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CONTENTS

What is a Community Prison?

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This article originally appeared in the September 1965 Federal Probation *and is reproduced by permission of the Editor. It is based on remarks made by Mr. Gill at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution (formerly the Norfolk Prison Colony), Norfolk, Mass., February 27, 1964, subsequent to the erection in the Administration Building there of a bronze plaque which reads as follows: "In recognition of the establishment at Norfolk, Massachusetts, of the first Community Prison for Men in the United States under the leadership of Howard B. Gill, Superintendent, 1927-34".*

IN HIS BOOK entitled **The Prison Community* Donald Clemmer has described life in a typical state prison of the traditional Auburn type. This is a type which I have called massive, medieval, monastic, monolithic, monumental, monkey-cage monstrosities. Nevertheless, in such prisons one finds many of the characteristics of any community. Indeed, Clemmer points out how the prison culture in such institutions is very similar to the culture outside the prison.

Both the traditional Auburn type prison and free society have customs, laws, beliefs. Both contain lively ingredients of conflict. Both have what sociologists call accommodation and assimilation. Both have systems of communication. Both have their social classes and their primary and semi-primary groups. Both have leadership.

PRISON CULTURE

Unfortunately, however, the prison culture presented by Clemmer, as found in many traditional prisons, is not a healthy culture. Its customs, laws and beliefs are more often against progress and toward destruction. Its conflict is bitter and unsportsmanlike rather than constructive. Its assimilation

*Donald Clemmer, *The Prison Community*. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940; New York: Reinhart and Co., Inc., revised 1958.

is deadening rather than harmonising. Its communication is one-sided. Its social classes and groups are essentially criminal. Its leadership is too often that of the worst rather than the best. It leads not to "reconstruction" but, as Clemmer points out, to "prisonisation".

Beyond all this, such prison culture is sadly lacking in certain essentials which make for a healthy culture. There is little or no innovation; no experimentation. Let well enough alone, don't rock the boat, are the orders of the day. Cross fertilisation between criminal and non-criminal is frowned on by both sides. Hence there is no creative synthesis in the meeting of opposites toward a better understanding; there is no "common ground".

Prison culture, as described by Clemmer, is a false culture, a pseudoculture. Exposed to such a culture, men leave prison worse than when they enter.

The fundamental concept of a "community prison" is just the opposite of the traditional prison. It is not built on the principle of mass housing, mass feeding, mass recreation, or mass anything. It avoids medieval and monastic characteristics. It eschews cells and isolation. It does not favour the silent system and non-communication, or solitary meditation on sin and guilt. It substitutes diversity and variation for monolithic structures and regimentation. It seems to reflect ordinary living conditions rather than monumental designs. It abhors monkey-cages or similar monstrosities so dear to the hearts of mechanically minded "prison construction specialists".

What, then, are the essentials of a community prison?

FOUR ESSENTIALS

There are at least four basic essentials which are characteristic of a community prison.

1. *Normalcy* as it has to do with the interpersonal relationship between officials and staff, with the nature of structures in the institution, with all institutional activities, with rules and regulations, and with the general overall climate of the institution.

2. *Small group principle* as this applies to living quarters, dining, bathing, work programme, and leisure-time activities, including hobbies, athletics and entertainment, visiting, religious services, and medical care.

3. *Inmate participation* based on joint action and joint responsibility for all institution activities except discipline, parole, finances, and similar official administrative actions.

4. *Community contacts* including bringing the outside community into the prison and taking the inmate to the outside community in all reasonable ways possible.

Such essentials are unique to community prisons. They are established on the general principle

that the most effective means of reconstructing the lives of men who have had difficulty in adjusting to community life in a free society, is to have them live for a time in a supervised community under as nearly normal conditions as possible and practicable.

NORMAL RELATIONSHIPS

In a communty prison every effort is made by both officials and inmates to establish a normal culture through normal relationships between all officials and all inmates. Officials and inmates who cannot establish such normal relationships do not belong in a community prison. This was one of the first lessons learned in the early days of Norfolk.

In a community prison, officials live, work and play with inmates in a friendly, co-operative relationship. Even the uniformed officers whose duty it is to prevent escapes, control contraband, and maintain order, are regarded as normal policemen of the community as in any outside society.

The structure of the community prison is as nearly like that of the outside community as possible. Living quarters have rooms not cells, with baths and recreation rooms and dining rooms for "family" living. Buildings are varied and separated, not monotonously monolthic, factory or fortress-like structures. As in a normal community, there are in addition to such living quarters, a city hall, a police station, a gaol, a hospital, a school and library, a civic centre, a chapel, and industrial buildings of characteristic type. Play spaces are abundant. Grassy lawns and flowers are for the inmates and not just for visiting firemen. Only the wall is prison-like—and even that can be reduced to background rather than dominating the whole.

Activities in a community prison always approach the normal. Men go to or from work or other activities, singly or in twos and threes as in any community. Any legitimate activity which a man would have in his own home or neighbourhood is welcome in a community prison.

Rules and regulations are normal. Gone are the petty, harassing prison rules. Actually there are only two fundamental prison rules in a community prison: you can't go away, and you can't have contraband. All else are regulations relating to routine procedures such as are necessary in any society where people must live and work together. The two fundamental rules are not debatable. On the other hand, any regulation is subject to discussion and modification at any time. Of course, there are laws against disorderly conduct, fighting, stealing, sex deviations, gambling, drugs, etc., which are applicable to any community as well as a community prison, but

these are not peculiar to a prison.

The general climate of a community prison is also normal. Whereas the climate, in a traditional prison is autocratic and no one but the guards can offer a suggestion, in the community prison suggestions from the inmates are welcome even if they are not always adopted. In the traditional prison, inmates are usually deprived of all responsibility; in the community prison inmate responsibility is a recognised part of the programme. In the community prison there are more "do's" than "don'ts" and meritorious activities are more often recorded than disciplinary action. Instead of merely "doing your own time", in the community prison inmates can help the other fellow. Instead of "treating everybody alike", the community prison recognises that each man's needs are different. Diversity replaces uniformity; variety is substituted for monotony. Subservience is discouraged and men are encouraged to stand on their own feet. In place of deprivation, enrichment in living is the goal. Individual problem-solving takes precedence over "programmes of rehabilitation", but acculturation to the society to which a man will return is essential. The principal question to be resolved in any difference of opinion is: is it normal?

Small Group Principle

Second, a community prison comes as close as possible to having men live in small "families". In the normal community, the family is the social unit of society. The cell house with hundreds and sometimes a thousand inmates in a single building is replaced with small groups of 50, and even these can be further divided into units of 10, 15, 25. Instead of a big central dining room, each group of 50 men is served from a small service unit making possible many home-like items, and the inmates eat at four-men tables where normal social interchange is possible. Instead of a central bath-house (as in the old traditional prison), each small unit has its own bathroom. The family group has its own living room and its own hobby shop.

Even recreation is carried on in many areas. At Norfolk there are 14 such areas instead of one massive recreation yard where inmates mill around aimlessly or sit on bleachers watching a few men play. Also at Norfolk, the assembly hall is purposely designed to accommodate only half the maximum population so that never can a mass congregation of all inmates be possible. A small chapel provides for intimate religious services. Visiting is designed to be held "family style"—a few groups

at a time. Thus, the small group principle is basic to a community type prison even though it poses some problems not always easy to solve.

Inmate Participation

A third essential of a community prison is the participation of responsible inmates in the development and operation of the activities of the institution. It started at Norfolk when a group of inmates selected by inmates agreed to be responsible for escapes and for turning in contraband. It went on to develop a successful work programme through a joint committee of construction engineers and inmate leaders. It expanded further until there were similar joint committees of inmates and officers developing and operating sports, entertainment, education and library, home and employment, hobbies, family welfare, commissary, food service, maintenance, medical care, orientation (of new inmates), "The Colony". Each house had its joint house committee consisting of two officers and two inmates, and each house unit held a weekly meeting with its house officers to consider problems and suggestions for the good of all.

This was not play-acting or a "company union" in which the officers pulled the strings while the inmates went through the motions of self-government. Indeed it was never intended to be self-government. Nor was it a system whereby an inmate advisory committee and the warden got together to tell the officers and staff how to run the prison. The Norfolk Plan was based on the principle of joint participation of groups of inmates and officers chosen from time to time to take joint responsibility for institution activities and report to the warden and his staff their joint recommendations for the welfare of all. The result was a healthy cross-fertilisation and creative synthesis which produced sound leadership and an enriched programme of community living. It produced civic responsibility on the part of both inmates and officers.

Community Contacts

Finally, the community prison is built on the principle that contact between the outside community and the prison community is essential to carry on a programme of inmate reconstruction. In the old days what went on in a prison beyond the front office was nobody's business but the warden's. In the community prison it is axiomatic that the outside community shall be invited to participate in as many activities of the institution as possible. Every opportunity is taken to bring the outside community into the prison

not only on national and other holidays such as Christmas, New Year's, Patriots Day, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Veterans Day, Thanksgiving, but also as an exchange in athletics, entertainment, civic lectures, debates, etc., at any time. The fellowship programme with its fine group of outmates is much like the original Friends of Norfolk and the sponsorship programme they established.

The corollary of bringing the community into the prison is, of course, to take the inmate to the community. Until recently this has remained chiefly a hope for the future. During the past 10 years, however, this has become a reality in many states and some countries. Beginning in Wisconsin, "work release" (or what I first called "social servitude" in the 1930's) has been adopted in at least 17 states including Wisconsin, West Virginia, California, Idaho, North Carolina, Minnesota, North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, Illinois, Washington, Missouri, Michigan, Maryland, Indiana. By such a programme inmates who have shown evidence of "reconstruction" may live in special units in the prison or in "halfway houses" and be allowed to work in the community earning their own board and keep, supporting their own families, and saving up against the day of parole. Such opportunity to meet everyday family and other problems will test a man's ability to maintain a law-abiding life under almost normal conditions.

This is the "wave of the future" in corrections in the United States today, and the community prison is the most likely source of candidates for such a programme.

Conclusion

Other states have built or are building community prisons. Indeed while Norfolk was being built, community type correctional institutions for youthful offenders were being built in New Jersey and Missouri, and even as far away as Germany and Russia. Now California, Wisconsin, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons are following suit. There were several community type institutions for women even before Norfolk was built such as the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, West Virginia.

When the Wessell Committee made its report on corrections in Massachusetts several years ago, one of its recommendations was that Norfolk should re-establish its original programme. It is evident that under the present administration this is what is happening. At any rate, now in the 1960's, over 30 years after the Norfolk Plan was first established, Massachusetts finds itself in the forefront of modern corrections with a truly community prison.

From Blundeston

And the Wall Came Tumbling Down

JOE HOGAN

IN MY STORMY JOURNEY through gaol life I had lived strictly on my side of the "unsurmountable" barriers erected by staff and inmates, you know, the wall that is built brick by brick made out of a mixture of fear, distrust, hatred, ego, slander and lies, each brick carefully and firmly planted so that the finished structure appears in the minds of both walls' participants to be unassailable. This type of barrier to understanding is also built up between officer and officer, con. against con. and neither side can visualise a breach being made. However, these barriers are not so formidable as the mind has falsely made them out to appear as I have found out during the last few months at this prison.

One such wall I and another P.D., A, had erected against each other appeared to me to be absolutely impossible to surmount as on both sides pride was the type of brick used, but even prideful walls can be breached as the following story will reveal.

I have been a sufferer from heart trouble for many years and my personal vendetta with the medical officer forbade me asking for medical aid, consequently when I was ordered to load a tractor I had perforce to refuse, which I did so in a manner consequent with the psychopathic aggression I am unfortunately afflicted with. My reason for this outburst was from frustration at knowing I was not able to do the heavy task and would have to get medical permission to get excused. I refused to lower my pride and went into a seclusion —which was far from monkish— in fact my rage at being forced into this position forced the "wall" up higher. I refused the medical officer permission to examine my fitness for punishment, as I had firmly fixed in my mind his very obvious antipathy toward me owing, no doubt, to the fact that I had threatened violence once. I was tried that morning by the

governor who, despite a very large measure of respect for me, refused to deal with me until he had received a medical report. In a rage I stormed out of the office fully determined to spend the rest of my time on "chokey" informing the governor of my intention.

I spent the next hour marching up and down the "peter," my ever-lively emotions all aswirl as my past two years fled through my fevered brain. I had travelled a long hard path of self rehabilitation in the past year, started the Never Again Association and was still the chairman; whatever I did today always had to take into full account the feelings of others—especially the N.A.A. members. Only the last meeting I had strongly advised the all-out bid to overcome staff distrust and antipathy towards the inmate by means of N.A.A. attendance and here I was faced with my own refusal to work, or be medically examined—at that moment I realised the size of the "wall" I had built. The group would regard me as a phoney, all the good I had been doing would cease and I would revert again, what could I do? I couldn't possibly lower my pride and allow this son of a bitch to give his phoney diagnosis—no never!

Never? I saw him next morning and allowed him to examine me only, I pointed out, "out of respect to the governor". I had made the first concession. I had made this decision because of several factors —factors that could not be overlooked or disregarded as of no consequence. (1) My position as chairman of the N.A.A. (2) My respect for the chief engineer, Mr. Dawes, who was a member of our association and who had come to expect a little maturity in my thinking. (3) Members of the group coming to visit me in the "chokey" and asking me to reconsider my decision not to leave the "block" until my time had run out. (4) The fact that something big was expected of me—I had to disregard self in this matter, pride of which I have more than my share had to be discounted. (5) I had to agree to something I heartily detested—lower my flag to authority.

I knew what the medical officer would say when he examined me: "Nothing wrong—A.1." I wasn't far wrong. He informed the governor that my heart was sounder than his. I have not given in to the medical officer because I know he is wrong and I am correct, however, I had taken the first step, I had allowed him to examine me—spurious though the diagnosis was. The governor saw me later and informed me of the medical officer's report. I listened and asked him why he could believe my word I had given not to escape, yet not take my word that my heart was "dodgy". His answer: "I am forced to take the professional medical report." I knew that it would be

a gamble to do heavy labour so soon after a heart strain—I had had a bad strain at Christmas as a result of 'flu—but I agreed to do a little. I was cautioned.

My thoughts then were heavy with doubts as to the possibility of keeping my word. I would be considered by the rest of the party as having "swallowed it" (backed down). I had to work at loading a tractor alongside A, with whom I was now on bad terms—we had been friends. The "wall" was high in my mind between us, could I breach it? The time came for the test when I came out to work, I took one look at A then realised I couldn't work with him and be bad friends at the same time—something had to go. Lower my pride—not me! I shirked the issue for the rest of the afternoon sitting in the toilet, my mind almost cracking under the strain, my nerves getting ragged, my emotions boiling up to the pitch where I would have to erupt in a violent outburst and at that stage Mr. Dawes found me: "Everything O.K. now, I'm glad." His face dropped a foot when I let loose a flood of emotional explanations: "I haven't got the spunk to lower my f—— pride Fred, I have been sitting here for the last hour trying to find the courage to apologise to A for falling out and I just can't walk over there to him." I concluded with: "I'll smash somebody or something up, I'm at the end of my tether—why should I have to lower my pride". I was in a right state—a state that I felt sure would end violently. I felt as though I had been backed into an impossible situation, I felt as frustrated as hell.

Mr. Dawes realised what a problem I had on and wisely left me to make my own decision, but he was a very perturbed and disappointed man. Everybody was trying to help me and I couldn't help myself. Disturbed, I wandered over to Bob the P.D. doing the hospital window cleaning—he had a very wise mind, one that I had always paid a lot of attention to—he was a guy who knew the score nearly always. I told my story of misery and anger to this wise Scotch owl who promptly, in his careful precise manner, pointed out what ought to be done. He was so right! I had to march straight up to A, apologise and offer to bury the hatchet. If I didn't I would be a coward—if I did lower my ego I would be a better man for it—I would win a battle against my baser self. I marched up to A, apologised—it was accepted by A who seemed embarrassed and pleased—we shook hands and another "unsurmountable" wall came tumbling down.

I know that in this incident I came off best. I gained a maturity I had not previously possessed. I was helped by staff to reach this understanding. I have never before experienced a situation in which a problem of this nature can be resolved in the way it was with the governor, the staff and the inmates

all helping me to conquer my problem. Previously, the conflict built up inside me would have remained there and would have influenced me to act in such a way that I would have ended up behind a locked cell door. My record of mutiny, violence, and escape, stand to prove this.

At this moment, with a year of never ceasing mental conflict behind me, I was able to do the mature thing.

I have progressed so far today that this last emotional and mental conflict constitutes for me almost a final step in my complete rehabilitation. My journey through this prison's progressive confines has resulted in almost a complete metamorphosis of personality, it has given me the chance of finding myself, in fact, of becoming much nearer to the desired end result of a progressive group counselling—a whole person.

I owe much of this reformation to the loyalty and understanding of the assistant governor who is liaison officer to the Never Again Association and who, after a very rocky and stormy beginning to our personal relationship, stuck it out to become my friend and counsellor. I owe much to the kindness and loyalty of the group members, which included chief engineer Fred Dawes, who played a big part in my decision to come up from the "chokey".

Everybody helped me to help myself and the prevailing system provided this situation. It is my hope that in the future more and more prisoners will be afforded the help they need, in the way that I have received it in my present situation.

Contributions

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as early as possible

The Never Again Association

N. A. A. GENERAL SECRETARY

WHEN THE N.A.A. was first mooted, my reaction was that, as an instrument of penal reform it was ideal, providing authority, local and upper, did not obstruct; but as time progressed I found my ideas were changing, my original motives getting secondary consideration, my outlook getting broader and despite an understandable reluctance, I found myself growing more in alignment with authority's ideas on group counselling. I fought what I now realise is an evolutionary phase in any organised group having behaviour study intent, but as the secretaryship of the N.A.A. involved a moral responsibility, I found myself having to equip myself with far more honesty than of wont and as a result the group counselling began to take a firmer hold until it has now reached the point in my thinking where it is paramount.

It is interesting, from a study point of view, to follow the processes of my mind as it led me from what can only be described as a deliberate calculation to undermine authority by amalgamating all the P.D. elements into a fused solid body with its focal point on the alleviation of all sentences and prison conditions. The first step was taken and 42 men joined the group on its first meeting, a reasonably good proportion of gaol total. A promising start one would imagine, but we were dealing in fickle criminal minds so I was not over-convinced of any early success.

To talk to a group of P.D.s and tell them what they want to hear is comparatively easy, but if no results are forthcoming the criminal mind rejects it all as a dead loss and it takes a logical step by resigning. This logical behaviour was what started my mind off in search of pastures new. Why, after so many weeks, did so many remain to hear what was practically parrot-wise learned by now? Loyalty no doubt played a part: hopes were apparently still undiminished of some great change coming about as a result of our weekly talks; entertainment value

was there after a fashion; a chance to let off steam no doubt contributed in some small measure to their continued membership, or was it perhaps the natural gregariousness of the "beast"?

All these possibilities apart and taken into account, I realised slowly that there was something else that kept the group together. I began to quest around until I had fined it down to their deep-felt hope that this would be their last sentence; they reiterated this privately to me so that I had no doubts on that score. Also, in some unspoken thought they felt that the group could bring about something that would help them to keep out. Of course the latter cannot be taken for granted because it is merely conjecture on my part, but that is what I now believe has kept the continued membership going. Allied to this thinking was my observance of the gradual change in the group's attitude. I felt they wanted to participate more orally, for up till our last meeting they had taken a more or less passive part in the proceedings. I discovered a growing interest myself in the behaviour of the individuals in the group and began to speculate on what their answers and attitudes might be to given questions—would it be resentment; would they compensate like mad; would they hide behind a retaliating attack? I began to get so many questions in my mind and no answers to them that a sense of frustration enveloped me for a period. However, with me, thinking is acting, so I took the bull by the horns and went to authority with not only my problem of the group's future, but my tacit admittance that the liaison had been right from the beginning and I and the group had been wrong.

The way is now clear even if rocky and I feel sure that the N.A.A. has struggled through despite many explosions to a firm policy that will and must bring satisfactory results in the long run.

PERSONAL FEELINGS

When I began this group I never realised fully just what trials and tribulations I would encounter. I knew I could expect some ribbing, some ribaldry and a little malice and spite, but what has followed almost overwhelmed me. I was vilified, slandered and shunned, the majority of it behind my back; friends of long standing did not quite know what to make of me in my new role—was I a charlatan, out for gain? Had I gone even more cranky? Or perhaps I had got religion? They couldn't make their minds up so they compromised by avoiding me as much as possible. Even now after so long they are embarrassed when we converse, but after a terrible feeling of rejection, which still persists from time to time, I adjusted to this

and now confidently take it all in my stride even though I still get tremendous urges to run amok.

I find now that crooked talk has strangely lost its savour, but criminal behaviour — or more fairly, human behaviour, absorbs all my waking moments. It fascinates me when the man with the hump on his back, when asked pointedly about his hump, always retaliates with an attack on his questioner's physical deformities instead of simply giving a lucid reply. He merely shuts his eyes to his hump's obvious ever proximity. I have got to the pitch now where I seek the reason for behaviour and can look for the underlying buried reasons in those that scoff and jeer at the N.A.A. and me, and find excuses for that behaviour. This is the measure of my progress towards maturity that I can forgive instead of fight.

If this is the pitch that N.A.A. has helped me reach, I am certain that the only answer to the rejection of crime is continued membership in N.A.A., with its new (for the group) experiment in group counselling.

I am as sure as night follows day that all in the N.A.A. have benefitted in differing measures from their attendance at the weekly session. Some are still using N.A.A. for a variety of reasons; some will use it but profit not. I am fully convinced that success, a measurable success, could come on discharge, if a concerted effort is made by most members.

I feel that a voluntary group as the N.A.A. will command more respect than any similar group started by authority.

The issue of January 1967 includes

● **FEATURES**

A TUTOR ORGANISER VISITS U.S.A. PRISONS
I.S.T.D. LOOKS AT JUGOSLAVIA
GRADUATES AND THE PRISON SERVICE
LETTERS

The Institutional Treatment of Delinquents

(Part II)

by

THE STAFF OF GRENDON PRISON Y. P. WING

THIS ARTICLE is intended as a further chapter to Mr. Booth's paper on the same subject. We felt that Mr. Booth showed some obvious prejudice. He also appeared to demonstrate a certain amount of lack of appreciation both of criminal research generally, and of the implications that Grendon Prison could have for the Prison Service. We consider it is unnecessary to follow up the first allegation, but we would like to pursue the last.

We have the impression that our prison is regarded as apart from the rest of the Service; we are not blaming everyone apart from ourselves for this; communication on our side has, no doubt, left something to be desired, and it is the primary purpose of this article to contribute towards this deficiency. Mr. Booth remarks on the Ventura system; we are describing Grendon.

We, in this case, are the staff of the young prisoners' wing, and as such we feel it reasonable to describe our wing as a representative part of Grendon. The adult wings are not identical to ours but the general philosophy is the same. Perhaps we have progressed faster, but this is probably because we are a small isolated group within the establishment.

To proceed to the wing; this has a maximum capacity of 50, but a practical level of 40 inmates. It is at present, equally divided between those serving Y.P. sentences of 18 months to life, and those serving sentences of borstal training. The only qualifications we ask for are that the man is in need of treatment and that he is, in some small way, motivated towards it. One can argue, however, that motivation can often be brought to the surface, and certainly increased, by a particular kind of regime. We would also add a rider that we do not feel we have much to offer the borderline or near borderline defective. If you say that we are ensuring ourselves against failure by this process of selection we can only say, firstly, that no one form of

treatment or training is suitable for everyone, and secondly, that the psychological tests show that we have a highly disturbed difficult population who are very much in need of treatment.

The theory of treatment on the wing is that an atmosphere must be provided which facilitates to the maximum degree of treatment offered. This atmosphere, which is in itself therapeutic, is built up at Grendon by an emphasis on acceptance and shared responsibility. We consider that to achieve optimum efficiency in any organisation everybody must be working towards the same aim, in this case treatment. Anything working against this aim must, as far as possible, be eliminated. This means in effect that everyone has a responsibility for running the wing administratively and therapeutically. Everyone, staff and inmates, is responsible for treatment and the rule of law. Everyone must thus be able to contribute toward any decision that is made; be it removing someone from Grendon, discharging a man, forming an entertainments group, alterations of pay, action on an unhygienic room or dealing with an highly disturbed patient acting out. Therefore, adequate communication situations must exist to enable this contribution to be made. The ultimate responsibility for the wing inevitably rests with the staff, how far this power is exercised, and how it is exercised, is a difficult skill. Everyone must be asked to bear as much as they are capable. Everything is a learning process and flexibility is essential. However, this placing of responsibility, and trust on inmates must be real, i.e. things will go wrong and mistakes will be allowed. Pretence over this trust is harmful. This atmosphere of sharing is aimed at breaking the barriers between staff and inmates and so giving the maximum opportunity to everyone to build up relationships on a trusting, treatment orientated basis. This is not the abdication of authority but the sharing of authority with a definite aim in view.

Inevitably, in discussion of a treatment regime, the question of discipline arises. In fact Mr. Booth states in his article on page 5: "The need to establish good relationships with individual inmates is, *inevitably* (our italics) obstructed by the need to maintain authority in an institutional situation". We do not agree that this is inevitable. If the community deals with realistic rules, and if the staff are felt to be genuinely interested in the inmates and acting in their best interests, this conflict very rarely arises. Exceptions will occur in isolated instances. Then the whole community—staff and patients—will face the person concerned and question, in the open, his attitudes and actions. The split will then not be between authority and inmate, but between community and individual, which is a very different thing. The former is easy to rationalise, the second is far

harder to evade—"Can everyone else be wrong?" We do not deny that discipline has intervened with relationships here, but this is happening less and less as we ourselves become more secure, secure enough to act on our own initiative and to question past practice. We do have the occasional report on the wing, but these are discussed with the whole community and the advice of the therapist, staff and group are equally taken into consideration. The report is dealt with on a very informal basis and sanctions are very much designed for the individual, e.g. if someone abuses the community in a deliberate way he is temporarily expelled from the community until it is prepared to receive him back. However, everyone in the wing is agreed on the futility of punishment as anything but a temporary influence. It is merely a controlling factor usually used by the community when it becomes too frightened, or used for the individual, sometimes, when he is becoming frightened of himself.

The treatment method employed on the wing is a round-the-clock therapy to bring insight, in the broadest sense of the word, and to practise using this insight to evolve continued improvement. The treatment is a live organism and depends primarily on the staff which consists of a therapist, hospital principal officer, a woman social worker, six group officers (in theory) and a workshop instructor. The treatment is built round three work groups, consisting so far of 10 to 12 men. This was decided on as an ideal number and has proved satisfactory. There are three types of labour which are the garden party, workshop (which is the assembling of pictures in their frames) and wing cleaners. The groups have a month in the workshop and a fortnight on gardens and cleaners on a rotating basis.

There are two officers allocated to each group, both of different divisions, so in theory there is always one person regularly with the group. The officer's role on the group is hard to define, he has to be observer to all that is happening in and around the group. This is necessary if he is supplying any feed back into the group; confidant to each individual; no friendlier to any one individual as this is quickly noticed by the other members, as a child will soon tell who has the biggest portion of cake. An ideal simile to describe the role of the group officers is the perceptive father in a democratic, maturing family. Revolving round the groups is the principal officer who is wing father—a humane, but fairly directive, firm one. The social worker is a kind of mother figure. Both deliberately set themselves up as figures through whom, under the therapist, difficulties can be worked through and fed into the groups. An anti-authority man could be helped by the father, a man with

sexual difficulties might be helped by the mother, who is in fact also identified as a girl friend figure by many of the inmates. The psychiatrist tends to be the person on whom problems of which inmates are really ashamed are first tried out. He will do his best to help the man bring his problem to the group. He also helps those who are rejected by, or who themselves reject, the group, to overcome the problem.

The treatment structure itself consists of two meetings each day. A wing meeting in the morning in which the whole wing takes part and group meetings every evening from 4–5 p.m. This occurs from Monday to Friday, the week-end being devoted to sports.

In the morning wing meeting there is no chairman, although the therapist and staff attend. It can be, more or less, defined as a discussion group talking over a member's difficulties; giving advice or opinions, or even showing a person that this is a difficulty he has in common with others. It is surprising how many inmates think that their difficulties in life are unique and to be told that others feel the same helps a great deal.

The fear that speaking of their offences would result in them being looked down on or even becoming a victim of violence was difficult to erase. This particularly applied to sexual offenders, but gradually, after one or two had admitted that it was this latter type of offence that had got them into trouble, these matters were accepted by the wing and only referred to in a discussion either on the wing or group meeting. Possibly it is one of the biggest attainments of the wing that it can look upon these usually unacceptable offences, consider the details, and still accept the person concerned as a friend or as an acquaintance.

Another barrier to talking about themselves on the wing meeting is the fear of ridicule. The inmates have a real fear of speaking in front of 30 others. This is generally overcome, but a minority do not overcome it readily. To lose face is the worst that can happen to a boy, as indeed no one wishes to lose face in any community.

It can be said that we have now reached the point where the definitely trivial things are no longer discussed on the meeting, but instead of these we have spells of silence which in themselves mean a lot. The difficulty here is to decide just what the meaning is. Sometimes the interpretation put by the staff, or at times by one of the inmates, is proved to be the correct one which can then spark off quite a lengthy discussion. At other times the correct interpretation cannot be found. Then the general feeling is that as a meeting it has been hopeless. Although these feelings are to be expected, they nevertheless cause disappointment to both the inmates and staff.

The group meetings differ from the wing meetings in that they consider the basic character of the

individual and try and help him to realize where his reasoning is wrong. In doing so the group members are unconsciously helping themselves. As has been said before it is very common for one person's difficulties in life to be shared by many others. So by discussing one particular individual they are making way for the truth about themselves to be more acceptable. This will enable them in time to face up to their own problems.

The atmosphere on the group meetings makes for more personal relationship than on the wing meetings. This enables the inmates to be more outspoken as the fear of reprisals is not as strong. If it were, the group as a work group would fall apart and this would lead to the collapse of the group in all its aspects, e.g. if A were to take offence at something B said, and then have to continue working with him during the day it could lead to the eventual splitting of the group into two sides. This sort of thing occurred when the groups were first started, but they have become sufficiently sophisticated to stop this developing without any outside interference.

We are told that it is to be expected that groups will, at times, appear not to be making any progress. Indeed, they may appear to be taking a backward step. If this is so the groups here are no exception. This has happened a few times but only in one aspect. If we look upon life here as having two aspects, work and therapy, it has mostly been the work aspect which has slipped back. When the phase is over the group has progressed a step further until we now seem to be at a point where each new step seems harder than the last.

Looking back on the two years that the wing has been formed, there is a great improvement. This was not noticeable when one was working through each phase of the development. But comparing the wing in the beginning with its present state there can be seen a greater maturity of attitude in the members of the community, there is also a much happier atmosphere. The inmates are considerably more tolerant and understanding with each other and more willing to work as a group. Although they are not the same people as were originally admitted to the wing they are, generally speaking, the same type.

What is all this supposed to achieve?

If a disturbed man in need of treatment wishes to alter his mode of behaviour he must first of all accept, and be accepted, by the people who are involved in the treatment. He, and they, can then talk frankly about the difficulties and work out some kind of solution. When the patient has faced and understood his difficulties and put them into perspective, he must then have properly observed arenas in which to practice new methods

of solving problems. These trials can then be discussed with the staff and inmates who may have observed the actions of the person concerned. The *active* permissiveness—not passive *laissez faire*—of the wing allows people to experiment with the feeling that failure will neither be ridiculed nor punished. To this end several arenas are provided. The wing community is one and the work groups are another. There is an inmate-run social group which invites visitors —youth clubs, schools, students— into the wing so that the men can deliberately practice overcoming shyness, difficulties in mixing with women and so on. As an example of this group activity women visitors were asked into the wing for the first time last month for a social evening and dance. One inmate managed to dance for the first time without being boosted by drugs. Two were too nervous to appear. All three instances were discussed on the next morning's wing meeting. The degree with which some patients act as perceptive auxiliary therapists on these occasions is a surprising feature of the wing. As further trial arenas there are the normal responsibility-sharing groups to cover receptions, sports, entertainments and drama.

In addition to the community orientated treatment there are the normal mental hospital facilities available. These cover aversion therapies, drug treatments, E.C.T. and the hospital unit for remedial and cosmetic surgery of different kinds. For a majority of patients these treatments are not necessary.

The treatment programme is carried on after release by references to outpatient clinics where necessary, and by the normal after-care arrangements. We reinforce the latter by bringing the after-care agents as far as practicable into the wing structure. This is done both by letters and by encouraging visits, when the associate can see the treatment community at work, attend the group, and talk to the doctor and staff. Similarly the parents or wives of inmates are encouraged to visit on the same basis. These two arrangements strengthen the after-care phase. Then, when necessary, the ex-inmate can in time of stress, telephone, or come back to Grendon for a day. The after-care agent can also contact the therapist at Grendon for consultation, or the group officer can, if the associate agrees, visit the ex-inmate outside. This mutual service is still to be considerably developed.

The staff on this wing of highly neurotic inmates (Mr. Booth please note they also have character disorders!) have an emotionally exhausting job. Nothing is ever static. Being a live organism the community is constantly improving, deteriorating, progressing and regressing; relationships are very real; we, the individual group officers have a direct responsibility for the treatment of the members of the group and for their support on release (in conjunction with after-care). The staff support structure

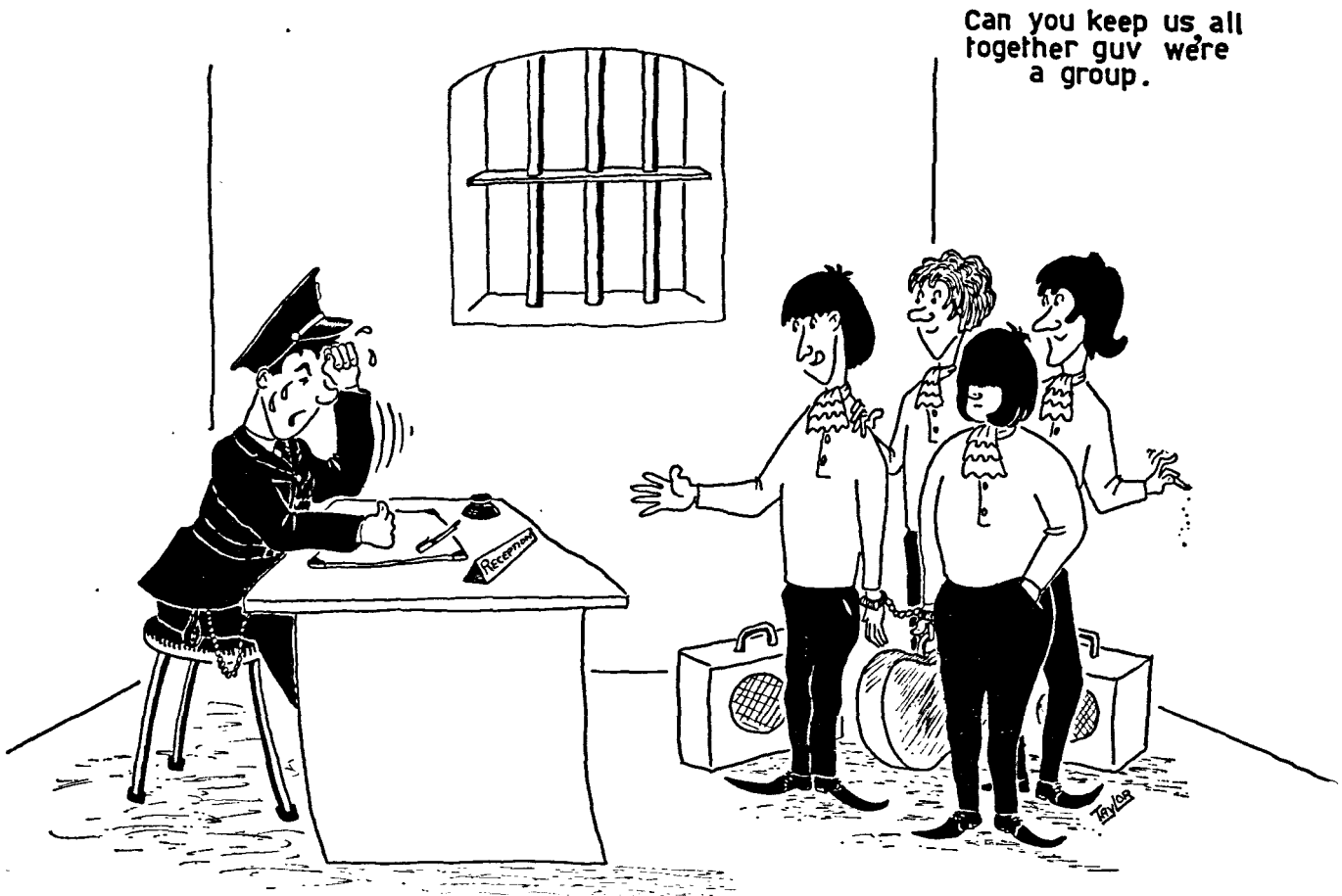
is thus very important. We have a group once a week devoted to the feelings of each staff member and our relationships with each other, and a staff meeting each week to deal with patient problems and administrative matters. In addition our doctor is always available to discuss an individual with the staff or on the respective therapy group. It is very much a team effort.

We have one big disadvantage at Grendon at present. Our inmates are not allowed outside the perimeter for any purpose except home leave and parole (compassionate leave, job interviews etc.). We consider it essential that during the last months of any sentence, the group support be gradually removed and normal working and living conditions be reimposed at a pace, and to a degree, that each individual can withstand. The department have been approached on this matter. We have made one small step in this direction inside the prison. We have set up a hostel dormitory for those in their last month. Here the only rule is that the members must work from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. and be in the dormitory by 8.45 p.m. The room itself is a kind of bed-sitting room, and the inmates are encouraged to use it as such.

Research is being done on the wing to discover, in time, with what types we fail and with what types we succeed and, of course, follow up is done to find out reconviction rates. We use psychological tests not only for research purposes but also as an additional guide to treatment. We are very conscious that we must continually look at our method of operation; in fact we have asked to conduct a research experiment which would involve running two wings. The one on humane firm paternalistic lines unbacked by psychiatry except in case of breakdown of an individual. The other the eclectic community therapy approach of the present wing. We should then hope to find out what type of personality category is best suited to each type of treatment programme.

Our wing has only been open two years and is still growing and developing. Success rates are meaningless as yet and in any case there is no control group. We have many difficulties and problems. Probably the greatest of these is ourselves. We find our own failings (if this is the right word) are searchlighted by the type of programme that we are operating. However, any live body has weaknesses. The point is that we are continually trying to rectify them. We feel, above all, that we are showing that treatment is possible in prison, provided that it is followed up after release.

In conclusion, we would say to Mr. Booth that we have not attempted to deal with his article on a destructive basis. He has expressed certain opinions on psychiatry, authority and the Ventura system. This article on our system, within a psychiatric prison, is our answer.


Can you keep us all together guv we're a group.
RECEPTION
TAYLOR

Probation and After Care in Holland

WINSTON C. HARTLEY

RECENTLY, in the United Kingdom, the activities of the voluntary after-care societies have been taken over by the Probation Service, but in Holland this would be impossible as in that country the societies introduced the probation service and have always been responsible for it and indeed the societies remain the mainspring in all rehabilitation work.

Prevention of crime and after-care work have been successful in Holland where, with a population of 12 million, they have 4,000 in prison as compared with our 30,000 in a population four times as large. We have nine prisoners for every 15,000 of population but the Dutch only five. The opportunities for constructive work in prisons which are not overcrowded are thus very great.

Probation is extensively used and men are also released on parole under supervision so that there is a great need for probation workers, especially as the probation officer also prepares a very full report on every man or woman accused in Dutch courts. Yet there are only about 400 full-time probation officers as against our 2,000. The secret of their success lies in the widespread use of volunteer associates of whom there are nearly 20 times as many as there are full-time professionals.

Rehabilitation work in Holland began in 1823 when an energetic Dutch businessman, W. H. Suringar, formed the Netherlands Association for Moral Reformation of Prisoners. Mr. Suringar and his associates received from William I, the first king after the French occupation, the right to visit prisoners. The society quickly influenced penal affairs and their activities grew and developed.

The Dutch have the advantage of a smaller and more compact country than we have and so their societies were not tempted to grow in small regional groups. The original society was followed by others founded by religious groups but all of them treat the country as one unit. The four largest societies today are the Netherlands Association for Rehabilitation, the Roman Catholic, the Salvation Army and the Protestant Rehabilitation Societies and in 1960 these

four societies had nearly 9,000 voluntary workers, but it is believed the figure is now slightly smaller.

In the beginning, Mr. Suringar and his friends concentrated on talks on moral improvement and the distribution of tracts, but they later began giving material help and the societies have now developed into organisations preparing for social help on release and doing much preventive work, their success depending more on personal caring than on the giving of material things.

The societies can look back on many pioneer efforts; by 1890 they were giving material help, in 1902 they started a central employment agency, in 1903 came their first half-way house to aid prisoners on release and in 1905 they first received financial help from the State.

The sentence on probation was introduced to the Dutch penal system in 1915 but by then a probation service had been active for over five years, for it was in 1910 that the Dutch societies appointed their first paid probation officer. This officer's first task had been to examine cases, for every discharged prisoner is not a saint and foolish giving only breeds delinquents, he had then to maintain the personal contact made with the prisoner and also to recruit his volunteer helpers.

A further valuable part of the Dutch system for dealing with delinquents, again introduced by the voluntary societies, is the social report on each accused. These reports were first submitted by the societies to the courts in cases where they felt probation was a suitable sentence. The courts, however, soon recognised the value of objective and full accounts of the accused men and women and it is now standard procedure in all Dutch courts for the judge to be provided with a report on the personality, social background, family and life history of the accused. In a normal year probation officers prepare over 10,000 such reports.

The Mikado made the punishment fit the crime but in Holland the aim is to make the punishment fit the criminal and the social report is the first step in this direction. Sentences are subject to review and the Dutch claim that punishment is invariably a prelude to rehabilitation.

Once sentenced, care is taken to send the man to the most suitable prison depending on his age, the duration of the sentence, judicial antecedents and other factors and they have, for example, four prisons for juveniles aged 17–25. Children under 17 are not treated in adult courts and prisons. At Zutphen, young offenders get vocational training and can pass examinations to get certificates which do not disclose that they have been in prison: training is given for iron and wood workers, masons, cooks, electricians and clerks.

At the juvenile prison at Vught we found a maximum security

prison which was not dark and oppressive although it had been a Gestapo concentration camp, had a guarded fence and buildings with bars built round them. This, like all juvenile prisons, has a resident civilian psychologist in addition to a welfare worker and the psychologist interviews all young men on arrival and sees them more often if the prisoner wishes and it has been found that many men will talk freely to the civilian worker who respects their confidences.

On admission they spend the first three and a half weeks at the observation wing, then move to the orientation wing where reports come from guards, sports leaders and works officers. They can then progress through wings A and B gaining extra association and spare time freedom and trust as these are earned.

In Vught prison the normal working day is from 7.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with a midday break from noon to 1.30 and "lights out" is at 10 p.m. The atmosphere in the wood and metal workshops was that of an ordinary factory and for the prisoners who are not so bright there is simple repetitive work assembling plastic products into cardboard boxes for an outside firm. The youth returning from a Dutch juvenile prison is accustomed to a normal working day.

It was also possible to visit the open prison at Roermond which most closely resembles an English hostel. The prison is an old house in an ordinary residential neighbourhood and the men here live during the last five or six months of a long sentence. They go out to work with local firms where only the employer knows they are in prison. Sixty per cent of their earnings goes to the State, the remainder is credited to the prisoner who is given 14s. a week and 2s. a day spending money. During his stay each man has some weekend leaves at home and receives family visits. The first such Dutch prison was opened in 1957.

Dutch rehabilitation works through probation and after-care and to carry out this work and also the preparation of pre-trial reports, probation officers are needed and in Holland extensive use is made of voluntary associates, in fact traditionally it was the voluntary associate who first employed the probation officer. There is in Holland a deeply rooted system of the combination of voluntary workers and fully trained professional probation officers.

The Dutch point out that the probation officer suffers from an inevitable drawback in that he must do his supervision from a distance and when the probationer at any given moment needs help the probation officer is far away but the voluntary worker can be present immediately. This applies especially in country districts. A probation officer with a case load of 50–60 cannot give as much time to a man as he would wish but if he has 50 associates, each with one case, it is a much simpler matter

to supervise and maintain constant help and guidance.*

Voluntary workers lack skill and sometimes suitability but the essential in their selection is their psycological suitability and this the professional can best assess. The full-time professional recruits his helpers and they are trained through discussions and lectures in local working groups. The use of voluntary workers, especialy in country districts and small communities, can lead to a general reduction of delinquency as it becomes more a community effort to care for its own delinquents. It has also been possible to extend rehabilitation by groups rather than individuals in the case of small offences such as petty thefts in factories. Recruits to voluntary work often come from suggestions of prisoners and probationers who frequently suggest some relative or neighbour who has previously tried to help. One finds in Holland a general acceptance of the fact that men can be led rather than driven. Coercion plays no part in reform, for the people of Holland have seen the futility of force, during the second world war they experienced the full pressure of a Gestapo which failed completely to change their ideas although over two million Dutch people died.

* In 1960 the Dutch societies had 15,000 probationers under care, 1,000 parolees and 1,500 mentally defective and "psychopathic" delinquents also placed under their supervision.

"Hill Hall, which Nicholas Pevsner calls 'one of the most impressive earlier Elizabethan houses' is now an open prison for women . . ." writes Frank Dawes in *Essex Countryside* (published by Letchworth Printers, Ltd., Letchworth).

He says: "At the churchyard gate I met a small working party in the charge of a young and most personable wardress who was making absolutely no parade of her authority. All answered my 'Good morning' spontaneously enough and I got the impression that H.M. Prison Commissioners are getting the right sort of staff, at any rate at Hill Hall".

Some notes on "Growth to Freedom"*

A. F. RUTHERFORD

GROWTH TO FREEDOM is an account of "Northways" Hostel for homeless borstal discharges (which was very usefully reviewed by J. H. Fitch in PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, April 1965). Although this hostel is intended to help a rather extreme group of the borstal population, Dr. Miller has a great deal to say that is pertinent to all staff. It is my impression that the book has not been as widely read and discussed as it merits. Staff in residential settings are perhaps able to rationalise more successfully than most as to why they manage to do so little reading, and there is possibly a place in a journal such as this for summaries from recent publications. In this way we can be constantly encouraged to explore the therapeutic potentials of the institution, and at the same time be warned of the antitherapeutic and damaging aspects which can all too easily be accepted as inevitable. An obvious feature of Northways, for example, is its very small size. Perhaps the time is approaching when it would be right to take a sweeping look at our physical resources and reallocate them according to therapeutic needs. For example it might be appropriate for detention centre training to be done in some of our larger establishments and in this way release a number of small closed units for more flexible regimes.

(1) IDENTITY

The expectation that the boys who come to Northways would have severe identity problems was fulfilled. The boys were generally rather sad and depressed and held themselves in low esteem. There had been a lack of good identification figures in their past (in passing, Miller suggests that this is

*Derek Miller (Tavistock Publications, 1964).

perhaps why delinquency is most common amongst low status groups —because of the lack of a good relationship with law abiding supportive parent-figures who are considered valuable).

Miller holds that it is clinically valid to assume that if the disturbed adolescent can firmly identify with an adult one might expect behavioural and attitudinal changes even if the fundamental psychopathology remains untouched. This he suggests is the institution's greatest therapeutic opportunity. By considering the experience of the Northways group he concludes that the opportunity has been missed.

A basic aim at Northways was that the boys should identify with significant staff members' personalities and with the mores of the system as a whole. Thus the staff would have to be people—

(a) that they could admire and respect;
(b) perceived by the boys as of high status and felt to be caring for them;
(c) able to withstand unconscious attempts by boys to be destroyed as worthwhile persons;
(d) able to allow the boy the amount of responsibility he is able to handle.

Miller also comments that age of staff is perhaps an important factor here. He considers that it was an advantage having an assistant male warden who was about 10 years older than the boys, since the boys as a group tended to dismiss the standards of the next generation.

Miller also discusses the enhancement of self-control through identification. The sort of delinquent personality who is at Northways has a weak ego structure and, therefore, a poor control over his impulses. "Ego controls require the individual to identify with the socially desirable attributes of the environment in which he lives and the people with whom he has a relationship. This population brought to all their human relationships a distorted perception of others based on their previous experiences. If they were unconsciously, or partially so, to start to behave like the people in their environment whom they perceived as good, or to acquire their characteristics, they had to be able to like them. Thus their feelings of hate (their negative transference) had to be understood and resolved in order that they might use their feelings of love (positive transference). People of this sort in addition have a harsh but weak super-ego (i.e. there is little control, but the individual experiences a punitive lack of satisfaction). Thus when significant figures in their environment are seen as rigid and punitive (even when they are not) any request that

they might make is likely to be seen as psychologically painful super-ego from which escape is necessary."

In another section of the book, after a discussion about helping delinquents to contain internal pain and anxiety (which would otherwise be acted out at society's cost), he makes an interesting point about identification and the insight-giving process. "In adolescents it is difficult to be sure why interpretations about the causation of any set of feelings or actions are helpful, but in fact it appears that gaining understanding of one's own motivations is of use. It may be, however, that in the most disturbed characters the understanding they perceive in other people may primarily assist them to make satisfactory identifications. They mature by becoming like the helpful person whose perceived qualities they appear to take into their own personalities."

Identification with the mores of the social system is also important and cannot be overlooked. As the social system of Northways matured, self-destructive behaviour became less marked. "As the project continued it developed a stability and value in society that was obvious to the boys. As we began to work more effectively with their aggressive feelings, they began to develop a positive relationship with the whole new social system, the staff and the psychiatrist. The fact that these people whom the boys perceived as high status, were felt to be caring for them, raised the boys' self-esteem. In addition this positive relationship created control by identification. As the boys gave up their aggressive acts against society, they began to develop a feeling of self-respect, and so their basic feelings of inferiority were lessened. It became more likely that the internal conflict between 'I am worthless' and 'I am valuable' was almost automatically resolved."

There is a great deal of comment that would be relevant to include under this section. Amongst the points that Miller makes is the fact that most of the boys had lived in institutions in which the sense of the personal importance of personal property is at a minimum. "A social system, such as a typical penal setting, which does not enhance an individual's feeling of the importance of his possessions probably cannot hope to have such a person respect the property of others. Similarly, if the system does not respect the individual, since he is likely to identify with its attitudes, he himself is unlikely to respect others."

Miller has made the point (which he does not refer to in this book) that an important context in which work in borstal should be seen is the opportunity it allows for identification, and also how work can be arranged to help the boy feel

productive and valuable. (In his address to the Borstal Assistant Governors' Conference 1966.)

(2) THE CRISIS OF SEPARATION

A basic premise was that all the boys have had histories of separation from significant people in their lives. This experience was likely to be felt by the individual as rejection. It was likely, therefore, that they would test out the adults in a new environment to ensure that there would be no recurrence.

Miller maintains that often there appears to have been a failure on the part of borstal staff in this respect. Little or no attempt having been made to help them to work through aggressive feelings about the forthcoming separation involved in their discharge. This failure in part, adds Miller, resulted in their inability to identify with the positive aspects of the institutional system. Miller says that he understands that this need is now stressed in training.

At Northways there was an attempt to help the boys verbalise their feelings about their discharge from borstal. This was to prevent acting-out that would lead to their return. Much thought was also given to the crisis involved in leaving Northways. A major goal was to help them to tolerate their feelings of loss without acting out their rage on the community. There was an attempt by the staff to understand their mixed feelings about leaving and boys were given the opportunity to keep in touch.

One of the criteria for deciding when a boy was ready to leave was when it was considered that he would not react-out. It would be stated to the boy that he would be ready to go out in three months' time. "Our basic attitude was that however much a boy acted-out his anxiety in the house he had to leave at the end of the time stated." The decision would, in the first instance, be conveyed by the psychiatrist. In the boy's eyes this made the psychiatrist both responsible and "bad", a situation which could be dealt with in the transference relationship; the warden was more likely to be perceived as "good" and thus could continue to give direct emotional support in what was, for the boy, a period of great anxiety. Miller considers that had they not stuck to the date of discharge there would have been so much gain from anti-social behaviour in which the boy might become involved, that we would have created in the community the attitude that all that was needed to stay was to "mes up" in some way.

In his evaluation of the Northways' failures Miller considers the way that they responded to the separation crisis. All three boys who left the project promptly and without any working through of the feelings involved were reconvicted within three months.

His comments on separation are of all the more current importance if the increase in the borstal population means pressure in the direction of earlier discharges.

(3) AGGRESSIVE FEELINGS

A prime need of the boys was to defend themselves against the emergence of primitive feelings of disintegrative rage. A heirarchy of psychological defence mechanisms could be seen in the boy's attempt to contain his anxiety and anger:

(1) Displacement and projection.

(2) Perceptual anomalies (in an attempt to control the breakthrough of aggressive impulses).

(3) Verbal confusion.

(4) Acting-out in order to make external figures control him. Or to provoke situations in order to become the injured person that needed to be rescued. Or would injure others and need to be punished in order to make reparation.

(5) When all else fails destructive aggression was possible.

A main goal of the project was to help boys to find more sociologically appropriate expressions for their aggression. One result of not acting it out on the community was that it would be turned—

(1) against each other, through stealing or damage;

(2) against themselves:

(a) there were three suicide attempts during Northways' more unstable period. There were none after the hostel's self-esteem rose;

(b) psychosomatic complaints. These have remained high;

(c) relationship with girls—here there was a clear example of externalising their aggressive feelings;

(d) economic affairs. They all experienced great difficulties in saving;

(e) work. Firstly, they had never been trained. Secondly, they had not come to terms with themselves as productive young men. (Due to their shocking experiences in their relationships with their mothers they had never come to terms with their feelings of envy of women's productivity and their own masculinity.) They used their work inability as a self-destructive technique.

The staff attempted to offer effective as well as intellectual insight into boys' aggressive feelings. An interpretation was likely to be most meaningful at the time when the aggressive action is taking place. "It would appear that if borstal staff are to fulfil a therapeutic role it is necessary for boys to be able to express anger directly to staff in an individual relationship." Miller adds the point that a staff member must avoid this in group situations as a successful attack would render him valueless.

On occasion the psychiatrist would direct the anger onto himself and allow the boy's "good-bad" approach to continue and, therefore, continue to see the warden as good. This would give him the needed emotional support to get through the crisis. This technique has already been discussed in relation to the separation experience and it was used on the occasions when boys had to leave because of unacceptable behaviour.

(4) WOMEN STAFF

For the main part of the hostel's history the warden has been a widow with two teenage daughters. Throughout the book, illustrations are made of the invaluable work that a trained mature woman can do with psychiatric over-sight. "All the boys had suffered from early deprivation of maternal love, thus they found it extremely difficult to trust anyone, but particularly was this a problem with women."

Maturity often took place as a result of a relationship being established with Mrs. D. She had a most difficult task having to tolerate the attention seeking greed of most of the boys. On occasion she was able to interpret a boy's unconscious hostility with ultimate markedly successful results. Part of her role, therefore, was to help the boys to come to terms with their aggressive feelings towards women.

Miller does not discuss the implications of this for the institutional situation. Perhaps they are too obvious.

(5) PSYCHIATRIC SUPPORT

In some detail Miller discusses his own role of providing psychiatric support to the project. He is very emphatic about its importance. Without it the staff are likely to leave, to emotionally withdraw or to project their own difficulties onto their charges. In fact the staff would not have been able to work with the sustained involvement which was necessary for the project to be successful.

Miller states that the "expert" needs to have a clear understanding of social dynamics, a wide knowledge of psychotherapeutic techniques, both group and individual, and a thorough understanding of psycho-analytical theory and practice, in particular with application to the problems of character disorder and delinquency.

He stresses the need for more psychiatric support in the Prison Service. One wonders how many people there are with the qualifications he outlines above.

The book contains numerous illustrations of the value of such support. The impact of his support was all the greater because of the small size of the hostel. He has discussed elsewhere his role in staff training and support in a senior approved school. (*The Howard Journal*, vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 50–52.)

After Care:

Moulding or Re-thinking—Which?

E. PERRY

I READ with great interest the articles in the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL. Whilst these are excellent in themselves, there appears to be an "intoxication" in relation to the phrases "after-care", inadequacy", "group counselling" and "casework".

I have been allowed to associate myself with the work of "rehabilitation" (horrible word) and the policy suggested was that we consider the person concerned as a normal human being, which indeed comprises 75 per cent of the prison population, i.e. the man not being the victim of circumstances but a victim of himself. Therefore, we were to try to direct his thinking into other channels which might cause him, when he left prison, to believe he was a whole man capable of finding his way in the world with his own capabilities of honest work realized by himself.

After two and a half years of this work, I have found that the above method has been quite successful. Whilst I do not, by any means, consider this to be the complete answer, it has certainly proved worthwhile. The hostel residents worked on have been P.D.'s, long term prisoners, stars and also men with a history of mental instability. I feel that these facts substantiate my point that after-care, applied as a general policy, can be as damaging as no after-care at all.

Men who have never worked before have responded well, working overtime and often under arduous conditions, in order that they could support their families.

There are no "group discussions" as such, but there are the same talks when such matters arise as would be talked out in a family, and this far exceeds that which would come out of a group discussion as is normally understood by the term.

We have dealt with men's welfare, County Court actions arising from hire purchase debts which have accrued whilst men have been serving sentences and many broken marriages have been placed on a firmer footing.

I firmly believe that many a man has gone out with a totally different mental attitude towards life and with a better appreciation

of his potentialities than before. For instance, a majority of these men, when employed normally rise to above average level in relation to the people with whom they are employed. This certainly indicates that the term "inadequacy", as understood, really means "use". The co-operation of wife and/or relatives is sought and much appreciated. We do indeed differ on the point that once a man has left we advise him to regard his imprisonment and hostel experience as a "closed chapter" in his life and henceforward to regard himself as a normal, average citizen. We do not say that others are wrong, but we do believe that there is room for other schools of thought.

We have found that after-care, in many cases, based on a substantial proportion of the prison population, not only irks but gives a feeling of inferiority. This can cause a man to feel that he is still serving another kind of sentence and result in his "kicking over the traces" (the word the men use is "patronize"). This, of course, does not apply to all men, but a considerable proportion of the prison population falls into this category.

I have written this because, in every issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL the opinions given appear to be that *officer participation* can achieve very little. However, the results have proved these opinions to be unsound.

The reason the uniformed men appear to be reluctant to join is because this work could be done by the Prison Service during sentence by the application of sound commonsense—not as is conceded by inmates and staff that after-care often results in having to do what someone else thinks and not oneself.

THE TREADWHEEL is admirably calculated to effect its intended purpose of offering both labour and punishment at the same time; the former being obtained by the vexations and fatiguing exercise on the wheel, the latter by a knowledge that all the vexatious labour is entirely in vain as the machine itself does not perform any kind of work either for the use of the prison or otherwise.

Description of the House of Correction, Folkingham, Lincs., 1808

Contributed by Officer P. Lynch, Feltham.

Crime Without Profit

D. W. BUTLER

AFTER READING the articles of J. E. Thomas and Winston Martin in the July issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, I realized how closely they were related in the fact that one had partly the answer to the other. What is the role of the modern prison officer?

John Vidler partly knew the answer to this question, the prison officer was a member of his community who he tried to weld into a team with a common aim, the rehabilitation of his charges; to him, every man in prison—officer and inmate alike—was the member of a community, with each subject being dealt with in a different way with a separate approach, the same humanity being extended to both (if this did not take place the officers eventually became more institutionalized than their charges), he realised this problem and dealt with it accordingly. In how many prisons does this approach take place today?

Many officers are as difficult to change as are their charges, and it can only be with the governor grade influence by taking officers into their complete confidence as part of a team, instead of only paying lip service to modern methods of penal reform, that they can hope to retain their position in the prison.

Normally the main training of an officer is by experience and the influence of higher authority over him within the prison. This affects the whole outlook of the officer, also his charges, because they are normally of the same social standing, and feel for each other, the inmate knows when pressure is being brought to bear on his officer and reacts accordingly. This (in my opinion) is the reason why trouble is kept to a minimum in prison, because the inmate feels the same pressures as his officer and partly accepts them in the same spirit.

This same spirit is not abroad in the majority of cases with the new expert that is coming into the prisons, the welfare officer, the social worker, the assistant governor, the administration officer. The officer grade feels that these are now empire builders, all creating positions of power and influence, but in actual fact creating confusion to them and their charges because, as I have explained, the inmate looks practically through the same eyes as the officer at these intruders coming into their

world, treating them as pawns in a game. I sometimes wonder how the governor of a prison must feel with his position gradually eroding away from him, because normally he has no specialised training except knowing how to deal with human beings and experience of service, having all these experts below him competing for influence and power must make him feel insecure at times.

Every so-called expert on prisons accepts the fact that the officer is a very important person in the prison who knows his charges under him and should be a part of penal reform, that is as far as they go, they will not say that selected officers should do all the welfare work, be trained for governor grade, be sent for catering courses at recognised colleges, how to organise and run modern factories, to be trained for any position in the prison service. I feel this position is so because the universities are now producing so many students of criminology, social science studies etc., that as prisons are the main outlet for these students, pressure has been brought to bear to accept a large percentage of these into the prison service. This, in my opinion, will eventually harm the service because most of these students are stereotyped anyway before they arrive in prisons or borstals and without having previous responsibilities or worldly experience (the most important experience in dealing with human beings).

Today the prison officer feels in a void or vacuum, the public look upon him as an ignorant oaf, a bully, unemployable in any other job, ridiculed in newspaper articles, cartoons and on television. Why has authority allowed this position to arise? Without doing anything constructive to alter it, maybe it is because there is no direction at the top as to what the role of a prison officer should be, maybe they have realized that with all the expert advice on crime and criminals, and the mounting number of people making a living out of criminals who have been caught, that Parkinson's Law has become rife and it will take a brave man to say that the answer may lay in the officer grade, that the chaplain and principal officers could do the welfare work and the governor and chief officer may, after all, be the best people to run a prison, and rehabilitate and deter men from coming back to prison. Rehabilitation has a very important part to play, but a deterrent also must be kept in its proper content.

Even John Vidler had a deterrent, any man whom he felt was untrainable or did not fit into his unit or would upset his community was transferred. One fairly obvious conclusion must be, that some prisons should be only used for a deterrent purpose, other prisons as just security prisons, to hold complete misfits in society. Staff would be trained to take their place in these various communities, call them what you may, but the staff in training and rehabilitation and

workshop prisons would be highly trained, not just guards, these posts would be left to the security prisons only, and would be advertised as such.

Officers know today that so many books have been written, speeches made, by outside bodies, the actual results from all these sources have proved negligible in practical results. I would go so far as to say that the public are not getting an honest return for the money they have to pay to combat crime and hold criminals in prison, so that it no longer pays to commit further crimes.

Crime does pay today and prison may be helping this state of affairs by the drifting and not having a determined policy being applied.

Now is the question, how can this be changed? May I put forward the following proposals for the future role of prison staff:

(1) That all staff should go through the officer grade.

(2) That after initial training at Wakefield, staff would then have a period of prison and borstal training, during this time they would be selected by examination and interview and capabilities to take the various courses available, i.e. assistant governor course, (cook and bakers) a catering course, (hospital officers) should take courses in hospitals unless already qualified, staff going to workshop prisons—trained in the particular trade needed, even if this was at least an initial period of two years' training, it would be much more realistic than the present situation.

(3) Certain staff would be trained for guard duties, being recruited for this purpose only, but these would be needed in very few prisons.

Finally, I think it fair to conclude that the old type of prison system failed, that the present type has failed (more expensively so), and that prison now should be made on the whole into productive producing units, that the cost should be borne on the criminals' shoulders not the taxpayer, with one end in view, that *crime should be seen not to pay.*

Recent Books

Reviewed by N. J. TYNDALL

SIR LIONEL FOX REMEMBERED

A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS in English and French entitled *Studies in Penology* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 22.50 Gldrs.) has been published, four years after his death, to the memory of Sir Lionel Fox, C.B., M.C., by his colleagues in the International Penal and Penitentiary Foundation. It has about it a whiff of nostalgia for the past glory of the Prison Commission and is a reminder of Sir Lionel's influence both nationally and internationally in the years 1942–1960 when he was chairman.

A. W. Peterson evaluates his contribution during these 18 years. The twin pillars of Fox's policy were his constant questioning of all aspects of penal administration, never being content with existing methods, and his firm conviction that the public should be adequately informed of what was being done in its name. This questioning led to wide increases in the social and educational facilities for prisoners, rapid expansion of open prisons and the inauguration of the hostel scheme, all springing from humanitarian considerations.

Though most of the other articles pay personal tribute to Fox in passing, they are not directly concerned with his work. Aulie, of Norway, strongly condemns attempts to argue that criminal policy is a science and consequently that the psychiatrists should have responsibility for sentencing and treatment. He claims that medical "experts" are in danger both of themselves assuming too great a skill in prediction and of being pushed into an omniscient position by befuddled laymen.

There are differing views on the worth of present-day penal administration. Sanford Bates of New Jersey takes an optimistic view, praising the work of the last 30 years, in particular the growth of open prisons. But to Professor Lopez-Ray many of these improvements are merely patch remedies. In a major article entitled "Analytical Penology" he wants root and branch reform, maintaining for instance that "overcrowding is more the sequel of obsolete prison and criminal justice systems than a lack of space". As well as criticising the building in the 1960's of Blundeston-type cell blocks and the continuance of minimal prison earnings, he wants multi-purpose buildings, such as locals, to be

abolished in order to give each establishment a clearer task. It is the failure to tackle this problem that has generated the present rush of interest in after-care. But no useful after-care will be achieved while treatment inside is so haphazard.

Various open prison systems are described in detail. In Holland anyone serving over eight months is eligible for open prisons, which consist of no more than 25 men and are more akin to our hostels than our open prisons. Finland has a differentiated open prison system with labour colonies for short-term prisoners who serve no time in closed prisons first, prison colonies as a progressive stage for long-term men, and labour camps for released prisoners. But in these three different types of prisons, all men receive full wages and have considerable independence.

English open prisons receive a searching examination from Phoebe Willetts in *Invisible Bars* (Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.). She prefers Holloway to an open prison any day. As a nuclear disarmer, wife of an Anglican clergyman, she is not a representative prisoner, but many of her complaints sound typical enough. She couldn't get a prison brassiere to fit and wonders why women shouldn't wear their own. She hated the lack of privacy in the dormitories. She thought it incongruous to "trust" women in open conditions, then make them walk in crocodile like school girls.

The real burden of her complaint is more fundamental. She feels the opportunities afforded by open conditions are wasted. Every effort she felt was taken to deprive the women of their individuality and sense of personal worth. Though there are no physical bolts and bars, there might as well be, for the apparent sense of freedom was a myth. It was in Holloway that she really felt she was treated as a responsible human being. The open prison was a boarding school which reduced human dignity to a condition of helpless dependence. To add insult to injury the inmates were expected to be grateful for being there. The highlight of the year was open day, which is described in terms worthy of similar occasions recounted by Brendan Behan and Frank Norman.

Tony Parker, Prison Visitor with a tape recorder, has switched his interest to the other sex in *Five Women* (Hutchinson, 25s. 0d.), case histories of, curiously, six women. I would not agree with the dust cover that it is an important book, but it is short and easy reading, and fact is more interesting than fiction. He hammers home that we must constantly look for the person behind the prisoner; that the person is very often hopeless, futile, unlovely and very difficult to help.

Two books about work being done to help people in the community are worth mentioning. *The Samaritans*, edited by the founder of the movement CHAD VARAH (Constable, 18s. 0d.) is part descriptive of the work being done

to prevent suicides (6,000 per year successful, with an estimated ten times as many attempts) and part simple accounts of how to help people in distress. de Berker contributes a chapter on befriending those suffering from guilt, and other chapters discuss depression, loneliness and sexual difficulties. *Christians and Social Work* by Kathleen Heasman (S.C.M. Press, 8s. 6d.) looks at the need for social work in a welfare state, touches on group counselling at Pollington Borstal and Claybury Mental Health, and talks about the layman's approach to counselling or casework. People's problems inside prisons are no different from those outside.

CONTRIBUTORS

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A. F. RUTHERFORD qualified in social studies and criminology at Durham and Cambridge. He has been an assistant governor at Hewell Grange borstal since 1962.

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For some years he has been secretary at the Harrogate committee of the West Riding Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, frequently visits Thorp Arch prison and co-operates with the Probation Service, local Guild of Help and other bodies in voluntary after care work. His wife is a magistrate.

Pen Pal Please

Mr. C. K. AGBALE, a 24-year-old Ghanaian prison officer, working in Accra borstal (P.O. Box 129) wishes to have a pen friend in the United Kingdom.

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