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# Prison After-Care

B. J. HARTWELL

IN APRIL 1961 the Home Secretary asked his Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders "to review the arrangements for the organisation of statutory and voluntary after-care for persons discharged from prisons, borstals, detention centres and approved schools; to consider whether any changes are necessary or desirable; and to make recommendations." The Council set up a sub-committee to carry out the review. Written and/or oral evidence was received, among others, from the Prison Commission (as it then was), the Association of Prison Welfare Officers, the Prison Officers' Association, the National Association of Prison Visitors; and from Prison Governors, Prison Chaplains and Prison Medical Officers. Visits were paid by members of the sub-committee to prisons and other establishments from which offenders are discharged, and a pre-release group course was attended. A tape recording was made of the views expressed by a group of discharged prisoners in discussion with two research workers from the U.S.A. The sub-committee's report was adopted by the Council (with three dissentients) and submitted to the Home Secretary on

the 2nd October, 1963. On the 3rd December, 1963 the Home Secretary announced that the Government welcomed the Report on the Organisation of After-Care and accepted in principle its recommendations.

Briefly these were as follows. There should be a single, unified, system of after-care for all offenders, both compulsory and voluntary; the responsibility for which is jointly borne on the one hand by the entire staff of the penal institution, and on the other by a new probation and after-care service. While a man is confined, the conscious effort of every member of the staff should be to accomplish his rehabilitation. The particular responsibility of the social worker (as the report calls the prison welfare officer) would be to plan the prisoner's after-care on release in direct collaboration with the probation and after-care officer for the district to which the prisoner will go or return. On release, whether to voluntary or compulsory after-care, the probation and after-care officer would seek to achieve the prisoner's reintegration in society as a useful citizen. The probation and after-care officer would not be expected

to undertake this task unaided. There must be found in each community public-spirited fellow-citizens, sympathetic to after-care, who (with some training) would make suitable auxiliaries to support and assist the probation and after-care officer in individual cases. Further, there must be encouragement of new capital projects, like hostels for ex-prisoners (and others), which a community can sponsor. The Home Secretary would be the Minister of the Crown with overall responsibility to Parliament. He would have the assistance of two advisory bodies: a Central Council for Probation and After-Care, and a Probation and After-Care Training Board. The report makes clear that this new concept of after-care is of a decentralised service, focussed respectively upon the institution and the community, each served by professionally trained social workers in direct communication with each other from the moment that after-care begins.

When does after-care begin? Nowadays everyone seems to agree that after-care begins at sentence. Indeed at Surrey Quarter Sessions (and elsewhere) Woman's Voluntary Service, with the support of the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and the co-operation of police and probation officers, operates a scheme under which the prisoner, or a member of his family in court, is asked whether a home visit by the W.V.S. would be welcome. Where the offer is

accepted, without delay (often on the same day that the man is sentenced), a visit is paid to his family, whose immediate needs are ascertained and satisfied. In the view of many, it is of prime importance to bring offenders' families within the orbit of after-care from the outset, thereby to meet the anxieties of the offender and the needs of the family, whose members often have to face the loss of their breadwinner.

Meanwhile the prison has received the offender and he is "at risk" for after-care. The process towards his rehabilitation has begun. The idea is not new. As long ago as 1894 the Gladstone Committee on Prisons said "that prison discipline and treatment should be more effectively designed to maintain, stimulate or awaken the higher susceptibilities of prisoners, to develop their moral instincts, to train them in orderly and industrious habits and, wherever possible, to turn them out of prison better men and women physically and morally than when they came in." The Prison Rules provide that "the purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to do so." Chiefly, as a result of historical accident, there is a fundamental distinction between prisoners who are subject to compulsory after-care and those who are entitled to voluntary after-care. Voluntary

after-care sprang from a humanitarian concern for the plight of the ex-prisoner, and manifested itself first through the efforts of individuals and later by the organisation of prisoners' aid societies based on local prisons. Compulsory after-care has always been applied to particular categories of offenders. Thus, of those discharged from prison (with which this article is concerned) prisoners discharged from corrective training and preventive detention and certain young prisoners and those serving life sentences are subject to compulsory after-care. Further categories are added by the Criminal Justice Act 1961. Compulsory after-care has the double object of rehabilitation and supervision, supported by the sanction of recall to a penal establishment if the ex-prisoner misbehaves. In 1953 the Maxwell Committee on Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies recommended the appointment at local prisons of trained and qualified social case-workers to be known as prison welfare officers. There is now a social worker in every prison in England and Wales, and at some of the larger establishments there are several. Social workers are also employed at special local prisons and at some regional prisons. But until recently an adult male prisoner serving a long sentence, unless he himself raised any personal or domestic problems during his sentence, might remain little more than a document, so far

as his post-release after-care was concerned, until about three months before his release date. Yet a prisoner serving a long sentence needs the help of a social worker at the outset of his sentence and during its course as much as any other prisoner. His basic needs do not differ according to the kind of sentence he receives nor where it is served. He will want a home, a job and a friend whichever penal institution he leaves. The 1963 Report on the Organisation of After-Care therefore concluded "that the nature and quality of the after-care service provided should be fundamentally the same and should be available to all offenders irrespective of their particular type of sentence."

Wherever after-care work is undertaken, the primary responsibility for it should be in the hands of people with an appropriate social case-work training and outlook. In the case of those who work from the penal institutions themselves the question as to whether or not it should be an exclusive duty, or combined with some other function, needs to be determined experimentally according to several factors, including the size of the institution and the length of stay and characteristics of the inmates. What is vital is that in all establishments (including central prisons) the daily after-care functions should be vested in one or more individuals who are adequately equipped for this duty. What sort of person, then,

is required to fill the role of the social worker in prisons? The case-worker closest to the prisoner's after-care need is undoubtedly the probation officer, whose primary duty hitherto has been the after-care of persons permitted by the courts to retain their liberty provided they submitted to the supervision of a probation officer. In the classic phrase, the officer's duty is to "advise, assist and befriend the offender." Additionally the Probation Rules require probation officers to advise, assist and befriend, when requested, persons discharged from correctional establishments who are subject to compulsory after-care. In 1962, for instance, the probation service undertook the after-care of 82 per cent of the male prisoners discharged to compulsory after-care. Why not, then, appoint probation officers as social workers in prisons? In fact this is what often already happens. Increasing numbers of prison welfare officers appointed by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies are coming from the probation service. Certainly it is desirable that the prison social worker should possess the same qualities and skills as a probation officer and should receive the same rate of remuneration. But there are fundamental objections to the probation service being responsible for prison social workers. One is psychological. It is said that if probation officers worked in prisons the probation service

inevitably would be linked in the mind of the public, and certainly of the prisoner, with the prison system, and this would prejudice the service's relationships with both. Another difficulty is administrative. Apart from London, probation officers are employed by local committees of justices and serve in an administrative county or large city or borough. From their complement sufficient prison social workers would have to be designated and assigned to the various prisons in the probation area. Even assuming there were officers suitable and willing to undertake this work for a period in a different setting, a straightforward interchange of personnel between local institution and probation area might not always be propitious; and if the exchange was between two institutions in different probation areas, would be complicated. Moreover, the fact that a probation officer came from a different service would tend to separate him from the staff of the establishment in which he worked. He would be a stranger within the gates and might not enjoy the same freedom of access to its inmates. For the sub-committee on the Organisation of After-Care the after-care during sentence was the paramount need of a concerted effort on the part of every member of the staff of the institution, and any factor that might weaken the cohesion of that effort ought to be avoided.

By whom, then, should the prison social worker be appointed? The Maxwell Committee discussed this question and concluded that, in order to keep alive the sense of interest and responsibility of the aid societies, the prison welfare officers should be those societies' agents and advisers and not members of the prison staff. It will be appreciated, however, that the Maxwell Committee was concerned solely with voluntary after-care administered through the aid societies and co-ordinated by their national association (N.A.D.P.A.S.). The latest enquiry covers the whole field of after-care, both voluntary and compulsory, and different considerations arise. The prison social worker now envisaged will fill a role in the institution complementary to that of his colleague in the community in the new probation and after-care service, irrespective of whether the sentence entails compulsory or voluntary after-care. To fulfil his mission effectively the prison social worker must be easy of access within the prison to any prisoner at any time. He is an integral part of the life and work of the prison and a full, yet inter-dependent member of the prison staff, to which he will contribute his skills as do other professional members of the team. So the 1963 Report recommends that the social worker in a prison should be appointed by the Home Secretary.

The social worker's relationships are threefold. First, and as soon as possible after admission, he

must gain the prisoner's confidence if he is to secure his co-operation in the plan of his rehabilitation. Secondly, the case-worker's relationships with other members of the prison staff must be close and so harmonious that they will turn to him whenever they see a prisoner in need of his help. His third relationship must be with those agencies in the community to whom he can turn on behalf of the prisoner for help during sentence, and with whom he is planning the prisoner's return to society on his release. I should like to examine each of these relationships in turn.

The social worker should have an unhurried initial interview with the prisoner as soon as possible after reception to relieve the anxiety that is inevitable when domestic ties are suddenly disrupted and to find out what urgently needs to be done. A business may be in jeopardy affecting innocent third parties, creditors may be pressing for payment, essential services may be disconnected, children may be bereft. In every case prompt intervention by the prison social worker, either directly or through his colleague in the probation and after-care service, can usually produce at least a moratorium and often a sympathetic and co-operative response.

But this is only the beginning of institutional after-care. No one imagines that the whole prison population will daily be clamouring for the attention of the social worker. Many prisoners will never

seek him. Not a few may begin by resenting his suspected interference. These may be a long time before their confidence is won and their co-operation secured, but the task must be essayed until achieved. Others will importune the social worker with grievances real or imaginary, and these must be patiently endured for some day one may be critical. I would judge that the essence of the relationship between prisoners and the social worker is accessibility. The very fact that it is generally known that in the social worker there is at hand a friend ready to listen and, where appropriate, to help, will engender on the prisoner's part, that confidence without which any plan of rehabilitation, however elaborate, is doomed from the start.

Various estimates have been proffered as to what is an appropriate case-load for a prison social worker and they are widely divergent. The Organisation of After-Care Report points out that case-loads will depend on the type of prison, its average population and rate of turnover; and claims that there is not yet enough experience on which to assess the maximum practical case-load, though it should be much smaller than at present. Even then, although he functions within the prison perimeter, the social worker cannot have ears and eyes in every cell or overlook every prisoner's letter and be alert to meet each problem and heartache as it arises. It is essential, therefore, that between

himself and other members of the prison staff there should exist the closest collaboration. I arrived at a prison—and an open one at that—on the same day as a letter from a prisoner's wife threatening to take her own life and those of their children. I was present at the consultation between the Governor and the prison welfare officer. There must be many communications, doubtless of a less dramatic character, containing elements calculated to arouse passion, or re-awaken heartache, or sow the seeds of vengeance, or quicken growing anxiety, that could perhaps be nipped in the bud, or at least assuaged, if there is a recognised channel of communication between the censoring officer and the social worker. As symptomatic of danger as the arrival of a disquieting letter may be the non-arrival of one eagerly awaited, with ensuing apprehension or melancholy. How is this situation to be conveyed to the social worker? The answer is through a sympathetic and perceptive landing officer who will see that the news, or lack of it, is made known to the social worker. Nor must this traffic all be one way. In his turn the social worker, if his relationships with the staff are fruitful, will know to whom to turn for help in a particular situation, whether to the Prison Chaplain, or the Medical Officer, to the prison visitor, to the principal officer, to the Governor or his Deputy. No doubt there are prisons where the staff relationship is already fully developed and happily

functioning. May it soon obtain in every penal establishment !

As soon as practicable (the 1963 Report urges), a plan should be prepared by the social worker for the prisoner's re-integration in society upon his release. Some planning will be simple; some protracted and difficult. Some plans will of necessity be indeterminate, but none should be haphazard. They can best be laid in consultation with the social worker in the community to which the prisoner will go on his release. Already he may be in touch with the prisoner's family and be paving the way for the return. On the part of some families this event may be awaited without enthusiasm. A prisoner's home may be hundreds of miles from his prison. Many a prisoner has no home and one has to be found. Few prisoners have jobs to resume or begin on discharge. Work must be found for them. Where a man has neither home nor work his domiciliary requirements will be dependent upon his place of employment. The so-called "white collar worker" often presents a singularly acute problem of re-integration in society. These men are as unfit as they are unsuited for manual work; possessed only of their professional skill, the door to which is fast shut for ever. Across their path lies the barrier of the fidelity bond. How are they to take up the threads of citizenship again unless there can be found a sponsor ? Beneficial thera-

peutic work is being done in particular prisons for the alcoholic and for the disfigured pervert but what hope has either of acceptance and adjustment unless there is someone to befriend him in freedom ? When the recommendations of the After-Care Report are implemented a new probation and after-care service will cover every acre of England and Wales, manned by professional social workers, supported by a cadre of selected auxiliaries, ready to operate the after-care plan which the prison social worker has prepared. There will be no central agency or bureau. The social worker in the prison will be dealing directly with his opposite number in the community. New lines of communication will need to be opened and maintained. The techniques of community social workers (where they are novel) will require to be understood, and a common language of rapport fashioned, in order that a bond of fellowship may be created between the two foci of after-care.

This pre-occupation with relationships, both inside the institution and between complementary social workers, cannot be overstressed; for unless they are smooth and efficient, after-care will not be fully effective. Some co-ordination will be necessary to avoid overlapping contacts by several members of the staff of the same institution. This object can best be achieved if the prison social worker normally deals with all



case-work communications with outside agencies. He should be kept informed of all others. Social workers in prisons and probation and after-care officers ultimately should share the same training, a subject that will, no doubt, receive early consideration by the Probation and After-Care Training Board, to whose appointment reference was earlier made. Some interim arrangements are inevitable.

The Government has already intimated that prison welfare officers and probation and after-care officers will be interchangeable, and full-time after-care officers will be considered for appointment to the probation and after-care service, if necessary after appropriate training. The Report recommends that any *ad hoc* training arrangements that might be introduced should eventually be superseded by permanent schemes for the combined training of probation officers and social workers in prisons. On his part the probation and after-care officer will require to know more about penal institutions and the social and psychological effects of lengthy incarceration, to say nothing of the special features of case-work among prisoners. Preparing the new after-care system will require not only reorientation courses but also opportunities for discussion and joint study among the various professional workers committed to the task. Already there are healthy signs of this kind of co-operation.

A recent gathering in the City of

Liverpool to discuss the 1963 Report was attended by a deputy prison governor, probation officers, after-care officers, prison welfare officers, magistrates and members of the University. Soon after the Report was published a conference was convened by N.A.D.P.A.S. at which officers and members of its Council, representatives of the aid societies, prison welfare officers, after-care officers, probation officers and the secretary of their national Association, together with a representative of the Scottish prison service discussed the Report. Meetings of probation committees are in train to consider the Report's implications for them; and for several of the aid societies, whose views the Home Secretary has indicated his readiness to receive.

I have dealt at some length with the social worker in prisons and I have been at pains to emphasise that he is only one, though a most important, member of a team in which each one of the prison staff has a part to play. The front line of the attack on institutional after-care in my view is manned by the prison officer. Witness after witness testified to his vital role in the work of rehabilitation, especially in prisons where an officer has particular responsibility for a small group of prisoners. The landing officer will be the first to detect the symptoms of anxiety, a deterioration in health or spirit, the transformation that a letter can effect, the overbearing influence of another prisoner, the need of solace

or of solitude. As time passes and opportunity offers he will learn about the prisoner's family, hobbies, hopes and fears. When he senses a need of other help than he can give his will be the chance to summon it, through his principal officer or directly from the social worker. What is true of the landing officer also obtains, in a wider circle of acquaintances, among his colleagues in other departments of the prison who are in daily contact with the prisoner at work or recreation. The difficulties that beset the endeavours of a prison officer are many. In some prisons a large section of the population is constantly changing. Officers themselves have escort and other duties which militate against the upbuilding of any enduring relationship between officer and prisoner. Overcrowding is not conducive to the exchange of confidences, and suspicion of favouritism must always be lurking close to the surface. There is a phobia about the very buildings that undermines morale. Nevertheless the prison officer occupies a key position in the tactics of institutional after-care which he must be encouraged to consolidate at all costs. Indeed, as the new vision of after-care takes shape, he must be given every opportunity of exploiting his especially favourable situation to reconnoitre, to render first-aid and to signal for reinforcements. I was gratified therefore to read that the over-riding theme at the annual conference of the Prison

Officers' Association last May was the need for a new look at the prison service, with prison officers taking a full share of rehabilitation responsibilities. The Association's chairman was reported as saying that the potential talent in the prison service has never been fully exploited. If the recommendations of the Report on the Organisation of After-Care are implemented not only will prison officers be given every encouragement to participate in after-care as members of the prison team, but they will be better equipped to do so. The Report envisages their training to understand prisoners as individuals with problems, and to develop a positive and helpful relationship with them; to acquaint prison officers of new methods and skills; and to enable them to reconcile their dual responsibilities of maintaining discipline and security on the one hand and co-operating in the rehabilitation of the prisoner on the other. Training courses for prison officers should give more prominence to the study of human behaviour, both individually and collectively, and familiarise them with the total conception of after-care in all its ramifications, and particularly the role of the prison social worker, with whom it is so important that the prison officer's link should be strongly forged.

Another member of the prison staff who can make a vital contribution to after-care is the Prison Chaplain. Would that he had more congenial surroundings for his

individual ministrations! In some institutions privacy is at a premium. Strange though it may seem, time too is in short supply. The length of interview that a prisoner has with his chaplain will depend on its purpose; but it should never take place in circumstances that either chaplain or prisoner is conscious of the need to hurry over it. Nor should the chaplain's primary function of caring for the spiritual welfare of those in his charge be interfered with by mundane matters that could very well be taken care of by someone else. The last thing I am advocating is that the chaplain should feel inhibited in his approach or appeal to the men, and it may well be that their periods of recreation provide that opportunity; but it seems wasteful that a man of his calling should become a sort of games officer or entertainments manager. The relationship between the Prison Chaplain and the social worker demands not only tact and goodwill but a sensitive appreciation of each other's roles. There could be confusion of counsel if chaplain and social worker were simultaneously acting on behalf of a prisoner in connection with the same matter. On the other hand, communications between a prisoner and his chaplain are confidential and what is divulged must be the sole responsibility of the chaplain. What is important is that there shall exist between the chaplain and the other members of the staff that sense of corporate responsi-

bility and team-work that will make a maximum contribution to the prisoner's rehabilitation. A note on a chaplain's desk from a landing officer, that prisoners X and Y were in need of a visit, and the officer would be glad if the padre could see them, spoke to me of an admirable relationship.

Apart from their daily concern with the health of the inmates, the Prison Medical Officers are engaged upon some notable after-care projects. I can do no more than mention in passing the psycho-therapeutic sessions for alcoholics at Pentonville and the link that has been established through the warden of St. Luke's House Rehabilitation Centre. The most striking effect of medical treatment upon behaviour can be witnessed at the plastic surgery unit at Wormwood Scrubs. A man's whole outlook upon life can be altered by the removal of some gross deformity or blemish. Here again, the keynote is fellowship in service. Through a wing-review board, comprising an Assistant Governor and his staff, the health and welfare of each prisoner is regularly reviewed, and his case can be referred to the Medical Officer, social worker or other specialist service.

A plea for more effective use of the prison visitor was made in the January 1964 issue of this Journal by a contributor knowledgeable and experienced in the subject. The Organisation of After-Care Report sees in the prison

visitor a potential auxiliary for community after-care. This article is confined to after-care in prison and I shall say no more concerning the prison visitor as presently understood than to echo Mr. Cave's plea for a review of the visitor's functions in the light of modern prison conditions, and to underline the importance of his point that a prison visitor should not hesitate to share with the social worker or other appropriate member of the staff any problem that seems beyond his scope. Because he comes like "a breath of fresh air into the prison" an anxiety that has been stifled, or a grievance that has been nursed, once it has been shared with, and by, the prison visitor, could be relieved or ventilated.

One cannot conclude an article on prison after-care without acknowledging several aspects of it, each deserving of extended mention. One is the prison hostel scheme that prepares a man for freedom by allowing him, towards the end of his sentence, to go out to work like any other wage-earner. Another is the home-leave allowance when discharge is imminent that enables a man to re-enter his home, to meet his community social worker, and to secure employment. I attended a pre-release course at Liverpool Prison and was as much struck by the range and commonsense of

the questions asked as of the scope and informality of the talks given by well-informed people drawn from industry and professional life, among them the Ministry of Labour Resettlement Officer. The Organisation of After-Care Report looks forward to a general extension to all discharges of the existing arrangement whereby assistance can be paid at the prison in cases where a man cannot reach the National Assistance Board office at his destination before it closes on the day of his release. The Report also recommends that the responsibility for providing clothing on release should in all cases rest with the prison authorities.

In sum: the keynote of prison regime should be the individual rehabilitation of each inmate and his preparation for responsible freedom. This should be the conscious aim of the whole of the institution's staff. After-care in prison ultimately depends on the effectiveness of the prison team. At its head stands the Governor with grave responsibilities for the security and well-being of all his establishment, both prisoners and staff. He is the leader of the team. To him others will look for inspiration and encouragement. Each in his several sphere must share the Governor's burden. Is it sentimental to say that a prison is a fellowship? Is it beyond hope that it could be a fellowship of the redeemed?

In September 1962 the Twelfth International Course in Criminology was held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem under the auspices of the International Society of Criminology, the hosts being the recently founded Institute of Criminology under the direction of Professor Israel Drapkin. From the United Kingdom, Mr. ERYL HALL WILLIAMS, Reader in Criminology in the University of London, attended, and he has written the following account of his impressions of the correctional system in the hope that it will interest our readers.

# Crime and the Penal System in Israel

## 1. Background Information\*

The State of Israel was born in May 1948 and was immediately involved in a bitter war with the Arabs, being invaded from the north-east and south by the military forces of Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. The invaders were defeated in four weeks, but a good deal of guerilla warfare by armed groups continued. Hostilities were resumed in October 1956 and a United Nations force still guards the frontiers with Egypt, Jordan and Syria, and the Gaza strip. The territory of Israel is comprised of an irregular narrow strip of land about 265 miles long, stretching from the hills of Galilee in the north to the Red Sea port of Eilat in the south, and at its widest point, south of Beersheba, only 70 miles wide—at its narrowest, north of Tel Aviv, only 12 miles wide. The Jordan border surrounds

Jerusalem, which is reached by a narrow corridor by road and rail. (Actually the road had to be re-routed as the Jordan forces still held part of the route when hostilities ended.) Jerusalem itself is of course divided into the Jordan sector, including the old walled city where most of the holy places are situated, and the new town which the Israelis are building outside on the west. Here impressive new public buildings, a vast concert and exhibition hall, and a new hospital costing millions of pounds, have been erected. Also, the very impressive new Hebrew University of Jerusalem, situated on a vast campus outside the town.

The population of Israel as at 1st January, 1960, was just over two millions (a little less than that of Wales) comprising 1,858,841

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\*Most of this information is taken from official guide-books.

Jews, 160,000 Moslems, 50,000 Christians and 20,000 Druzes. The population has trebled since the establishment of the State of Israel. Only 35 per cent are "sabras" (or native born Jews). The rest came from many different countries in Europe, America (36 per cent), Asia (17 per cent), and Africa (12 per cent). There are now surprisingly large numbers of Moroccan and Algerian Jews. It will be noted that there is a sizeable Arab minority, which includes about 20,000 semi-nomadic Bedouins. The fact that there is still a state of war between Israel and its neighbours has some influence on the population of the prisons. What is the effect of culture conflict on the crime problem is an interesting speculation, but one suspects that it is considerable. *Shoham*\* has pointed out that the criminality of the new immigrants exceeds that of the native born; and believes that the clue to these differential crime rates may be found in the culture conflict hypothesis.

Figures published by the Juvenile Probation Service seem to show that juvenile delinquency has been rising constantly in the eleven years 1949 - 1959 and it would appear that the second generation immigrant is becoming quite a social problem. The Agranat Committee on Juvenile Delinquency in Israel (1956) appears to have reached the same conclusion. A research project designed to test the hypotheses about the immigrant and crime will shortly be completed.†

## 2. The Crime Situation

For its population, Israel claims to have little crime at present. The excellent volume, *Criminal Statistics in Israel 1949 - 1958* published by the Institute of Criminology of the Hebrew University, shows that in 1958 there were less than 50,000 offences recorded in the charge register. This comprises serious offences, i.e. all felonies and misdemeanours under the Criminal Code Ordinances 1936 and most of the more recently created crimes of the same order (p. xiii).

This figure does not include cases where the report of an offence did not lead to any action and the file was closed because there was no ground for a charge. Since 1956 these have been deducted from the total offences in the charge register, to give a figure for True Offences. These are sub-classified as follows:

	1958
No suspects discovered ...	21,071
Suspects were discovered ...	27,249
	<hr/> 48,320

\*53 Jo. Crim. L. & Crim. 207 (June 1962)

†Cf. also Dr. Joel Shanan's paper on *Cultural Waywardness as a Breeding Ground of Delinquency in Israel*, delivered to the 12th International Course in Criminology, September, 1962. Proceedings, Vol. II. Part two. See also: Z. Hermon, *The Penitentiary Aspects of the Problem of Sex Offenders in Israel*, 53 Jo. Crim. L. and Crim. 62 (March 1962).

a) file closed no action brought	5,519	
b) action brought by end of year	18,419	
c) still under inves- tigation at end of year	3,311	27,249

The delinquency rate in terms of population at risk works out at something like 2,500 per 100,000 population at risk, but this is a very rough calculation as I have not deducted for the population under fifteen. The rate should be higher (possibly 3,300). The corresponding figure for England and Wales for indictable offences known to the police seems to be lower, standing at less than half this figure in 1958, 1,575 per 100,000 population at risk. This is surprising, and I can only suggest that the figure for offences known and recorded in the charge register is not comparable to our figure of indictable offences known to the police. It seems likely that it includes many offences which would not be classified as indictable offences in England and Wales, in which case one might assume that the crime rate in Israel would correspond more closely with that in the United Kingdom.

Dr. Hermon, the Scientific Director of the Prison Service in Israel, says that the figure for adult offenders convicted cannot be used as the basis for the calculation of the crime rate for Israel because it includes many trivial offences as a person can be counted more well as the more serious ones, and

than once if he commits separate offences during the same year. He prefers to use another figure for adult offenders convicted, which is given in the *Statistical Abstract of Israel, Volume 11 (1959/1960)*. Here Table 9 at page 403 gives the following figures for Adult Delinquents Convicted (aged 15 years and over):

Excluding brawls and minor assaults	14,094
Including brawls and minor assaults	16,751

On this basis, a rate of crime in relation to population is given. Excluding brawls and minor assaults, it is 11.0 per 1,000. (Including them, it would be 13.1 per 1,000 of the population aged 15 and over). It seems that this rate had dropped from 12.0 in 1953 to 11.0 in 1958. This appears to be the only figure of crime in Israel which is related to population at risk by the Israeli criminologists.

A corresponding figure for England and Wales would be that given in Appendix IV of the *Introduction to the Criminal Statistics*. Here we find the rate per 100,000 of persons aged 17 and over found guilty of indictable offences at all courts. For the year 1958 the figure given is 283 per 100,000. This is equivalent to 2.83 per 1,000. Compared with the Israeli figure of 11.0 per 1,000, it is just over a quarter. It may well be that differences of classification of offences and nomenclature obscure the true position, but the impression remains that the claims

made to a low or even moderate crime rate in Israel cannot be substantiated by comparison with the rate in England and Wales.

Oddly enough, the otherwise comprehensive publication of Israeli Criminal Statistics already referred to contains no information from which we can gather the crime rate in terms of population at risk. The statistics have another peculiarity, viz. the habit of dividing the population into Jews and Non-Jews at every possible stage. One wonders what significance attaches to these distinctions in the light of the recent decision about the Carmelite monk who was born a Jew and held to be a non-Jew because he no longer professed the Jewish faith.

### Juvenile Crime

The juvenile courts have jurisdiction in Israel over males from 9-16 and females from 9-18. In 1958 there were 3,890 convictions of juveniles, 2,445 of them in the juvenile courts (see tables 24 and 40). The figures for juveniles convicted are tending to rise in both the juvenile and adult courts; and one gets the impression that a certain amount of anxiety exists over the activities of teenage youth in some quarters of the bigger cities, i.e. Tel Aviv and Haifa.

### 3. The Prison System

This is under the same Minister as the police, and there appears to be a pretty close liaison with the police in terms of training and

secondment. Most of the secure prisons are old Taggart forts or police barracks built by the British on a rectangular plan with a courtyard inside. Probation and institutions for Juvenile Offenders come under the Ministry of Social Welfare. The administration of the criminal law comes under the Ministry of Justice. The law administered is mainly that inherited from the Mandate, but capital punishment has been abolished (other than for crimes against the State: cf. Eichmann) and corporal punishment has also been abolished. In 1954, the year capital punishment was abolished, the punishment provisions of the Code were restated and amended, and they include the following features:

1. Use of suspended sentence.
2. Imprisonment for a period exceeding one year shall not be imposed by a court until a report on the accused has been submitted by a probation officer (not yet in force, save in regard to offenders under 21 convicted of an offence carrying a maximum punishment of six months or more imprisonment).\*
3. The Minister of Police may grant special leave not exceeding 96 hours (four days) upon request by a prisoner or by recommendation of the Commissioner.

\*See *International Review of Criminal Policy*, No. 19, June, 1962, pp.101-2.



4. Release Boards were set up, composed of a District Court Judge as Chairman, the Commissioner of Prisons or his representative, and a third member (a physician or educator).

The Boards review sentence of imprisonment exceeding six months after two-thirds has been served and recommend either release or completion of the full term.

Persons sentenced to terms of three to six months can be freed or ordered to complete the full term at the discretion of the Minister of Police.

In 1957 similar release boards were set up for juvenile offenders detained in institutions. In this case the two-thirds minimum does not apply.

The prison system is directed by a Commissioner, assisted by a Deputy Commissioner, who is in charge of Security, Personnel, Finance, Supply, and a Scientific Director (Dr. Hermon), who is in charge of Classification, Education, Medical and Social Treatment, Labour and Research.

#### 4. The Disposition of Offenders by the Courts

In 1958 the 40,910 persons convicted by all courts were dealt with as follows:—

Imprison.	...	...	...	3,135
Imprison. and Fine	...	...	...	305
Imprison. or Fine	...	...	...	10,870
Fine	...	...	...	22,565
Other Penalties	...	...	...	4,925

Of those imprisoned or otherwise detained (3,135):

2,640	were sentenced to terms up to one year
265	to terms of over one year up to three years
30	to terms of over three years up to six years
20	to terms of over six years
180	detained under hospital orders.

There are only six institutions under the Prison Commission to which offenders may be sent. These are as follows:—

1. The Ramla Prison: maximum security (near the centre of Israel). This includes a wing for women prisoners and a psychiatric ward together with the main hospital of the prison service.
2. Shatta prison, in the north, a medium security prison.
3. Damun, on Mount Carmel near Haifa, a medium security prison.
4. Maasiahu Camp, near Ramla, minimum security, merely a light double fence—one storey buildings, flower beds, gardens, visiting in the open.
5. Tel Mond prison for young offenders 16 - 21.
6. A women's prison near Nathanya.

#### Classification

Every prisoner sentenced to three months or longer is brought to the Observation and Classification Centre (O.C.C.), situated alongside Maasiahu Camp, unless his sentence is for five years or more when he goes straight to Ramla. At the O.C.C. a prisoner undergoes social and medical exam-

inations, and eventually his case is considered at a classification meeting presided over by the Scientific Director of the Prison Service. One day a week is devoted by the diagnostic staff to such a meeting, and the prisoner has a full opportunity to be heard in an atmosphere which encourages him to express himself freely. A summary of the case and the reasons for the recommendation is dictated immediately a decision is reached, and this is submitted to the Commissioner for his approval.

I saw this board at work and was impressed with the high professional standard of the discussion, at which there were two social workers, a sociologist, the Director of the Prison Medical Service, a psychiatrist, and several prison officers. No guards were present other than those attending the meeting.

*The Maasiahu Camp* was overcrowded and I was distressed to see some of the prisoners engaged in the familiar occupation of sewing mailbags. But here we saw the first example of the vocational training of prisoners directly by the Ministry of Labour. Selected prisoners are given the same opportunity as is given to new immigrants to learn a trade in 12 months, and, if successful, gain a certificate on which the place where the training took place is not indicated. There are ten such workshops in the five prisons, engaged in carpentry, locksmiths' trade, motor car repair and tailoring.

There was also a bulb growing industry (not too successful) and braille translations were made for the blind.

*Tel Mond Camp*, the youth prison, like Ramla prison, was centred on a former British police barracks. There were three stages, a Pioneer Group, a Training Group and an Honour Group. The latter lived very pleasantly under canvas in the grounds. Here the main impression was of the close parallel with the English borstal system, and the emphasis on education and hobbies (a natural history museum and a small collection of two- and four-legged creatures). The Scientific Director proudly showed us three spacious classrooms built and equipped by the Ministry of Education. He explained his belief that it was good for the other departments of state to come in and shoulder some responsibility for inmates. (I have already referred to the Ministry of Labour's help in vocational training schemes.)

In this connection, I might refer to help given by the Health Ministry to the prisons, particularly on the mental health side. Not only are there six full time physicians for the 1,200 prisoners in the institutions, but the Ministry considers the problem of psychopathic offenders as partly within its province and pays for the Director of the Psychiatric Service, his assistant, a P.S.W. and three attendants who work in the psychiatric ward at Ramla.

*Ramla Prison* was overcrowded, with few single cells but mainly dormitories (it was not built as a prison). Its 400 places were almost fully taken up, and the staff numbered 167. There were armed guards in watch towers on the fence surrounding the perimeter. No parties worked outside the fence. A section of the prison was devoted to infiltrators, and persons caught carrying arms or smuggling drugs receive heavy sentences. Tailoring, carpentry, laundry, mat-making, some electrical work, a shoemaker's course, painting and general maintenance were among the trades. I was particularly interested in the manufacture of braille books for the blind (also noticed in Maasiahu) and the salvage of valuable foreign stamps from official mail supplied by the civil service, where the secretaries are instructed to save foreign stamps.

One interesting feature of *Ramla* was that although they had between thirty and thirty-five discipline cases a month, the punishment of up to seven days solitary and removal of mattress was all that was used. Dietary punishment (bread and water) had been used only once in two years. The main penalty was loss of privileges (fortnightly visits although the rules say once in two months).

There is no corporal punishment, and I was told that this had not been used since the British left. Then it had been used for riot and escape. The staff feel a little threatened by this situation, but they are all trained in unarmed

combat, and may use violence to overcome a prisoner who uses violence. The last escape was over two years ago (I remarked half-jokingly that they did not have enough escapes). The psychiatric ward had 53 beds, and one ward of 20 beds was closed. The open department catered for psychopaths, narcotics, neurotics and post-psychotics. Treatment was similar to that in a mental hospital—individual and clinical—drug techniques and so forth. The staff consisted of two psychiatrists, one psychologist, one social worker, one occupational therapist and twelve male nurses. Persons found insane at the trial are sent to a mental hospital but persons who become mentally ill after conviction are treated here, unless they are certified, when they will be transferred to a mental hospital. A new *Law concerning the Treatment of the Mentally Sick* was passed in 1955. Release is by a Psychiatric Board presided over by a specially qualified lawyer.

*The Social Case Work Department* of the Prison Service is run by a most competent and experienced female social worker with a master's degree in the field of social science from an American University. Under her, 18 case workers are employed: four in the Classification Centre, two in the after-care field, loaned, I believe, to the Tel Aviv and Haifa voluntary associations. In addition four students receive case work training in the prisons, the Case Work Department being recognised for

this purpose by the Hebrew University. Apart from the Classification Centre there are two or three social workers in every prison. Such basic questions as disturbed family relations, and employment and accommodation difficulties, seem to be the main questions tackled, but they also try and resolve the deep-seated personality problems of a minority of individuals. They report on the prisoners' applications for home visits and on the desirability of release after two-thirds of the sentence has been served.

Finally, I must turn very briefly to juvenile offenders. They are mostly dealt with by probation or by fine. About 70 per cent are discharged or conditionally released, about 20 per cent put on probation and ten per cent sent to institutions. The juvenile probation service has 48 officers, all trained social workers, and an average case load of 25 cases under supervision and 14 for inquiries and report, and five institution cases with which to keep in touch.

The Institutions include two Observation Centres and seven homes (five for boys and two for girls). We saw one of the Observation Centres, at Mesilah, near Jerusalem. Here a very thorough diagnostic investigation is made and reports are submitted to the Court. A staff of psychologists, social workers and a psychiatrist (shared with a neighbouring teaching hospital and the Hebrew University) seemed reasonably

competent, and the atmosphere was relaxed and friendly. The only doubts were as to a system which permits a boy to be committed for up to 60 days for observation before a final decision is taken whether to commit him or otherwise deal with him.

We also visited an *Arab approved school* outside Acre, which was delightfully set out in an Army style camp of Nissen huts, and was run by an exceptionally enlightened staff which included both Arabs and Jews. Suitable pupils were sent out to a neighbouring high school for education.

## 5. Adult Probation

There was no really adequate adult probation service until 1951, when one was established by the Ministry of Social Welfare. But it is interesting to recall that as far back as 1937 an experiment had been made in this direction in Palestine under the Mandate, and this led to the enactment of the Probation of Offenders' Ordinance of 1944. The Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Penal Administration had endorsed the experiment and recommended it for all territories in 1940 (and again in 1957). There are now some 34 probation officers, all fully trained social workers, but so far the numbers placed on probation are small. Time did not permit me to make a study of the working of the probation service, but the main impression was of unlimited enthusiasm in the face of grave

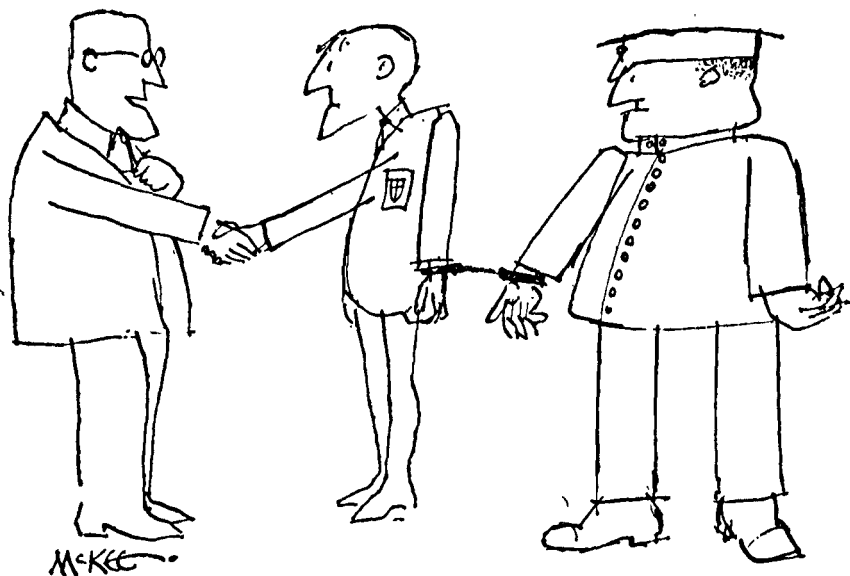
operational handicaps, such as distances and shortage of staff.

Generally one might say that the penal and correctional services of Israel are in good hands and are taking shape remarkably well despite many difficulties. What the future has in store for them is

anyone's guess. More crime and more serious crime no doubt. But our good wishes go out to those devoted workers and enlightened administrators who are determined to produce a model system of treatment of offenders and are well on the way to this goal.

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### SCHOOL LEAVERS—I



"Ah well MacCrindle, we all have to leave some time."

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# Drunkards or Alcoholics?

NORMAN INGRAM-SMITH

THERE IS A great deal of suffering caused by a complete misunderstanding of the difference between a drunkard and an alcoholic.

An alcoholic is a sick man, whereas a drunkard is a moral failure. This cannot be too strongly emphasised. A drunkard is a man who enjoys the state of being intoxicated and deliberately sets about getting drunk, although he could avoid this if he were minded so to do. The more common type of alcoholic, on the other hand, loses complete control once he has started drinking at all and he is quite unable to stop before he has run out of money or if the compulsion is very severe, before he is arrested. The alcoholic may only intend having one or two beers with the boys, but once having started he finds that he goes on.

At St. Luke's House, we are constantly being asked to help men with their drinking problem after they have lost their wife and children, job, clothes, money and worst of all their self-respect. All of these are things which no man wishes to lose, but alcohol drives them on.

Alcoholic behaviour is responsible for a great number of the crimes committed in this and other

countries. The main prisons in London contain hundreds of men, whose problem is alcohol. Doubtless the other prisons, throughout the country, would show similar figures. This is the result of alcoholism in one aspect. The figures of road-accidents, divorce, N.S.P.C.C. cases, lost industrial man-hours; all of these contain a proportion of alcoholics. There is no doubt about the fact that alcoholism accounts for a very high percentage of the total misery and suffering of which the reports in the popular press and some of the more responsible papers are filled.

One of the problems which confront people who are trying to deal with the alcoholic problem, is the social stigma which attaches to the condition. Lack of understanding on the part of the general public makes it difficult for the compulsive drinker to bring himself forward to seek treatment. For an interviewer there is often a risk in the harmless statement of fact, "of course, you are an alcoholic." More often than not, a man will flare up in righteous indignation at this statement. Nobody wants to admit that he is an alcoholic and most people have the view that the only man who is an alcoholic is

the funny, unshaven old man with a long overcoat to his ankles and a certain unsavoury odour.

Gradually, as facilities are becoming better and more widespread, the Medical Profession is taking the problem of alcoholism more seriously. Many doctors have recognised it as a disease for a number of years, but it still is not possible to fill in a medical certificate as showing the patient as suffering from "alcoholism." Hospitals are now encouraged to set up treatment centres for alcoholics and great steps are proposed in the right direction.

In the treatment of alcoholics, Social Workers play the greatest part and the Medical Profession comes only on occasion. In the majority of hospitals the proportion of medical staff out-numbers, by a long way, Social Workers. Were a hospital to be set up exclusively for alcoholics, the majority of the staff would be Social Workers and hidden away in obscurity would be a few doctors and nurses.

Here we are then, confronted with a disease requiring hospital treatment and a cure largely brought about by Social Workers. Here then, we have a whole new concept and one which it is not easy to get accepted by the Medical Profession. Even now, it is only in the hospitals and general practices, where thinking is ahead of the times, that the true nature and treatment of alcoholism is accepted. Medical Scientists differentiate the alcoholics from the

heavy drinker by physical or mental symptoms; cirrhosis of the liver, various psychotic manifestations are among the criteria. Social Scientists look to behavioural symptoms, such as constant job changes and eventual total inability to hold employment, disruption of family life because of drinking and deterioration of standards on all fronts, as indications of alcoholism. How then, is this problem to be tackled? There might be a strong inclination to increase the work of the temperance and total abstinence movements; ban the beer advertisements, close distilleries, make drinking alcohol socially unacceptable. Each of these courses of action might be of some use. However, it must be remembered that where alcohol is not obtainable, notably in prison, men are still able to reach a state of euphoria. It would appear to be invidious to list here the various household liquids and solids, which can combine to give a lift to those who take them. Suffice it to say that if one is going to remove all commodities which can be used to get "drunk," then metal polish and bread would have to go, milk, aspirins, coal-gas, mineral-waters, to mention but a few. Clearly prohibitions of the means of becoming drunk is insufficient. It is beyond doubt that one has to change the person.

At St. Luke's House, we deal with alcoholism in three stages. *Stage 1 is physical:* by the use of Antabuse pills, we make it difficult

for a man to drink and thereby offer him a secure and sober period, in which to make initial adjustments to his social situation. Antabuse is a non-active chemical, which is taken daily by the patient and if alcohol is added, it becomes a poison which produces vomiting, nausea and flushing. Under the protection of this, jobs, clothes, cash and personal relationships are attended to and the initial steps are taken on the journey to sobriety. *Stage 2 is in the mind:* when an alcoholic is in full swing, his thinking becomes "drunk." He sees cash in terms of a number of drinks, rather than as a general means of exchange. He views lodgings on the basis that the cheaper they are, the more money will be left over for drinking and, therefore, he acquires the unpleasant accommodation which tends to drive him to the lights, warmth and companionship of public-houses. By careful appraisal of the past, by daily adjustment to the tensions and anxieties of daily life, the patient's mental state can be brought towards sober thinking. With little difficulty, a man can be physically prohibited from drinking; slightly more difficult is the realignment of his mental approach to life. Having achieved these two steps you may then find yourself confronted by a sober man, resenting the fact that he is not drinking and life is tedious in another way. So often all relations and friends have given up contact with the patient; he is a dead loss, is the

normal attitude. At this point, the patient may well turn round and say, "I was happier when drunk." It is here that the third stage needs to come into play. *Stage 3 is spiritual:* The approach to this will vary according to the man. Basically it involves discussion and understanding of the true nature and meaning of life. What is it for? Why is he here at all? Is there a plan or is it just a haphazard muddle? This leads on to the asking of two questions. What is God like? What shall I do about God? I think it is dangerous, indeed in an inter-denominational set-up it is almost impossible to give religious instruction. One can, however, pose questions for the patient to turn over in his own mind and in the solution of which he can seek advice and guidance. It is clear that in dealing with people who suffer from alcoholism, as with any other complaint, one has of necessity to deal with the whole man. There is little point in dealing with the physical and spiritual sides of a man if we leave his mind in a sick state. Equally the mind and the spirit put in order, leaving the body unwell, is going to be of little value.

Once a man has become alcoholic, there is no question of his ever being able to drink again without the certainty that sooner or later he will be ruined through drinking alcohol. The patient must realise that the stresses and strains of life, the emotional tensions and frustrations, the general difficulties



of life must be faced without resort to alcohol. Inadequacies of personality and of culture can well dictate a drinking pattern that is compulsive and socially unacceptable. This is one of the more difficult forms of the addiction with which we have to deal. That alcoholism is an addiction is beyond dispute. Exhortations to sobriety are useless. Many is the alcoholic whose disease has been pushed to its final depravity by the exhortation, (nagging) of those who will not understand that there is very little choice for the sufferer without skilled help with his problem. It is of the utmost importance that the general public should have a right appreciation of the nature of the disease and that the patients, themselves, should understand that to admit to being alcoholic, carries none of the stigma attached to an admission of drunkenness.

To watch the gradual re-birth of a man, when under rehabilitation, is supremely rewarding. The restoration of self-respect joins the enjoyment of the pleasures of every-day life. All these things accompany the work of this Centre. Then comes the moment of triumphant break-through into a man's deeper understanding, when for the first time for many years he begins to consider actions from the point of view of right and wrong, rather than merely from the point of view of his own pleasure.

Within a prison population, the drunks tend to be despised, "not

proper criminals" is one way in which they are described. To a certain extent this is true. However, there is a very fine distinction which must be understood. There are delinquent men who enjoy lives of crime and only when drunk get arrested. At other times they tend to get away with their crime. To the unskilled these appear to be alcoholics, whose court appearance is due to drink. It is only inefficiency in crime detection which avoids their coming to court when sober. The other and more rewarding man is the one who is honest when sober and only turns to crime when he is drunk. This is the kind of man to whom we are best able to offer assistance. There is a tendency in the prison world to view men as being either delinquent or having a drinking problem and the latter group are divided in some peoples' minds as falling into (a) alcoholics, (b) regular drinkers. In fact they are in both groups, alcoholics; the one type of good prognosis and what are known as the "drunks" of bad psychopathic prognosis. These latter are the kind of people who shamle through the courts daily and periodically they have a stay in one of the prisons. They are prematurely old. Their thought process is slow, their reasoning faulty and their lives very empty. Occasionally, given close supportive care these people can remain sober for considerable periods at a time. That they will ever become fully integrated,

independent, sober citizens is beyond the wildest hopes of those who deal with such problems.

For good and successful rehabilitation the alcoholic must be of reasonable personality and have the kind of background difficulties which answer fairly readily to Social Science.

People are always asking about success and failure with regard to alcoholics. What is success or failure when one is dealing with human life and the vagaries of intelligence and human emotion, addiction and moral choice? Where a man asks for assistance, we must do our best to gauge our ability to offer help. It is unkind to raise the hopes of those who may be in the position which is hopeless. The

success of any Social Worker is to offer in the most acceptable form, the latest scientific help couched in genuine friendship. Some will be ready to accept what is offered, others will not. They will have to come back later when the time is ripe and conditions are favourable.

Working with alcoholics in terms of numbers is a most unrewarding field; thirty or forty out of every hundred achieving something which might be called success. Working in terms of human happiness, the constant reward of seeing a man rise from utter degradation and poverty to the normal life of the average citizen in happiness and comfort far outweighs the other disappointments.

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## Post-Graduate Course in Criminology

The University of Cambridge has established an annual Post-Graduate Course in Criminology, to be given by the Institute of Criminology. The fourth course will be held during the three terms of the academic year beginning October 1st, 1964, ending in July 1965.

A Diploma in Criminology will be awarded by the University to those who have diligently attended the course, and who, at its completion, pass a written examination in five papers.

The Programme of Teaching will consist of lectures, seminars and practical work dealing with all the major aspects of criminology. Practical work, during vacations as well as term time, will be undertaken by the students, at penal and psychiatric institutions, probation and after-care centres and other agencies concerned with the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

Admission to the course will be open to those who already hold a university

degree in any subject, not necessarily in law. In very exceptional circumstances, candidates who do not hold a university degree may be considered for admission, if they have either made an important contribution to criminology by research or gained outstanding practical experience in administration. The number of admissions in any one year will be limited in order to maintain the highest possible standard. Those admitted to the course will be made members of the University, and will be expected to seek admission to a college.

Application Forms for Admission to the post-graduate course are available from The Secretary, Institute of Criminology, 7 West Road, Cambridge, England. The completed forms, together with evidence of necessary qualifications, should reach the Secretary as soon as possible, and not later than July 1st, 1964, for the course beginning in October 1964.

# Psychiatric Studies of Borstal Lads

*A review from the Assistant Governor's viewpoint.*

T. R. CARNEGIE

THIS BOOK COVERS only the preliminary stages of the complete inquiry—a later publication will deal with behaviour in the Training Borstals and After-Care. Obviously this type of investigation requires years to complete but its value lies in the fact that it is one of the few longitudinal studies dealing with a random sample of young offenders! The current fragmentary treatment of the young offender is spotlighted as there is little liaison between the three fields — diagnosis, institutional training and after-care. To some extent this is difficult as the statutory after-care period is only two years so that subsequent consequent feedback over a long period is virtually nil.

The random factor in itself is valuable; too often intensive professional examination has been reserved for the special type of offender. But as the aim of the inquiry was "to investigate the psychological and social characteristics of a group of Borstal Trainees and to set up criteria for use in follow-up studies of the relationship between mental abnor-

mality and subsequent criminal career," it was necessary to include this random factor. In fact the sample was obtained by selecting every alternate lad sentenced in the Metropolitan Police Area and who subsequently passed through Wormwood Scrubs Allocation Centre. This gave a total of 200—100 were examined in 1953 and 100 in 1955. Objections could be expressed concerning the limited location of the sample but these can be discounted by the fact that the London area provides a high proportion of Borstal Trainees (the author states this to be between a quarter and one third) whilst the Metropolis is the magnet for the drifters.

The relationship between mental abnormality and crime has caused endless discussion and confusion. Probably those working in Borstal Institutions link them too readily as our clientele exhibit so many negative characteristics. Not all psychopathic personalities are criminals; crime is only a part of total behaviour. An additional diffi-

culty is the acceptance of precise criteria regarding mental abnormality.

The crime for which the majority of Borstal Trainees have been convicted is related to property—usually stealing. In this respect the descriptions set forth by Rich are interesting. They are:

*Marauding Offences:* Usually carried out by three or four lads without a formally agreed plan of campaign; rather opportunistic.

*Proving offences:* To prove toughness or manhood.

*Comforting offences:* In which the theft represents a substitute for affection or is an aggressive act of resentment against those who are depriving him, e.g. impulsive or theft from parents.

*Secondary Offences:* The planned theft, taking precautions against detection, and with definite ideas of what can be stolen.

*Other offences:* Those not in the above category, e.g. being directed by an older person.

Obviously these are not rigid descriptions as the recidivist charts demonstrate there is an increasing number of secondary offenders whose initial offences fell into the other categories. As to be expected the comforting offenders present a real problem with their origin in early years when they suffered emotional deprivation—usually maternal rejection, or early parental separation.

The car thief is of particular importance—he may be involved

in attempting to demonstrate his masculinity or the act may have a high neurotic content. This is particularly so if the offence is repetitive with little attempt to avoid arrest. A further point to note is if the offence is committed alone, as research has found that there is a higher correlation between mental abnormality and the solitary offender.

The marauding and proving offenders were the most normal mentally whereas the comforting cases contained a high degree of mental abnormality.

The secondary offenders were mixed with a high proportion of problem cases suffering from social and personal maladjustment.

The converse of the solitary offenders—the gang members—were not particularly concerned with delinquency but with aggressiveness. Their satisfaction seemed to be found in fighting and being impressive—*vide* the gang fights outside dance halls and youth clubs.

The author reports that he found a willing co-operation in the discussion of sexual behaviour although it is admitted that there was evidence that some information had been suppressed. This, he explains, may have been motivated by the wish to avoid giving information about homosexual tendencies and experiences which might have influenced subsequent allocation. On this subject of homosexuality four groups are suggested:

1. *The Male prostitute*—has definitely declared intentions.

2. *Neurotic*—strong concealed tendencies; in fact may be married.
3. *Situational homosexuals* — aggressive character whose main interest is heterosexual.
4. *Schoolboy*—young immature lad with little interest in girls.

On a "broken-home" analysis it was found that among the suspected homosexuals nearly 50 per cent came from homes broken at or before, two years of age. Of the 200 lads studied, only 159 had homes in the London area and as already discovered (by Morris Ferguson and Sprott) these were products of delinquent areas. These areas of greater incidence are mainly in the old over-crowded slums and in the new re-housing estates situated on the outskirts. Over 50 per cent were living in the same area as the one in which they were born and indeed their friends were people they had grown up with. Herein may lie the emphasis of the "Manor"—a reflection of the limited social experience of Borstal Trainees. This may account for the development of the "gangs"—but it is noteworthy that those of a calculated criminal nature are led by an older man. The "gang" itself appeared to serve real needs—for self assurance and a sense of identity.

In the home the remarkable feature was the absence of abnormalities. This probably accounts for the all too frequent documentary reports which state "this lad comes from a good home and his

parents are interested in him." Probably this is a true statement of fact but the important information is omitted. What is relevant is the quality of home and parent, during the lad's formative years. Obviously this is difficult to ascertain as memories become blurred. But an analysis of parental characteristics produced evidence of marked degrees of mental abnormality, severe instability and serious physical handicaps. Lest the parents be blamed similar negative factors were present in the parent's own upbringing.

As to be expected, the author found an exceptionally high proportion of Borstal Trainees had a very disturbed background with such features as parental separation and divorce, the death of parent(s). Indeed, of the 110 parents now living together, in only 30 cases was the relationship assessed to be good. The most important parental attitude is that of affection and acceptance, yet in this category, only 12 fathers and 44 mothers exhibited warm acceptance. The fact that the inquiry is dealing with human beings produces complications—the lad and the parents may both be maturing plus the fact that the former is attempting to establish some form of independence. This desire for independence is encouraged by the parental tendency to regard their responsibility as ended when their son reaches his late teens.

Physical disease or injury have been accepted as important factors

in the development of criminal behaviour; their influence may fall into one of these categories:

1. Head injuries resulting in brain damage.
2. Industrial limitation or frustration.
3. Psychological consequences.

Often in childhood there is a history of a fall or accident, the consequences of which were headaches or blackouts. The fact that a lad is physically handicapped might well render him unsuitable to follow a career ambition. Such a disappointment may demand a high degree of adjustment which the lad is incapable of accepting. The psychological consequences however, may be the most important. Although the disease or injury may have been successfully treated, the psychological damage may remain.

A further classification of criminals suggested by Alexander and Staub are:

1. The neurotic — psychological aetiology.
2. The normal — sociological aetiology.
3. The organic — pathological aetiology.

The neurotic in this context refers to the psychopathic, hysterical or epileptic personalities. These exhibit intrapsychic conflict of personality—the genesis of which come from earliest childhood impressions.

The normal offender identifies with the criminal sub-culture although his psychic organisation

resembles that of the normal individual. There is still a great need for continuing work in this field of psychiatric investigation of the offender—and indeed the author produces ample evidence of such studies. The most difficult problem is to determine the difference between the “normal chronic offender” and the “psychopath.”

Reference is made to the psychoanalytical interpretation, i.e. partial failure in development of the three mental structures (Friedlander)—instinct, ego, and super-ego. The ego's malfunctioning being caused by weakness, and the super-ego lacking development, whilst the instincts are relatively unmodified. Healy and Bronner in their study were impressed by the emotional disturbances exhibited by offenders and drew up a chart consisting of eight dominant feelings—thus:

1. of rejection and deprivation.
2. of being thwarted in self expression.
3. of inferiority or inadequacy (real or imagined).
4. of discomfort in family relationship.
5. of sibling jealousy.
6. of unhappiness caused by deep-seated mental conflict.
7. of guilt caused by previous behaviour.
8. no strong emotional discomfort.

Of course an offender can experience one or more of the above discomforts. An American research project (by Jewell and Jenkins) suggested three main groups of

mental disorder—these concepts were later used (by Jenkins) in the study of incarcerated delinquents and he suggested these four categories:

1. the situational — essentially normal personality requiring very limited treatment.
2. the pseudosocial — socialised within a delinquent group.
3. the personality — delinquency caused by substantial inner factors.
4. the asocial—the most seriously disturbed whose personalities were integrated around a pattern of hostility and attack.

In Chapter XI when dealing with the psychiatric classification of the actual sample the author outlines the problem as faced by the field worker. The description of the home and community environment is stimulating for its clear exposition of the factors involved. The actual basis for defining mental abnormality tends to be rather vague, however, the author uses as his criteria personality, symptoms and mode of reaction. The positive indication being a history of psychiatric treatment or neurotic symptoms. The practical value of deciding abnormality relates to these two questions:

1. What type of institutional treatment could have been preferred to Borstal? and
2. How many of the samples required psychiatric treatment?

Indeed! this question of treatment is the same problem confronting the Assistant Governor, and

throughout the book there are several comments which ring rather ominously. Typical examples:

“institutional training postpones rather than solves the Problem.”

(reference to homosexuality).

“they rapidly show themselves incapable of living on their own...”

(reference to H.O.A.S. lads).

“some, especially of those who had been in approved schools, co-operate superficially but respond little, and slide through without trouble not allowing anyone to penetrate the institutional reserve.”

(reference to some Borstal Trainees).

“Institutional adjustment notoriously bears an uncertain relationship to behaviour after release.”

One real value of this enquiry is to present the real problem of criminality as it exists and it could stimulate fresh thinking in terms of training programmes. In this respect there is no real criticism by the author of Borstal Training; rather a suggestion that there could be a supplement to the current ideas. Indeed his remark concerning group counselling is encouraging in the light of the Circular Instruction on this subject.

The inclusion of case histories adds the very human element and not only do they adequately illustrate points under discussion but increase reader participation. Most Assistant Governors will be able to recognise parallel cases from their own experience.

The book is written in a free flowing style and without the irritating foot notes which tend to confuse and alienate the reader. Indeed the presentation of the subject, particularly the Tables, encourages reader interest—there is a singular lack of abstruse technical terms allied to a helpful single subject short chapter arrangement. This permits the book to be read sensibly in easy stages. At the end there is a comprehensive list of book references followed by author and subject indexes. A unique feature in the book is the

eight page summary setting forth the salient features in each chapter. The author has made every effort to sustain and encourage the reader throughout.

This book should be a valuable aid in the development of more progressive programmes and stimulate the creation of a professional approach consisting of diagnosis treatment, objective assessment and continuous feedback. Certainly this publication should be included in Staff Libraries and available to all those dealing with Borstal Trainees.

## A Psychologist's Viewpoint

V. P. HOLLOWAY

THOSE WHO ARE ANXIOUS to learn more about Borstal inmates in general should not suppose from the title that this book may be too specialised for them. The ordinary reader in the field of delinquency for instance, can expect to find numerous areas covered. He will find most of these of potential interest and well within his grasp; only a few chapters such as those on a particular personality test and a method of assessing physique expect a prior technical knowledge. On the whole, the coverage ranges widely rather than going to much depth in any particular area.

The presentation is generally straightforward; however, since

the approach adopted places the book within the scope of a wide range of readers, it might have been worthwhile to have explained briefly the simple statistics used, to have covered more fully in the text the details given in the Tables and perhaps to have considered whether some of the data in the Tables might not have been presented with more clarity in a different form (e.g. in graphs).

The details relate to 200 random Borstal receptions committed in the London area, half in 1953 and half in 1955. The approach is one which recognises that psychiatrists' judgments about crime and delinquents may well have been



formed too much with reference to special groups referred to them, and that, in order to establish what is normal for any particular section of the delinquent population, there is an urgent need to investigate unselected groups. Dr. Gibbens also does a great deal to discredit the idea that the psychiatrists' task is to distinguish those with traditional psychiatric symptoms and thereby imply that all the rest are of no psychiatric significance. The author is concerned to give appropriate consideration to information about disturbance and deviation in this sample which might more traditionally have been excluded.

Thus the book sets out categories of crime, kinds of motivation for stealing, quality of previous experience, the range of accessible sexual behaviour, present and past medical conditions and the environment and social structure from which inmates come; it assesses the quality of family relationships, assigns the degree of mental abnormality appropriate to each boy, it examines the operation of various psychological tests and procedures and seeks to relate many of these aspects to each other. It also looks at some special groups such as car thieves and homosexual offenders; instances of twins in trouble reported to the author, although outside the actual sample, were examined because they can sometimes be a special valuable source of information. One cannot hope to give many details here; the

summary at the end is a guide to those aspects which anyone may particularly wish to examine; for those who wish to be selective many of the chapters are self-sufficient and can be taken out of sequence.

Naturally, there are disappointments about factors not included. As this was a study which particularly set out not to ignore areas frequently excluded from traditional psychiatric classification, it would have been nice to have seen a greater examination of the relationship between patterns of interpersonal conflict and types of delinquent behaviour; indeed the author himself has explored this kind of thing in some instances, for example in his study of the underlying dynamics of car thieves, but as yet he does not show how such data might be unambiguously introduced into future practice or how it might be systematically used in the kind of follow-up study undertaken here.

It would be wrong to expect of a study initiated over ten years ago that it should include approaches only now reaching full development. However, as this was to be a long-term follow-up study, one would have welcomed a stronger attempt to differentiate specific training requirements, contrasting the operational needs of different groups in diversified ways. Possibly it was because Borstal Training was at that time seen as a relatively undifferentiated process, that little attention could

be given to the task of grouping those with similar training needs, in order to discover whether chances of success varied in relation to specified training measures.

Perhaps the item which gives rise to the most misgivings is that of the classification of physique, which offers promising possibilities for the future but which at present offers little chance of conclusive discoveries or of a practical "pay-off." The present work adds little to earlier studies of physique and one questions therefore whether it was worth the disruption it caused in the research. Dr. Gibbens carried out his investigations in Wormwood Scrubs when research workers were still a very unusual occurrence. That the community had difficulty in adjusting to this particular part of the research, the photographing of nude boys, is clear from reactions which are still mentioned in Wormwood Scrubs. In fact the frank admission in the text that some of the photographs were lost must come very close to realising the anxieties probably felt by those who were asked to participate.

The suggestion that Gibbens thus ventured too far in one particular instance contrasts with the more general tone of the book which is very cautious. Few could be offended by this book. One has to read very carefully to be certain about what it is that Gibbens is prepared to assert about the inmates' psychiatric needs and how far these are met. He believes the Borstal regime to offer the Abnormal group (27 per cent of

the total) more than anything generally available in the Health Service: "it is not a question of different regimes, but whether they need something in addition." This is more optimistic than a few pages later when he suggests that for two-thirds of the Abnormal Group some might be helped by the Henderson Hospital kind of community treatment, but that others presented problems which are hardly soluble at present. He sees the visiting psychiatrist as rarely able to suggest anything specific within the present framework of training. The summary on desirable treatment however, ignores the extent of this last difficulty but does state that for some a desirable combination of training and treatment is now available.

This book was written in order to show preliminary findings in a long-term project. Waiting for results can take a long time and it is often useful to have just the initial survey details in the meantime. However, in this case publication has been so long delayed that it has been possible to add some of the preliminary results as an Appendix. Much of the value of the initial survey can be lost in such a delay because there have undoubtedly been important changes in the Borstal receptions since 1955. It might now have been better to have waited a little longer in order to present the first follow-up findings fully integrated into the present text.

The preliminary results give some interesting indications. During the study the author separated Abnormal from Normal inmates (with a small problem group not classified as either). He then took each of these three groups and rated their chances of success. To do this he used clinical data but for the 1955 half of the sample he had full knowledge of actuarial predictions (Mannheim-Wilkins). His results show that to make this kind of discrimination for this population does improve significantly on Mannheim-Wilkins predictions alone. This particular way of dividing boys is not the only way they might have been usefully categorized according to the extent of disturbance; getting results which show that different groups have differential success rates is not the only criterion by which one judges the usefulness of the original discrimination; but it is very rewarding and not all that frequent for a clinician to show this kind of success.

The results of the Mannheim-Wilkins predictions are themselves illuminating. They show, for instance, that already by 1953/5 this sample of Borstal receptions was producing the bias towards the lower Mannheim-Wilkins prediction categories which is characteristic of samples today. Also the discriminating power of the predictions themselves seem to have declined in relation to the population in the study. Such data are interesting if only to dispel assumptions that the deterioration in the Borstal population, as Mannheim-Wilkins predictions, is of rather more recent origin.

In spite of a number of reservations, this book, *Psychiatric Studies of Borstal Lads*, T.C.N. GIBBENS (and others), Oxford University Press, 45s. 0d., contains much useful data and methods of classification, and I would particularly recommend it to those who have had little chance of seeing so far the extent of disturbance and deviation in the Borstal population.

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#### DATES TO NOTE

The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency holds a week-end conference at Felixtowe (April 17th) on "Is Prison any Use?" Speakers: C. H. Rolph, Tom Hayes, Prof. W. J. H. Sprott (Nottingham) and Mr. J. E. Hall Williams

The Institute will sponsor a Summer School in Holland (29th August-5th September). Cost, 14 to 27 guineas. Details from 8 Bourdon Street, London, W.1.

The 1965 International Criminological Congress will be held in Montreal. Details from Secretariat, 55 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa 3, Ontario, Canada.

# The Roots of Evil

G.H.L.B.

"FROM FORNICATION, and all other deadly sin . . . Good Lord, deliver us." The Litany in the Book of Common Prayer from which this suffrage is taken was composed at a time when sin was sin and punishment was punishment. Today, more than 400 years later, sin is considered by many to be an invention of the theologians, and punishment has become a dirty word. The sin remains, howbeit under another name; the punishment has been or is in process of being, replaced by treatment. This book is a disturbing reminder of the severity of the penalties meted out to those who transgressed the laws of Church and State in earlier times. The so-called 'Age of Chivalry' accepted mutilation and branding as we today accept the fine and probation. This book is not for the squeamish. The record of punishments of former ages is enough to chill the spine of the most ardent 'flog them all' exponent. For those who doubt the efficacy of capital and corporal punishments it will be convincing reading. For churchmen of all parties it is a salutary reminder of the horrors perpetrated in the name of religion—of "the men and

women turned into criminals by fanaticism or conscience and punished with ferocity."

If the offender has had a hard time of it in history, no less hard has been the lot of the policeman. The fact that even today the police are, in certain quarters, regarded with suspicion, if not with hostility, is possibly a left-over from the days of the thief-catcher and the common informer, who prepared the way for the regular police constable. But it is certainly a far cry to the days when it could be said that "constables in many districts contributed more to the crime rate than the criminals themselves."

Every now and then the reader is encouraged to think that our present social ills may not be quite so bad after all—"the morals and habits of the lower ranks in society were growing progressively worse and worse . . . no longer to be restrained by the force of religion or the influence of moral principle." (Not an extract from *The Times* correspondence columns of recent date, but Patrick Colquhoun writing in the 1790's). The creation of an efficient Police Force was resisted as a gross interference in the

liberty of the subject of a free country. Rather a few murders than the inconvenience and indignity of professional police. When at last Peel's 'Bobbies' came into existence in 1829 armed only with short wooden batons, the cry went up, "These damned police are now to be armed. Will you put up with this?" A later chapter dealing with the state of police today, claims that, whereas they were ahead of crime less than thirty years ago, they are not so today. The need is for more men of greater ability if the police force is to catch up.

The chapter on Prison Reformers covers ground that will be familiar to readers of this Journal. It contains nothing new, though one sentence might well be pondered over—"the difficulties of finding the right type of men to enter the prison service and put these excellent theories into practice were as great as ever." We still have the excellent theories (some of them not so new as we are led to believe), have we still the same difficulties over staff? In this respect the Prison Service experiences the same shortage as the Police. The account of the treatment of juveniles in the U.S.A. as recently as 1944 makes our Detention Centres appear Holiday Camps in comparison.

Chapter I of Part III, "L'uomo Delinquente" with its study of Lombroso and his school deserves careful reading. For those not familiar with the theories that have

largely influenced modern penal thought there are some quotations worth committing to memory. "The criminal might not be a good man gone wrong, but a man incapable of going right." "Psychopaths fail to appreciate reality." "Criminals go criminal as the insane go mad, because they cannot help it." "Almost as much mental deficiency is acquired as inherited." A study of these and others might provide a welcome change from the usual round of discussions at annual conferences.

The familiar 'causes' of crime are paraded plus a few less familiar, such as 'Hot weather' when murders are supposed to be more common; certain occupations, e.g. shoe makers in France were considered to be more addicted to sexual crimes. More convincing is the plea for the removal of those social conditions which help to create crime. In this we all have a part to play, since we are all involved in a "dynamic, complex, materialistic culture" which is widely accepted as being the true field of criminological inquiry.

The chapter entitled "The crime cult" (and indeed the whole book as was stated earlier) is not for the squeamish. The popularity of criminal 'literature' is reviewed, from the "Penny Dreadfuls" to the novels of Ian Fleming. The inclusion of a brief survey of past and present detectives of fiction in a serious social study is explained as being of 'sociological significance.'

Horrifying as I found many parts of this book, I was most disturbed by the accounts of twentieth century criminal activity in the U.S.A. If political intrigue and administrative corruption are willing handmaids of crime, what hope is there for western civilisation so prominently upheld to the world as the bulwark against the tyranny of Communism?

The part of the book dealing with present problems has a useful summary of the case for the ineffectiveness as a deterrent of capital and corporal punishments. "Only by thinking of the criminal can the numbers of victims be reduced; and only by imposing useful punishments . . . can society be honourably satisfied." The chapter "Prisons" is a recital of woes familiar to those who work in prisons—overcrowding, bad sanitation, lack of work, etc., etc. Nevertheless, one wonders if the writer is on safe ground when he says, "The state of prisons today, both in America and in Britain, is far more serious than that which Howard described nearly two hun-

dred years ago." Those readers whose working hours are spent inside a building which reminds one of 'a pre-1914 doss-house, a military transit camp and a public cleansing station,' may raise a grim smile at the home-truths delivered here.

Not the least valuable part of this book may be overlooked by some readers, for it consists of the last 60 pages. Here we are given the sources of all authorities and works quoted in the text, arranged in the same order as the chapters in which they are used. Next, a very comprehensive bibliography. Happy the man or woman in the service who can claim to have an acquaintance with half of the books listed. (It might be an enlightening test to count the number of books in this bibliography which one has even heard of!) Finally, a good index without which a book of this nature can be exasperating. *Roots of Evil* by CHRISTOPHER HIBBERT.

Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963,  
36s.0d.

## IN THE NEXT JOURNAL

CRIME IN DENMARK

WELFARE WITHOUT WARMTH

PHOTOGRAPHS : LETTERS : NEW BOOKS

# Under Lock and Key

## A Study of Women in Prison

J.S.N.

WHAT! ANOTHER BOOK on prisons? That could be the normal reaction of those who have noticed the glut of literature on this subject over the last few years, books by ex-prisoners, books by experts. The author of this book is neither an ex-prisoner nor would she claim to be an expert. She has simply drawn from a wealth of experience gained from long association with the prison system and particularly from mixing with staff and prisoner alike behind the walls of H. M. Prison for Women at Holloway.

Mrs. Field has in no way set herself the task of writing a prison text book. She has described the existing system "not for its own sake, but to show how it might be changed." Her main purpose (one could almost call it a "mission") in writing the book is to draw attention to their (the women prisoners') particular situation.

Before writing about women actually in prison the author tries first to sift the reasons for bringing them there. The reasons for crime. A complex question if ever there was one! Without exception, every time I have addressed an audience on "Crime and the Treatment of the Offender" someone

has asked "How do you account for the increase in crime in recent years?" Is there a straightforward answer to such a question? Can one put a finger on this or that and say specifically that here is the reason? Danish research on the subject would claim "failure" as one of the basic reasons for crime. Mrs. Field has found in her experience that a number of women prisoners are from broken homes and slums, often underprivileged and with a background of insecurity from early years. She suggests that in the past we may not have been looking in the right direction in seeking a solution to the problem for "we have only recently begun to study the link between mind and deeds and the emotional disturbances and aims that go to make up the criminal personality."

The reader gathers from this book some interesting facts which are perhaps well known to those who have to deal with the offender, but not so well known to the general public unless they take it upon themselves to read the Prison Department's Annual Report. The number of women serving prison sentences is much fewer than men

and, few women serve long sentences. Mrs. Field claims that the shame of a prison sentence affects women more than men, but on the whole when sent to prison, the woman feels a sense of injury rather than regret. "There is very seldom an expression of remorse." As selfishness is, I think, the basic problem of the offender one does not expect to find remorse and one is surprised when a genuine cry of remorse is heard!

Mrs. Field is at her best when describing the types of woman prisoner. I am one with her in her "sneaking sympathy with the prostitutes' sense of grievance." They often proved, in my opinion, "good" prisoners, but were never in long enough to effect any real rehabilitation. The author also knows something of the "social heirarchy of prison life." This was brought vividly home to me when a prostitute who attended Church regularly while inside, applied to be excused Church attendance. When I enquired the reason for this she exclaimed that when attending Church she found herself placed in a pew with all those b . . . . thieves!

The problem of the young offender who becomes a young prisoner is a challenge to all genuinely interested in crime and the treatment of the offender. What can be done to prevent them offending and, if they must be sent to prison, what best can be done for them and with them? Mrs. Field, as one would expect, is

greatly concerned about this problem. She realises there is a genuine attempt to keep young women under 21 out of prison altogether, but if they come to prison a wing at Holloway or any other local prison is not a suitable place to house them however much we try to segregate them from adult prisoners.

Mrs. Field is against the short sentence and would like to see it abolished altogether. The short sentence prisoner upsets the routine of prison life and it is a waste of time as little or nothing can be done to help the offender during a short stay. Mrs. Field has experience of the Bench and she rightly points out that often enough the Judge has little alternative to awarding a short sentence. There must be found then a suitable alternative. The author would like to see the law amended to enable a parole system instituted. Now we come to what for Mrs. Field is the "heart of the matter." She suggests something along the American lines—prisoners released from prison after part of their sentence has been served. Of course, they would still be under supervision and would be required to conform to special conditions during that supervision. If they failed to conform then a return to prison would be the inevitable result.

A system such as Mrs. Field suggests could well work in this country. Its success would depend on many factors. Mrs. Field suggests two:



1. A right selection of prisoners.
2. An efficient parole supervision.

"Experts would be on a parole Board," but I would not exclude those who are working in daily contact with the prisoner. I suggest this would be a contributory factor in the successful running of the system.

The success of a parole system would depend on two things at least:

1. Stringent conditions of parole.
2. An intensive form of after-care.

Mrs. Field cites these two and gives good reason for insisting upon them. "The first" she says, "to ensure that those placed on parole would neither abscond nor fall into further crime" and this can only be safeguarded by conscientious and dedicated parole officers who would need to visit the homes of the paroled as frequently as possible.

In her plea for the abolition of short sentences and the introduction of the parole system, Mrs. Field makes her strongest point when she writes about the overwhelming advantages. "No longer would the family of small children be handed over to the care and guardianship of a local authority at immense monetary cost while the mother was serving a three month sentence."

In Part II of her book Mrs. Field deals adequately with the type of prisons. I couldn't agree with her

more than when, in her chapter on borstals, she refers to the closing of Aylesbury as a borstal for girls and the dispatching of the girls to Durham and Cardiff. It was a shame that those in authority were forced to make this decision because of the increase in the number of boys being sent to borstal training at that particular time. But it was surprising how those girls eventually settled down, particularly in the wing at Durham, and I well remember the many tears shed by them when they had to leave to take up residence at the new establishment at Bullwood!

Part III of the book deals with Administration and has chapters on Medicine, Physical Welfare, Education and Work.

Anyone who has read books by ex-prisoners will know how bitter they can be against the Prison Medical Service. Yet on the whole I think this is unjust. I would acknowledge with Mrs. Field that there is much to be done within the Service but until adequate facilities can be provided there will always be room for complaint. However, there is a large building programme being carried out at most of our local prisons providing more up-to-date accommodation and equipment. The need is urgent and none would voice this more than the medical staff who at present have little elbow room wherein to practice.

In her chapter on "The Mind," Mrs. Field has a paragraph which needs repeating again and again

and taken to heart from the Governor to the newly appointed Prison Officer. It is this—"All women (and I would add men) need some help. The problem is to sort out the available treatment and to send the right prisoner to the right source of treatment. In a way simply befriending, human sympathy, raising morale and planning for the future are just as necessary as, if not more so, than the highly esoteric techniques."

Mrs. Field briefly touches upon "Group Counselling" and draws a comparison between the American and our system. Group Counselling originated in California and has only recently been practised in this country. While it is the work of experts in America, our system, suggests Mrs. Field, is run by novices. But let it be stated in all fairness that it was only introduced in the first place in this country in order "to build up a better relationship between prisoner and prison officer."

The method is challenged by Xenia Field for she realises its psychological and emotional dangers and knows it gives great scope to the exhibitionists. But in spite of that she thinks it all worth while on the grounds that it does relieve tension.

There is a short chapter on Education and it is gratifying to know that the author approves of the appointment of a full-time tutor-organiser. Mrs. Field's chief complaint under this heading is

that the "higher intelligent are not catered for" and even the "average intellect" are neglected. The last word on this important subject by Mrs. Field is that a lot of money has been spent on it and to see that it is doing its job more supervision is needed by an outside committee. For her, "the whole question of education in prisons and borstals needs examination."

The Local Authority teachers have a difficult task and many are dedicated men and women. I think they do their best with the material they have to work with and every encouragement ought to be given to them.

Mrs. Field trots out the old arguments and vexed questions when she tackles the subject of work in prisons. It is surprising the number of people who think there is an easy solution to this problem. Mrs. Field thinks it has not been tackled adequately and calls for experts at the top and not amateurs as we now have. She is under the impression that the whole approach to prison work is "half-hearted and lacks direction".

While I believe Mrs. Field has a point to make here and she makes it fair and square without pulling any punches she is perhaps being unfair to those like Mr. Albert Healey, who have not spared themselves in trying to bring new and interesting industries into our prisons during recent years. The solution to the problem is not an easy one and we must thank Mrs. Field for challenging us with it

again in a fresh and invigorating way. Those of us who have seen day in day out some of the dull and unproductive work carried out by numbers of men and women in our prisons must nod the head in agreement when we read in this book such phrases as "satisfying work is almost as important as decent hygiene and reasonable food," and "lack of occupation is liable to turn an active woman into a lazy one." Mrs. Field goes as far as to say that "any reasonable cost in setting prisoners to work in terms of rehabilitation is humanely and economically justified." Who would disagree with her?

On the Chaplain and his work in prison Mrs. Field has some very pointed remarks and yet one cannot altogether quibble with her on this score. She realises (and don't we all!) that prison work is specialised and not all clergymen are suitable for it. She also realises the isolation of the chaplain in his prison parish and she makes the interesting suggestion (which has been put forward by others) that experienced and proven chaplains should be charged with the supervision of different zones.

May we pray (and I hope Mrs. Field will join us) that God will supply our prisons with "men of zeal and devotion with a true belief in humanity."

Although the author realises that the purpose of her book was "not to follow the prisoner beyond the prison gate" I am glad she decided to add a chapter on hostels.

Those experienced in after-care fully realise that although men leaving prison are, on the whole, fairly well catered for as far as hostel accommodation is concerned, women and girls are not. "The shortage of suitable working-girls' hostels is an urgent matter, because, what happens during the immediate days after release is of vital importance." One of the gravest problems, especially in the North, is the fixing up of women and girls with accommodation on release. The sooner good hostels and the right people to run them become available the better.

Although Mrs. Field has pointed out that it is "well nigh impossible to rehabilitate the prisoner while in captivity, what little can be done will be wasted if there is not an efficient after-care service on release. The providing of suitable hostels must become a main plank in this service.

No one would argue with Mrs. Field in her summing up that her book gives a true picture of the woman prisoner and her life in prison. No doubt the woman prisoner is not an easy subject for study, but the author has been in a unique position to give a true picture and to make such a study. We are grateful for her effort, for this book will be read with interest and deference by all who know the author and share her sympathies and understanding.

*Under Lock and Key* — by XENIA FIELD.

Parrish. 30s. 0d.

# Group Work in a Girls' Borstal

OLIVE PERRIE

FOLLOWING AN OPEN Annual General Meeting in 1960, I was invited by the Governor of a girl's borstal to pay them a visit. Over the years I had many opportunities of visiting men and boys in prison and borstal but this was to be a new experience. Having seen and talked to the girls at work the Governor asked me if I would be prepared to take a pre-release group of these girls on the subject of "Homemaking" and "Education for Marriage and Family Life. As a counsellor I felt this really called for an experienced group leader but after talking it over with the Education Secretary he agreed I should accept the challenge.

The project was discussed with the Governor, and it was agreed I should take a 12-week series of talks and discussions with a group of up to six selected girls whose ages varied from 16 to 20 years. This entailed a weekly visit to the borstal for a period lasting up to one and a half hours. The subjects to be covered were wide-ranging and at first rather frightening. They included personal relationships from the school age, going steady,

courtship and marriage, general family problems including the upbringing of children and the more practical matters of planning and running a home.

In order to understand the problems and needs of the girls I should perhaps indicate something of the background of their social misdemeanours.

The type of girl who formed the basis of these groups was a girl who had committed several criminal offences, varying in degree of seriousness from theft, larceny, etc., to violence. All had had experience of previous institutional training. Most had a child or children at home or in care. Only one had been legally married. All were emotional and volatile girls whose reactions, initially at least, appeared to be almost unpredictable.

When the project was first mooted I had hoped to bring in from time to time, my colleagues from the educational side, particularly in dealing with medical problems, but in view of the specialised investigation which the girls underwent during their borstal training, the Governor had indi-

cated that she thought this problem could best be tackled through case-working techniques.

Additionally there were bound to be personal problems thrown up, these would need confidential and individual counselling. (This in fact did happen on a number of occasions).

In retrospect the first session with each group was perhaps the most important. The arrangement with the Governor was that after being introduced to the girls, I would be left to my own devices with no other member of the staff present, an ideal local arrangement appreciated by myself, the girls, and members of the staff.

Occasionally during disconcerting silences, I was very conscious of the fact that I was known to the girls to be the wife of a prison official, with whom they had no direct contact but whom they knew by sight. This, I felt, might have hindered my gaining their trust and confidence. In fact it proved the opposite, when discussions, as so often they did, revolved around the family unit, and relationships within it, the girls' interest in the doings and activities of a normal happy family was endless—and this is perhaps understandable in the light of their own unfortunate experiences of family life.

The initial attitude of the girls was one of suspicion if not covert hostility. Clearly repeated rejection in various circumstances had led

them to consider any attempt at friendship in this setting as an attempt to change them against their will; impose alien ideas or simply to moralise over their social shortcomings. I found that the best method of breaking down this particular barrier was to react as a friendly equal—accept them, their criticism and attacks on established ideas and social order (which were clearly intended to shock) without being too partisan. As soon as rapport had been established, their natural, and at times avid, curiosity kept the sessions lively and stimulating. Their curiosity stemmed from a singular lack of knowledge on the subjects on which they considered themselves expert. Even the simple anatomical structure of the body and its basic biological functions were a revelation to them. Paradoxically this curiosity was accentuated by an overlying veneer of worldly sophistication adopted by most.

An interesting insight into the girls' attitudes and reactions can be best illustrated by a pattern of events which happened not once but on several occasions during the courses. Initially, without exception, the groups attitude to marriage appeared to be one of cynical contempt. Their experiences with males had been, to say the least, unfortunate. Most of them had been exploited and deceived, sometimes in the first instance within the home environment. This had caused them, perhaps, to leave

home and drift. Gravitating towards criminal fraternities was an almost natural progression. The one negotiable commodity they possessed was their sexual attraction—this, they found, gave them at least an ephemeral power and fleeting emotional satisfaction.

Beneath these consciously expressed feelings and attitudes was a pathetic desire for security. As one got to know them, their dreams and fantasies were no different from the average girl. White weddings — a husband — home and family seemed to them in the here and now an unattainable dream but like all human beings the unattainable to them was a not unrealistic prospect for their children. This was a particularly strongly held wish for those girls who had a daughter at home or in care. On this one feature I feel the whole course revolved. This was the one talking point that could change cynical unrealities into sincere and strongly held convictions.

It is impossible in the space available to describe the unfolding events as they happened on each course. Despite an optimistically

planned programme, the needs of the girls came first and I doubt whether such a programme would have been beneficial or acceptable to the girls attending the sessions. However, in retrospect it appeared that almost all the points which would have been covered by the planned programme were somehow raised and discussed as they arose. This method of taking these courses can no doubt be criticised and with some justification. However, in this situation I felt that whilst instruction had an important place there were other equally important demands being made of me. There was a need to allay anxiety. There was need to counsel. There was need to care — even "mother". There was a need at times to be the focal point of criticism and aggression. Above all there was a need to be a good friend. I probably failed in most—I sincerely hope I didn't fail them as a good friend.

Anyone who is thinking of undertaking this kind of work in prison or borstal will not find it easy—there are many difficulties and pitfalls. They will find it a rewarding and stimulating experience.

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#### OTHER NEW BOOKS

**DISTURBERS OF THE PEACE** by *T. L. Iremonger, M.P.*, (Johnson Publications, Ltd., 25s. 0d.) is a comprehensive study of methods of dealing with young offenders, with interesting observations on psychopaths.

**CHILD VICTIMS OF SEX OFFENCES** by *J. C. N. Gibbens* and *Joyce Prince* (I. S. T. D., 2s. 0d.) agrees that protection of children should be one of the main objects of the law but asks "how can this be reconciled with the other objects of justice and fair trial?"

**CRIME AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE** by *John Barron Mays*, (Faber, 30s. 0d.) an important survey of present-day attitudes, will be reviewed fully in a later issue.

# Pentonville

## A Sociological Study of an English Prison

A. B.

TERENCE and PAULINE MORRIS'S sociological study of Pentonville is likely to arouse in members of the Prison Service the same feelings as would be engendered by two guests who were given the freedom of one's home and had the insensitivity to describe the poverty of its furnishings, and the shortcomings of the cooking, and paused to make some slighting references to the social origins of the family. The temptation to become defensive is almost overwhelming.

The temptation should be resisted. First the institutions in which we work, no matter how closely we identify with them, are not as personal as our homes; secondly, no intelligent person would deny the considerable gulf which exists between the public and private face of any organisation, no matter how convenient it may be to show the first and conceal the second; and thirdly, since civil servants are disabled by their constitutional situation from publicising their own critical assessments of the work in which they are engaged, they have to rely

on departmental committees—the time-honoured device for initiating change or, as in recent years, with some courage, on research workers whose dispassionate assessments are not easily accepted.

The Morrises sat themselves down like social anthropologists in the village street, observed the scene, talked to the inhabitants and recorded their pattern of life. All social observations, indeed, the inclination to observe at all, proceeds from some conviction some pattern of interest. The standpoint of the Morrises is that of the trained social worker committed to penal reform, and this has determined their interests. Each member of the Service will want to take issue with them on some detail or another, but this reaction proceeds out of one's own position and estimate of oneself. Here is an image of one of our institutions; the question for all of us is whether it is fair, and if fair, whether we like it. If we don't, we should concern ourselves with the reality on which the image is based. There are encouraging signs that we are concerned, and the recent

declaration of the Prison Officers' Association subscribing to the changed role of prison staffs is a significant contribution to the aims of the service.

*Pentonville,*  
TERENCE and PAULINE MORRIS  
assisted by BARBARA BARER  
Routledge & Kegan Paul.  
Price 50s 0d.

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