

# Women in Preventive Detention

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THIS SURVEY covers from November 1961 to October 1962, when all women sentenced to Preventive Detention were located in Holloway, and was written before they were transferred to Styal prison in March, 1963.

Most of the Preventive Detainees in Holloway were known to me over the past 20 years. When I was working on their wing, I became more and more interested in the types of women given this sentence, as against those who were given a long term of imprisonment.

I began to study their histories and the more I learnt about them, so my interest grew, and I began collecting data for a much more detailed survey. I do not believe anyone has conducted any such survey on *women* P.D.s. before.

Following on these ideas, it seemed reasonable to try and find

out why these particular women received a Preventive Detention (P.D.) sentence, and what, if any, the major differences are between them and those of the Long Term Imprisonment groups. (L.T.I.)

I have divided these latter into two groups: —

- (1) Those eligible for P.D., i.e. over 30 years of age and having three convictions on indictment; and
- (2) those not eligible for P.D.—under 30 years of age or with a less serious past record.

In November 1961 there were 26 P.D.s. at Holloway and they are compared with 13 women from each of the two groups of L.T.I.

The information was obtained from the prison records, and in the case of the P.D.s. by personal

interviews. It is possible that their own account of their lives may be biased, but I have checked wherever this is possible. A few declined any information, and as their record is equally bare, there is little to go on except police reports.

In some cases, it is seen that the criminal record of a woman serving a P.D. sentence is not as bad as some of those who did not receive P.D., as in Group 1. We wonder why this is so, and whether there is any similarity with those who are not now eligible for P.D. but may, in course of time, become eligible.

As will be observed from these two cases given as illustration, some thought might be given to this suggestion: —

#### **L.T.I. Three years.**

Born 1909 — two older sisters. Mother died in mental hospital. Father heavy drinker. Friction with stepmother from five years. Unhappy home life.

Cohabited with a man and finally married him when she was 32 years old. One child.

Child put in care in 1955.

No knowledge of husband's whereabouts.

First conviction at 17 years: 20 previous convictions — larceny.

Has no home.

Unfit physically in many ways. Is awaiting heart operation.

Average intelligence.

Child came to prison in 1962 for similar offence to mother's.

#### **P.D. Seven years**

Born 1909 — five sisters, one brother. Lived with both parents in a happy home until 23 years old. Ill health as a child.

Married at 23 years, one child. Still corresponds with mother and family — all of good character.

Child with its grandparents.

1952 — separated from husband: 1953 — cohabited with another man and is still so doing.

First conviction at 34 years: 11 previous convictions — larceny.

Home with other man.

Reasonably fit for all work. Ex-alcoholic.

Low intelligence.

At first the P.Ds. resented having L.T.Is. on their wing, inferring that their privileges as P.Ds. were not for sharing with others; and although this died down to a great extent, it continued to rankle.

Since the introduction of the Norwich Scheme in the Main Prison, most women are now in free association from 7.00 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. This was originally the privilege of P.Ds. and a few long term prisoners, and one which they prized highly. That this privilege should be extended was a further cause of discontent, though in time they became more used to it.

Initially, perhaps the most outstanding contrast between P.D. and L.T.I. sentences was in the matter of their discharge. A woman

receiving a sentence of five years (Long Term Imprisonment) knew her earliest date of release on the second day of her sentence and that, subject to good behaviour, she would receive one-third remission. A woman with five years P.D. did not know her earliest day of release until she was summoned before the P.D. Advisory Board about two and a half years later. She was then told whether she would be released at the expiration of two thirds of her time (three years four months) or whether she must serve five-sixths (four years two months); a considerable difference, which increased with a longer sentence. If she was awarded the one-third remission, she entered Third Stage.

This award was governed by the Advisory Board which consisted of the chairman, three elected members of the Visiting Committee, the Senior Probation Officer, Prison Commissioner, Prison Governor and a representative of the After-Care Association. Various data about the woman were given to the Board by prison officials, together with her prison record, and past criminal history. If a woman was not awarded Third Stage, she was not told why this decision was taken, and often returned to the wing embittered and hopeless. This has now been abolished and all serve two-thirds subject to good behaviour.

At present, all women with a sentence of two years or more are

considered automatically for the Outworkers' Hostel Scheme, though not necessarily chosen, for a variety of reasons. A P.D. who did not attain Third Stage was not eligible for the scheme, but she might apply for Home Leave and be taken out shopping (with an officer) during her last six months.

It will be seen that even those few differences in treatment had definite repercussions on the women. I wanted to find out how these groups differed, and whether they were sufficiently alike to suggest that they might receive similar treatment and benefit from it.

### Personal Histories

Sixteen P.Ds. and 18 L.T.Is. of both groups lived at home with their parents or relatives until 14 years of age, although eight of the 26 P.Ds. said that their early life was unhappy.

Seventeen P.Ds. and 16 of the L.T.I. groups also appear to have been brought up in working class homes, where circumstances were reasonably affluent. Four P.Ds. had parents who owned their own businesses (one a public-house) and five P.Ds. came from really slum areas.

There is a predominance of P.Ds. (13) from Northern industrial areas, and a number from Northern Ireland (6) in the L.T.I. Group II.

Their parents' health seems to have had little bearing on their lives, as most have come from

healthy, normal families, though in each group there is one member whose mother has a mental history.

One P.D. has a father who has had convictions for keeping a house of ill-repute. Otherwise there were no family criminal histories.

### **Intelligence and Education**

The intelligence rating was assessed by the Medical Officer, the Senior Psychologist, and from prison records. We found that 17 of the 26 P.Ds. were below average, as against three in each of the L.T.I. group. One P.D. had, at some time, been certified M.D.

Most of every group had elementary schooling, though in L.T.I. one woman had attended a special school for truancy and one a school for backward children. High school education is mentioned in six of the L.T.I. groups but not among the P.Ds.

### **Marital Status**

Nineteen of the 26 P.Ds. were at one time married, but only three of these marriages survive, albeit rather precariously; three are widowed and 13 divorced or separated. They have 61 children between them (of whom 18 are illegitimate) - a normal proportion of children for any cross-section of the population.

Of the L.T.I. groups, 23 have been married: eight are still on good terms with their husbands, and three are widowed. They have 72 children, of whom only 12 are illegitimate. The proportion of

husbands or children who have been "in trouble" is higher in the P.D. group.

### **Contacts**

Eleven P.Ds. have no real contacts at all, as compared with five L.T.I.s. This may be accounted for, in part, by their age and their long criminal histories.

It is possible that when the women in L.T.I. reach the age of the P.Ds. — about 50 years — the number of marriages may resolve into other categories of separation or divorce. This, of course, we cannot say, but as the L.T.I. are younger, (their average age is about 40 years), most of their marriages have been much more recent and therefore less tried. On the whole, the L.T.I. groups are reasonably happy in the marriages that are still intact.

Some of the 11 P.Ds. who have no contacts at all with relatives or friends have been provided with a correspondent and visitor. A few say they do not wish to write to or see anyone. This may originally spring from shame and reluctance to face their families and friends after having transgressed again, but a continual refusal to face this builds up a wall of pride and bravado which is extremely difficult to break. They resent pity and think all offers of assistance are a form of patronage. They seem to wish the world to see that they "do not care" — an attitude that is often misunderstood, and in some cases leads to real trouble.

Some who do have contact with their families seem to regard them as universal suppliers, and are quite indignant if their requests are not immediately met. Few have really understanding and forgiving relatives, who have stood by them through all their sentences, and are willing to help on release. Correspondence with the prisoner is usually as far as they wish to go. One woman has contacted her son whilst she has been in prison and has mellowed very considerably, since, and is visited regularly. Another used to write to a man she met whilst committing crime, and has given him up in favour of a correspondent found by us. A third has been re-united with her husband, and there is every chance that they may now remain together.

### Employment

Thirteen P.Ds. were unemployed at the time of their arrest on the present charge, against 11 L.T.Is. This latter group were mostly "on the run," but had previously been in regular work.

There are more varied employments in L.T.I Group II, possibly because they are much younger and may indeed have had a wider scope for their activities, and a more modern approach to work. And none are on National Assistance as yet—all being capable of some kind of wage earning.

### Physical Assessment

It has been noted that the average height of the woman P.D.

is 4ft. 11ins. and that the majority are of heavier than average build. This possibly indicates that they are not the over-anxious or nervous type. Otherwise there are no special physical differences between them and average women prisoners.

On the whole they are fairly healthy. A few have serious handicaps, such as one with Parkinson's symptoms, and another with chest deformity allied to catarrh. Some, of course, suffer from such normal restrictions of older women as arthritis, but apart from the ordinary types of illness that anyone might have, they are all reasonably fit.

Those in the L.T.I. groups do not, of course, have the restrictions that age brings, and none suffer from any serious handicap.

### Criminal History

The age at which the P.Ds. received their first convictions varies from seven years of age—when one woman was sent to an Industrial School as being out of control—to 52. This latter woman re-married at the age of 51 and her criminal history commences around that time.

The majority of first offences in the P.D. section—i.e. of the 26—occur between the ages of 16 years and 30 years. In the L.T.I Group I most first offences were between 16 and 22 years (seven) and in Group II between 18 and 31 years (eight). In the latter group more offences were first committed after the age of 20 years than before it.

Among the P.Ds. the age range is considerable — from 33 years to 75 — with no “peak” point. (The woman of 33 has since appealed against her seven years P.D. and it was reduced to four years L.T.I. All other appeals against P.D. have been dismissed.)

With this wide age range, the average at present is 50. Those from 45 years upwards fit in with the “average” for treatment etc., but the under 45’s might possibly benefit from something different.

The average length of sentence to P.D. is eight years.

Most of the convictions are for larceny, 19 out of the 26 having this charge. Two offences were committed while the women were in the Hostel scheme, and one while the woman was an absconder from prison. All offences except one were committed alone. The exception was in the case of one of the Hostel workers, who teamed up with a male ex-prisoner and was charged with receiving. Offences other than larceny were for the more serious forms of stealing such as breaking and entering, burglary etc. and seven were for false pretences. Although several of the women have criminal associates, there is no other record of a ‘joint crime.’ They always “work” alone.

### **L.T.I. Groups.**

The average age in Group I is about 40 years and in Group II about 42 years. The offences are similar, larceny being the commonest offence.

I—Two women failed in the Hostel scheme; three absconded from Open prison; one was convicted with a male accomplice.

II—One failed in the Hostel scheme; one failed to co-operate in Open prison conditions; two absconded from Open prisons.

P.D.—Two absconded from the Hostel scheme; two committed an offence while on the Hostel scheme; one failed in Open prison, but has since made good from the Holloway Hostel.

### **Intervals between Release and Re-conviction**

*P.Ds.* The majority of these women were at liberty for less than 12 months — 21 women returning to prison in less than one year. There are several reasons for this, apart from criminal tendencies. Some are of very low intelligence and find the strain of responsibility too much — some are now too old to be able to adjust themselves to life outside — and all are inadequate.

*L.T.I. Groups.* The length of time at liberty varies from three months to 16 years. One woman received a first prison sentence of three years for passing forged money, but was not put with first offenders as she had a number of previous convictions for soliciting. One woman who returned after six years has three previous convictions. One, returned after 16 years, also has three previous convictions of a “petty” nature, but her present sentence is for the misappropriation of approximately £30,000. One who

returned after five years was an abortionist with one previous conviction for the same offence.

have a criminal record which qualifies them for P.D.

B.T.	C.T.	Penal Servitude.
6	6	1

### Past Offences and Sentences

To be eligible for P.D. a woman must be not less than 30 years of age and must have been convicted at least three times for indictable offences. Even so, the number of convictions behind some of these women is high—from one with six offences to one with 40.

In the L.T.I. Group I, previous offences range from five to 22, and in Group II from one to 18.

As already mentioned, the types of offences are of a similar nature in all groups. In Group I, one woman committed child stealing and perjury, but the most significant difference is the number of offences of soliciting in these groups—six in the L.T.I. groups as against one among the P.Ds.

Most of the P.Ds. have received some training in the past, some have even served one or more previous terms of P.D. One has been to an Approved School, three received Borstal Training, five had Corrective Training, eight served sentences of Penal Servitude and nine served previous terms of P.D.

The other groups have, of course, less of the longer sentences, but even so, six have had Borstal Training, eight served Corrective Training and one a sentence of Penal Servitude.

*L.T.I. Group I.* Almost half of these women have had previous prison training—and, of course,

L.T.I. Group II:—

Probation	C.T.
7	2

The P.D. Group and the L.T.I. Group I are all eligible, by virtue of their past record, to receive a P.D. sentence. The main difference is in the ages. Where the average of present P.Ds. is 50 years, both groups of L.T.I. average 40-42 years. It has been noted, however, that the ages of women eligible for a P.D. sentence in the immediate past has dropped considerably. For instance, the woman who appealed successfully against P.D. and received L.T.I. was only 33 years old, and the average age of those eligible for P.D. was 39½-40 years.

From here on, there is surprisingly little difference between the groups of P.D. and L.T.I. Group I. Both seem to remain at liberty for under 18 months between sentences. Both commit offences of larceny and false pretences much more than any other crime:—

	P.D.	L.T.I. Group I.
Larceny and false pretences	21	21
Forgery and fraud	1	4
Others	4	1

and in only *one* case in the L.T.I. group was the crime committed with another person, exactly as in the P.D. group.

Roughly the same cross-section in intelligence runs through all

groups, with the failing intelligence due to age in the P.Ds.

Although P.D. women have the greater number of offences, and are more persistent in them, their previous convictions, on the whole, are more trivial than those of the L.T.I., and many characteristics are common to all types of offenders.

There has been a great increase in the number of P.Ds. since 1939, when there were six in Holloway, to the present number of 26 in 1961. Their types throughout their ages vary from the almost immature to the inured sinner.

The first impression on contact with them is that here is an attitude of mind very different from that of the "ordinary" woman prisoner. They seem to feel that they are quite exceptional, and therefore exclusive members of the community — carrying this idea to the point of "snobbishness."

Generally speaking, most of them are mainly interested in doing their sentences with as little trouble as possible and being discharged. Naturally, they get a very narrow angle on life and their sense of values is distorted and unreal. They tend to view everything from a personal standpoint, and find it hard to accept anything else. Any change of routine is met with suspicion and it takes a long time to win them over to admitting that it may be for the better. Some still quote their first sentence as being in the "good old days" when "you knew exactly what you were doing." They dislike being given

responsibility as a rule, and grumble about what the staff should and should not do for them, in spite of the fact that they themselves could take a hand.

They are very jealous of their privileges in P.D. stage and look on that sentence as making them very different from the ordinary "local." Some even say that they are not *prisoners* at all, merely "detainees!" They are intolerant of young and inexperienced officers and indeed often tell them that they don't know anything! On the other hand, they tend to become familiar with the officers they have known for years, and if not pulled up, will try and treat them over-familiarly. They do, however, seem to prefer staff who really know them and their histories, probably because they need not pretend to be anything other than their real selves.

Any small trivial event or rumour becomes magnified and a subject for animated discussion and theory. Their world is too often bounded by the prison walls, and it is hard work to get any lasting interest in outside topics. They seem to have lost their ability to concentrate on anything for very long, and indeed, often the wish to do so. They rarely join classes, and those that do so lose interest about halfway through the term. Only a half dozen see the class through the year. They accept gratefully any entertainment given them, but are not prepared to make the effort to entertain themselves.



They are well versed in any "underground" activities in the prison and there are several P.Ds. who may well be the brains behind a number of subversive plans. They are fiercely possessive, not only in personal things, but towards people and privileges which they regard as being theirs alone.

They consider that the P.D. sentence should be an automatic pass to the front seats at shows and films, the best of the canteen, and the pick of the prison uniforms. Some of them become hoarders — empty tins, bottles, boxes, cards — so that their rooms resemble magpies' nests. It may be a pathetic attempt to create something of their own — to have round them things which give them an illusion of stability and security. Possibly for this reason, too, they stay in the same room, sit in the same chairs at association, stick to the same routine day by day, and strongly resent any attempt at change.

To a few of them, prison is the only secure and certain element in their lives. Many of them have families that have long ago ceased to own them, or even write to them, and their future appears lonely and uncertain: a good many of them have no fixed homes. The majority are too old, both in years and experience, to be given any training. Consequently they are a problem in and out of prison, because they have lived for so long on the proceeds of crime that they know no other existence.

Generally speaking, they always have excellent reasons why they

keep returning to prison—and the fault is very seldom *theirs*. They blame their families, their husbands, ill health, their jobs — anything rather than admit that they themselves are wrong or weak willed.

They know the prison rules and discipline inside out and are always well informed on matters to their advantage. Their sense of what is "fair" is over developed, till in some cases it becomes almost an obsession. Any suspected favour that has been given elsewhere is a reason for unrest and grumbling. For instance, if another wing in the prison has apples and they have none on that particular day — WHY ? ? ? It's not fair !

So one might sum up the general characteristics as follows:—

Possessive; Jealous of rights and status; Superior — as old hands to young ideas; Maternal attitude to the young; Conservatism; Lack of concentrated or prolonged interest; Insecurity.

#### Any Future for a P.D.?

With the 26 P.D. women in custody at the time this research started, I tried to assess the possibilities of their future in the following terms:—

- (i) those unable to earn their own living on discharge;
- (ii) those who are inadequate, temperamentally unstable and needing much support;
- (iii) those who could work, especially with some outside assistance.

Several of the women are — or were — skilled workers in their own particular fields, and could resume such work, providing that they are physically fit to do so. The final analysis, therefore, showed the following results: —

- (i) there are eight women in this category, either too old or physically unfit for work; there are two skilled women among these;
- (ii) again eight in this category, but only one of these is skilled in any job;
- (iii) 10 women in this group should be able to work well at their particular job, and to live without resorting to crime. Their skills lie in the following employments: —

Laundry Workers,  
Needlewomen (e.g. linen-room in hotels).  
Cook-housekeepers,  
Hospital orderlies,  
Factory hands,  
Knitters (for wool firms),  
Machinists.

One woman is being trained while in prison in printing Braille.

Several of the women worked outside the walls, in the Officers' Mess and in the Quarters. Some had "key" jobs in the shops and laundry and quite a few were Red Bands. These Red Bands were "trusties", allowed to go around the prison unescorted by an officer.

They ran messages and took other inmates to the dentist, the hospital, or the surgery.

Most women kept these jobs for some time and were of great assistance to the staff. All P.Ds. were encouraged to take an interest in other people, and to this end they worked for 12 months making articles to sell for the funds of the Royal National Institute of the Blind.

Quite voluntarily they gave a portion of their earnings to buy sweets and Easter eggs for the children in one of the Sunshine Homes.

On the whole, the P.D. section worked well, and since they have been transferred to Styal, they have been missed in many ways!

We wonder whether the long confinement of a P.D. sentence is a help or a hindrance when we consider how to re-fit the women to enter society. Often their age is against them and no matter how fit and willing a woman may be, employment for those over 60 years is difficult to find. Those who are inadequate and require great supervision may need to be given extra or specific training to overcome their inadequacy, and more assistance towards becoming self-sufficient, so that they can more easily be integrated into the community.

By the time they have reached the stage in crime where they qualify for P.D., they have run the

gauntlet of all the classes held in prisons, done all the usual recreational diversions, and there is very little left to catch their interests. Several women wanted to be able to take a course in advanced needlework and dressmaking, but this could not be arranged for them. The suggestion that they might attend a class for ordinary needlework was met by smiles of superiority and the statement that they "had done that sort of thing years ago." Indeed, some of them are really skilled in this, and it was not entirely untrue. Perhaps a more advanced class could be arranged to meet this sort of situation?

The addition of television to their evenings has been of immense value, and has been instrumental in rationalising their outlook to some extent. But, this is a "passive" pastime, and something more constructive and productive is also required.

Two main objectives, I feel, should be at the basis of any treatment devised for them:—

- (i) Training in communal life.
- (ii) Training, where possible and practicable, in some skilled work, or practice in a skill they already have, so that not only will they have a means of earning money, but that they will also build up their morale.

Protection of the public will be helped by (i), and (ii) could well reduce the number likely to offend again. Those we think will respond

and be co-operative are already given the chance of outwork from the open prison to help to bridge the gap between prison and life outside. This gives us the chance of observing whether these women have really made new resolves which they can keep. The older P.D. often finds most difficulty in making new contacts or in changing environment. The first step made when supervision is not resented, as during a period in the outworkers' hostel, may well make a great difference.

These women are considered by many as hopeless from the point of view of redemption. Yet statistics show that of 20 P.D. women released in Third Stage since 1952:—

- 9 have kept clear of crime.
- 5 have returned to prison.
- 3 are deceased.
- 1 was sent to hospital.
- 2 were certified insane.

Of those who failed and returned to prison, two women have had further sentences since 1952 of P.D. At the time of the survey one of these was in an open prison in Third Stage, and there seems to be no good reason why she should not make the grade this time. A third woman in this category failed the first time she was released in Third Stage, but has so far been doing well on her second release.

A child who is learning to walk falls down continually at first. Should we not regard these lapses,

in some cases, as the fall of a child till it has learnt where to place its feet? If a woman stays out of prison for a longer period each time between sentences — could it not be that eventually she will be able to walk without assistance? This, in my opinion, is one of the "corner stones" of the P.D. training. While the P.Ds. were at Holloway they did not receive much special training, though some attempts were made to help them.

For instance, at one time, on the P.D. wing, there was a woman rather younger than the majority and considerably noisier than anyone else, often causing a minor commotion. This did not please the older residents, so they quietly manœuvred her into a common-room and took her to task about her behaviour. This, they said, was *not* the way one acted on *this* wing! She still offended sometimes—but a warning look works wonders, and she, at least, began to learn to live more quietly.

Their remaining privileges were highly prized, and great benefit was derived from them, in that they helped to keep up morale and self-respect. To speak purely from a prison point of view, their feeling of being a distinct class minimised their association with others in a very mixed prison. It also assisted them to feel that a better code of behaviour was demanded of them, and indeed this was often the case, and they often responded to this. They are some

of the hottest critics of hooliganism and tend to stand aloof from those they consider express their opinions in undisciplined ways.

### After-Care

A good deal of publicity has been given to the work done at Norman House for men prisoners after discharge. Some do not think, however, that this kind of project would be so suitable for women—principally because of the varied types concerned, and also because it seems that women are much more inclined *not* to enjoy a communal life in such circumstances. Although they are lodged together in prison, there is always authority at hand to keep the peace and iron out differences.

To put those who are unable to keep themselves into Old Peoples' Homes is a long and difficult procedure. They may have to wait three or four months in Part III accommodation before being found a vacancy in such a home.

Most of the women thus dealt with find it extremely difficult to settle in this Part III accommodation. They object strongly to living in dormitories, complain that there is no privacy—and perhaps compare it unfavourably with the comforts of their little room in Holloway.

As they cannot support themselves, they are in receipt of National Assistance, and this is another worry and grievance to them. They have been used to

buying small luxuries while in prison, and they are bitterly disillusioned when they find that their small pittance does not stretch to this end. (This state of affairs is fairly common to all who live on N.A.B. allowances and nothing else.) They are not able to replace shoes or clothing adequately, indeed barely able to pay for shoe repairs, and although the C.A.C.A. will assist, this does not help them to be independent. A room of their own makes a big hole in the weekly income — heating and lighting and washing too — things which they have had “laid on” while in custody and used freely, forgetting that in “Civvy Street” all this must be paid for.

At the risk of laying oneself open to the criticism that preferential treatment would be given to ex-prisoners, one suggestion comes to mind as a possible solution. If local Councils would place *one* of their vacancies in each of their establishments for old folks at the disposal of C.A.C.A. it might remove one very big obstacle from the path to rehabilitation of the older and infirm woman.

The After-Care organisations try to make friends of those under their supervision, and encourage them — rather than remind them that they must “behave” because they are on licence. They also try to contact them in their own surroundings, if coming to the office to report seems repugnant to them.

Conversely, a number of women

who have completed their licence have become so accustomed to seeing their supervisors, that they subject themselves to “voluntary after-care” by continuing to call regularly at the office. They want to show that their progress is sustained, and obviously do not wish to lose the friendship of the Supervisor, who has played a big part in their rehabilitation, and continues to provide a sense of security. At least one Corrective Trainee, discharged in 1952, is still closely in touch with her Supervisor.

The C.A.C.A. representative visits the woman in prison whenever possible and gets to know her well, so that on her release she finds it easy to talk to her and, indeed, it is essential for the woman to be at ease with her Supervisor, because one of the complaints of P.Ds. released after their long sentence is that “there is no-one to talk to if you get into difficulty.” This situation arises when the woman lives away from the “Prison” town, and is under the care of a Probation Officer whom she has seldom, if ever, met.

One suggestion to help in rehabilitating these long sentence women who were not selected for the Hostel Outworkers’ Scheme was the extension of the parole system—allowing them to go out alone during their last six months, to get used to relying on themselves, and to spend their small amounts of money to the best advantage. (This would be, I fear,

a calculated risk in some cases.) At present, women in the last six months of a P.D. sentence go shopping with a prison officer in plain clothes.

An opinion has been expressed that there are women who are unable to change, or to make any real effort at adjusting themselves to normal life and who, even if they do not wish to return to prison, are unable to make the necessary effort to avoid this.

Others seem able to finish with crime and to overcome their difficulties.

One P.D. who was discharged in 1960 had a particularly bad record—Approved School, Borstal Training, Corrective Training, Penal Servitude, and eight Imprisonments before receiving 10 years Preventive Detention for larceny. She was found a situation in a hospital, lived with her family and is still doing well. Her history of prison life was one of continual upheaval—she did not take kindly to discipline or to regular work, yet in the last two years of her sentence, she seemed to make up her mind to change. So far she seems to have succeeded.

Another woman returned with a sentence of eight years Preventive Detention after being at liberty only three weeks. She has had seven Imprisonments, one Preventive Detention, and a P.D. Recall, and has had about 18 months freedom since 1946. She had a good home until her father died, but has alienated all other relations

by her continual return to prison. She was found a situation, living in, at a hospital, on discharge in 1960, but stayed only two days. She only works in prison, appears contented to be there and has made no effort to improve.

### Suggestions for a New Regime

1. Entirely separate establishments, as self-supporting as possible, such as market gardens.
2. To put their work into normal focus, i.e.,

*Wing cleaners* —  
Charladies.

*Kitchen women* —  
Canteen workers.

*Sewing, etc.* —  
Factory or laundry hands.

*Garden* —  
Workers on small holdings or estates.

*Officers' Quarters* —  
Domestic workers, home helps.

*Hospital Workers* —  
Orderlies.

3. To help pay for their keep, and learn to save wages, i.e. one-third compulsory savings, one-third towards upkeep, one-third to spend (depending on their earnings).
4. Guided leisure activities and training for skilled work wherever possible and practical.
5. To make their own prison and discharge kits, and do all their own repairing. (Not coats or suits unless tailoresses).

6. To be responsible for arriving on time for work and meals, with possible fines if late.

7. To be tried as outworkers in last eight months of sentence where medically fit.

8. To adjust their days to fit in with ordinary working conditions and an eight hour working day, i.e.

Breakfast in canteen - 7.30 a.m.

Work - - - 8.00 a.m.

Lunch - - - 12.00 noon

Work - - - 1.00 p.m.

Tea - - - 5.30 p.m.

Evening activities - 6.30 p.m.

Lights out - - - 10.00 p.m.

Rising Bell - - - 6.30 a.m.

9. Visits for one hour every month, to establish better home contacts and maintain good ones.

10. Each woman to have some hobby, from which she *must* produce something.

11. Perhaps a Hostel to be available where they may live at the expiration of sentence, if necessary, where they can rehabilitate themselves. To give them a sense of security, company, and advice available from people who have known them for years.

12. To consider allowing them a free half-day (off work) each week, as outside workers have.

Failure to keep prison rules, and/or non co-operation with them, could result in their return to local prison conditions. If and when they appear to be ready to be tried again, they could return to central prison conditions, but

must start again at the beginning of the training schedule. The period spent under local prison conditions might be determined by a Staff committee, whose recommendations would go to the Home Office for confirmation. Minor offences could be treated with "fines" or loss of pay or half-day. It might also be an advantage to have every P.D. examined very thoroughly every six months.

### Conclusion

This survey has attempted to examine the types of women who received long sentences, whether of P.D. or L.T.I.

The main points discussed were:

1. A Preliminary Review — showing how the women P.Ds. reacted to conditions then prevailing in Holloway.

2. A Comparative Analysis — giving examples of both categories, and the main differences between the types of women under review.

3. General Observations — a discussion on the characteristics of the women P.Ds. in custody.

4. Training — the employment of the women in prison, recreation, and After-Care.

5. Suggestions for a new régime — an attempt to bring prison life into a more normal perspective.

It has proved a most fascinating study, and I hope, will be of interest and, perhaps, some little help, to any conception of prison life in the future.