nine empty locks and the only way in which the party could pass this obstacle was to take up each canoe singly with its kit and then come back for the next one. During this time it became noticeable how three lads were real morale boosters and had done ten times as much work as anyone else, whereas two others were so useless they were a great hindrance to the party. What appears to have been the worst morning was on the first Friday, a couple of days after starting when the morning light showed an endless stretch of twenty-nine locks climbing up and up over the hill to Devizes. Some of the party hunted up local transport and avoided the prospect ahead by paying for their canoes to be carried round by road. Most others, however, determined to cover the ground without assistance, somehow or other, reached Devizes without undue incident. Here, overlooking the vale of Pewsey, the scenery was very beautiful and the party rested for a while. Later that day Severnake Tunnel provided another experience for the canoe party. This tunnel is over half a mile long and inside it is too dark even to see the water or the paddles, but all the time in front of the canoes was a small but growing circle of daylight at the other end. This rather eerie atmosphere and the fact that they

were pursued at the entrance by a hostile swan left the party somewhat impressed by this day's activities. These swans, in the mating season, put on what is called a "display" and can be rather frightening as they thrash up fifty yards or so to the back of the canoe and then noisily splash themselves down on the water again. This part of the journey was probably the hardest. They were not making terrific distances but were still travelling too hard to enjoy the scenery. At the beginning of each day they cursed the slavery of each lock portage; as the day drew on they had not the energy to curse but just to climb out and heave and sweat over each boat and hope that it would be the last. It was at this stage that Mr. Antwis noted that the boys were standing up to the effort well and he describes a typical incident at the end of the day when "a canoe had been hauled up a very arduous lock and when the boys got themselves and the canoe to the other side, they found that the drop into the water was very nearly perpendicular. Without any more ado they very quietly and definitely held the canoe out over the drop and let it down on to the water with an almighty splash. They capped this by they themselves dropping from the top of the lock gate straight into their canoeing posts in the canoe, and carrying on as unconcernedly as if they had just done it for the first time".

By now, conversation was far from the free and easy anticipation of a good time that it had been when they were at Bristol. They were now often thinking about the training which they had undergone. Most boys were of the opinion that they had got a false impression of their physical fitness from the results of their circuit training tests. These had shown them able to give considerable output for twenty minutes but the boys generally felt that every day so far had been a circuit training session over and over and over again every single hour of the day. Once the canal was negotiated the memory of the locks must soon have faded once the party approached Reading and so through to the Thames. And so eventually to Westminster.

Apart from the lads' own observations about training harder, working together and stickability what other conclusions can be drawn from a trip of this kind? There are practical points dealing with the food and equipment and here Mr. Antwis's comments may be useful to people who may wish to plan some activities on the lines of the canoeing venture. In the training period candidates had studied long lists of food values, giving them details about everything from apples, with a calory value of 50 when fresh, baked, or stewed, or 250 in an apple pie, right through the alphabet via bacon, cabbage, dates, eggs, figs and so on to sultanas with 80 calories and turnips with 30; and the lads had been told that their daily intake must include at least half a pint of milk, a good helping of meat, fish, eggs or cheese and fresh vegetables and fruit. They had been told that bread and potatoes have high calorie values but provide little lasting energy. Such foods and all food containing flour, they were told, should be eaten in small quantities and the calorie total of 2,500 calories per day should be made up of other foods. During

their instructional period they were also given a collection of detailed recipes including such things as curry, macaroni cheese, savoury omelette, apple charlotte. Mr. Antwis mentions that the Outward Bound and Ministry of Education courses use victuals on the same basis but the monotony is relieved by the hot meals which their trainees are able to have each time they return to base every three days or so. The borstal lads had no such breaks and it was noticeable that ingenuity in devising dishes flagged after a few days, and bacon, eggs, porridge and stew became the main cooked dishes. The recommended amounts of milk and bread were not nearly sufficient and they soon fell into a daily routine of buying fresh milk and bread to supplement rations. Mid-day meals were a special problem, crews seldom seeming to want much more than bread, butter and cheese with dried fruit afterwards. Forms of dried vegetables would have been an invaluable addition.

The financial aspect of such victualling appears somewhat unrealistic on its present basis and it must be accepted that normal boys and normal adults eat more food in a day than can be bought for two shillings. In addition it must also be accepted that fuel for cooking, a means of lighting after dark, detergents for cleaning purposes and innumerable small items that are absolutely essential to health and cleanliness cannot possibly be bought out of money that is provided by the official standards.

Concerning kit and equipment the past experiences of the groups stood them in good stead. On the question of clothing it was found that borstal issue clothes were quite unsuitable for these activities; they were thick and consequently rather difficult to dry when they got wet. General camping equipment was based on needs calculated by past experiences and proved adequate. Their experiences forced them to agree canoe camping bore no similarity to the tricks and dodges connected with Eskimo Rolling and Slalom tactics. It is a constant attempt to cover distance and remain fed, dry and well-slept. The boats themselves were fast and highly manoeuvrable, classed as sports touring canoes equally suited to beginner and experienced canoeist. Heavily laden they are very stable and ride well in rough water. These fibre glass canoes are very easy to repair in a permanent fashion and the most serious damage can be made as good as new, the skin suffering none of the usual snags associated with canvas. It is thought that the fibre glass canoes will be found ideal by anyone who wants to take up canoeing and does not want to be unduly bothered about maintenance. The other canoes were clad in Tufskin and this took terrific punishment without suffering any damage. Minor abrasions of the skin did eventually cause some seepage of water, but the party was entirely free from the irritating tears and snags which are commonplace with ordinary canvas hulls.

Even some months after this was all over and some of the boys had been discharged from borstal, those remaining were still very enthusiastic about the trip. Not only had they enjoyed it very much, but they maintained that they had learnt a great deal from it.

M. W.

Consumer Reports

We reproduce in the following pages two contrasting accounts of experience in our prisons in recent years.
The first consists of extracts from an article first published in Encounter *for May* 1958. *The pseudonym J. F. N.* 1797 *concealed the identity of Mr. Frank Norman and the article consisted of excerpts from a larger work which was subsequently published by Messrs. Secker & Warburg under the title "Bang to Rights" at* 15*s.* 0*d.*
The second is an article published in the Walthamstow Guardian *for* 29*th July* 1960. *The identity of prisoner* 15480 *has not been revealed.*
We are indebted to Mr. Frank Norman, Messrs. Secker & Warburg and to Encounter *for permission to reprint the first article; and to Prisoner* 15480 *and the Editor and publishers of the* Walthamstow Guardian *for permission to reprint the second.*

"CORRECTIVE TRAINING"

An Unofficial Report

J. F. N. 1797

"THE PRISON COMMISSIONERS have come to the conclusion that you will benifit from a period of corrective training; this is also the opinion of this court. I therefor sentence you to three years C.T. in the hope that you take advantage of all that will be done for you."

The screw touched my arm and I turned around and walked down the stairs to the cells under the court. As I came along the passage leading from the court to the cells a screw shouted.

"One lagging C.T."

The princeable officer, who was sitting at his desk at the end of the passage nodded his head and recorded the sentence in his book.

That was how it started, and now it is over, and I am out again. I am corrected.

"Alright you get in the second peter on the right, theres two more in there to keep you company, till the meatwaggon arrives. You go to Wandsworth O.K. in."

"Just a minute," I spluttered. "Has my bird showed up yet?"

"GO ON IN", he shouted.

"Will you try and see if she's here?" I asked.

"No I can't what do you think I'v nothing to do all day but chase after your f . . . bird, not that I would mind that . . . "

As he was still rabiting the P.O. came walking along the passage. As he walked past I called to him. He was an oldish man and I expect he had been in the prison service for many years and new every answer in the book.

"Yes son what can I do for you?" He asked quite kindly for a screw.

"I just wonder if you could find out if my bird has showed up yet? Her name is Miss Billie Dixon."

"Alright son", he said and turned and walked away.

I went into the peter while the screw stood looking daggers at me. The door swung shut locking it's self as it did so automaticaly, which is I believe perculiar only to the nick. The two other chaps in the peter were a spook and some geezer, who as he told me about two seconds later, had been captured on a blag down the west. So when we got swaged into the meatwagon I asked another geezer the strength of him, and the strength was that he'd got nicked for ponceing off his old woman who was a brass on the game down the Baze. He was still shouting the odds about this blag, which was as I have said nothing but a dirty great romance, when the screw opened the door and called me out telling me to folow him.

I asked him what for and if my bird had shown.

"Yes she's here and you can see her for ten minutes, and THAT'S ALL!"

So I folowed him along another passage and up some stone steps. As I walked, I felt that feeling of fear mixed with misery; fear because no thief and tearaway shows any emotion just because he has got a capture, and has got a lagging to do, all he does is say b . . . to the law and the prison chaplain is an old c . . . I felt the tears welling up inside me. God please do'nt let me cry. By this time we had reached the visiting room and there was Billie.

"Hello Darling," she said.

I could'nt say a word I just looked at her and looked away again.

Now then Frankie boy, this is'nt what a tearaway does, come on your a villain not a sniveller.

"How yer going sweety pie?" I grinned and then fell silent, as I just didn't know what to say. In fact I was so scared to say anything else in case the words choked me.

"Oh my Darling, I love you so much I'll wait for ever and . . . "

I can't stand much more of this. Can she see that tear in my eye? Come on boy do your stuff, here goes.

"Now listen to me, I dont want you to wait I'm going to be gone a long time and it's best we scrub it right now".

"ALRIGHT TIMES UP!"

"Can I kiss him goodbye," asked Billie.

"O.K. but make it quick, the meatwaggon's waiting outside."

I closed my eyes as I felt her lips on my'n, so soft and warm. How many times had we kissed like this, a thousand times a thousand, but never like this. It suddenly came to me in a flash that this was the end, I had a lagging to do. Tomorrow when I wake up I'll be in a peter somewhere in Wandsworth all on my jack. Did she know then that this was to be the last time that I would hold her in my arms like this? I like to think that she did not know.

I was amazed to find myself begging her to wait for me. What had happened to the hard case?

"Darling I love you more than anything in the world, I just couldn't do this without you, please wait for me I'll all ways love you, as long as I live."

The screw shouted again and so we parted. I was lead back along the same passage, but this time I was told to take the second turning on the right, which I found led out into the yard at the back of the court. The meat waggon was waiting to take me to Wandsworth. Everyone else was already inside and I was the last one.

. . . .

Eventually after a lot of messing about I had a call up and was told that I would be going to Chelmsford prison, the next day . . .

Chelmsford Nick is not as large as the nicks in London, but it smells much worse, the peter I was put in had a large brown patch on the wall where, whenever it rained, water came in with remarkable ease considering the wall was built of solid stone.

Although this nick was easier to get along in as the disapline was not quite so strickly administered, and one could also get away with more in conciquence. The morning after my arrival I was called up to see the Governor. When I arrived in his office I went through all the same game as before, name, number, sentence, etc. I was put to work in the mailbag shop, that afternoon it is said that prisoners doing C.T. are not suposed to sew mailbags except whilest on punishment, as this is a very soul-destroying job. The reason being we are not in prison to have our souls destroyed but corrected. This of course does not happen very often as nobody very much wants to be corrected, in any case the people who are supposed to be showing us the light, are just not capable of doing so. What is more they know that they are incapable I have asked more than one screw about this matter of correction and I have been told not to talk so bloody silly, or else answeres like (i.e.) What do you think I am, a bleeding probation officer or some thing. I could not agree more? no man can correct another while there is this feeling of distrust between jailer and convict and until this barrier can be removed, there will remaine this feeling of dispondance on one side and hate and fear on the other.

. . . .

Corrective training was an invention which was invented by a bodey of geezers, in the Home Office, when they brought out the new criminal justice act, when ever that was. When they had got it all nicely written down on paper, they handed it to the Home Secretary who presented it to the house. And they made a law, it was then handed to the prison commissioners who handed it down to the prison governors, who in their turn told the chief officers about it and they told the princeable officers, who ordered the screws to carry it out. This is all very nice except the only difference is they havent got the first iden what it's all about. And in any case could'nt care less. The other people who are told all the ins and outs of it are the judges and magestrates, and now that it has been going for about ten years or so, they are beginning to under-

stand what it is all about. But this does'nt stop them from giveing it to geezers who it is'nt going to help.

. . . .

It was getting near to the time of my discharge, not near enough for me to worry about it to much, but near enough for the governor's to start asking me all the same old questions that they had asked me when I had first got my bird. One day I got a call up for the quack I had the usual wait and then he called me into his office.

"Well Wilson it wont be long now before you go out, have you thought about what you are going to do?"

The quack wasn't a bad geezer, and I quite liked him even though he was universaly hated by one and all, the reason for this was his sense of humor which was very corstic, when you went sick, he nearly always made some dry remark which would make you go potty, because you had no deffence against it, but even so I quite liked him. So I desided to talk to him and see what happened.

"I don't know yet sir; and that's the trueth."

"You must have some idea, are you going screwing as soon as you get out?"

"No sir."

"What then?"

"Do you mind if I speak frankly sir?"

"Not at all," said the quack, "I wish you would."

"Well you asked me what I am going to do when I get out. This is supposed to be corrective training at least that is what the judge said when he sentenced me. This being the case when I came here I expected something, I don't know what, but something. The two years that I have done I might just as well have done in an ordinary nick. I have been cheated and I'll tell you why. If you become eligable for C.T. that is when you have done three or more inditeable offences on your record, the prison commissioners then deside wether or not you will beniffite from a period of this corrective training. If they deside that you will and they usualy do, you will nearly always get it, no matter what the crime is you have commited wether it is big or small. Also it does'nt matter how long you have been out of trouble you are still just as likely to get it as a geezer who only got out of nick the day before. Now then, once they have desided wether or not they think you will benifite from it, you go to court. For arguments sake let us say there is two geezers and one has got done for a comparatively minor crime, stealing a bottel of milk off some ones door step, and the other geezer has got nicked for a serious crime like nicking a lorrie load of wiskey. The geezer who has nick the bottel of milk has been recommended for C.T. and the geezer who nicked the lorrie load of wiskey has'nt. So the milk bottel geezer goes into the dock and the judge tell's him that he is going to give him a chance, he then sentences him to three or maybe four years C.T. Then the lorrie load of wiskey geezer goes into the dock and the judge tells him that he is going to deal with him very servely, and send's him to prison for two years. This all sound's very nice except the difference between Corrective Training and ordinary bird is none egsistant.

"The question I asked you," said the quack "was what are you

going to do when you get out."

(I don't think this barstard heard a word I said.)

"I told you I don't know yet what I'm going to do."

"Alright that's all, you can go now; but think thing's over, the next time you get into any trouble you'll get a very long time and don't make any mistake about that."

"No sir I wont forget."

I got up and walked out, and that was it, always the same, they ask you what you think about thing's, so you tell them and they always get the needle.

NEW FACE ON THE PRISON STORY

Man who 'went down'—then and now

Prisoner 15480

Earlier this month a 45-year-old Chingford man came out of gaol after his third—and what he promises will be his last—term in prison. "I didn't suffer at all during my stay in prison, but my wife and son did," says this former R.A.F. gunner. "There have been some tremendous changes in prisons over the years. I had a pretty easy time of it. But the neighbours were pretty hard on my family. I wouldn't want them to go through that again."
Just how easy a time Prisoner 15480 had this time—he prefers to remain anonymous because of repercussions on his family—can be seen from his story, told to reporter Tony Snow. But as you can see prisons are still not that good.

FOR THE THIRD TIME in my life the black iron doors of one of Her Majesty's prisons clanged shut behind me. I had spent my 21st birthday in the Scrubs during a four-month term inside for rifling a cigarette machine in 1935, six months in Pentonville just after the war for stealing a raincoat—and now I was beginning yet another term.

I was in Pentonville again for a "spur of the moment" wages snatch in a Lyons tea shop. The temptation had been just too much. I had been out of work for five months. I was in debt. I had a bag and a shopping list in my pocket and I had just tried unsuccessfully to borrow money from a friend in Wanstead to pay for the provisions.

The only vacant seat in the tea shop was right next to the cashier's desk and as I sat there she stacked up piles of notes and put them into a wallet. I decided to have it—but it didn't come off. I was caught.

Now I was in Pentonville (the 'ville) again and I wouldn't be seeing the outside for six months—or so I thought. In fact, it was only

a matter of days. And that wasn't the only surprise I was in for.

The whole attitude was different. In the twenty-five years since my first taste of bird there had been some fantastic changes. I was amazed to find that I was *asked* to do things. On both the previous occasions instructions had been barked at me—and they were orders to do this or that, quick!

Now I was allowed to talk to my fellow prisoners and even smoke as we queued for our uniforms and were checked in. How well I remember the bleak welcome I got when I entered the Scrubs in 1935. I wasn't exactly pushed but we all had to stand facing the wall in a long line. We weren't allowed to say a word to any other prisoners or even turn our heads.

And the uniform I got. It consisted of a rough flannelette shirt, a brown jacket and knee-length knickerbockers. That pair of broken-down left-off shoes they gave me nearly crippled me.

. . . .

This time I got new shoes, a navy blue battledress-style uniform that they offered to change for me after a couple of days if it didn't fit properly, plus a supply of socks, underwear and shirts. In all the time I was in there I never saw one man not adequately dressed—and some of them looked quite smart.

But the biggest thing was the food—oh that lovely food! I had been dreading it as soon as I knew I had copped it again. Food is important in prison. You can never get enough of it. During my first term inside I had been given chokey (bread and water) for stealing extra food. The food itself had been nothing much either. Served in a two-layer battered diet tin, it consisted of potatoes—cooked in their jackets and all black inside—and cabbage in the top and some sort of stewed meat in the bottom. It was pretty grim.

But when I went down to my first breakfast this time I gasped. We were each given an aluminium tray divided into a number of compartments, and the meal was porridge, bacon, beans, bread and butter and tea—and pretty well cooked, too.

Dinner was even better, roast beef—yes you could recognise the meat—baked potatoes, cabbage and peas.

Then came the greatest surprise of all. I saw the outside world again. I was taken to the Governor's office and asked a few questions like: "Would you run away if you were on an outside working party?" Then I was put aboard a coach and taken to Holloway Prison, where I worked during the daytime for the rest of my sentence. The coach picked us up each morning and brought us home each night. We had dinner at Holloway, cooked by the ladies there and their food was even better than in the 'ville.

For this work we were paid 2s. 3d. a week. We didn't get a penny in 1935, and in '46 it was 3d. a week. With this 2s. 3d. I used to buy half an ounce of tobacco, a packet of prison cigarette papers and a box of matches. I am a bit of a heavy smoker and it was a bit difficult at times to make it last the full week, but I didn't want to get into the hands of the Tobacco Barons. They lend you tobacco for half-again interest—and once you start borrowing you can't get straight.

But half an ounce a week was a great improvement on half an ounce between eight of us in 1946—and in '35 it was strictly No Smoking. I don't know how I got through that four months.

. . . .

I was one of the few prisoners who could appreciate the changes. There weren't many there who had been in prison in the old days. I went round in a daze for the first couple of days. I stared at prisoners carrying newspapers, magazines, and with pens in their top pockets. None of these had been allowed before. And I couldn't believe my ears when I heard a prisoner call one of the screws (prison officers) "Guv'nor". It would have been considered insolence before. They always had to be addressed as "Sir" and nothing else.

The Prison Governor said "Good morning" to me as he passed me working—he was a thorough gentleman, he was.

They made me feel like a man, whereas before I had just been a number. I had always felt somehow degraded in my first two sentences, but now everything possible was being done for my welfare.

You might say that this encourages crime a little. But with most men it makes them realise that they are somebody. It makes them keep their self-respect—and the encouragement they get makes them all the more determined to make something of their lives when they get out.

We saw a film every week—yes, a film. If anyone had told us back in 1935 that this would be the case one day we would have laughed at them. It would have been like hearing about men flying to the moon.

In '35 a prisoner used to come round with a few odd books and push one through the bars of your Peter (Peter and Nell—cell). You had no choice. It might have been "Alice in Wonderland" or Shakespeare you didn't have a say in the matter. This time I was given a library ticket for seven books a week, and that library was as good as any public library outside.

. . . .

Some men—serving longer sentences—could watch T.V. in the evenings, and some of them even had pet budgerigars. Things had certainly changed.

VISITING: It used to be once every eight weeks and separated by a wire grille. Now it was once a month in a contemporary-styled room with comfortable chairs and a cosy atmosphere.

"CHOKEY": You really have to do something bad to get that now, and only the toughs and the hard-nuts who were determined to be awkward were ever given it.

AND REMISSION: It used to be a sixth of your sentence off for good behaviour. Now it had jumped up to a third. So I was out of the 'ville just four months after starting my sentence.

And it's getting better all the time. Probably if I went back there in a few months' time I'd find more improvements—but I'm not going to. All I want now is a job—and if I could find one I'd grab it with both hands.

Even if they were to put a T.V. set, carpets, a three-piece suite and all the smokes you wanted in every Peter, there'd still be one thing lacking—freedom. Believe me, the air you breathe in there may be the same stuff but it doesn't taste half as good as it does out here.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ROOTS OF CRIME

Edward Glover

Selected Papers on Psycho-analysis Vol. 2

Imago Publishing Company Ltd. London. 1960. pp.397 45s. 0d.

DR. GLOVER is an eminent British psycho-analyst who has long shown a special interest in the psychopathology and treatment of offenders. He is a co-founder of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency (now the Portman Clinic) and of the *British Journal of Delinquency* (now the *British Journal of Criminology*). The issue of this collection of his writings on crime since 1922 is therefore an important event, particularly since the articles concerned have been expanded and annotated by the author. Much of the material has to do with 'pathological' crime: but the limits of what is normal and what pathological are so vague that a good deal of the book is concerned with the general clinical approach to crime and with penal policy.

It is plain that there will be a great difference in outlook between one who has gained his experience of offenders in the quiet and seclusion of a consulting room and the prison officer, of any rank, who has to deal with offenders in the mass within the requirements of the law and regulations. This difference is likely to produce a good deal of mutual distrust and undervaluation. The psycho-analyst is liable to view the prison officer as a mere disciplinarian concerned only to secure the submission of his charges and, therefore, an agent in their further maladjustment and desocialisation. The prison officer is liable to view the analyst as a rather woolly theoretician who ignores most of the fundamental realities of life and prescribes a tolerance for his patients which has to be paid for, not by the prescriber, but by society at large and by himself in particular. There is a feeling that the real problems of management are being shuffled off on to the humbler servants of society without apology or recognition, whilst the psychologist presents himself, from his protected position, as the sole source of enlightenment. It is this sense of injury, rather than any unwillingness to learn, which causes so many prison officers to reject the psychologist of any complexion unless he has shown, by working with them, that his ideas make sense in their own field and have some practical application. The prison officer knows that he, too, is in a transference situation in regard to his charges, though he would not use the term. He knows that he, also, has his successes as he works through his daily difficulties; and he suspects that these successes are much more important in the aggregate than the work done in offices and consulting rooms, however necessary the latter may be as a complementary service.

This angry prejudice is something to be resisted and overcome, since it is so obvious that a careful study and understanding of why an offender has become an offender is relevant to his management and treatment. It is necessary to understand the other point of view and one way to do this is to take time for a careful study of Dr. Glover's book. Those who do so

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will be rewarded in proportion to the amount of effort which they put into it. They will find a good deal more appreciation of their difficulties than they may suppose and they will be enriched by an understanding of some forms of conduct which otherwise seem senseless and obscure. There will be difficulty for some because of the terminology employed; but, if they read on, most of the ideas expounded will become comprehensible.

The book opens with a plea to magistrates, written in 1922, to have cases properly investigated before disposing of them. This was a pioneer effort at the time; but it is still to the point, though much of it is now commonplace because so many of the arguments which were then novel have been taken over by others.

A historical section follows which traces the development of the investigation and treatment of offenders since 1912. There is a note of regret that psycho-analytic teachings have not been more freely accepted; this does not, perhaps, take sufficient account of the fact that it is only through resistance that new ideas get a wide and permanent acceptance. The new psychopathology has suffered very much more from those who have given it an easy and superficial acceptance than from those who have resisted it, since resistance is very apt to cause a movement into the very framework of thought which is being resisted.

Little space is devoted to advances in prison treatment during this time despite the very considerable change which is evident from within the service; but there is a most interesting section on the diagnosis and treatment of pathological delinquency which runs parallel with the clinical approach to offenders to which so much attention is now being devoted in the training of prison staff.

Two further sections of the book deal with psychopathic and sexual offenders and it is probable that these sections will represent the real meat of the book for most readers, since the marks of experience and authority are here most evident. It is useless to try to summarise these chapters; they need to be read and digested.

Comments are also made about research and its difficulties which deserve careful study, though it seems unlikely that psycho-analysis will play so large a part in research as the author would like There are also comments on the rather neglected subject of prevention so far as pathological violence is concerned. Dr. Glover's main prescription is for screening out those who are disposed to crime of this nature at the earliest possible stage and for the concentration of a special medico-psychological effort upon them. How this would work out in practice it will be for the reader to judge.

There are notes on recidivism, criminal responsibility and capital punishment which complete a book well worth the study of all those who are prepared to devote time and energy to it. Medical Officers and psychologists, in particular, will be well advised to read it.

W. F. ROPER.

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BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

THE ENGLISH PRISONS

D. L. Howard.
Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1960.
pp.174. 21s. 0d.

MR. HOWARD has written a book "The English Prisons" which for nearly four-fifths of its modest length is an account of the development of prisons as an instrument of society's purpose in dealing with the criminal. In two short chapters at the end he deals with present problems and takes a look into the future. It is well-written but is not for grandmothers.

Exponents of the "new look" in prisons are prone to describe the gloomier details of the past in reinforcement of their sense of virtue. This book, in that it describes how the cruelty which was the expression of a moral earnestness applied without variation towards the end of the last century, replaced the squalor permitted by the indifference of local government, covers familiar ground. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Howard's sources will not find anything new in it, and since he has not sought to place his description of prison conditions in their social context, the general reader may suffer an excess of emotion over reason.

Pentonville in 1841, with its cells equipped with water-closets, must have seemed a marvellous sanitary contrivance to the London poor in Mayhew's day. At a time when the treatment of prisoners was marked by indifference and cruelty, members of the armed services were treated no better; the treatment of the mentally-afflicted was often worse, and the condition of the unfortunates in free society was degradation and poverty. Prison conditions must have seemed less black to the contemporary viewer than they do now from our different standpoint. As late as the mid-nineteen-thirties a borstal boy wrote to his mother "Dear Mum, We get a Sunday dinner here every day of the week". Having regard to society's attitude to the individual, who is either a burden or a threat, it would have been miraculous had prisons been better than they were.

The concept that the individual is important has received scant and intermittent attention. Not until 1944 was the way to higher education opened to all those who might benefit from it. We had to wait until 1949 for the formulation of the positive yet nebulous declaration of purpose as contained in No. 6 of the Prison Rules. The borstal system had long anticipated this declaration and so, too, had the first tentative modifications of the prison system.

The difficulty is not one of intention but the practical one of how to give effect to the intention. Mr. Howard makes certain recommendations. He himself is a Social Science graduate and sees the improvement of the Prison Service in the recruitment of Social Science graduates. They have never been excluded but for the greater part they prefer to deal with prison problems at a distance. Social workers are generally reluctant to work in prisons, possibly because they see little scope for their work in a strongly hierarchical structure, and feel that their aspirations run counter to the popular aims of imprisonment. Yet paradoxically they are much more likely to achieve an easy gratification in the exercise of their skills and to

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receive the gratitude of their clients against a background of harsh impersonal discipline. In a situation of permissiveness they are likely to encounter the same difficulties that will beset a prison staff who, having been required to surrender the easier methods of preserving their authority, have to deal individually with the astonishing variety of selfish behaviour, not as the case-worker would have it, in a tidy clinical situation, but continuously throughout the day in situations of conflict. Mr. Howard would like to see better buildings, the provision of more useful work, improvements in the training of staff, and balances his argument for decentralisation by suggesting the addition of more specialists to the central administration. He adds the familiar arguments for an increase in prisoners' earnings, better after-care, more research. And what about treatment and training? Mr. Howard understandably has little to say about this. Criminality has no specific cause, lends itself to no precise definition; its origins lie in human nature, its occurrence depends upon a combination of circumstances. Reasonably it may follow that there is no specific treatment. We can offer to those in our charge a useful social experience in controlled conditions, eliminate the harmful effects of exclusion from the community, reinforce the intentions fostered during a period of imprisonment by improved after-care. We shall all recognise in this the expression of vague hopefulness that characterises work in this field. Members of the Prison Service will be glad to find themselves in general agreement with the author of this book in yet another expression of generalities.

ALAN BAINTON.

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PIONEERS IN CRIMINOLOGY (Library of Criminology No. 1)

Ed. Herman Mannheim
Stevens & Sons Ltd. 1960. pp.402. 45s. 0d.

RESTITUTION TO VICTIMS OF CRIME (Library of Criminology No. 2)

Stephen Schafer
Stevens & Sons Ltd. 1960. pp.130 25s. 0d.

MESSRS. STEVENS are to be congratulated in inaugurating the Library of Criminology. The value of such a library is that it permits of systematic development of the subject and enables students to have a link with each other. Certainly that has been so in the case of other studies, and more particularly of law. Only with the regular publication of text-books did we have the exploration and definition of principles. Again, there is a need, among both practitioners and theorists for a standard selection of works which may be expected to cover the main branches of the study.

While we must welcome this new venture, we ought to be aware of the temptation to neglect those works which are not "text-bookish". To look at another field of study, one may well wonder whether outstanding books like Sabine's *History of Political Theory* have become substitutes for reading Plato, Aristotle, Hobbs, Locke and the other seminal political Thinkers. This indeed is the temptation; and we are in danger of becoming readers of books about books—Charles Lamb's *biblia a biblia*. It may be argued that the great text-book is so complete that it leaves the impression in the student that he need not read the source material; on the other hand, surely a strong

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

case can be made out for the assertion that the text-book should be no more than a guide and help to the original works. This leads me to suggest that amongst the books to be published in the Library of Criminology there should be a selection of some of the outstanding early works.

It is true that in the earlier works there may be much that is irrelevant to modern interests or may be irrelevent to an historical study of the development of criminology. No doubt there is a problem here of editing. Even so, that should not prove insuperable. One has in mind a series comparable to that of the Blackwell texts in politics and a handy collection of lengthy excerpts like Selby-Bigge's *British Moralists*. Perhaps Messrs. Stevens would keep these suggestions in mind when planning future titles.

Very appropriately the first volume of the new series is entitled *Pioneers in Criminology* a collection of essays under the editorship of Dr. Hermann Mannheim. The book makes an interesting introduction to the history of criminology through the lives and works of some seventeen "pioneers". To some readers it may appear that history through biography is unduly restrictive in that the movement of ideas is apt to suffer distortion. Such a criticism is appreciated by the Editor whose opening essay discusses this very matter. Nevertheless, ideas have developed in and by the lives of men, and to neglect the latter is to give but a partial history. In any event certain ideas have become so much identified with certain "pioneers" that it becomes desirable for the student to know something of the kind of men who gave birth to such ideas, Moreover, there is no good reason why we should not have at some future time a companion volume dealing primarily with ideas. This is not to say that ideas are not discussed in the book under review; indeed the greater part of each essay is taken up with an exposition (sometimes a criticism) of ideas.

The two most interesting essays to the present reviewer are the introductory essay by Dr. Mannheim and the concluding one by Dr. Clarence Ray Jeffery. These are both historical and are specially valuable for their discussion as to the delimitation of the term "criminology". On the one hand, all students would agree that criminology is concerned at the least with the causes and conditions of breaches of the criminal law; on the other some students would take the view that such a definition is unduly restrictive and that, as there is no essential distinction between criminal and other anti-social behaviour, the term criminology should be extended to cover deviant behaviour. How then do we determine the type and scope of such deviant behaviour? Must we limit it to behaviour which the law condemns? If so, the norm is already in principle ideal rather than positive and statistical. Clearly we might have a situation in which, statistically speaking, normal behaviour is a breach of the law and, perhaps also, of other ideal norms. Again, is the criminologist to be concerned only with overt behaviour rather than with conduct implying guilt?

These questions raise doubts as to whether criminology can be wholly positivistic. At the same time they do not imply that there is no place for scientific investigation into the conditions and causes of crime or into the effects of punishment. It may be said that

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criminal policy and criminology should not be confused but ought to be sharply distinguished. This is acceptable subject to the proviso that such distinction should not be a gulf. It is important that those who make policy should know the facts and that those who investigate the facts should appreciate policy. Indeed the two disciplines control each other; for the facts to be investigated may first be adumbrated only from a consideration of policy —not every conceivable fact is to be investigated but only relevant facts.

These, among others, are some of the questions raised or suggested by the two essays aforementioned. Clearly such questions are important, for on their solution will depend the scope of criminology and its relation to general sociology on the one hand and to law on the other. The remaining seventeen essays are concerned with the lives and work of some of the leading pioneers, treated in historical order. Some of the names are universally known, but others are unlikely to be known to English readers. This suggests that we need good translations of some at least of the lesser known, but not necessarily less interesting, writers. For example, the Spaniard, Montero, appears to have been an extremely acute thinker whose opinions would strike most of us as novel, particularly his contention that the function, or at least a function, of the criminal law is the protection of the criminal.

This book can be highly recommended to students who have already given some thought to problems of crime.

The second book in the series, *Restitution to Victims of Crime* by Dr. Stephen Schafer, is topical. There has been growing uneasiness in England that our concern for the welfare of the criminal has led to an undue neglect of the victim. Restitution for the victim sounds extremely attractive. Nevertheless reflection shows that the notion is not a simple one. A merit of Dr. Schafer's book is that it discusses the meaning of restitution and exposes what has been done in other countries. Before we in England embark on legislation it would be well that we should consult the experience elsewhere.

Restitution in serious crimes would often be beyond the power of the offender to make. Therefore, it would seem that restitution must be provided from some social insurance fund. We need information as to the probable finance of such a scheme and as to what contribution the offender should make. Clearly, there is the danger that restitution from social insurance sources would make probable offenders less careful. If some liability could be placed on the offender this might work both deterrently and reformatively.

Some students think of restitution as primarily penal, as a means of bringing home to the offender his responsibilities. This may conflict with the interest which the victim has to be compensated. Compensation is essentially a civil law notion, it is redress to the victim of a civil wrong secured as a result of a civil action. It is, however, largely historical accident whether a wrong is merely civil or criminal; different legal systems classify legal wrongs differently. If compensation or restitution by public agency is confined to breaches of the criminal law, may there not arise a demand to extend the ambit of the criminal

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law to include offences which at present are only civil? It may be replied that such a danger can be avoided by confining restitution to specified types of crime, e.g. crimes of violence. Such a solution would surely prove unsatisfactory, at least from the victim's point of view. He has suffered harm or loss through no fault of his own, why then should he not be compensated? His loss is the matter of substance; the precise classification of the wrong done him is formal.

This discussion which is raised by Dr. Schafer may lead to a reconsideration of the distinction between civil and criminal wrongs. This could result in all legal wrongs becoming technically crimes. In any event we are left with the question; what is the criterion of the distinction? Maybe the reviewer is being too academic. It may well be that the criterion is one of social expediency and, therefore, never final but alterable in the light of changing circumstances.

Whatever the solution adopted students and legislators are indebted to Dr. Schafer for a careful exposition of the present practice in a large number of countries and for a stimulating concluding chapter on the punitive concept of restitution.

ALEX KELLY.

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THEORETICAL STUDIES IN SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE PRISON

Edited by George H. Grosser
Social Science Research Council, New York. Pamphlet No. 15. 1960. pp.146. $1.50

THIS BOOK summarises a series of discussions of a group of seven meeting under the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council in 1956-1957. The persons concerned are all social scientists actively concerned with sociological and psychological research in prisons with special reference to group processes.

The common approach underlying their discussions is the idea that prisons are social organisations (admittedly of a special type, but this is true of all social organisations). As such, prisons, meaning the inmate and custodial groups, should conform to sociological law in a manner basically similar to other social institutions and groups studied by anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists. The attempt was therefore made in the course of these discussions to use the concepts of modern social science to generate hypotheses about prison groups. No attempt is made in this report to verify the truth of the hypotheses: the references to actual research are rather perfunctory and do not enable us to discriminate between various possible hypotheses. This is not written as a criticism of the authors whose main interest lies in deriving a theoretical model which will render various phenomena of prison life explicable and which will show the relationship between prison society and other social groups.

The resulting theoretical model is tremendously exciting and suggestive as it provides a systematisation of the notions of several generations of prison reformers in terms of an abstract and detached theory of the functioning of social groups and of the psychology of the individual in conditions of incarceration. It is rather unfortunate therefore that the treatment is so summary and couched in a

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phraseology which will tend to fatigue the British reader unfamiliar with American social science jargon.

The authors begin from a conception of prison derived from Kurt Lewin's "topological psychology". A prison constitutes a polar type of an authoritarian system that is governed by a bureaucratic hierarchy and entrusted with power over the total life space of the individuals under its jurisdiction. This defines the particular object of investigation, it indicates the method to be used in studying this object, and adumbrates the kind of conclusion which will be reached by the authors. The distinction is made right at the beginning between the inmates and the custodians. The objective relationship between the two groups is indicated. The terminology is rather unfortunate because of the normally negative emotional content of the words used as objective sociological terms. The terms, although used often by the ordinary man as denigratory, are not intended to be understood in this sense.

One of the most valuable contributions of this book towards our understanding of the prison community is the demonstration that the inmates and custodians, in practice, share a common interest in maintaining the prison as a unit which operates as a going concern. The authors are obviously followers of Malinowski and apply his view throughout that the various things that happen in a group (the relations between guards and prisoners, the system of merchanting of scarce and forbidden commodities, the prison riots, the homosexual behaviour of some inmates, and so on) all have a function to fulfil of a conservative character ensuring a stability to the group and to the individuals in it which enables them to endure the frustrations and deprivations of prison life.

Even in the most humane of prison institutions the inmate lives under conditions of deprivation. He loses the liberty of disposing of his own time, his living-space is severely restricted, he is deprived of certain goods which are taken for granted in the society outside, he is denied heterosexual relations. In addition, his social isolation is perceived by the prisoner as an attack on his self-image and his sense of personal worth, an attack which is more threatening to him than even physical brutality or maltreatment would be. He is denied the privilege of being *trusted*, there is an implicit attack on his masculinity, he is forced into association with unbalanced and potentially violent persons so that his safety is endangered, he has lost any power of self-determination.

In this situation the inmates develop a particular code of behaviour and belief, they engage in the playing of particular roles, they develop attitudes to each other and to their custodians which enable them to parry the main effects of the social rejection, impoverishment and figurative castration. The inmates develop a strongly knit society *vis-a-vis* their captors and the greater society "outside". A solidarity grows around certain shared ideals, the common deprivations and the inferior conditions of life. A code of conduct binding on all inmates and determining their relations with each other and with their guards restores the self-respect

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and sense of independence of the society of captives, at the same time providing them with a purposeful way of life which cushions them from the deprivations and frustrations of prison life. The code (Never rat on a con! Don't lose your head! Don't exploit inmates! Don't weaken! Don't be a sucker! and so on) gives a new frame of reference to the prisoner so that his condemnation by the free community becomes almost irrelevant. Loyalty to his fellows, generosity to those suffering more than he is, disparagement of official society, results in an uneasy compromise between the actual condition of the prisoner and his continuing attempts to maintain the favourable image he retains of himself.

The group of inmates, as other social groups do, thus develops particular lines of interest as a consequence of the fact that certain problems confront the individuals in the group and the group as a whole. Crucial "axes of life" in terms of these problems and interests will be defined: the behaviour of individuals will be referred to these axes and certain "*roles*" or types of uniform reactions will emerge. The individual members of the group will thus be perceived by the others in certain stereotyped ways. These social perceptions or *roles* will have a constraining effect in that the individual member will tend to react as the group expect him to react, and the group will be constrained to interpret his behaviour (whether appropriately or not) in terms of the role in which he is normally cast. In this way the behaviour of inmates is "institutionalised": each may behave differently from the others in relation to the group standards, without unbearable strains developing. Thus each finds his established place and function in the system—the "rat", the "tough", the "gorilla", the "merchant", the "weak sister", the "fag", the "innocent", the "square John", the "right guy" the "hero". Each of these is a deviant of one kind or another from the accepted code: the collection of roles (of which the above constitute a sample) together with their inter-relationships constitute the prison as a *system of action.*

The authors point to the remarkable similarity of the inmate systems found in one institution after another. They suggest that the explanation is not to be sought for in the factor of tradition; that is it is not enough to think in terms of the old hands passing on a developed tradition. Rather the prison setting generates a typical pattern of reaction on the part of the inmates. The inmate code, the social roles, the nature of the interactions between the individual prisoners and guards are all methods by which the society of prisoners adapts itself to a particular set of harsh social conditions. The phenomena we have been dealing with arise in answer to *needs* which are common to all prisoners. The forms of solidarity which develop act to reduce the pains of imprisonment. Frustration remains at a minimum. This means that all prisoners have a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo.* Certain prisoners adapt themselves to roles which improve their conditions of life more than their fellows. Although there may be competition for particular roles, such as "the merchant", "the gorilla", and other exploitive roles,

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

once the system is established and running as a going concern it is in everyone's interest to adapt themselves to it, *and this includes the custodians as well.* Otherwise frustration will ensue for everyone until a new system of action has been produced. Thus the authors maintain that prison riots and hunger strikes and other crisis situations are primarily attempts by prisoners to restore an antecedent system of social relationships which has been disturbed by some (to them) arbitrary change in the pattern, a change perceived by them as threatening to the particular adjustment they have made within the action system.

The other main theme discussed in relation to the action system is that of *communication.* Information is one of the goods in scarce supply as far as the inmates *and* the guards are concerned. One of the major paths to power, either as a custodian or as a prisoner, in prison, consists in establishing oneself in such a position in the communications network (both formal and informal) as will give you access to information. A prisoner who is in a position of trust where he gets information from the records, or another prisoner who has established a relationship of middleman with a custodian, has advance information about such things as transfers from prison to prison, early release, searches for contraband goods. This can be "sold" for various goods and services which all prisoners covet. Alternatively, by supplying information to custodians certain privileges, sometimes of a corrupt character, can be extorted from the custodial system—a better job, contraband, advance information, to be "left alone" in working a prison "racket". The authors see control over information as being more important, and indeed replacing, the direct exercise of executive power. It establishes and maintains a hierarchy, it emphasises certain values, it inculcates attitudes, it maintains discipline, it places some units of the organisation in an inferior position with respect to others (for example, work supervisors to guards or *vice-versa*).

Although the discussion is conducted on rather an abstract theoretical level certain empirical research is reported which tends to substantiate this theoretical analysis. For example, one author reports on his research into the changes made in the course of transfer from an autocratic system of wardenship in a Hawaiian prison to a more democratic and "treatment-oriented" regime. This is probably the most interesting and rewarding part of the book for the British reader who is a member of the prison services at the present time, since the argument of the other sections is here graphically illustrated.

What is the use of such a study for the present generation of prison officials? The book is abstract and difficult. The discourse is in terms of a field of scientific work with which very few are familiar. The locale is American prisons of the type of Alcatraz and other maximum and medium security establishments. Prisoners' slang and sociological jargon are both in Americanese. The authors are all on the side of "the bad angels" (or inmates), as against the custodians—or seem to be! They consider that the custodians in progressive types of prisons are confronted by an insoluble dilemma—that they

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

are forced to set inmates goals of rehabilitation which can rarely if ever be realised. This pessimistic conclusion, which is developed in detail, should make this study required reading for all prison officers who see their function primarily in terms of rehabilitation of the offender.

In spite of these critical remarks this is an important study which would well repay the very serious effort necessary to comprehend its main contentions. It provides the theoretical rationale of our contemporary approach to prison work, establishing the connection between the older type of prison regime and the professionalisation of the criminal. It indicates the prime importance of understanding the phenomena of group activity if we are to connect certain types of behaviour of prisoners and guards with antecedent causes. The causal connections it establishes enables us to predict the outcome of particular regimes and to control social response. The best possible outcome of this book would be that some comparable group in this country might be encouraged to look at our prison system and correctional establishments in the same way and analyse them in terms of the same conceptual framework.

JOHN MCLEISH.

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PREDICTING DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

Sheldon & Eleanor Glueck
Harvard University Press (London & Oxford University Press) 1959
pp.283. $6.50.

WHATEVER VERBAL FORMULA we may like to resort to as our solution of the free will versus determinism dilemma, there can be few who would deny what the authors of this book call "the reasonable predictability of human behaviour under given circumstances." Moreover, there seems no reason why we should exempt from this general statement such pieces of human behaviour that usually attract moral judgements. In other words, this predictability of human behaviour applies equally well to such actions as are customarily called good or bad. It may or may not be meaningful to say that a criminal has free will, but in any case there is no reason to doubt the predictability of his nefarious activities. And if anyone *does* doubt it then let him read this book. Herein is contained "an entire battery of predictive tables developed inductively out of the numerous Glueck researches." The underlying assumption of the book is simple but sound—that items which are found to separate the sheep from the goats at an acceptably high level of significance are capable of predicting sheepishness (or goatishness); and, furthermore, and this is really the "message" of the book, that this sort of knowledge is potentially of the highest social utility if only we could induce our administrators to use it. Evidence of such significant differences is given for a wide variety of treatments—e.g., Behaviour on Probation, Behaviour in Correctional Schools, Behaviour during Parole, Behaviour after End of Treatment, Behaviour of Civilian Delinquents in Armed Forces, and so on. There is also a chapter on the prediction of behaviour of female offenders, welcome because female delinquents are notoriously an under-studied group. Most interesting of all, in this reviewer's

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

opinion, is a chapter on the identification of potential delinquents. Here the authors show that the techniques appropriate for predicting behaviour under various forms of correctional treatment are also appropriate for forecasting which boys are most likely to be delinquents. They are well placed to do so, since in their mammoth study, "Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency", they were able to discover a huge number of factors which discriminated between delinquent and non-delinquent boys. To what extent, however, this knowledge could be used as an instrument of social prevention is a question which will have to be discussed below.

Scientifically, it appears to this reviewer that the underlying significance of work such as the Gluecks' is that what they have achieved is an ordering of *experience*, a systematisation of empirical observations. This purely inductive achievement may look very modest by contrast with the elaborate deductive systems which characterise the history of the more "mature" sciences, but it is a notable step forward in the history of penal treatment, so much so that one cannot help wondering ruefully whether the authors may not still be several steps ahead of their time. The collection and ordering of observed data may represent an elementary stage of scientific investigation, but it is *a* stage; whereas to proceed on hunches, feelings, first principles, etc., is essentially *pre*-scientific. The information the Gluecks give us is of the kind: this offender, coming as he does within such and such a category, has a certain chance of succeeding (i.e., behaving himself, not recidivating, etc.) if he is given treatment X, and rather more chance if he is given treatment Y. Therefore it would be better to give him treatment Y. What is the scientific status of this information? The Gluecks' concluding words give the best answer "... it can be said, *on the basis of already existing evidence*, that the predictive approach opens up a promising path through the dense forest of guesswork, hunch, and vague speculation concerning theories of criminal behaviour. It gives hope of the ultimate transformation of criminology into a discipline approaching scientific stature" (reviewer's italics). Evidence replaces hunch—that is the gist of the Gluecks' claim for their system, and in this respect their work represents a scientific breakthrough in the penological field. To say that we will send this nineteen-year-old lad to a reformatory because we know from *experience* that lads of this type—i.e., in this score class—have a less than one in three chance of maladaptation may not sound very spectacular, but it is far more scientific than saying that we will send him to borstal, put him on probation, fine him, or what have you, *because we have a feeling* (whether or not justified by objective evidence we have no idea) that borstal, etc., does lads like this good. If this seems like a labouring of the obvious the reader is recommended to look at the Gluecks' quotation on Page 5, of Gaudet's "The Sentencing Behaviour of the Judge"; no doubt it would not be difficult to find similar examples of sentencing practice in British courts.

The tone of the book is modest enough in its claims for the extent

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

of the breakthrough which has been achieved, and it behoves us to be similarly realistic in assessing the practical usefulness of these predictive devices, even if we make a perhaps not very realistic assumption that the authorities can be persuaded to use them. Throughout, the authors stress the empirical, inductive, observational nature of their results, and although many interesting hypotheses could be framed, and tested, as to *why* certain factors are associated positively or negatively with success, the fact remains that all the Gluecks can tell us at the moment is *that* they are. We are thus in the position of knowing that a given offender will probably do well under a given form of treatment, without knowing—if the word may be permitted—the *dynamics* of the situation. Does this matter? In a sense no—if we know it will do this man good to go on parole we are justified in sending him on parole, even if we do not yet know why parole is good for him and not for the man in the next cell. And even if we never knew any more than what the Gluecks can at present tell us, the social utility of their predictive devices would be demonstrated. But quite clearly, in the long run, both theoretical sophistication and considerations of practical usefulness demand that we must go beyond this ordering of data stage. Although the Gluecks discourage the use of the word "cause", we must, sooner or later, start asking questions that look like "why" questions; from the point of view of scientific advance this is essential, since science is not content just to observe, it aims at establishing laws; so that we cannot rest content with the knowledge that some people succeed and others fail, but if the analogy of other sciences is anything to go by, have to go on to a theoretical system capable of explaining such facts as success and failure. Quite apart from the scientific desirability of achieving this level of sophistication, its practical importance is obvious. It is better than nothing to know that certain kinds of treatment are effective with certain kinds of offender, but clearly the possibilities of modification and improvement of treatment are greatly enhanced once we know *why*, rather than *that*, the treatment works (or does not work).

A good deal of the value of the book, in this reviewer's opinion, lies in the high degree of psychological meaningfulness of many of the factors found to correlate with success in the various forms of correctional treatment. This gives good promise of leading on to the higher level scientific knowledge discussed above. Here are some of these factors: Economic Status of Childhood Home, Family Relationships, Conjugal Relations of Parents, Moral Standards of Home, Affection of Father for Offender, Age at Onset of Anti-social Behaviour, Member of Gang or Crowd. The mere listing of such factors is suggestive of the meaningfulness that might lie behind the observed correlations (a meaningfulness, incidentally, which might well have been brought out by a more statistically advanced handling of the data the Gluecks had to work with).

The greater part of the Gluecks' book is taken up with the problem of the treatment of already established offenders. But a more far-reaching aim is that of prevention.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Because of this, the section of the book dealing with the identification of potential delinquents is significant. The Gluecks have been able to show that delinquents differ from non-delinquents in certain personality traits, and in certain "under the roof" environmental factors. These findings are rich in psychological suggestiveness; but apart from that, they are the basic data from which can be derived predictive devices to mark off the lads who are not yet delinquent but who show a good chance of becoming so. Arithmetically, it has been easy for the Gluecks to do this (their mathematics are very elementary compared with those of the Mannheim-Wilkins study); but what is most significant is the evidence they can quote for the validity of their Social Prediction Table. A very valuable chapter in this book is devoted to a summary of those studies in which the tables have been used on samples other than the one on which they were first constructed, thereby establishing the authors' point that what they have constructed is a genuine predictive device and not just an experience table. A particularly interesting feature is that the Social Prediction Table appears to work on samples very different (e.g., in ethnic distribution and cultural background) from the one from which the original data was derived.

It will be well to say a word about the practical usefulness of the S.P.T. (its theoretical value is self-evident). Clearly, the Gluecks see it as an instrument of therapeutic intervention, to head off lads who are going towards delinquency. Potentially, no doubt, it is, but what is the *actual* situation? Regretfully, that we are woefully ignorant about how to treat delinquency, and, therefore, of how to prevent it. The unfortunate Cambridge-Somerville study—which the Gluecks' actually claim as an example of their success in *predicting* delinquency—is the most eloquent testimony of this. Thus, we may know which lads are most likely to offend, we may even have a good idea—thanks largely to the Gluecks' own work—of *what* causes lads to offend, but we have to admit that it is *not* self-evident from this knowledge what ought to be done either to cure or to prevent. To say, as the Gluecks do, that a lad's chances of offending are reduced if we can persuade his parents to be more efficient disciplinarians is no doubt true, but does not get us very far. We already knew that delinquents come from bad homes, in which poor discipline is one of the unsatisfactory features; but the kind of discipline which parents impose is presumably a function of *their* personalities, the product of as complex a network of factors as is the child's delinquency, and probably as difficult to modify. We always live in hopes, of course, that preventive and curative measures will be discovered, but it is a *non sequitur* to assume that knowledge of these measures flows self-evidently from knowledge of who will get the disease; except, of course, in a very general sense, e.g., that increase of family cohesiveness will decrease the chances of delinquency—but the existence of S.P.T. adds nothing to what little we already know about how to increase family cohesiveness. In short, it is this reviewer's opinion that the practical value of S.P.T. is rather less than that of the authors' correc-

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

tional treatment predictors (but, of course, situations can well arise where it will be important to know who is most likely to offend, even if no preventive measures are immediately apparent).

Despite this one lapse into near-mechanical thinking, the Gluecks' claim that they have made an important scientific breakthrough is well justified. Moreover, their book is very readable, generously provided with appendices (in one of which occurs a very useful alphabetical list of operational definitions of predictive factors); the text is liberally illustrated with tables—these, although they do not save the lazy man the trouble of reading the text (which is almost true of the tables in "Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency"!) are admirable as summaries of the main findings. This work, together with the Mannheim-Wilkins study, with which it obviously invites comparison, could provide the basis for a penal practice which would be empirical rather than speculative.

BERNARD MARCUS.

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PENAL PRACTICE IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

A Critical Examination of the White Paper Policy

C. H. Rolph and others

Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. 1960. pp.45. 3s. 6d.

THIS "CRITICAL EXAMINATION" of the White Paper is an attractively printed and easily handled little publication costing you 3s. 6d. and it might be appropriate in attempting to review it to say something about book reviews generally, as this booklet is a form of review in itself. Some readers of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL have claimed there were too many book reviews in the first issue; others said book reviews were the best part. So it might be correct to assume that people in this Service are interested in book reviews and that they are concerned with the quality and quantity of this particular part of the Journal.

Many people believe that it is an easy job to review a book. "What nicer" they ask, "than to sit down with a new book, a free copy at that, read it and then say something about it". They think reviewing falls into two classes, gentle pleasantly written appreciations, or acid smart criticisms. However it is not the policy of the Journal to publish gentle, purring, cosy comments, nor to produce sharp, uncomfortable denunciations; but we hope we will not merely write dull stuff. We aim to tell you about books which you might like to buy or borrow and then read, about others you may never want to buy or borrow (much less read) but about whose existence you would not wish to be ignorant, and even about books you may have treasured and re-read for a variety of reasons. In particular, we want to inform you about books which are relevant to our work.

Ignoring reviewers who seem to make a living by taking in each other's literary washing and concentrating upon what readers seem to want from reviewers, one cannot but agree that the sub-title "critical examination" is a good indication of what most people want. They want to have books examined, and reported upon, by people on whose critical judgments they can rely.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

This 45-page booklet amounts to the ideal review. The White Paper, (originally published as Cmnd. 645 H.M.S.O.) was a Government publication and while it must have been reviewed by many writers it has never received until now such concentration of critical examination. It is really the work of six people. Two of these are contributors to this issue of the Journal. C. H. Rolph talks on "The Growth of New Ideas" in the first article (and all six articles were really accounts of lectures which were given in London between October 1959 and March 1960) and he explains how new ideas in penal treatment will flow from this historic White Paper and concludes "the attitude of many people, decent, intelligent kindly people to this subject is still primitive and fear-ridden. They see it in black and white, crime on the one side and punishment on the other, but never a hint that the two might have common characteristics. Such people must seem, sometimes, totally immovable", but, he adds, it is the task of the reformer and the propagandist, a self-assumed and certainly not too popular task, to move them, Indeed, Mr. Rolph makes several new suggestions or at any rate is very properly critical of some of the old interpretations of criminal and penal facts. He has something to say about poverty as the cause of crime and asks us to re-examine the assumption that larceny is the outcome of poverty. He asks why it is thought that the most startling aspect of the crime increase is that it occurs among the age groups sixteen to twenty-one year olds. Where else he demands, should we expect to find it than among the young and adventurous. "Wouldn't there be something very odd, not to say startling, about a similar increase, say, among the sixty-six to seventy one year olds?"

This introduction of new ideas and the re-examination of old ones is to be noted in the essay by Mr. Gordon Rose, author of "500 Borstal Boys", who, after noting the changing concept of the Detention Centres and querying the oft repeated and too rarely elaborated phrase "short sharp shock", passes on to borstal asking "Where is the family group borstal, the forestry camp borstal, the therapeutic community borstal? Indeed what about the hostel borstal where everyone works in industry and the self-governing borstal where nobody is forced to work at all?" Many workers in borstals would agree with him that whilst these plans may be impractical there is little use "fiddling with the length of sentence and range of offenders without at the same time introducing far more initiative and flexibility into the system."

"Prisons of the Future" is a fascinating subject for Miss Alice Bacon, Member of Parliament for a Leeds constituency since 1945 and Opposition spokesman on Home Office affairs. Her professional experience as a teacher is obvious here for she has taken a careful stock of the situation, made a thorough search of the White Paper (and many other Acts and historical data) for relevant information and presented her findings in a clear and challenging form. Her main criticism of the White Paper is not that it fails to recognise the present needs, but that it treats such urgent matters with complacency and lack of imagination. "All this will cost a

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

great deal of money, but the urgency is accepted," says the White Paper, but Miss Bacon is not satisfied with that. If this urgency is officially admitted then she asks why are no adequate steps apparently being taken. She is quite adamant that the Open Prison experiment should be extended.

Turning from the zeal of the politician-reformer, the reader will next meet Dr. Terence Morris (like Mr. Rolph also appearing in this issue). The politician is concerned with the social implications of the prison problem as they affect the world of freedom, but the sociologist comes right into prisons and looks at all of us, prisoners and staff alike, with a trained eye, and reports on us sometimes with a sharpness we may not like. Yet there is truth in his conclusion that to some extent we are all members of the prison community; truth, too, in the statement that it is the officers who are the "real prisoners on whom the architectural legacy of the nineteenth century bears no less heavily than upon those who have been made unwilling members of the community." Here as from the politician, is recognition that buildings, staff, and research are the main needs of the Prison Service to-day. Miss Bacon says so quite definitely; and Dr. Morris sketches in his demands in subtle and even symbolic fashion. How delightful it is to read of "Governors and Senior Medical Officers as princes and prelates," or of the merchant banker role of the barons. Here is research in a modern readable form. Dr. Morris cites Gresham Sykes' words "The prisoner is the unwilling monk of the twentieth century". Surely it was an English Prison Commissioner—Sir Alexander Paterson—who first observed, over twenty years before the appearance of Sykes' "The Society of Captives", that "a prison is a monastery of men unwilling to be monks". Those who work in prisons must be pardoned the feeling that some of the discoveries of social scientists, e.g. Dr. Morris's revelation that prison officers "are sometimes cynical" — are little more than familiar facts dressed in new forms of words; nevertheless they are pleasant forms and might do a better public relations job for the Prison Service than the too often repeated phrases about deterrence, retribution and reformation.

Mr. Frank Dawtry, General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers for many years, and one of the first welfare officers in the prisons (long before the Maxwell Report was published) stresses the problem of after-care. Here is a reasoned account of the purposes of after-care, the snags and difficulties met by everyone associated with it, and once again putting forward new ideas. These are perhaps more likely to interest Probation Officers than the prison staffs, but in view of the close association between the prison welfare officer and the Probation Service it will not do any harm for prison officials generally to find out what the "outside" social worker thinks about us. It is interesting to see how Mr. Dawtry emphasises the need for voluntary bodies to continue their work in helping discharged prisoners even at the time when the extension of statutory after-care might have been thought likely to diminish the need for voluntary work. This is not a

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

"new" idea—it is an old one which needs fairly frequent airing.

The critical examination of the White Paper ends with Dr. Peter Scott's "Psychiatric and Psychological Aspects". Dr. Scott, Consultant Physician at the Maudsley Hospital and visiting psychiatrist at Brixton and the L.C.C. Remand Homes, first praises the White Paper's reference to research and says that we cannot be too grateful for such statements "which only a few years ago would scarcely have been dreamt of in an official statement of policy". He has some new thoughts on classification of offenders, and various anti-social personalities are described in a clear, graphic style. The layman can read these descriptive passages with profit. In an attempt to define the modern meaning of "training" Dr. Scott makes a number of references to the contribution of staff and suggests that it is going to be difficult to deal with the "trainee" and train away feelings of anger and resentment unless he has day to day contact with staff who he feels are friendly and interested and prepared to let him talk. Finally, as Mr. Rolph began by asking for a change in public opinion so Dr. Scott says "would it be too much to ask that the community's attitude to crime and its capacity to change that attitude might also be investigated?"

After reading this booklet many times (and it deserves such treatment), one cannot but describe it as an excellent piece of critical work, deserving a wide sale to prison and borstal staffs.

MARK WINSTON.

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FORGOTTEN MEN

Merfyn Turner
The National Council of Social Service, Inc. 1960. pp.91. 5s. 0d.

THE PATTERN OF falling leaves on the brown cover is sadly symbolic. In fact, the prevailing atmosphere of the Common Lodging House (sometimes, euphemistically, 'Hostel') is one of incipient decay, of failure and hopelessness. Failure not merely by individuals, but of society which allows these human equivalents of the Municipal 'Tip' to exist. It is a disturbing picture, and a poignant revelation of a little-known problem—or perhaps one should say, of a part of a problem.

The author is familiar to many for his achievements in hostel work of a very specialised kind, and as a sincere and lively speaker. It was a pleasure, therefore, to discover in him a prose style which loses nothing by comparison with his other talents. "Forgotten Men" is as well-written as it is worth reading. Commissioned by the Gulbenkian Foundation, it is "a research into the mental and physical needs" of the residents of London lodging houses. There are some twenty-five of these, and "Domino Lodge," where most of the work was done, is one of the largest, a place capable of providing 600 beds a night.

Under the heading "Residents" Mr. Turner gives us a collection of individual portraits of Hogarthian shrewdness and diversity, and shares with us the slightly horrific quality of his first impressions. For here in the flesh (and much of it bug-infested) is that good old cliché "the dregs of humanity"—the tramps, alcoholics, petty criminals and general ne'er-do-wells.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Some stay for a night, or two, some have no other home. For the most part they are suspicious of enquiries, but in confidence some will admit that by coming here they have lost their last shred of self-respect; others merely sit and stare into space, and scratch, indifferent. But there is hardly one who entertains the remotest degree of warmth for the place that houses him. For the finest and cleanest of lodging houses (and some are alarmingly clean) is as personal to its lodgers as any Main Line Station, and there is simply no belonging to it. This is the tragedy of Domino Lodge.

Probably about a quarter of these men are habitual criminals—lodging house staffs tend to put it lower than this, but it is characteristic of their attitude not to seek to know too much of clients' private affairs. Many of the oddities who drift in and out are recognisable prison types, under the whiskers and grime, and a certain nostalgia for prison is discernible, where at least one is fed and clothed and cared for. It is clearly a hostile and difficult world that turns a man's steps towards the lodging house. Most are on some form or other of "Assistance," the word is always present like a black spell, never uttered in gratitude, and rarely without imprecations. N.A.B. officials may deny it, but "the frequency with which the 'No address—no assistance' complaint appears makes it unlikely that all the complaints are false."

Mr. Turner does not make it very clear how long he spent "on site," and under what conditions, nor how closely he himself became involved in the day-to-day activities of the place, and one feels there is a good deal left unsaid which would have been illuminating. About lodging house staffs, for instance. There is a curious detachment about parts of the study, as if the observer had somehow been watching it all through a glass roof, rarely descending to floor level and physical contacts—except, of course, with the men interviewed in detail. As Mr. Turner is not this kind of observer, one can only assume either that he was held at arm's length by the administration, or that he was puzzled to find a common language of communication. Perhaps it was a little of both. There are certainly passages where he is obviously straining charity to its limits to avoid downright condemnation of an attitude, an obtuseness of outlook.

Not that all the informants are obtuse and hostile—the Superintendent who "told me to get out, because, he said, I was trying to teach him his job" was in a minority of one. There is generally no lack of kindness we are assured, but there is a vast indifference to the real needs of these men behind the masks of sloth and indigence, a lack of understanding, a "reluctance to accept that their lodgers have problems." And "when all the debts have been acknowledged . . . the term social service applied to lodging houses remains a mere euphemism." To the trained social worker there must be something appalling in this weary, futile trafficking in beds and meal-tickets, something demented in the mentality which looks on a full house nightly as an end in itself. Some superintendents and their assistants see this, perhaps, but in the end it is less frustrating

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

to find one's satisfactions in "improvements"—white-tiled lavatories replacing Victorian glazed brick. "There is no indication that to make men feel wanted *it may be necessary to become involved* in their troubles and difficulties, and their often pitiful attempts to turn failure into success." Crime, for instance, is "not so much the first choice as the last . . . the last link in a chain of factors over which they had but incomplete control."

Involvement, we are made to feel, is the real issue—and surely not only for lodging house keepers? These failures, these grossly inadequate personalities, says the author, are quite simply incapable of adapting to the demands of modern life, of forming attachments or putting down roots." Why? There is no easy answer. "The day of single causes has passed . . . the variations in human personality are infinite, and never more so than when we are dealing with defective adaptability."

Perhaps then there has been too much seeking after causes, too many triumphant cries of "Eureka!" from political platforms and social science faculties alike, when the truth is somewhat simpler. Maybe we need to get a little more involved with our subject, in a perfectly personal, human way—with insight and a plan, but with warmth of feeling too. Here is a problem which Twentieth Century science, economics and Welfare State have so far failed to tackle any more effectively than Nineteenth Century "charity" did. Certainly the denizens of Domino Lodge stand in desperate need of something less tangible than meal-tickets and clean beds (to be vacated by 8.30 a.m.). Social case-work grows ever more clinical and objective—does there perhaps tend to grow with it something almost akin to a phobia for the human touch?

Comparisons with Norman House were of course inevitable in this study, and excusable, though modestly enough disguised. The need, in economic terms, is for official recognition of this dreary system as the wasteful business it is, and the determination to provide smaller, more positive units, where some attempt to stop this human rot would be possible. And for suitably qualified people (i.e. people who *understand*, which implies that they both know and care) to undertake the work. Houses of 100 might be practicable, sixty would be ideal. And this is, after all, in line with current thought in other fields—notably on prisons. There is very much more in "Forgotten Men" than this sketchy outline of its theme suggests, especially from the angle of reclamation. It should be read by all who are concerned with the problem of social readjustments, and one must hope that it may not pass unnoticed either by those who hold the purse-strings of local government.

DAVID ATKINSON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review)

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE
PETER ETON and JAMES LEASOR
Angus & Robertson Ltd.
1960. pp.239. 18s. 0d.

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THE REFUGEE HELEN FOWLER
Angus & Robertson Ltd.
1960. pp.256. 16s. 0d.

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WOMAN ON THE BEAT
STELLA CONDOR
Robert Hale Ltd.
1960. pp.192. 16s. 0d.

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DESTINATION WASHINGTON
F. J. THOMPSON
Robert Hale Ltd.
1960. pp.222. 18s. 0d.

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THE FRENCH PENAL CODE
(The American Series of Foreign Penal Codes No. 1)
Sweet & Maxwell Ltd.
1960. pp.158. 30s. 0d.

THE KOREAN CRIMINAL CODE
(The American Series of Foreign Penal Codes No. 2)
Sweet & Maxwell Ltd.
1960. pp.145. 30s. 0d.

. . .

THE FIRE ESCAPE SUSAN KALE
Putnam & Co. Ltd.
1960. pp.255. 18s. 0d.

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THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY
Ed. Sheldon Glueck
Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston
1959 pp.XVI, 1183. 60s. 0d.

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THE HOWARD JOURNAL Vol.X, No.3
The Howard League for Penal Reform. 1960. pp.87. 3s. 6d.

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THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF CRIMINOLOGY Vol.I, No.1
Stevens & Sons, Ltd.
1960. pp.96. 12s. 6d.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Terence Morris, Ph.D., is a criminologist, and Lecturer in Sociology at the London School of Economics. He is author of *The Criminal Area* (1957) and various articles, and has broadcast on criminological topics.

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Pauline Morris is a Psychiatric Social Worker currently a Research Officer in the Social Research Division, L.S.E. She is the author of the Fabian pamphlet *Prison After-Care: charity or public responsibility?* (1960).

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Barbara Biely, B.A., is a Research Assistant in the Social Research Division, London School of Economics. She is a graduate in Psychology of the University of British Columbia.

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C. H. Rolph is a former Chief Inspector of Police and a present member of the Executive Committee of the Howard League for Penal Reform. Well known as a writer and broadcaster he is sociological correspondent to *The New Statesman*.

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Alan Roberton joined the Prison Service in 1937 as a housemaster. He has served at Lowdham Grange, Usk, North Sea Camp, Portland, Gaynes Hall and Hewell Grange, of which he is at present Governor. He studied Advanced Casework at the Tavistock Clinic 1957/58.

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Douglas Gibson is Deputy Governor of H. M. Prison, Camp Hill. Prior to joining this Service he worked at the Hungerford Settlement for Destitute Persons, Charing Cross, of which he was co-founder, and as housemaster and Warden at a Junior Approved School. Has served as Assistant Governor at The Verne, Leyhill and Wakefield.

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Robert Laing has completed more than a quarter of a century as a Prison Officer. He began with seven years at Dartmoor, and has since served at Liverpool and at Wakefield where he has been a Principal Officer since 1953.

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Gordon Hardey joined the Prison Service in 1948 and has served at Manchester and Leyhill which is his present station. He has been local Branch Secretary of the Prison Officers' Association for many years and is a frequent contributor to the Prison Officers' Magazine.

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Michael Bird joined the Prison Service at Chelmsford in 1949, after regular service in the Sick Berth Branch of the Royal Navy. He has served as a Hospital Officer at Norwich Prison and Pollington Borstal where he is at present.

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Dr. W. F. Roper is the Principal Medical Officer at H. M. Prison, Wakefield, and **Bernard Marcus** the Principal Psychologist. **Alan Bainton** is the Governor of the prison and **David Atkinson** an Assistant Governor there.

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Alex Kelly and **John McLeish** both lecture in Criminology at the University of Leeds.

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Mark Winston is Principal of the Staff College and Officers' Training School and Editor of this Journal.