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CONTENTS

Correctional Systems and National Values

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During the summer of 1960 thirteen European prison wardens gave generously of their time to help with this study. For four persons—Alan Bainton, Governor of Wakefield Prison in England; Norman Bishop, Governor of Pollington Borstal, England; Dr. Otto Rudolf, Director of the Landesstrafanstalt Bruchsal, Germany; Miss M. E. G. Stocker, Governor of Askham Grange, an English open prison for women—this meant from seven to eleven hours each. In addition, substantial assistance was given by Calixto Belaustequi, Inspector General of Spanish prisons; C. T Cape, Assistant Prison Commissioner for England and Wales; Dr. Walter Cappel, German psychologist; Federico Castejón, judge of the Supreme Court of Spain; Dr. Albert Krebs, Director of Corrections for the State of Hessen in Germany; Dr. Wolf Middendorff, judge in Freiburg, Germany; Dr. Wilhelm Pauli, Director of Correction in the State of Baden-Württemberg, in Germany; Ernest Palola pre-doctoral associate, University of Washington; Alfons Wahl, German Federal Ministry of Justice.

This article is the revised edition of a paper read in Spanish at the Eleventh National Congress of Sociology in Ciudad Victoria, State of Tamaulipas, Mexico, November 1960, and published in the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, XXIII: 215-223 (enero-abril, 1961). Permission to publish in English was granted by Dr. Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, president of the Mexican Sociological Association.

THE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS of different countries can be compared statistically. Many will have unusual features. These can be analysed in terms of the distinct cultural settings. It is the purpose of this paper to make an attempt (1) to place five selected systems on a theoretical continuum from extreme emphasis on punishment of offenders to extreme emphasis on treatment and (2) to explain unique features of these systems in terms of national or regional values.

To determine the position of a punishment - treatment continuum given country or state on the

the following empirical criteria have been used:

1. *Sentencing.* Extent to which pre-sentence investigations were used by judges. It was assumed that this was an index to the consideration of personality and social background in addition to the crime.
2. *Probation.* The ratio of probationers to prisoners, the quality of probation officers, as measured by training and experience, and the caseloads which they carry.
3. *Architecture.* Size of correctional buildings and degree of departure from traditional Pennsylvania or Auburn types of architecture.
4. *Personnel.* Method of selection and training of correctional personnel.
5. *Maternal and child care.* The methods used in handling women prisoners who are pregnant or mothers of small children.
6. *Classification.* The degree to which the admission study is professional and the extent to which it is followed by the classification authority.
7. *Work by prisoners.* Extent to which prisoners are employed, the diversification of this employment and the degree to which remuneration approaches that for similar work outside the prison.
8. *Education.* The variety of educational services and the percentage of prisoners who participate.
9. *Handling of escapees.* The extent of individualisation and the severity of punishment for escapees.
10. *Visits and Letters.* The frequency, length, and informality of visits and the frequency of letters
11. *Parole.* The percentage of prisoners released under supervision; the caseloads and the quality (training and experience) of parole officers.
12 *Statistics and research.* The standards reached by correctional statistics and research.

By means of long interviews with key officials or through first-hand experience* data on each of these criteria have been gathered from the various jurisdictions. These facts have been evaluated by the writer to determine where the political entity should be placed

* Four weeks were spent in 1954 and 1960 studying the correctional institutions of Spain with visits to ten establishments; an equal time in England with inspections of eleven prisons and borstals; and five weeks in Germany with visits to fifteen institutions. Between 1941 and 1961 the writer visited fifteen correctional facilities in Mexico—two of them many times. He has taught courses in criminology at the University of Washington in Seattle for thirty-seven years and was on leave for five years (1951-56) to serve full time as member and chairman of the Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles.

on a seven-point punishment-treatment scale. A score of one means extreme emphasis on punishment; seven, extreme emphasis on treatment. On the basis of judgments made by five European correctional administrators all items have been given a double weighting except 3, 5, 9,and 12. The results are shown in Table 1.

It will be noted that the governmental units included in Table 1 have been limited to Mexico, Spain, West Germany, Western United States and England. Spain and England have national prison systems; the United States and Mexico have both federal and state systems; Germany has a federally established body of criminal law, but administration is in the hands of the states.

The two German states (*Länder*) of Baden-Württemberg and Hessen were studied independently and given ratings of 77 and 93. They were then averaged to get the score for Germany. The correctional system of the former is considered by administrators about average; of the latter, better than average for Germany. If data were available for all the *Länder*, the city-state of Hamburg would probably be at the top; Rheinland-Pfalz, near the bottom.*

* In 1958 Hamburg had one probation officer for every 62,331 of the estimated population for that year; Hessen, one for 98,968; Baden-Württemburg, one for 158,161: Rheinland-Pfalz, one for 209,669; Saarland, one for 346,733. The ratio for West Germany was one for 140,512.

TABLE I
PUNISHMENT-TREATMENT RATING FOR SELECTED CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS

Criterion	Mexico	Spain	West Germany	Western United States	England
* 1. Sentencing .	6	6	9	10	8
* 2. Probation .	4	4	5	10	10
3. Architecture	3.7	4	5	4.3	6
* 4. Personnel .	4.7	10	11	10	12
5. Mothers . .	4.3	7	2.5	1.3	4
* 6. Classification	4.7	10	9	10.7	12
* 7. Work . .	8	12	12	8.7	10
* 8. Education .	6	8	8	10	12
9. Escapees . .	3.3	3	5	3	5
* 10. Visits . .	10.7	4	7	8.7	12
* 11. Parole . .	2	2	7	10.7	10
12. Statistics .	1	3	4.5	4.7	6
Total . .	59 †	73	85	92 †	107

* Double weighting for this criterion
† Corrected for error of .1 due to rounding.

On the basis of many contacts with the correctional system for the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico, the rating was 48. A three-hour inspection in 1960 of the penitentiary at Ciudad Victoria, capital of the state of Tamaulipas in northern Mexico, supplemented by information from a local judge and from a representative of the prosecutor's office, suggested a rating of 56. Extended study of the correctional system of the Federal District (includes Mexico City) gave a score of 73. The ratings listed for Mexico are, therefore, averages for these three jurisdictions.

The Western Region of the United States includes both the Mountain and Pacific Divisions with a total of thirteen states. The correctional system of California easily ranks at the top from the standpoint of emphasis on treatment with a score of 122 points out of a possible 140. It was given the top evaluation for sentencing, personnel, classification, education, and statistics. It would be matched by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons which has thirteen institutions and many probation departments in this Western Region. The Bureau may be a little higher in probation and architecture but slightly lower in sentencing, education and statistics. The state of Washington with a rating of 107 is probably a bit more treatment-oriented than five other states in the region (not counting California). Montana with a rating of 47* (the lowest possible score is 20) is roughly similar in punitive emphasis to the five remaining states. This low score pulls down the average for the Western United States to 92.

As to the economic, social and criminal situations in the regions included, Mexico is a country in transition with a low average standard of living and a preponderance of crimes against the person, but in the rapidly growing cities increasing rates for offences against property. The Western portion of the United States has a high standard of living, high urbanisation (especially on the Pacific Coast), a high degree of residential mobility in its population, and high rate for such crimes as robbery and burglary. England and Germany are in the northern belt of Western European countries which in general are more industrialised, have higher standards of living, and higher rates for crime and imprisonment than countries like Spain which are located in the less industrialised and less prosperous Mediterranean belt.

Examination of the ratings for specific criteria in Table 1 reveals that the sharpest gradients between

* Benjamin W. Wright, graduate student in sociology at the University of Washington and formerly Director of Parole in Montana, provided the ratings on the twelve criteria for his home state.

the five jurisdictions are to be found in the handling of pregnant offenders and for statistics, visits, parole, probation and education.* Comments are made below on the handling of mothers, visits and education. Correctional statistics and research are almost absent in Mexico, but they profit from a million-dollar annual budget in California. Except for the possibility of revocation and incarceration if caught by the police in a criminal act, supervision for adult probationers and parolees is lacking in Mexico and Spain and insufficiently provided in most of Germany. Mexicans, Spaniards and many Germans with this status are, therefore, actually free men. But supervision by trained and experienced salaried officers is generally regarded as essential for adequate treatment of persons on probation or parole.

Probably more interesting than this attempt to make general comparisions between governmental areas is the fact that different countries or regions tend to have unique correctional practices. An attempt is made below to explain such differences in terms of national or regional values.

In Mexico, for example, it is the custom to permit well-behaved prisoners to have conjugal visits. This means that these prisoners are permitted to have sexual contact with their wives either in their cells or in a designated section of the prison. The new penitentiary for sentenced offenders in the Federal District provides special rooms for the purpose. This custom appears to be rooted in the strong emphasis on family in Mexican life and a feeling that conjugal visits keep couples together. Marital rights here take precedence over punishment of the criminal, whereas the reverse is true in most other countries. Home visits are, however, permitted in Sweden, Poland, Argentina and (once during a prison term) in England.†

Spaniards, in contrast to Mexicans, are horrified at the idea of conjugal visits. Visiting arrangements for husbands and wives

* In Germany, England, Mexico and Spain escape by a prisoner alone is not a crime. It is regarded as something to be expected of confined men and is punishable by some such method as isolation on reduced rations for two weeks. The ratings for this criterion were complicated by lack of individualisation in the handling of escapees in certain prisons and the extreme measures taken by some directors to prevent escapes.

† See Ruth Shonle Cavan and Eugene S. Zemans, "Marital Relationships of Prisoners in Twenty-Eight Countries," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, XLIX, 133-139 (July-August 1958). Conjugal visits are permitted in Cuba, in certain other Latin Countries and in selected prisons of Sweden and Yugoslavia. Upper-class prisoners are probably permitted such visits in all Latin American prisons. Some prison directors in Mexico also permit prostitutes. This seems to reflect admiration for the person who is *macho, i.e.* exhibits physical courage, loyalty to a group, and sexual prowess.

usually give emphasis to physical separation. The most unusual feature of Spanish corrections is in the handling of women with small children. The Centre for Care of Mothers and Children (Centro de Maternología y Puericultura) in Madrid is the outstanding institution of this type in Western Europe. From all over Spain pregnant felons with sentences of three years or more are sent here. Excellent facilities and medical care are provided for these women. Mothers who nurse their children sleep in a separate dormitory and get one day off their sentence for every day they continue nursing. If satisfactory provision for the children cannot be made by families outside, mothers are permitted to keep their youngsters with them for as long as four years. In special cases the children may stay until seven years of age. They do not hear the word "prison." They think of the institution as a hospital. Girls and boys sleep in separate dormitories while their mothers sleep near them in open-top cubicles containing three beds each. Spaniards feel that keeping the children and mothers together does something constructive for both.

As compared with other European countries, juvenile delinquency rates are low in Spain. Spaniards believe that anything which will strengthen the bond between parents and children should be encouraged. On the day of Our Lady of Merced, for example, all young children of prisoners are permitted to visit their parents within walls. Toys are given and entertainment provided. Although the importance of family is stressed in both Spain and Mexico, the stronger control exercised by the Roman Catholic Church in Spain is probably one factor accounting for the greater emphasis there on the parent-child rather than the husband-wife relationship.

A distinctive feature of the German system of correction is the persistence of a programme of isolation. The so-called Pennsylvania style of prison architecture, with its separation of prisoners night and day, was introduced first into England and shortly afterwards (1846) into Germany. Thirty years ago in England there was a strong movement away from this programme. Such a movement is more recent in Germany. When each prisoner is sleeping, eating and working alone in his cell, it seems to satisfy the systematic and orderly qualities so prevalent in German life. It is like the precise arrangement of every object in the typical middle-class German household.

The movement away from this emphasis on isolation was facilitated by the prison division of the American occupation government in conjunction with the English occupation group. Modifications have been faster for youths than for adults, however. This trend is illustrated by the institution for older delinquent boys at

Hahnöfersand near Hamburg with its stress on education, and by the open, borstal-like school for youths at Staumühle in Westphalia. The new Gustav Radbruch-Haus in Frankfurt (Hessen) represents the most radical departure from isolation-oriented corrections for adults. A transfer institution, it houses prisoners for an average of three months prior to release. Many of its inmates work under supervision in local factories or farms during the day and sleep in the prison at night. In fact the shift in major institutions for adults in Hessen and in the Schwäbisch-Hall Youth Prison and the Bruchsal Landesstrafanstalt of Baden-Württemberg is toward isolation at night for sleeping, but toward working, eating and getting their recreation together during the day.

In addition to the orderliness appeal made by the Pennsylvania system, there is also a general feeling on the part of German citizens that what happens behind prison walls "is not our business." An old proverb is pertinent: "Do not go to your Prince when you are not called" ("Geh nicht zu deinem Fürst wenn du nicht gerufen wirst"). It has been a Prussian idea that you should do what you are supposed to do and not bother about other people. During the Hitler régime perhaps 90 per cent. of the Germans, so they affirm, did not know or think about the concentration camps. Methods of measuring the extent of detachment from public view would be the number of visits to prisons by distinguished persons (ordinarily not many) or the items about prisons in the newspapers of a state (also not many). The development of a multi-party prison commission in the Hessen parliament is one move away from this attitude.

One of the most unusual correctional practices in the states of Washington, California and Hawaii is sentencing by an administrative board. In Washington State, for example, judges set the maximum sentence, largely under control of statutory provisions for each crime, but the minimum sentence is set by a full time board of five members appointed for staggered terms of five years each by the governor. The board is aided in this decision by an admission summary prepared by a professional staff and by an interview with each prisoner. Although the trend is toward appointment of men of competence on this board, many purely political appointments have been made. The method makes possible, however, consideration of personality and situational factors as well as the specific crime and criminal record. It has to a considerable extent equalised the widely varying sentences of individual judges for similar patterns of crime, personality and social situation.

This method of sentencing was established in 1935 after a bloody riot at the penitentiary. Inmates had complained bitterly about

sentencing by judges. More recent improvements in the quality and training of personnel for probation, institutional treatment, and parole also followed serious riots at both the reformatory (1953) and the penitentiary (1955). These riots served to focus public attention and to convince both political parties of the need for improvements. Changes were facilitated also by the lesser importance of tradition and the greater willingness to experiment that characterise the Pacific Division of the United States.*

England provides a noteworthy programme of education for its prisoners with a rich variety of courses taught by competent teachers from the outside community and participated in by a high proportion of inmates.† More unusual, however, is one aspect of its work and classification programme. As long ago as 1954 the writer visited a small barrack-like structure in the yard, but inside the wall, of the Bristol local prison. From here a small group of long-term recidivist prisoners, in the third and last stage of England's preventive detention programme, went out each work-day morning to jobs in the city of Bristol and came back each evening. They earned the same wages as employees who were not prisoners; they were able to resume responsibility for the support of their families; and they saved a substantial sum toward eventual release. Occasionally one of these men would become too drunk or in some other way violate this privilege and have to be returned to close confinement, but in general the results have been sufficiently encouraging to enable establishment of eight such centres by 1960 with six additional "hostels" planned.

There were twenty-three prisoners housed in the "hostel" of the Wakefield Prison in August of 1960. They bring their wages

* In Hawaii an administrative board sets the minimum sentence, but its decisions are subject to review by judges. Due to the predominance of highly indeterminate sentences, such as one year to life, the California Adult Authority has what amounts to sentencing power.

† For additional information on England and the other countries discussed the following articles by the author are pertinent: "English Schools for Young Offenders," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVII: 696-705 (Jan.-Feb. 1937); "Recent Observations of Mexican Prisons," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, 1941 (Spanish translation: *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia*, IV: 73-83, 1942); "German Correctional Procedures: Impact of the Occupation," *National Probation and Parole Association Journal*, I: 167-173 (October 1955); "Notes on the Spanish Correctional System," *Federal Probation*, XIX: 48-51 (December 1955); "Sentencing by an Administrative Board," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, XXIII: 477-494 (Summer 1958); "Why Do Parole Boards Lag in the Use of Prediction Scores?" *Pacific Sociological Review*, I: 73-76 (Fall 1958).

intact to the supervisor who pays for the support of families that had been on national assistance, gives the prisoner his expense money for midday meals and transportation, allows him up to 30 shillings (4.20 American dollars) per week pocket money. Income averages £9 15s. (27.44 American dollars) per week. Average amount saved for release is £57 or 159.60 American dollars. All prisoners with sentences of over four years spend their last nine months here. Out of fifty who have been released for twelve months or more only one has been reconvicted.

At the women's open prison at Askham Grange the writer met informally with twelve members of the "going out group." The group showed a surprising degree of ease in conversation and of self-confidence. They not only talked briefly concerning themselves but also asked questions about prisons in America. One older woman, a "nine time loser," was now waiting on tables in a restaurant. A well-educated younger woman, who had aquired £800 (2,240 American dollars) through some "cock and bull story," was receiving good pay in a factory and saving money so that she could support her two children when released. Another woman working as a gardener was an alcoholic. Three worked in nursing jobs at local hospitals; another worked at a race track; still another as a hotel maid; and one even worked in a brewery. They were housed separately from the other women. It was the writer's impression that this combination of supervision at night with work outside during the day was making a contribution to their reformation. In the words of the governor, "they gain new life and new hope."

The development of "hostels" in England seems to be tied up with a willingness to experiment which has characterised the English correctional system during its last fifty years. The borstal institutions for young adults which reached a high state of rehabilitative efficency in the 1930s are another example of this principle.* More recently the Norwich plan has given prison officers more responsibility for the individual rehabilitation of the prisoners under their care. Certain personalities such as Alexander Paterson, W. W. Llewellin, and Lionel Fox have won public confidence and contributed much to improving the personnel and encouraging experimentation. Members of the House of Commons do ask questions of the responsible minister, but they place trust in civil servants and do not interfere politically with their work.

To conclude, it has been demon-

* See William Healy and Benedict S. Alper, *Criminal Youth and the Borstal System* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1941). "Flexibility is a cardinal principle," they write, "reflected in every feature and department of the system" (p. 85).

strated in an exploratory way that correctional practices and distinctive values held by the people in tinuum. Mexico, Spain, West Germany, Western United States and England were distributed in that order on such a scale. Attention has been given also to the relation between certain unique correctional practices and distinctive values held by the people in the jurisdictions where these practices have developed. Additional studies in other political entities would help the test and sharpen these ideas.

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Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir,

Mr. J. B. Mays in his stimulating survey on Penal After-Care and the Community makes some rather sweeping statements on which I should like to comment.

The first is his discovery that social work training is strongly controlled by the priests and high priestesses of analytical psychiatry He goes on to endorse the suggestion that most social workers are better in practice than in theory. In truth they use the theory as a background but are aware that it is dangerous to try to fit in practice all the theories they have picked up in training. The general application of what are known as common sense methods will be found in most social services and particularly in probation; the theories are merely tools which can sharpen the perception.

After discussing the probation services, Mr. Mays calls for the creation of a service which will be prepared for research into its own activities, and goes on to say that social services of such a character hardly exist in this country. He suggests that many agencies act with a bare minimum of self-scrutiny, that some are even hostile towards the idea of research and will dismiss with derision any suggestion that their work is not yet perfect. I should be sorry if his readers felt that these observations applied to the Probation Service

In its evidence to the Morison Committee the National Association of Probation Officers said:-

> "The Association welcomes research by responsible bodies into the work of the probation service and noted with pleasure the indications in the White Paper *Penal Practice in a Changing Society* that a number of researches were in progress in connection with various aspects of probation. We feel that more of this is needed so that workers in the service might know the results of their labours and also so that their services might be directed to the best purposes. Probation officers are frequently called upon to assist in research projects for various universities and other bodies though they rarely hear the result of such work; they would be interested to take a greater part in this, if time allowed. We are aware of the work now in hand by the Home Office research unit and have indicated our interest and willingness to co-operate in any way possible with this".

Since that was written the Probation Research Project has developed and the Probation Service has at all points endeavoured to co-operate with it, and has enjoyed the manner in which the Research workers have gone about their business, including their attendance at N.A.P.O. meetings and conferences. This Association has constantly pressed for more knowledge which would enable its members to know where they are going, and which might show them where they could best direct their limited energies.

We have never felt able to undertake such researches ourselves because this could not be objective, but we have never resisted research and are now looking forward to the first results of the work of the Probation Research Project.

I cannot speak for other Social Services but I shall be very surprised to find that the criticism made by Mr. Mays applies to many of them.

Yours faithfully,
FRANK DAWTRY
General Secretary
National Association of Probation Officers

The Life of a Prison Officer

MARGARET R. CROOM

MANY YEARS AGO – 30 to be precise – a shy, country girl reported for duty at Aylesbury Borstal Institution for Girls. It had been a wearisome wait for appointment after application; 18 months, in fact, but at last instructions were received for joining. Seven of us arrived that day, but one left the following morning.

The six who remained were taken in hand by a senior officer, and issued with the very odd uniform of the time. This consisted of a mauve striped cotton dress, with stiff collars and cuffs, a leather belt with leather pouch attached, and a hideous white muslin bonnet with two streamers or strings which had to be tied in a bow! The training lasted for two months, at the end of which the trainees were posted to various prisons. Usually one was retained at Aylesbury.

Miss Barker was the Governor at that time, and was well loved by the inmates.

Her methods of dealing with delinquents were somewhat unorthodox. If a girl stole food from the kitchen–be it jam or dripping–the girl would be shut in her room until she had eaten a pot of jam or a pound of dripping.

"Smashing" was very rife in those days, and the punishment was bone smashing. So many pounds of bones had to be pounded fine enough to pass through a wire sieve and then weighed. On one occasion a girl was given 56 pounds of bones to smash: but the smashing of room equipment continued. Night after night the emergency bell rang, and the officers left whatever they were doing – some were in bed, others were cooking, or in the bath –and ran to give assistance. All staff lived in quarters, inside the grounds, and all were single, or widows without home ties.

After a while, Miss Mellanby became Governor and changes were introduced. The bone-smashing was terminated, and the offender was ignored as far as was possible. She was made to stay

in the room she had smashed, minus all the furniture she had damaged. It was noticed after this, that the mirror was never broken, although everything else had been totally destroyed. One girl had even twisted her iron bedstead into grotesque shapes, but the deprivation of furniture and the weeks spent without pay finally stamped out the smashing. The food at that time was wholesome, but very plain and monotonous. Tea was the last meal of the day, consisting of bread and margarine one night, the following night bread and jam, the third night cheese, and a hard rock cake called "clinker" by the girls, was issued once weekly. Cocoa and one oat biscuit were issued at 7.30 p.m.

During 1935 the staff were told they need no longer wear those hideous muslin caps, streamers and bows, and great was the rejoicing.

Even the girls rejoiced with us. And at about this time, or the following year, the old mauve striped cotton dresses became obsolete and we wore bright blue moygashel dresses, with tussore collars and cuffs. The belt was supposed to be worn underneath the dress, with a slit at the side of the dress to enable the wearer to reach her keys! It was felt, I believe, that it was not good policy to allow inmates to see keys!

At the outbreak of war in 1939 the majority of the girls were discharged, partly to make room for women prisoners from Holloway, Birmingham and Manchester.

Borstal officers were transferred to prisons and prison staff, with their respective charges, to Aylesbury. My posting was to Birmingham, where four very happy years were spent in spite of the air-raids.

What a dark and dismal women's wing there was at Winson Green, and how very orderly and quiet the prisoners, after borstal girls! The man Governor was very strict, and reports on the women's side were unheard of. What a lot there was to learn for an officer fresh from borstal! As I was in my seventh year it was assumed I was a fairly senior officer, and was conversant with all duties, consequently I was put in "Receptions".

The prison "cleaner" was excellent and she showed me and told me exactly what to do—even to writing on the commitment. She told me whether rings were valuable or commonplace, and helped in every possible way. I shall always remember this woman with gratitude.

At Aylesbury we were not allowed to see a record or a commitment, and we never did escort duty. My first escort was to an Assize Court, and again it was assumed I would know the procedure, but I was so overawed and overcome that I can only recall a kindly policewoman placing a chair for me and holding smelling salts to my nose, when I was supposed to be attending to the prisoner in the witness box.

Duties were soon learnt, however, and all were enjoyed, whether in the laundry or workroom, Receptions or Library. In the smaller prisons the post of librarian is only part time, and at Birmingham it was combined with Chaplain's Officer and letter censor.

The women from the Midlands appeared to be rather dull and apathetic, but this was possibly due to the anxiety of the war years, and the almost nightly air-raid warnings. The staff were always around and on duty when the raids were on, unlocking the really nervous women and "jollying" them along, and on duty the following morning, in spite of having been up half the night. They were a grand lot of colleagues, and a happy staff.

Then came Holloway – with its noise and its bustle, and "Bedlam" as one daily newspaper described it at that time. It was understandable – "doodle-bugs," with their horrible "cut-outs" were a menace – followed by those ghastly "rockets". Nerves were strained to breaking point, and we were all becoming a little weary of vegetable soup, three times weekly, served in the Mess, for lunch! But V. E. Day came, and a party of us made our way to Buckingham Palace and dutifully chanted "We want the King". *And* walked the whole way back again, as there was no transport!

Gradually the "New Look" seeped into Holloway. Many more classes were started, cocoa was served to each woman during the evening, and very gradually, colour crept in. The old brown paint was scraped from walls, and cosmetics were issued.

The staff position also improved, owing to a trickle of ex-Service girls joining. Women officers were admitted to the Training School at Wakefield.

Promotion came along, and it was discovered that the life of a Principal Officer could be very full and satisfying. Each Wing brought its problems and interest, and as we moved around almost weekly to these various Wings, our knowledge broadened.

Eight very full and happy years slipped quickly away in Holloway, and promotion came once more – this time to the women's wing at Durham Prison. It was with regrets and sadness that I handed in my Principal Officer's uniform, knowing that it had been worn for the last time. From now on it was to be mufti.

The women's wing at Durham was small and housed up to 50 women. The staff were temporary officers who had been exceptionally well-trained and were second to none. It was a very happy little prison, with the healthier atmosphere one associates with a "mixed" prison. There were, at that time, up to 800 men housed there. This was the place where one would really get to know and understand each woman personally.

They were a very docile, well-behaved section of the prison population, and the peace of the

women's wing was only shattered occasionally by a borstal recalcitrant sent us from time to time by Miss Mellanby.

We were also the Corrective Training Recall Centre during this period, and I had the privilege of starting the Preventive Detention Rehabilitation Scheme for Women.

This was not an unqualified succes, however, partly owing to unemployment in the North East.

There was no woman Assistant Governor at Durham so that her duties were performed by the Chief Officer, but as the house provided was inside the walls, night visits held no terrors!

And Durham City – a place always visualised as grimy and squat – in my mind, was enthralling. That wonderful old cathedral, perched snugly on a hill, and the beautiful river Wear, coiling around the city.

A very pleasant interlude, this, but changes were pending and after three years or so, once again I found myself in Birmingham Women's Prison. What a contrast, though, from the old war years. Gone was the green and yellow paint, and the gayest pastel shades were in evidence everywhere. A very useful and instructive Domestic Training Course was running, and the laundry had the most modern and up-to-date equipment. There were two principal officers, a larger staff *and* an Assistant Governor, who, to my horror, had ousted the Chief from her traditional office! However, as always there were compensations, and I very quickly resettled.

This was in 1956 and for the first time in my service, my official quarters were outside the walls, and I soon realised what a difference to one's well-being this made. The early morning walk, even in Winson Green, could be quite enjoyable, especially when the blackbirds started to sing. And sing they did, enchantingly, even in that insalubrious district.

The quarters provided for the women staff were excellent. The Hostel was styled on a Nurses' Home, and was light and airy, with wonderful parquet flooring.

The Chief Officer's flat was compact and comfortable – entirely self contained, and parquet flooring throughout, with ample cupboard space. The whole place was centrally heated, and was set back from the main road, therefore not unduly noisy.

They, too, were a wonderful staff, hardworking, efficient and loyal. They worked a long day, from 7 a.m. until 5.30 p.m., and rarely were they on the sick list. It was a great loss to the Service when so many of them resigned on the closing of the women's wing.

The years here, as in all previous stations, slipped quickly away, and a final promotion was offered. This was to Holloway, as Chief Officer Class 1. For the second time I found myself reporting for duty at Holloway Prison, but no doodlebugs or rockets this time!

Instead, a Holloway with a "New Look." A new Governor, new systems and ideas, the Norwich Scheme fully operating, complete with Group Counselling, and a more enlightened staff, kindly, thoughtful young women for the most part. The wings had been, or were being redecorated, with attractive colourings and each wing was a small prison within itself, with its own complement of staff. An ideal arrangment, really – if only there were sufficient officers to go round. Never had young officers "had it so good," and never was "In short supply" more evident. Why cannot young women be recruited for the Prison Service? Given the staff, it is a calling of the highest order, both worthwhile and wonderfully satisfying.

Thirty years ago, women and girls were locked in for the night at 4 p.m. They had received their bread – a small cob loaf, a pat of margarine and cocoa – yes, cocoa, as the last meal of the day at 4 p.m.! And ship's cocoa at that, made from blocks of chocolate. Tea was not issued until after the outbreak of war, and it was very satisfactory to see their pleasure when tea was given.

The foregoing is a sketchy account of one woman's career in the Prison Service. Through the borstal institution – the only one for girls then – through mixed prisons and through Holloway twice: detailed to assist in the opening of Hill Hall Open Prison, and serving under 13 Governors, eight of whom were men.

The life has been absorbing, enjoyable, at times frustrating, but mostly satisfactory and, given the choice if it were possible, I would choose it again as a career.

After the war, conditions quickly changed. Evening classes developed, recreation and association increased, canteens became well-equipped as earnings increased. At the outbreak of war, newspapers were not allowed, and the Chaplain or a member of the staff was detailed to read the news in the workshops. After a while a few newspapers were allowed for each wing. Then radios were installed, and inmates were allowed to buy personal newspapers and magazines.

Officers' uniform was redesigned once more – this time similar to that worn by women police officers. There is a complete change pending at the present time.

Who is to Blame?

P. J. RODWELL

AFTER STUDYING various reports and findings of differing Advisory Councils under the heading of Penal Reform, I feel I should comment on how various changes of policies have affected the prison officer over the past years through the lack of communication or consultation with him.

The prison rules and administration of a decade or so ago left prison officers 'marking time' two yards distant from their charges and any form of fraternisation was looked on with suspicion. This invidious state of affairs left a feeling of frustration at first but after being moulded in with the machinery, officers resigned themselves to a system of monotony and boredom.

Prison officers being the direct administrators of the prison system and still at the moment placed near the bottom rung of the civil service ladder of hierarchy, can view literally with a worm's eye any effective or non-effective change of policy that may be in the interests of prison reform.

Many changes took place during the 50's and 60's and officers nurtured in a total custodial role, treated the invasion of civilian specialists with a reactionary attitude and openly revealed their disgust through the medium of the Prison Officers' Association. In this the whole Service was united unfortunately for had this unanimity taken a positive line of co-operation through consultations from 'top to bottom,' it would have revealed much potential in the prison officer class in the terms of rehabilitation and training.

Later, tempted by the rewards of overtime working, ranks became divided and a feeling of apathy swept through the Service. Recruits were sadly lacking and I am convinced this was why a so-called investigation into the conditions of the Prison Service was set up by the Home Office, headed by Mr. Justice Wynn-Parry. The

P.O.A. submitted an excellent report to the investigating committee, the context of which in the opening pages formed the first basis of the new role of the Prison Officer. This, however, was wasted. A simple claim for increased wages and other kindred claims could have been submitted, and after the usual delays, accepted by the "official side." This surely was all the Home Office needed to increase the number of recruits.

Through so much delay in negotiation over the Wynn-Parry report, apathy changed to frustration. This did not improve with the still steady influx of civilian staff into the Service, who were supplied with everything they needed, including a ready-made five-day week! Later, senior uniformed officers, although reimbursed by Wynn-Parry monetarily, felt they were being squeezed and buffetted by the specialists. The custodial role to which they had been trained and promoted over a long period was slowly becoming something to be ashamed of.

Some left the Service unable to cope. Others ran to and fro trying to answer the bidding of their ever-increasing number of superiors. The remainder shrugged their shoulders, did as they were told, and sat tight whilst supervising the room-service for experts. Junior officers faced with the indifferent attitude of their seniors gave vent to their feelings in other directions.

"Jumping on the band-waggon" became the popular jeering phrase and was levelled at colleagues who, in endeavouring to fit themselves into the changing pattern, were favoured with less monotonous types of duty or a more lucrative job. These so-favoured officers merely dangled like puppets at the end of official strings and served no useful purpose either in rehabilitation or their own advancement. This was partly due to the reactionary element, who, being in the majority, stopped any movement to break away from a total custodial role, through the medium of the P.O.A. at branch meetings. Local officials of the Association were in an even worse dilemma. Torn between varying loyalties, these unfortunates tried to gather their members together in a united body and appealed to their executives.

The Executive Committee, involved with the ever-changing mandates of annual conference and still chasing old-fashioned conditions of service which were incompatible with the changing functions of prisons and Borstals, were completely out of touch — their advice being to "stick to the rules."

In major prisons, feuds and personal vendettas flared up between prison officer specialists and discipline grades, because of differing conditions and hours of work. When an attempt at continuity of duty for discipline officers was put into practice,

officers left with the less attractive duties complained bitterly and blamed their local representatives.

Most of the blame for this unhappy state of affairs should have been laid at the door of the Prison Commissioners. Sitting aloof in their complicated maze of Civil Service departments, they allowed principal civil servants to create a completely erroneous image of the practical working side of the Prison Service. The experience of older yet loyal staff was completely ignored and treated as a black spot from a 'flog 'em and hang 'em' prison era. Junior counter-parts, returning from Wakefield refresher courses, either accused seniors of being 'unbending' or remarked that it had been a short holiday.

In what shape was the finished product at the end of this twisting, turning, stopping, starting assembly belt — the incarcerated offender? The socially inadequate became even more so. The non-conformist to prison rules welcomed the opportunity to demonstrate. The mentally disturbed could not cope and eyed his escorting officer with suspicion as he was taken from one interview to another. The institutionalised 'old lag' took refuge with older officers in reminiscing of days long gone whilst smoking each other's 'roll-ups' in the sanctuary of some undiscovered dark corner.

One could hardly imagine that this chaos was the right step toward therapeutic treatment or even as a deterrent. Could the prison officer be blamed or labelled uncooperative?

Two facts are self-evident. Before and just after entry into the Service as a basic grade officer, we are led to believe that practically all our background is investigated. We are examined, cross-examined and studied by many authorities who have to decide if we are of at least average intelligence, and are tolerant and trustworthy. Having been accepted, this latter qualification becomes a mockery. The set procedure of certain rules of administration and the conglomeration of official forms place no faith at all in our integrity.

We are also informed that the para-military manner of investigation into breaches of the set code of behaviour for prison officers was agreed with the P.O.A. for our own protection. Protection indeed! From whom? It is ironic that clerical officers blessed with an environmental allowance do not need protection. Publications criticising staff and the prison system were adjudged as being injurious to all serving in the Prison Department. This is not so: Mr. A. Bainton's contribution to the April issue of this "Journal" is a case in point. All ranks of the Prison Service in pursuing a firm system of rehabilitation and training should stop looking up and down, but should in fact look across from the Chairman to the lowest paid

officer. Each should recognise the other's qualities and use them to the full. The P.O.A.'s memorandum on the changing role of the prison officer is a good first step.

Prison officers who control men and women for 24 hours a day classify their wards by character, personal habits and social standing. In this respect, the officer's approach to each of his charges must of necessity differ greatly, but in order to maintain control and respect, he must share their confidences and favour one no more than another. Officers must be encouraged and allowed to make some decisions without the frustration of always going through the usual channels. There is nothing more discouraging to an officer when asked a question by a prisoner than to reply "I don't know — I will have to see Mr. So-and-So," or "I can't give you permission, you will have to see the P.O. or A.G." Obviously officers will make wrong decisions, everyone in authority does, but by making these he will learn and by giving wise decisions he will gain respect.

Specialists qualified in treatment or the study of criminals should be at the service of the officer. Qualities and experience would then be compatible with each other in the interests of treatment and training. The art of giving individual treatment coupled with the approach made by the prison officer to the many complex situations in which he finds himself is, in my opinion, invaluable to anyone who studies human behaviour in penal establishments. I sometimes wonder how many times a day a wise personal word or action of an officer changes an ugly situation into one of tranquillity. Sometimes it is even the expressive way of closing a cell door. These deeds go unsung—nobody wants it otherwise. But at times the action of an officer develops into a reverse situation. Instead of being consulted and the matter examined in a therapeutic way, he is sometimes adjudged as being tactless or slow-minded. Such defamation travels fast, resulting in the true facts of the case becoming garbled, leaving the officer very bitter and apathetic. No small wonder that publicity given to the Prison Service is practically all adverse. It is mostly contributed by ourselves.

I smile cynically when reading recruiting advertisments under the heading "Join these Men" showing pictures of uniformed officers gathered in a "Glee" Club. It is as ludicrous as the military posters advocating that "You are someone in the Army *today*." The basic function of both services has not changed and cannot, but the invitation to 'Come and be joyful' should be replaced by a CHALLENGE to join on the following lines: —

To pass initially an academic examination of a higher standard

than at present, or hold an equivalent certificate of education.

To be patient and tolerant, irrespective of the anti-social behaviour taking place around you each day.

To accept and perform many monotonous duties which are an integral part of the Penal System.

To help, guide, advise, train, control and discipline all men and women coming under your charge.

To accept all the responsibilities that go with the work and not be chary of making decisions.

To be prepared to carry out the duties assigned to you which are willed by the Courts of Law, even though such duties are alien to your nature.

These qualities may be idealistic, but at least they are aimed at attracting the right type of recruit.

To attract men and women into the Service by dangling the bait of multiple rates of overtime working, prospects of promotion, pensions etc., can only bring discontent to those who join solely for these conditions, and to those who join from a sense of vocation a feeling of apathy. For both it is simply not fair. I have been told that domestic and social security is deliberately built up for the prison officer so that the fear of its loss reduces his liability to corruption. I refuse to believe this near-evil intention, but I can quite understand that the lack of trust in the prison officer would encourage such a misapprehension.

It is generally agreed that social and domestic environment plays a major part in whether one leads a good and useful life, particularly in the lease-lend society we are part of today. To guide and counsel the offender to this end can only be done on a personal basis, and who better to do this than the prison officer ? It has been said that the officer is not academically "up to it." To support such a ridiculous statement one must assume that in order to raise a family in a changing society parents must hold a diploma or degree in Social Science to guide or support their offspring.

I would not go as far as to say that every prison officer in his work of reform could solve each and every problem that comes his way, but providing he is of average intelligence, possesses a fair command of English, and is given the right training after a period of practical prison experience, he would be the first and last mile post in modern Penal Reform.

In conclusion may I remind all intending Advisory Committees and Royal Commissions that the greatest Reformer of all time passed among, listened and spoke to all manner of men before delivering His sermons.

Experiment in Holloway

A New Approach to Prison Visiting

This is an account written by a student on his participation in the work of Holloway and it has been thought to be of such general interest that Mr. Sturges was asked whether he would be willing to agree to its publication in the Journal.

TREVOR STURGES

TOWARDS THE END of the summer term in 1962, a cryptic note was circulated among members of the Oxford student society "Crime—a Challenge." It contained an invitation to come and hear something about "working in a penal institution" during the coming vacation.

It sounded a little forbidding, but intriguing none the less, and I went along to be enlightened. Less than a dozen others were there. It was the Reader in Criminology who put us in the picture. The "penal institution" turned out to be Holloway prison for women. This immediately dispelled all thoughts of becoming temporary prison officers; and it soon became clear that "working" had been a little misleading.

There was, we were told, one small wing in the prison where the staff had been experimenting with a relatively permissive approach. This wing contained girls who had failed to meet the requirements of their licence after release from borstal. Two or three years earlier the Governor and the Senior Psychologist had applied the techniques of group-counselling to the wing, in a determined attempt to face and fight the difficulties which threatened permanent damage to the lives of these girls. (Similar techniques are being practised in certain other prisons and borstals elsewhere in the country).

On four mornings a week a community meeting was held attended voluntarily by the girls, together with the psychologist, all available officers, and occasional outsiders. The purpose of this was to bring to the surface all kinds of problems, feelings, ideas; and the meetings were sometimes very lively.

We gathered that this realistic attitude, this directness, showed itself in many other ways. There were separate meetings of smaller

groups. A girl could at any time have a private chat with the psychologist. A committee of inmates was elected each month, to look after various matters in the wing. The staff, while still commanding discipline and respect, had bridged the remoteness which would have blocked the progress of the experiment.

In short it seemed that the whole approach was positive and personal; and the authorities felt that it might be valuable to the inmates and a help to the staff if a few students went to join the girls informally in some of their free time. Within a few weeks five or six of us met the Governor and her senior colleagues; and in due course we found ourselves behind bars.

It was one Sunday afternoon in August that I went into Holloway for the first time. With me was another student, Jonathan, whom I had previously seen only at those two preliminary meetings.

We find it hard to believe now, but we were an apprehensive pair that afternoon. It was not unlike the feeling a lion-tamer must have at the beginning of his first practical lesson. Indeed, my first vivid impression, once inside those massive gates, was of the two huge stone dragons which glare down at you as you walk towards the main block.

We went in at about 3.30, and were taken across to E wing, the Borstal Recall Wing. I vaguely imagined girls eyeing us with a cold curiosity, making no move to get to know us. I visualised the two of us trying hard to appear at ease, as we hung in a corner mumbling rather sheepishly to one another.

A friendly senior officer showed us over the wing. There were very few girls to be seen. We had time to get the feel of the place – long, high and hard; a cold, enduring structure of stone, steel and wire. We could hear loud voices emanating from a television set over in a corner room; now and again came a burst of even louder female laughter, or a chorus of derisive groans.

It was soon suggested, admittedly not by us, that we go in and join the girls. It was a small, dark, stuffy room; about thirty heads, perhaps not so many, were intent on the Sunday film, which it is one of their privileges to watch. Our entrance was ignored, apparently. The film became interesting . . . "got a light, mate?" "Yes, sure." "Ta."

As soon as the film was over, they all scrambled out to queue for their tea. Jonathan and I went to the officers' room, where there was a pot of tea and a pile of beef sandwiches for us. We had little to say to each other yet. Before long we were back in the television room, this time to sit through a Western and a children's hour serial. Soon after six the set was switched off again. Everyone went down to the ground floor, to set up the record player and clear a space for dancing. I found myself playing table-tennis with Jonathan and a

couple of girls. A few others drifted in to watch us play. No skill, no concentration. The ball was finding it curiously easy to hit people, and to lose itself behind the heaps of dismantled car-batteries. Our names were being passed around. There were snatches of shy joking and whispering.

When the game was finally over, I wandered into the next room and was soon twisting with one or two, usually two, of the girls. Jonathan was dancing too. How self-conscious we both felt; we were attracting several pairs of eyes and a good deal of thinly-concealed amusement. After an hour's dancing I had picked up a few names, and asked and answered some of the obvious questions: "What do you think of this place?," "Do you live in London?," and so on.

All too soon it was 7.30 and time for us to go. The girls went up to their cells: "Cheerio! . . . Thanks for coming . . . See you next week." We collected our things. Thanks for coming! It was obvious that we were both exhilarated. My heart was thumping, and Jonathan's hand shook as he lit his cigarette. I remember the way we talked, once outside the prison: "Did you dance with the dark-haired one in green?" . . . "What was the name of that pretty one with the tattoo?" . . .

Four or five Sundays came and went. Each time there was the same pattern of events, but each time it was easier to relax – to hear the records but listen to them as well; to look around and notice things going on, while at the same time chatting to someone; to talk naturally, not trying to cover up traces of an educated voice.

About the sixth time, Jonathan was ill, and I went alone. It surprised me how at ease I felt.

There are usually between 25 and 30 girls in the wing; sometimes considerably fewer. All have of course been to borstal at least once, and a number have been through approved schools as well. This means that some have spent many years "inside." One told me that she was going to spend Christmas at home for the first time in five years.

We seldom get to know exactly why they are in Holloway, but the psychologist who ran the wing told us of the frightful domestic and environmental problems with which some of the girls have had to cope. And sometimes a girl will chat freely about the sort of life she has been leading, and how she originally got into trouble.

During the evening free time some will be dancing with great gusto (often without a partner), or shouting at someone, or coming up to us with a joke or a witty remark. A small group may be thoughtfully working out the latest dance-steps, as explained over Radio Luxembourg, while others sit around in small groups, doing nothing. Some will be up in their cells, or chatting to an officer, or busy with odd jobs around the wing. Altogether we

have ample opportunity for mixing and talking.

Their clothes are limited mainly to red, blue or green shapeless cotton dresses and cardigans, yet somehow they all manage to look different. They emphasise their individuality by producing different hairstyles almost every week. Length, style or colour can be so drastically altered that it may take some time to recognise the girl underneath. Other decorative effects include the daubing of eyes and eyebrows with real and makeshift cosmetics, and the patterning of hands and arms with inky lines and self-inflicted cuts.

By the end of the vacation we had spoken with most of those in the wing and we found them far more open and friendly than we ever expected. There are, of course, great fluctuations in the atmosphere. Sometimes the girls are lively and talkative, sometimes very heavy and depressed, sometimes neither one thing nor the other. If one of the more popular girls, who is something of a leader, has got into trouble, the effect on the wing is a kind of emotional caving-in; and everybody looks fed up and bored. At times like this they do not resent our coming, but simply have little to say.

The general tension of the place is most clearly illustrated by the noise. There is nearly always a raised voice somewhere in the building, more often cheerful than angry. The girls always want the record-player several decibels higher than the officers can be expected to bear. Not infrequently, just to break this tension, a girl will "smash up" – push her fist through a pane of glass or damage something in her cell. It is alarming to hear the off-hand way in which they refer to this.

At the same time they do comfort and help each other: and then they can be so sympathetic. Whenever I see this, it shocks me to think of the unspoken myth that all criminals are cold and heartless. What we are doing is to transfer the epithets befitting these awful buildings to the people we put inside them.

I am not sentimentalising the young delinquent. I am fully aware that we may well be dealing with someone who has committed a vicious crime, feels no guilt, shows no shame, is hard, scornful, aggressive, rebellious; whose immaturity and inadequacy is hidden behind a facade of ostentatious insolence; and who makes you feel that your offer of friendship is futile. My concern is simply to show that there is a great deal more to be said.

Indeed, E wing is full of surprises: some of the girls are highly intelligent; and I never anticipated a flourishing art class, or conversations about opera or the paintings of Georges Braque. Generally their repartee is sharp and their wit quick, and they never miss a thing.

We soon learnt the need for complete honesty. And I mean

more than just telling the truth. Whatever we were – solemn, sleepy, shy, square, scatterbrained – we had to be ourselves, which really *is* almost as easy as it sounds.

We gained nothing by trying to adjust our personalities so as to make them "go down better" with the girls. Actually I am perfectly sure, after seeing quite an assortment of students in the wing, that however odd his face, voice, clothes, a person will soon be warmly accepted – provided he remains his natural self.

It is certainly true that for the first few weeks the girls were asking themselves why we had bothered to come; and they did not hesitate to ask us why. But it did not take them long to get used to the idea, unfamiliar though it was, that we were neither sociologist investigators, nor surreptitious psychologists, nor even enterprising journalists: They accepted the fact that we simply liked coming.

Jonathan and I were soon being asked all sorts of personal questions. The girls are genuinely interested in the sort of lives we lead and the outlooks we have. The curiosity that remains does not contain the element of suspicion that was present at the begining; it is of a more pleasant, relaxed kind. "Is that your only pair of trousers?" "What are you studying for?" "What's your girl-friend like – is she nice?" "That college where you are; do you have many rules and that?"

Conversation is easy and amusing. It is not often that one is called upon to explain the distinction between Oxford and Oxford Street, or has the privilege of a first-hand account of the techniques of soliciting in modern Soho.

Because they are shut away from a normal life, and see very few men, one or two are liable to take male visitors a little too seriously. It is possible to hurt a girl's feelings by quite inadvertently talking to her less than the previous week. It is important not to confine one's attention to any particular girl, not to be continually occupied with the bolder and brighter personalities. Circumstances could cause an infatuation to spring up in no time.

We know that we have been the cause of one or two minor upsets. But this by no means makes us regret our visits; on the contrary, it makes us all the more anxious that this kind of visiting should be an established thing, and not an occasional event causing surprise, amusement or even excitement.

There is a great deal of loneliness among people in prison: the numerous close friendships formed between inmates must not obscure this important fact. This loneliness is probably most marked in those who have led lives of prostitution. Often such girls have never known a steady relationship with a man; or they have been bitterly disillusioned. Some are pregnant and utterly alone. There are girls of seventeen or eighteen who have

had to give away a baby. Others get letters telling them that boy-friends have gone off with other girls, or that mothers or relatives will not have them back this time.

Which do we honestly believe to be more helpful to a girl with such deep emotional problems? To shut her away from society, in this most atypical of communities, or to allow her contact with people from the real world? Are there not a great many of us who tend to forget that the delinquent in custody is a real person with very real needs?

* * *

From time to time there is raised in public the eager cry that we must cut our prison population. We are reminded of the over-crowding; we are reminded of the uselessness of sending the inadequate offender behind bars again and again; and we are called upon to build better prisons, to enlarge the possibilities of the probation system, and generally to show greater imagination.

It would be a sad thing if such voices were never heard. The trouble is that it is pointless simply to call for more probation, more psychiatric treatment, when our probation officers are already grossly overburdened and our mental hospitals under severe pressure for accommodation.

And yet I think it can be shown that there is a still more serious weakness in this apparently sound approach – a weakness that is fundamental. It is easy to have in front of you the various alternatives to imprisonment that are recognised today, and to proclaim how we should deal with this and that category of offender. But these suggestions fall short in one vital respect: they bring us no nearer to the actual offenders themselves.

For there is still a wide gulf of hostility and deep distrust, which sheer ignorance is keeping alive. If you need convincing that this is really so, discuss delinquents with a probation officer, or a psychologist, or a social worker. Notice the way he talks about them; how he sees the funny side of his experiences, though his job is hard, underpaid, and often thankless. Then discuss delinquents with somebody who has had no experience of them; watch his face – listen to the tone of his voice. Compare the two sets of observations: the difference is striking.

Numerous reasons have been advanced to explain the persistence of this criminal stereotype in our advancing society. The most obvious of these is that we are afraid, though this seems plausible in only a limited number of cases. Another theory, which we should perhaps countenance more often than we do, is that we are jealous. A broader psychoanalytic interpretation is that, as Colin Ward has put it, "society needs its criminals to act out and serve as scapegoats for its own anxieties and deviant fantasies." I myself, while accepting that all such theses carry some truth, believe that there

is a straight line linking primitive taboo customs, the principle of solitary confinement, and the prejudice which still holds us physically and psychologically apart from offenders.

Whatever account is the most illuminating, the fact of this deep prejudice remains. What shows this so clearly is that every one of us who has been to Holloway, and who has associated with borstal boys under another Oxford scheme, has found the experience completely different from what he expected. Surely it is a very disturbing thing that such serious misconceptions should still be so pervasive.

I am convinced that the fundamentally important task facing us is to make closer contact with the people in our approved schools, borstals, and prisons. "Out of sight, out of mind" – the shame of the tradition of alienation ought to be enough to prompt us to action. We have left undone something which we ought to have done many generations ago.

Furthermore, there is a double purpose in this closer contact. In the first place, it is impossible to conceive of a more effective way of cutting into the roots of this pernicious stereotype which perpetuates our prejudice towards the criminal. You have only to discuss such things as the opposite sex, marriage, moods, painting, music, dancing, writing, parents, television, clothes, drink, cigarettes, nervousness, habits, loneliness, depression, and so on, to realise how awful it is that criminals should be regarded as different from other human beings.

Delinquency, as we all know, is purely a matter of degree. Which one of us was born a "non-delinquent"? Which one of us was not dominated by some kind of anti-social impulse for a good many years beyond childhood? Some young children bear heavily the burden of a court appearance and all that goes with it; while others enjoy the sympathy of the mal-adjusted children's home or create havoc for long-suffering parents with a welter of delinquent behaviour that never comes under the cold eye of public condemnation.

The second point about this closer contact is that it must surely be the weapon for a really telling attack upon the whole problem of recidivism. There are many who at an early age seems irrevocably hardened into lives of crime and hatred of authority; harsh discipline is ineffective, and very likely to do more harm than good. We are begining to grasp that if cold makes colder, warmth may release qualities whose existence has not been acknowleged as possible Indeed it is now realised, in practice as well as in theory, that not only the specialist staff but also the prison officers themselves can and do play a valuable positive role.

Many who are still in their teens have been in institutions for several years. They are very young, in

more ways than one; and for this simple reason they are capable of benefiting from all that our humanity can offer them. It would be dreadful to resign ourselves to the belief that the cement of delinquency has hardened around them.

This kind of metaphor reflects the great dangers in some of our ways of thinking and talking. Often we hear it said that so-and-so has "turned out bad," and we tend to drift into pessimism. The Press carries articles on "The Bad Girls"; and it is chilling to hear girls in Holloway referring to themselves in this way.

What these so-called "bad ones" may need more than anything else is the warmth of friendship and company. If we deny them this, when they are most alone, we deny them too the strength and support which could make all the difference when they are back in the outside world.

Macartney wrote: "The Prisoners' Aid Society does not alter a man's punishment nor diminish it, but merely removes an indirect and regrettable consequence of it. And anyone who thinks that a criminal cannot make this distinction, and will regard all the inconvenience that comes to him as punishment, need only talk to a prisoner or two to find out how sharply they resent these wanton additions to a punishment which by itself they will accept as just."

The only word which I question in this passage is "wanton." The fact is that these "additions" to the actual deprivation of liberty are for the most part worse than wanton. Their imposition is so wide, so general, so deeply-rooted in our practice that it has ceased even to be conscious.

Macartney is right; while it is painfully true that we do not even notice these additions, it is still more painfully true that prisoners, in the loneliness of their cells, in the strange realities and unrealities of life in a prison wing, are bitterly aware of these extra burdens. And this is why an ordinary visitor is so much appreciated.

Students can make perhaps the most valuable contribution in this way; they are young, and open-minded, and can easily find time for regular visiting, and for discussing their experiences. At the same time, there is nothing magical about students which makes them immune from the problems and difficulties which may arise in the course of this visiting. It is most important that there should be a close and continuous co-operation with those who work on the wing.

The young delinquent needs to be known as a person, with his own name, his own feelings, his own problems; not as an entry on a sheet showing a number, an offence, and a sentence. We must never forget the people we put behind those forbidding walls; and if the day comes when the whole of our prison population is housed in a more imaginative way, we must be no less anxious to maintain contact.

Nymegan Diary—1964

Prison Service Team, 3rd out of 670

The Team

Leader L. J. HAYWARD (P.E. Specialist, Rochester)

Members

K. L. BONES
(Officer P.E.I., Wormwood Scrubs)

M. HOLMES
(Officer P.E.I., Pentonville)

W. KINTON
(Officer P.E.I., Morton Hall)

G. S. MATHIE
(Officer P.E.I., Hull)

E. C. SMITH
(Officer P.E.I., Maidstone)

Diary of Events

Sunday, 26th July

All met at Pentonville Prison 5.0 p.m. After an excellent tea adjourned to the Officers' Club. The team in good spirit and there joined by members of Pentonville staff, Mr. Fairn, Mrs. McCorquodale, Mr. & Mrs. Healey, for a send-off party—no speeches.

Caught the 11.0 p.m. train from Victoria for Dover and the cross channel ferry.

Monday, 27th July

Boarded a very full boat at 12.30 a.m. Little room for luggage, less for sitting down, we had in any case decided to sleep rough this night to save expense. "Big Jock" Mathie soon had his head down on the hard deck—woken by a kindly sailor and told that the deck was wet.

After enduring three hours of Boy Scout singing in the best 'Little Brown Jug' tradition, finally landed at Ostend *en route* to Nymegen, reached at 2.0 p.m.

As soon as we passed through the station barriers we were conscious of the atmosphere—one charged with excitement and anticipation. As we made our way from the station to the reporting-in point we had a feeling of being part of something really big—something that the people of Nymegen had been looking forward to for a

long time. The streets were full of gay folk, flags fluttered on all sides, temporary stands and barriers were already in position and the whole place swarmed with photographers and television equipment.

Once booked in we made our way to the "Internaat Jonkerbous," a school run by Brothers for backward children. This was to be the team's lodging during the four days of the march. There was some anxiety when it was found that the school was five kilometres from Nymegen and that our starting time was to be at 4.30 a.m. the next day.

Slept soundly until 6.0 p.m. then to Nymegen for the opening ceremony and the march past held in the Sports Stadium.

What a spectacle! The stadium was packed, standing room only. Whilst waiting for the Opening Ceremony the large crowd was entertained by Youth Groups marching, performing sequence exercises and gymnastics.

Then came the start of the ceremony – the entry into the stadium of the first military band, the combined bands of the 4th and 5th Hussars, then the band of the Surrey Regiment followed by a third and finally by the band of the R.A.F. Each band was greeted with equally heartwarming enthusiasm by these gay, likeable Dutch people. Then came the hoisting of the flag of each country represented in the March; a rather long drawn out affair since the hoisting of every flag was accompanied by the appropriate National Anthem.

The climax of the evening was the march past of all teams. At one stage the arena was a mass of humanity dressed in every type and colour of uniform one can imagine. The popular teams, to judge from the applause, were the Metropolitan Police (complete with helmets) the Israeli Army (complete with tambourines and female cheer leaders) and the Dutch Army, Navy and Air Force teams.

Tuesday, 28th July—1st day

A 2.30 a.m. rise, last minute adjustments to socks, boots, laces, track suits, then breakfast—a depressingly small one by British standards—bus to Nymegen and the difficulty of finding the way in the darkness to the starting point.

By the time we had checked in, received our identity cards for the day and found our place in the team order of departure it was 4.30 a.m. and time to set out on what was to be the most gruelling, mentally and physically exhausting, four days of our lives.

We were behind the Metropolitan Police and accordingly received a great deal of applause—what was left over after the very popular "Bobbies" had gone by. We didn't mind that one bit, it gave us encouragement. Through the town, over the river Waal and into the country in the direction of Arnhem. A short rest after 14 kilometres, a check for blisters and off again in the early light of that Tuesday morning on the second stretch.

After 20 kilometres we found the pace of the police too slow and set out on our own, striking a much faster pace. This took us past the Dutch Police and Military teams, French teams and German Army teams until at the end of a further 20 kilometres we stopped for a drink near the military rest camp outside Elst. Our feet were sore but free of blisters.

The third and last leg was soul destroying; 15 kilometres over rough roads and cobbled streets with the super-structure of the Waal bridge (the means of re-entry to Nymegen) towering high above the flat countryside and never seeming to get any nearer. We eventually reached it and, crossing over with an American Infantry team, who seemed as physically shattered as we were, we reported in, nine hours and ten minutes after starting out.

We were the second team across the finishing line on that first day.

Our immediate problem, however, was to get from the finishing point to our hostel, about five kilometres and a twenty minute bus ride away. With some difficulty we got to the bus stop, waited ages for a bus then, in best continental fashion, had to stand all the way.

Once at our hostel we stripped, had a shower, burst our blisters and slept until tea time.

By 7.0 p.m. we were able to talk fairly rationally about the day's experiences. By 8.0 p.m. we had decided that:

(i) The team was suffering from dehydration, having had no food and one drink during the day's march.
(ii) The pace on future days would be kept to a steadier rate.
(iii) Any offers of liquid refreshment along the route would in future be gratefully accepted.
(iv) There would be more than one stop on the day's march.
(v) Everyone would be in bed by 8.05 p.m.

Wednesday, 29th July—2nd day

Out of bed at 2.30 a.m., gentle pressure with finger and thumb to test the very sore spots, a few steps to test those not so sore. Surprise at the improvement on the previous night's condition.

At 4.15 a.m. we were once again at the start line greeting old friends of a day's acquaintance, finding our team position and making final adjustments to socks, boots and laces. By now some 1,300 competitors had fallen by the wayside as we struck out, again behind the Metropolitan Police, through Beuningen (7 kilometres) and Ewuk (10 kilometres) where we left the police enjoying tea, milk and soft drinks served from the back of an estate car which had accompanied them from England. Further on, a short stop for milk (half a litre each man) and then we were heading for Druten (20 kilometres).

By now we had become very friendly with a Police Inspector

from Wakefield who, at every large town and at points along the route, would call to us "Still six?" or "None away?" to receive a chorussed reply "Still six." We came to look forward to this and it was a great morale booster. By this time we were beginning to be recognised as the six man team by competitors and crowd alike.

The last 12 kilometres we had some difficulty. Our feet were very sore. 'Tearaway' Smith had an enormous blister; the pride of the march, Bill Kinton, was in trouble with his knee; our leg muscles were tightening up (the legacy of the fast pace on the first day) and had it not been for the provision of salt tablets by an Army medical orderly, whose own team had dropped out, we should have been in a sorry state.

We finished that day the third team to cross the finishing line.

That night big Jock Mathie massaged the German team sharing our lodgings and this broke the ice with them; up until then they had kept very much aloof. The fact that we seemed to make a good recovery after the night's rest was largely due to the efficient massage given to us by Jock Mathie after each day's march. He worked hard on our tightened muscles and sore limbs for over an hour each evening, entirely disregarding his own tiredness.

Thursday, 30th July—3rd day

The usual 4.30 a.m. start with everyone feeling stiff but surprisingly fit after the hard second day. The police were not at the start with us as we struck out at a good pace followed by an Army group.

Picking our way, expertly by this time, over the cobbled roads we marched 14 kilometres to the first military camp where the officer in charge put all the facilities there at our disposal—cheap milk, salt tablets, First Aid, etc. A short break and we were off again heading towards the hills. Holland was not so flat after all! We could see the road winding away into the distance like a ribbon, sometimes long stretches before it dipped out of sight into a valley, at others creeping over the top of the nearest hill and then over the one beyond. The road was full of marching men like a huge multi-coloured caterpillar winding into the distance.

This was a hard day, tedious and very hot with the sun beating down. Tempers rather frayed, we began to get unreasonably annoyed with the sight and sound of each other, and for a time anyone who spoke got his head snapped off. Bill Kinton's knee was again giving him some pain, Les Hayward's right sole was badly blistered and 'Tearaway' Smith's blister was giving trouble—he had not been able to break through the hard skin to burst it; however, to see a solitary Dutchman go past at an alarming rate – in clogs – brought us to our senses and we pressed on.

We shortly caught up with a team of French paratroops singing what

we took to be the French equivalent "Ball of Kerriemuir," except that there seemed to be twice as many verses. This we found an ordeal, Les Hayward remarking wearily "I don't mind them singing if they'd only sing like Welshmen"

The crowds on this day were growing very much larger; there were some beautiful girls lining the route and children would give us water and walk along holding our hands. At one stage Jock Mathie had one little girl holding tightly to each hand and a third one on his back, with the rest of us two each – the crowd seemed to love this sort of thing.

We were 7th team to cross the finishing line that day. If we could get out of bed in one piece the fourth and last morning, and if our feet and knees held out we were home and dried.

Friday, 31st July—4th day

This was the big day. From the very start the crowds were out in vast numbers and military bands were everywhere.

The day's march seemed to us the longest yet, but still throughout the day we felt very little pain from tired muscles or blistered feet, carried along by the feeling that here was to be the climax of four day's hard effort and that the goal was finally in sight.

We struck a good pace with Keith Bones and Chippy Holmes stepping it out in the front files. We were able to help a member of one of the police teams that day by carrying one of their team whose knee would no longer bear his weight—the cumulative effect of jarring the joint over the past three days. Nymegen seemed a long way off, but we finally reached the huge pontoon bridge spanning the river at Grave. This had been erected by Dutch engineers specially for the occasion.

The final march in is hard to describe adequately. The last six kilometres reminded us of the Mall on Coronation day. Specially constructed eight-tiered stands lined both sides of the route, children ran out into the road with huge bunches of flowers.

We marched in, the first team in the final parade, to the accompaniment of cheers and clapping. Through the streets and past the saluting base filled with Staff Officers of all Nationalities. The Commandant looked surprised not to see an Army team appear at this stage but seemed a little reassured to see the Union Jacks on our track suits.

The last few steps to the final check point, the award of a shield for a successful team effort and then the Nymegen medal given to each of us.

It was all over. It had been hard going at times but we'd learnt a lot about the march—and about each other. We hoped, too, that perhaps it had done something for the Service.

Let's send another team next year, let's make it a bigger one and let's make it another team prize.

Notes on the March

(a) The team's final placing in the March was 3rd out of some 670 teams. The position being calculated on an overall time basis.

(b) There is no question that in terms of training our men had very much less in the way of organised courses than other competitors. The Army teams, for example, had been training over a continuous period of five months prior to the event.

(c) A formal letter of appreciation was sent to Officer P.E.I. Mathie by the German team as a result of his ministrations on their behalf.

(d) A number of points arose in connection with the reaction of the body to sustained marching, fatigue and dehydration. One man, though of slim build and in a good state of physical fitness at the beginning of the march, lost one stone in weight over the four days. Another sustained severe bruising round the knee joint brought on by having to adjust the length and frequency of his natural pace to fit the overall rhythm of the team (competitors were required to march as a team and keep in step). This bruising occurred in the cases of shorter men and of those above average height.

L. J. H., M. H. and A. H.

Your point of view

is always of interest to other readers.

Write about it and send your manuscript to The Editor, Prison Service Journal, Staff College, Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorks.

PROGRESS REPORT

Lewes Prison

J. WILLIAMS

THE PRESENT SYSTEM at Lewes has evolved from the various training schemes, for staff and inmate alike, that have operated during the last two rather intense years. Since August 1963 we have changed from a Y.P. prison to a borstal, and then in May of this year to a Regional Training prison with a population of around 220. There is also 'F' wing for remand and trials, which has an average population of about 40. This wing is manned by its own regular staff but it draws on the staff of the main prison for escort and other duties.

Lewes prison, with its division of responsibility together with the organisation and energy which makes it function, affords a comprehensive and reasonable answer to the basic problems which face any training unit, prison or borstal. There may be little that is new and there is much that is being done elsewhere. The system is the outcome of two years of close and intensive work involving collaboration between all members of the staff. My purpose is to state our aims and ideals.

Involvement of Staff

Everyone will appreciate the almost bewildering variety of trades which are represented on our staffs and how easily they can become cut off from the main stream of the institution and find themselves in a position of less importance, untapped, unconsulted. This inevitably creates inter-departmental discontent, even active opposition. This is particularly likely to occur between those officers directly responsible for the training of men in a wing or part of a wing, where they may be developing new techniques, and those who are not, e.g. works staff, trade instructors. It can also come about when senior officers who are not attached to sections are required to do stand-in duty. So much knowledge and experience can be wasted through misunderstanding of aims and intentions.

Communication between Staff

This is allied to the first problem and just as vital. If staff are involved in the aims of the institution, it is the proper communication between those individuals or groups

which cements their involvement.

Given the achievement of involvement and communication, how can the talents of a united staff best be brought to bear on those in its charge? In a Regional Training prison, this would be the main objective, yet often this can drift into third or fourth place in the face of the other demands of the institution. We would hasten to add that this is not an argument against anything else functioning but against the priority of functions and the correct blending of them all.

The Responsible Involvement of the Inmates

To put a far from simple problem in its simplest terms: If we assume that the biggest common factor amongst those in prison is not a positive, deliberate force for wrong-doing but an incapacity for doing what is right, then we must ask how can we do anything but train them to accept responsibility by giving them responsibility? If they have found it difficult to see themselves in a proper relationship with others, with the rest of the community outside, what else can we do but create a community within the institution? Here the basic principles of community life operate and from this let them gain the experience of responsible participation, helped by the staff. In those institutions where the climate and the population is less healthy it may be necessary to lower the sights, yet the result would be at least a lessening of tension, better relationships and closer alliance, between staff and inmates.

There remains the last, but nevertheless important, problem of organising a system whereby the individual prisoner, with sometimes a multitude of problems, can be in direct and continuous contact with one officer who can help him. If the problem is beyond the officer's power, he can see that it is properly dealt with in the right quarter. It is perhaps worth mentioning that this problem cannot operate until the conditions as set out in the previous paragraph are satisfied, i.e. we think that it is impossible to treat individuals successfully unless those individuals live in a climate where the aims of the whole unit are generally accepted.

To sum up, we have directed our main aims to (a) social, (b) individual training, in a community which affords the inmate the maximum degree of social responsibility and gives him experience of relating himself properly to others within that community.

The prison structure is quite simple. What is required is the detailed planning of the organisation communications allowing the institution to function efficiently. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by a brief description of the function and purpose of each unit within it.

* * *

Lewes, a prison of 230, is divided into four sections, each with a Principal Officer in charge and six staff, with roughly 55-60 men. The four sections are further divided into six, each group having one officer in charge of it.

The starting point is the individual inmate within the group of men. The officer is responsible for acquainting himself with the personality and special problems of that individual and taking the necessary action within the limit of his powers and capabilities. When this point is reached he takes the problem to his Principal Officer. The problem may be discussed at the regular fortnightly meeting of staff. Each officer and Principal Officer enter the relevant information in each man's dossier.

The ten men who form a group meet with the officer twice a fortnight. The group can function in many ways—as a group for discussion or for constructive organisation. It can also be arranged as a 'problem' group when the common problem in the group may be that of drink, marriage difficulties or outbursts of temper. The topics discussed might include a suggestion on how to form a bridge club; how to relieve overcrowding in the dining hall; how to use orderlies for the quick collection of those being visited, a discussion of the immediate, sometimes drastic, results of losing one's temper, whether at work or in the home; or a frank discussion on the problems facing the staff and the inmate within the institution. The danger here is the natural irritation of staff at the initial "give me" attitude of the groups but most have skilfully used this as an opening for a discussion about such attitudes. The officers in the group have thrown much of the responsibility back on to the men's shoulders instead of producing the pat answer. In the absence of the officer on leave or through sickness, the prisoner representative takes the group and submits a written report to the Principal Officer in charge of the section.

As we gain more experience of this form of group work in which the group is a functioning body working dynamically as a part of the whole system, it becomes more and more apparent that it has certain advantages over the more orthodox 'counselling' group. Group counselling may make its remedial contribution to the life of the institution and to the individual in it, but I feel it is somewhat of an additive which lacks the dynamic function, remedial, social or what you will, of the group as it operates at Lewes.

Each of the six officers, with one prisoner representative from each of the six groups, meet with the Principal Officer in charge of the section once every two weeks. The purpose of these meetings is: To review the points discussed in the group meetings during the previous fortnight and to prepare a section agenda for the Deputy

Governor every other Friday; to discuss section policy; faults in organisation and remedies which can be relayed back to the groups during the following two weeks; to discuss any ideas and feelings which the groups put forward. More often than not, appreciation is recorded for the help and attitude of the staff in a particular activity. The dynamism of this meeting and its effect on the work of the six officers and six men during the following fortnight is one of the corner-stones of the system, giving the section an identity and character of its own. Time at the beginning or the end of this meeting can be reserved for staff only, where individual problems, casework or staff difficulties can be discussed in the absence of the six prisoner representatives.

The Deputy Governor receives a section agenda every other Friday from each Principal Officer. The four are reduced to one agenda in preparation for the Governor's meeting on the following Monday with the Deputy Governor, Administration Officer, Tutor Organiser, Chaplain, Chief Officer and the four Principal Officers in charge of the sections. At this meeting the Governor, with his senior staff, works through the agenda giving his decisions with explanatory comments in detail if required. He may have some comments or criticism of his own to make and these will be included in the bulletin issued afterwards. This Governor's bulletin is published and distributed to every department in the prison every fortnight (forty copies). Sometimes it covers just a single foolscap sheet, sometimes three. Each of the section officers has a copy so that he and his group can discuss it in detail during the following two weeks. The following is an example: —

Item 1: Can the visiting arrangements be reorganised if two orderlies act as runners between the gate and the visiting hut and between the visiting hut and the recreation area where those to be visited are located?

Answer: Yes—and then the Governor outlined some minor conditions.

Item 2: Can a food committee be set up?

Answer: Yes, as long as all future food problems are channelled through that committee. Its members must be Deputy Governor, Chief Officer, the Cook and one prisoner representative from each section. The result of the meeting must be published on all notice boards.

One item at the very beginning proposed a weekly scheme for the second period of evening P.E. class. It was much better than the one we had tentatively prepared and it has worked reasonably efficiently ever since.

Four results of this fortnightly Governor's meeting and the publishing of a bulletin are worth mentioning:

(a) The bulletin has merged into one, the different sources from which an instruction or order can emanate. thereby simplifying and clarifying what in many institutions is rather confusing for the prisoner.

(b) No independent decision is taken by me, the Chief Officer or the four section Principal Officers; even the Governor largely follows this pattern and rarely issues a 'Governor's Order.' Nearly everything is fed back to the groups and is produced at the end of the fortnight in its original or modified form for consideration by the Governor.

(c) There is hardly need to state that staff and men together take an active and responsible part in the discussion and development of any detail.

(d) For me personally the most interesting development from this, and one totally unexpected, is the way in which everyone beneath the Governor, staff and inmates alike, accept the decisions of the Governor as laid out in the bulletin. When the decision is made, everyone works in a combined effort to carry out that decision. Here there is an obvious parallel with normal living in any good community.

This represents a breakdown of the pyramid structure found in most institutions from a functional point of view and a levelling off at a point immediately below Governor level. Pictorially for me, it is the difference between the old fashioned wooden set of children's blocks built up in decreasing sizes and the rather more modern polythene set which fit into one another, units within a unit.

General Section Meeting

(Section staff and all attached staff (nineteen)—once every six weeks).

All staff, other than the section officers, are attached to each of the four sections. The attached staff include the Chaplain, Tutor Organiser, Works Engineer, P.E. Instructor, Trade Assistants, V.T. Instructors Hospital Officers, Free Workmen, etc. Each section was given as representative a cross-section of the staff as possible. At the moment each section has about twenty 'attached' staff. The Principal Officer in charge of the section, the six section officers and the eighteen or so attached staff meet once every six weeks. There are no prisoner representatives present. Its functions, bearing in mind the institutional problems set out at the beginning of this paper, are obvious. Members of the staff, regardless of what particular work they do, just cannot be allowed to exist in a 'vacuum of less importance' merely because they are not directly involved in section work. Failure to absorb staff into the aims and purpose of the institution as a whole and to knit them closely to, and give them identity with, the

section, inevitably leads to 'separation,' frustration and antagonism. Ironically, it is those members of the staff working with their charges up to eight hours a day who often have a greater contribution to make in properly assessing the individual inmate. It may often have been said before, but it can certainly bear repetition, that in prisons and even in some borstals, a vast untapped source of information and experience is largely wasted. The seriousness of the problem was underlined when, during the first few general meetings of the sections, many of the staff were indifferent or even hostile to the work of the section, and for no other reason than that they just did not know how or why the section was working. The majority accepted the new arrangements gladly with such comments as "It's about time we were brought into the picture." Communication does not end here, for during the six-week interval between each meeting, section officers visit the shops and parties regularly and the attached staff pass information to the sections about work and inmates. As an illustration of this: A T.A. plasterer had an inmate working with him who was unmarried and hoped to return to Stepney. He had had several jobs in the building trade, was a driver on his arrest but he wanted to settle down as a plasterer. In the two months that the T.A. had had this man, they had done a great deal of intensive plastering converting 'B' wing into an education block. The T.A. submitted a comprehensive report to the Principal Officer in charge of Norman section after discussion with the man's group officer. The Principal Officer discussed the problem with his staff at a section meeting and telephoned the Chief Welfare Officer at N.A.D.P.A.S. Hedquarters in London who, as a result is (a) interviewing the man on the day of his release; (b) in collaboration with the N.A.B. providing some plastering tools (c) says that it will not be difficult to find the man work as a plasterer in North London; and (d) is already locating lodgings for him. The subject of communication with N.A.D.P.A.S. will be discussed later. But to conclude, the other functions of the general section meetings are: To review the progress of the section during the previous six weeks; to discuss methods of strengthening liaison between the section officers and its attached staff; the dissemination of policy and information to the attached staff, and to receive information from them; to discuss any individual and his problems.

The Governor's General Institution Meeting

The members are the Governor, Deputy Governor, Administration Officer, Tutor Organiser, Chaplain, Chief Officer, Works Engineer, four section Principal Officers and four prisoner representatives (one

from each section) who are periodically changed. The meetings are held once every two months.

The exact function of this meeting was not clear for some time and it was the last of the cogs to be brought into action. A meeting of this type is the logical conclusion of all that has gone before, capping it all with the seal of the Governor's authority. It has become apparent that it is not the subject matter of the meeting itself that is important, which is a general review of the previous two months' progress and an outline of the aims and policy for the next two, but the fact that the Governor is recognising in precise form the work that has gone on and is forcibly expressing to the whole institution that he is lending it all the weight of his authority.

There is one staff committee that functions on its own apart from the various inmate committees—Television, Sports, Food and others. This is the Casework Committee consisting of the Deputy Governor, Chaplain, Chief Officer and the four section Principal Officers. It considers the problem of each inmate roughly one month after reception, reviews his case half way through his sentence and one month before his discharge. Each section Principal Officer is responsible for the 'casework' of every one of his men in his section helped, of course, by his six staff. Through the Governor he is in contact with all the outside welfare agencies. Each has in his office a directory of all the agencies. Soon we are to receive a Welfare Officer and we look forward to close collaboration between him and the four sections.

I have room only to list the ancillary training of staff which, in the development of a system involving new techniques must run parallel to it.

Group Work Training

Monthly courses with five officers on each course was organised by an Assistant Governor, who has since left, the Chief Officer and me. These took the form of a discussion of institutional problems at Lewes against the background of the development of the prison service as a whole. The last half-hour of each meeting was usually taken up in analysing and interpreting the attitudes adopted by the group and relating them to the problems the officers themselves would face in their own groups.

Two officers attended the two-week course in group work at Portsmouth borstal, and two officers attended the week-end course at Rochester borstal.

Between January and April 1964, a comprehensive programme of in-service training was organised which included visits by our staff to a probation hostel, an allocation centre, probation office in Sussex and to Rochester borstal. Various speakers gave talks and held discussions at Lewes, includ-

ERRATUM

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ing Mr. Foster of Borstal After-

Care, the warden of a probation hostel, a headmaster of an approved school and a psychologist, while probation officers came singly and in groups for discussion with our staff.

The Assistant Governor and the Chief Officer ran courses for those officers taking the Principal Officers' examination which have since proved very successful.

The immediate results of this system are apparent: There is no tension but a more tightly knit, socially minded and responsible population. There have been very few breaches of discipline (five incidents involving white sheets in the last three and a half months), whilst the staff are far happier and active and give an impression of movement and purpose.

We have a long way to go at Lewes; there are many problems still to be solved. At least we feel we are doing something to give practical effect to that word 'rehabilitation' within and without the walls of the institution. When you boil it all down, are we not just thinking clearly of our aims, choosing our methods, welding *all* the members of our staff together so that each is contributing his maximum share, and then involving them directly with our charges in an adult, responsible, constructive climate?

Is not this the least we can do? Is this not the whole purpose of our work?

Contributions

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OF
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GROWING PAINS · N.J.T.

THE MOST ENCOURAGING feature of *Adolescent Problems: Their Nature and Understanding* is that this symposium is the joint work of six authors from different professions. Dr. Ogden, representing the Prison Service, combines with a psychiatrist from a Child Guidance Clinic, a doctor from a Mental Hospital, a probation officer, a minister and a Health Service officer in a University, to analyse the teenager in his different settings. It is worth 12s. 6d. to find that the Prison Service has not only been prepared to discuss its problems on a common basis with others, but that it has been accepted as having a contribution to make to the discussion.*

That the labour was more rewarding than the child matters little. After all, the flight from the state of dependence in the parental nest to independence in the wide world has never been easy, and goodness knows how much has been written about it in the last few years. It is disappointing to read some of the hoary old clichés backed with so little evidence—widespread lowering of moral standards, increased delinquency from mother's going out to work and father's loss of influence in the family (did father ever really rule the roost?). Nevertheless the book shows genuine paternal concern, tinged with perplexity, for the young.

Top of my pops is the probation officer. The problems she faces "when dealing with adolescence are the normal problems of adolescence, only to a more marked degree." Her probationers are "human beings in distress, adolescents with personal problems which cry aloud for solution. . . . They will for some time try us out, try to shock us, but if they keep coming and *do not reject us*, there is some hope that we can help them through the period when they have to find out for themselves by trial and error." Borstal and Detention Centre officers please note.

The adult-youth struggle is highlighted in each setting. The borstal boy veers between dependence on staff, and testing them out by misbehaviour or absconding. The 14-year-old girl in the clinic challenges the psychiatrist about why she should be in at 11.0 p.m. The undergraduate complains of financial restrictions and petty regulations and cannot see how university education fits into the social context of his life. The young man is faced with the choice between Church and sex and gives up the former because "you cannot prove that God exists." Mental Hospitals admit so few adolescents, not because there are few in need of treatment, but because such youngsters have a disturbing effect on the older patients.

*Published by Hodder & Stoughton.

This accepting-rejecting conflict is basic. "The adolescent's primary urge is not so much to assert himself as to eradicate his conflicts." I wonder if this is true? If so, we ought to be doing something about it..

What? The answer given by the minister is that we should fill the gap which is caused by the fact that the adolescent so often meets no one who is able to discuss intimately his ideas with him. In all matters, including sex, adults must be prepared to answer questions; even initiate discussion and present values which can be the standard against which the youngster can measure his behaviour. Our penal institutions provide us with an opportunity we often evade.

The reason for this evasion, says Dr. Nigel Walker in *Adolescent Maladjustment*, is that adults are too divided to provide a realistic guidance. Faced with no clear sexual code and so little assistance, adolescents make surprisingly few mistakes.

Dr. Walker's booklet, which is the eleventh Charles Russell Memorial Lecture, (1s.6d.) presents a complete contrast to the previous book. As one would expect from the Reader in Criminology at Oxford, he presents facts and figures. Here are no unsupported clichés. There is more drunkenness among adolescents—but also among all other age groups. Illegitimacy is increasing in the last few years, but is still not as frequent as in 1938. Suicide and psychoneurotic illness are on the increase, but mainly among older people.

Dr. Walker seeks to distinguish between what is pathological behaviour and what is part of the normal process of maturing, between what is maladjustment and what is mere adventurousness or the result of often justified boredom at school. This should be read by anyone who has to talk on teenage crime.

Perhaps the key to the adolescent problem is in the third book, *The Challenge of Middle Age* by J. H. Wallis (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 12s.6d.). As Training Officer of the National Marriage Guidance Council, Mr. Wallis has met many parents who appear to be having difficulty with their children but are in fact having trouble with themselves.

As the children reach adolescence, the parents are facing a loss of physical attractiveness, receding hair, middle-age spread, back-ache or the approach of the menopause. Responsibilities at work are increasing; possibly the growing independence of the children leaves the mother more time on her hands than she wishes; the cosy glow of marriage is lukewarm. Yet this is the time when the children are buying new clothes, making dates, spending freely and exercising a freedom which the parents cannot remember having enjoyed themselves.

Perhaps most of the writers on adolescence are middle-agers anyway. And perhaps they're jealous.

The Jungle, Reformers . . . and Sex

THE FLOW OF BOOKS on crime and punishment continues unabated. You can take your pick of crime from any angle. Books for the connoisseur are reviewed elsewhere in this journal. Here we hope to look regularly at new books for the interested layman; important books but, above all *readable* ones.

Forty years as a Clerk in a Magistrates Court has produced *Open Court* (Cassell, 21s. 0d.) a book of memories by F. T. GILES. A mixed grill of "rampageous beaks," humorous gaolers and an endless procession of accused combine to bring the court to life. Not all that serious, but then forty years is a long stretch.

JOHN VIDLER served almost as long, and leaves his account in *If Freedom Fail* (Macmillan, 21s. 0d.). How refreshing to find a Prison Governor who can leave a lively record, but then what else could one expect from the man who is best remembered as walking round Maidstone Prison in his braces? A truly virtuoso performer.

Another virtuoso of a slightly earlier generation was *Homer Lane*. His fascinating Biography has been written by DAVID WILLS (Allen and Unwin, 40s. 0d.). Here is Group Therapy, Shared Responsibility and a too-too permissive regime, and all before the first World War. (Hasn't anyone got an *original* idea?) And, like all men born before their time, he faced scandal and discredit. Reformer or charlatan? David Wills leaves you to draw your own conclusion.

The "Foster Home" pioneered by Borstal After Care is as near an original idea as any. The first two and a half years of this small family-type home for ex-Borstal boys is reviewed by DR. DEREK MILLER in *Growth to Freedom* (Tavistock, 30s. 0d.). Essential reading for borstal staff; indeed for staff of all penal institutions. This sort of follow-up study exposes us starkly to our short-comings. Unless it is too painful for us to face up to, here is portrayed the jungle into which our discharges are thrown, and their ability to face its stresses and strains.

The jungle is explored in a new way in *Undertow* by HELEN PARKHURST (Bell, 21s. 0d.). The story of a boy called Tony. American and a dope peddler, but by no means irrelevant: "I just wished I'd had somebody when I was in there who was understandable, so that when I was ready to leave, my mind wasn't all mixed up." Tony almost illiterate, "talk-writes" his story on to tape which proves a compelling medium.

Why does a man become a penal reformer? For adventure or experience? Through guilt and the good of sacrifice? Or the accident penal reformer? Or the accident of personal involvement at a deep level? For MERVYN TURNER it was the latter. The scars of his imprisonment show indelibly in *A Pretty Sort of Prison* (Pall Mall Press, 25s. 0d.). The antagonism from staff he has felt as a Prison Visitor continues to sour his impression of prison. This is a useful book for people coming new to prisons, but it is disappointingly lacking in depth. Yet here is real warmth and concern for prisoners, miserable social failures who preserve their anonymity.

LORD LONGFORD'S motivation is entirely different. From Eton and Oxford, he comes into the prison scene as one of his *Five Lives* (Hutchinson, 30s. 0d.) and finds prisoners are surprisingly normal people. He breakfasts with men released after serving sentences for murder and homosexual offences—a curiously inverted form of name dropping. He is determined to fan the wind of change into a gale, and it will be interesting to see how far he can achieve this as he begins his sixth life as Lord Privy Seal.

And, incidentally, who has stolen any *Sexual Deviation* by ANTHONY STORE (Pelican Books, 3s. 6d.)? I had only read the first three chapters, but even so recommend this as the Best Buy. Sex is a worrying thing. It is difficult to deal with. And it is difficult to work with sex offenders whose impulses and actions seem at times incomprehensible. Mr. Storr examines sexuality as a basic part of the personality, and warns that "there is not a single one of us who can be sure that, in his later years, he will not become the subject of a paragraph in the News of the World . . ." Yes, sex *is* perplexing. I must get another copy of that book.

Cambridge Opinion 38 on "Prisons"

A.W.D.

THIS IS A BOOK which should be read by everyone interested in penal work. It is an attempt to bring together a wide range of opinions and experience within this common frame of reference. For less than a packet of 20 cigarettes one is able to obtain, in concentrated form, expressions of thought, rarely original, but all pertinent and thought provoking. From the editorial, which must be read, to the final article, there is something to interest nearly everyone. Some ideas, now obviously ageing are restated, and a few fairly recent concepts make their appearance in this readily available format.

In a symposium such as this, undoubtedly the problem confronting the editor is not so much what to put in, as what to leave out. However, I feel the book would have been more complete had it included an article on Law Reform in relation to penal matters. (Some of Lord Gardiner's recent work might have been considered). Although religion is considered as old hat in some quarters, it is probably the oldest discipline in human relationships, and ought not to be ignored in a book which is attempting to present a rounded picture. In the preamble, the editorial states the purpose of the symposium is to pose the questions "What happens in prison and why?" What sort of people does it happen to?" "How does the experience of imprisonment affect them?" Having regard to the boundaries imposed by limited space and an apparent subjectivity in material selection, the symposium is undoubtedly a biassed success.

All the articles quickly get into their stride and if some appear to me to be cold and unfeeling, none are tedious. All are interesting. Colin Ward introduces the subject with a fair, often penetrating but, for me, rather depressing view of the inmate world. Like many workers of his kind, Ward seems to catch nine-tenths of his subject

with his roving clinical eye. Unfortunately for us in the Prison Service, we seem to be unable to show him that remaining one-tenth which enables us to persevere and to extract much more than a mere modicum of satisfaction from it all. One left this article feeling glum and unaided in a positive sense. Next, Donald Garrity talks about prison organisation and penal goals in a very professional way. He highlights the alienation that exists between formal authority figures and those subjected to them. He indicates the goal confusion and role confusion, now evident with the prison scene. Garrity discusses some of the implications of these issues and produces an interesting and worthwhile discussion. It seems a pity that he fails to make the highly relevant point that these are complications not necessarily of the penal service, but of any hierarchical structure. Following the first two articles, which are primarily research based features, Pauline Morris writes about the work of research, and this article is undoubtedly needed. Research workers experience considerable difficulties when attempting to examine penal institutions, and penal institutions appear to have equal difficulty examining research workers and the product of their labours. It is a pity that an article such as this is necessary, but perhaps it will serve the purpose of provoking thought about the problems indicated by Pauline Morris, both from the Prison Service and the people who undertake research projects. The next article is headed "Resocialisation—a New Approach." It is written by Gordon Trasler. As an academic exercise this undoubtedly is a skilful resumé of the complexity of treatment problems. Whilst many of Trasler's tenets will not be acceptable to those working in the field, it is right that concepts such as these should be exposed for consideration. In the following article the symposium, which until now had taken the form of written articles, changes its style and takes the form of a biographical pen picture of an actual case history. The biography introduces us to Kenneth Stack, who subsequently proves to be a very familiar figure. The article proves to be an intensely interesting, but fairly typical, portrayal, which serves to highlight the enormous problems which face penal workers. Problems which are considerably exaggerated when they are confronted (as in this case) with the task of developing considerable innate talent, in opposition to chronic criminality.

Inevitably, I suppose, prison education was bound to fall within the orbit of this symposium and I approached Godfrey Heaven's article with some forebodings. Happily, my apprehensions were totally unnecessary. This lively, often humourous and intensely humane appreciation of the implications involved in organising an

educational system, within a traditional penal organisation, should be essential reading for all tutor organisers.

The symposium next presents in narrative form an interview between the editor and Mr. Fred Castell. General Secretary of the Prison Officers' Association. This is a discussion about the prison officer and the many problems inherent in the enactment of his role in the Prison Service today. Mr. Fred Castell clearly indicates his very genuine concern for the position of the prison officer. But the skilfully directed interview, traps Mr. Castell, into unwittingly betraying the ambivalance at present experienced by prison officers, in relation to their present-day roles. And it also points to the contradiction which appears to be evident, within the Resolution 8 which called for a restatement of the prison officers' professional status. In the next article "Where the Shoe Pinches," David Garland interviews five ex-prisoners and discusses with them defects in the present system. Most prison staffs will recognise these people and the criticisms which they make. The most pertinent issue is the one which concerns the inability of a prisoner to express himself as a person within the physical and psycholgical confines of a penal institution. But despite this obvious truth, the people concerned don't really seem to understand the problem. How could they? Surely much of the present day conservatism displayed in the Prison Service stems from a genuine concern about the possible deleterious effect upon the inmate population as a whole if individual prisoners were encouraged to express themselves as they really are. In the preceding article Mr. Fred Castell says (quite rightly in my opinion) "There are some really wicked people in prison." Of course we need to define what we mean by wicked, we need also to adequately classify our population, so that we can determine just who such people might be. But the public and the Prison Service need to be assured, that modern permissive methods of dealing with these people are truly effective. Such assurance is not forthcoming from this article.

After-Care? After What? After Whom? Having regard to the intense amount of interest generated around this problem in recent months, this article is exceedingly well timed. Timothy Cook brings a focus of clarity to this subject which in my view is much needed. Some of the broad assumptions about after-care are brought into close scrutiny, and there seems little doubt that the questions Mr. Cook asks must be resolved before we can properly and constructively think in terms of an efficient after-care service—read it!

Following the discussion on after-care, Richard Hauser holds a polemical inquiry asking the question, "What are prisons for?" Here is a man who undoubtedly

knows where he is going. He knows the way that prisons should be organised. He has clarified certain fundamental issues which are still challenging and troubling many people; and his clearly defined philosophy, if arrogant, has at least the merit of a clear objective. Refreshingly Mr. Hauser regards prison officers as something rather better than morons, and gives them the credit for talents which we in the Prison Service know they possess. Hauser will anger many people. His waving away of the concept of guilt will strike at the core of many people's beliefs. His concept of social shame might well be seen as a highly dangerous advocacy. One also feels that Hauser is obsessionally involved in his work and theories to the extent that he is committed to making his ideas work. If one gets this impression, I think it is then reasonable to ask the question, "Can he really see, or is his view blinkered?"

The symposium winds up on a splendidly academic note. In the pursuit of pushing an ideal towards its ultimate, James Scott provides us with an interesting but, I think, totally impractical proposition. But don't discount these concepts easily. The things which Scott says seem to me to be a logical conclusion of the therapeutic community principle. The implications at this end of the continuum are enormous and should be given the consideration which the Suffolk project undoubtedly deserves. Perhaps it is only in considering extremes, such as this, that we may be able to move to a position which is more in keeping with modern penal concepts and which at the same time provide us with a practical working proposition.

Presumably this type of literature is ultimately intended to assist people working in the penal field. The focus of attention, highlighted by the beam of informed opinion, must thrust into the hard light of objectivity much that is lamentable about the present state of penal affairs. It may be inevitable, but it is certainly unfortunate, that many of the contributors in their approach to the problem display a singular lack of "feeling" for their subject. I am aware that this is a particularly unscientific word, but make no apology for its use. Most of us working in the penal field will know what I mean and, within the book, Godfrey Heaven, Fred Castell and the ex-prisoners, display the empathy which I believe is missing from the approach of others.

As a consequence, the impact of some of these articles upon the people who work with prisoners will be considerably reduced. A pity, for surely this is where one must begin. It may well be that all learning is painful, but some of the contributors here do not appear to understand their own message. Their delicate appreciation of prisoners' problems does not appear to extend to those of

the staff. Intellectual attack will provoke an equally violent defence, and if this subject is not approached with warmth and understanding, then outside pressure groups cannot really blame the Prison Service for ignoring them.

Recommendations from the Royal Commission may have considerable impact, but in the last analysis it is the prison staffs who have to implement them. Unless they are to achieve a truly empathetic appreciation of their future roles, then the enormous amount of valuable work undertaken by "outsiders" will continue to be as dust before the wind. Unpleasant whilst it is blowing; Nasty if a grain gets in one's eye; but soon over and all is as before.

Defeatist? Cynical? A depressing historical fact!

Cambridge Opinion is obtainable from G. N. MEADON, Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge at 5s. 0d. inc. postage.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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P. G. RODWELL joined the Prison Service 14 years ago and was a Physical Education Instructor for 8 years; served at Dartmoor and Wormwood Scrubs where he is now Branch Secretary of the Prison Officers' Association.

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