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SIR LIONEL FOX, C.B., M.C.

WHEN LIONEL FOX died last month, he was only 66. Intellectually, he was still at the height of his power and there were many things he planned to give: his book on applied penology, his lectures at the Institute of Criminology, his work as Chairman of the Council of the I.S.T.D. All this was cut cruelly short. The prison service lost a great and fair administrator, an outstanding public servant. Cambridge lost a penologist of knowledge and wisdom. And his friends lost a man slow to reveal himself and austere in many ways but whose friendship, once given, was warm and enduring.

His public career is also public knowledge in the service: courageous and gallant in the first war (M.C. and Belgian Croix de Guerre), a brilliant career in the Home Office, Secretary of the Prison Commission at the age of 29, eight years away with the Metropolitan Police — and then, in 1942, Chairman of the Prison Commission till he retired in 1960. Chairman during all those frustrating post-war years—but able, under Mr. R. A. Butler as Home Secretary, at last to put many of his plans into practice and to initiate the huge prison building programme and other transformations which are now going on. And for many years also, chairman of various international committees concerned with the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders—committees in which his advice was highly valued and where he personally was regarded with respect and affection.

Fox could be stern if he wanted to and he knew how to use his great power. But there was also the private Fox who, with an ancient camera, took pictures of great delicacy and freshness; who had a subtle appreciation of painting; who, in his youth, had translated *Paul Valery*. There was above all Fox, the courteous and considerate friend whose face—so serious in repose— would suddenly light up with a most charming smile.

For some reason, he must have found it easier to relax abroad than at home. One of many pleasant memories I have of his ability to enjoy himself in public relates to the last big dinner of the International Penal and Penitentiary Foundation at Strasbourg in 1959. At the end of this dinner, the guests (representing about 70 nations) were encouraged to sing a song typical of their country. The U.K. delegation (which included Charles Cape) obliged with a spirited rendering of "On Ilkla Moor baht 'at" Fox's Yorkshire blood must have been flowing strongly for he not only joined in but rose to conduct the choir with some emphasis.

It is sometimes said that people live on on the lips of their friends. Lionel Fox will live on for a long time, here and in the United Nations and in the Council of Europe and everywhere where his friends are gathered.

H. J. KLARE

The Next Decade

A. W. PETERSON

IN THE FIRST number of this Journal, Sir Lionel Fox, whose recent death is deeply regretted by the service to which he gave most of his working life, wrote of the prison service since the war. He had a story of solid achievement to tell, while I must deal with hopes and ambitions whose fulfilment depends not only on the efforts of the prison service, but on events which we cannot control. Prophecy is a dangerous business, whether it be about human beings or horses, and it is no more possible to predict the size and nature of the prison population in ten years' time than it is to give the name of the Derby Winner of 1970.

Who would have thought ten years ago that a prison population of 20,000 would grow to nearly 30,000; and who can say whether it will continue to grow, or whether, as it has in the past, it will decline? This is the major uncertainty against which we must plan the future of the service, but there are others no less important. There is to-day a very high level of crime among young people. For the prison service this has meant that new establishments, such as Everthorpe and Hindley, which were intended for adult prisoners, have had to be used for young offenders. There is some reason to think that this high rate of crime among young people may not be maintained and that boys and girls born after the war may be less unstable and more law-abiding. But methods of research are not yet sufficiently certain, and we cannot tell whether the younger element of the population, on which we must obviously concentrate so much of our efforts, will continue to make as heavy demands on our resources as it does to-day. Nor can we foresee the effects of changes in social conditions and social policies in other fields, such as mental health and the general welfare services, all of which may have an indirect bearing on our work.

But despite the uncertainties of

the future it is not difficult to see what our main objectives must be. First, we have to see that our existing organisation is as effective as we can make it; secondly, we must prepare to meet those new demands which we can foresee, and keep enough flexibility to deal with the unexpected; and thirdly, we must seek every means to increase our knowledge and understanding of the problems which face us to-day and in the future. To this three-fold problem there are three keys — the training and effective use of staff, the development of more individualised methods of treatment, and the extension of research.

Of these the training and effective use of staff is, without doubt, the most important. This article is not the place for a full discussion of the question of recruitment. It is well known that, despite recent improvements in pay and conditions of service, it is not easy to find men and women with the right qualities for work in the prison service. Whatever changes there may be in conditions of service, this difficulty is likely to remain. The special nature of our work, and the fact that it must involve some week-end and evening duty, makes it quite different from most other occupations, and the supply of people able and willing to undertake it is likely always to be limited. It is all the more important, therefore, to ensure that those who do so are given full opportunities for training, and that their duties are so organised that they can give of their best.

Sir Lionel Fox described in the article which I mentioned earlier the improvements which have been made in recent years in the training of recruits in the service and in in-service training. Plans are being drawn up for the enlargement of the Staff College and the improvement of the Officers' Training School, and we hope to develop in-service training on a wider scale and to broaden its content in the light of new developments in methods of treatment. As the work of the service increases in complexity, there will be more need for training of staff of all grades both in the early stages of their service and as they undertake new responsibilities on promotion.

Much has been said and written recently about the problem of communication within the prison service. This was the subject of Mr. Gordon Hardey's valuable article in the second number of this Journal, in which he stressed the difficulties that a prison officer may feel in seeing his day-to-day work as part of a clear and coherent policy of penal treatment. It is one of the objects of in-service training courses to seek to overcome these difficulties. They are not simply courses of instruction but provide

an opportunity for constructive discussion to which all those present are encouraged to contribute. They have already played a useful part in bringing the knowledge and experience of staff of all grades to bear on important questions of policy, and I am sure they will continue to do so. I believe we ought also to seek other ways by which that knowledge and experience can be used in the making of policy and the development of the service.

As the training of staff improves, so will it become the more important that their abilities are fully used. This is not simply a question of economy in manpower; it is of vital importance to a man's interest and satisfaction in his work — whatever it may be — that he should feel that it gives full scope for the use of his personal qualities of imagination and effort. In industry this presents great problems; but in the prison service, concerned as it is with human beings and difficult social problems, there are wide opportunities for work of absorbing interest. In developing these, we must be prepared to look critically at existing methods of organisation and to see whether we can find ways of making the work of the prison service more interesting and more effective.

It may be, for example, that some of the duties which a fully-trained officer performs to-day and which do not involve close contact with inmates could be entrusted to others. The need to improve working conditions generally and the demands of an expanding service are such that there need be no fear that this would lead to redundancy among prison officers. Any such developments would, by the very nature of the work which has to be done, be on a limited scale, but they could help to free the prison officer to play his full part in the development of better methods of treatment.

The development of these methods requires a greater variety in types of establishments and more efficient methods of classifying inmates, so that they may receive that type of treatment which is most likely to be effective. As the White Paper on Penal Practice in a Changing Society pointed out, the greatest handicap to progress in the prison service to-day is that in the local prisons, which hold the bulk of the adult population, there are many different types of inmate. The wide variations which exist in criminal sophistication, personality and response to discipline make it difficult to devise a regime which is appropriate to all.

The long-term solution to this problem is to be found in the separation of these different types

by means of a more discriminating system of classification. During recent years we have been able to develop such a system for young offenders sentenced to borstal training, but the classification of adults is still in a rudimentary stage. The distinction between Stars and Ordinaries gives us a rough and ready division between offenders with differing degrees of criminal sophistication, and the creation of the two special sentences of corrective training and preventive detention has created two categories of inmate whose treatment differs in some respects from that of offenders sentenced to ordinary imprisonment. But this is very far from a system by which every adult prisoner is allocated to the type of establishment for which he is considered personally suitable.

During the next ten years we shall certainly need to give more attention to this question. The changes in the treatment of young offenders which will result from the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, will mean that the courts will have at their disposal only three kinds of institutional treatment in establishments for which the Prison Commission is responsible—detention in a detention centre, borstal training, and imprisonment for three years or more (or for 18 months or more if the offender has previously served a sentence of imprisonment or borstal training). Where a court is in doubt as to which of these sentences is most appropriate, it will take into account the views of the Prison Commissioners, and we must seek to improve the service which we give to the courts at this first stage in the process of classification. It is for this purpose that we are providing nine remand centres for young offenders of which the first, Ashford, is already in operation. We shall also need to reconsider the arrangements for classifying offenders sentenced to borstal training. The numbers of these will be considerably increased when borstal training is integrated with medium-term imprisonment, and the scope of the system will be widened. Experience may also show the need for a more elaborate system of classifying those young offenders who continue to receive sentences of imprisonment.

In developing the system of classification for young offenders, we shall have the advantage of the experience already gained, and unless the population of young offenders increases beyond all expectation we can hope, in a comparatively short time, to have a sufficiently wide range of establishments for the different types of offender. With adults the problem is much more difficult. There is much work to be done before we can settle the principles of classification, and with the

population at its present level we could not put them into practice until the new establishments (and in particular the new secure prisons for men) are available.

Whatever system of classification may emerge, it is important that it should be flexible. Progress in penal treatment is the fruit of both practical experience and research, and we must avoid creating rigid categories which cannot readily be changed and which allow no room to take account of the development of the individual inmate. This does not necessarily mean that sentences themselves should be indeterminate but that, within the limits of a determinate sentence of more than a few months, there should be available for every inmate establishments with different degrees of security and supervision, and with a variety of training facilities, as there are to-day in the borstal system. We shall need secure prisons, of a manageable size, for that element in the adult population whose behaviour in prison demands that they be kept under particularly strict supervision, and for those whose offence requires that they should be held in conditions of security; we shall need open prisons, as we know them to-day, for those who present no great security problem; and between these extremes we may need to develop establishments with varying degrees of external security and internal control. We must, so far as practicable, have enough establishments of these different kinds within a reasonable distance of each of the great concentrations of population, so that inmates do not have to be transferred to distant prisons; and it may be that in this way we shall develop towards a regional system.

Security is the primary consideration in any system of classification, not only because it is the first requirement of any prison system, but because of its effect on capital expenditure and the deployment of staff. Moreover, it is in general true that the greater the emphasis which has to be laid on security the more difficult it is to organise a constructive regime with full working hours for the inmates and varied training facilities. If there is too little secure accommodation it becomes overburdened, and if there is too much, material and manpower are wasted. The proper balance will not be easy to find.

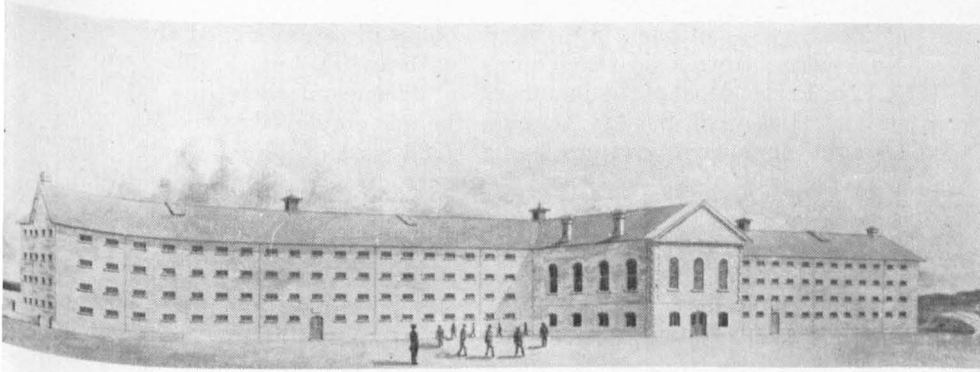
Within the requirements of security there are other factors to be considered, such as the need for training in a particular trade, the special position of inmates serving very long sentences, and the provision of medical services, both physical and mental. There are also groups of inmates such as civil prisoners, alcoholics, vagrants, sexual offenders and others who present special problems. The

adult population is more mixed than the population of young offenders and is likely to need an even more complex system of classification, with some specialised establishments dealing with a particular type of offender. The new psychiatric prison at Grendon, which will be opened in the summer of 1962, will be one of these.

In the search for better methods of classification and treatment, we must make increasing use of scientific methods of enquiry. Above all, we need much greater knowledge of the nature of the prison population and of the various groups of which it consists. Descriptive researches, such as the study of recidivism, which is being undertaken by prison psychologists in co-operation with the Home Office Research Unit, are likely to be of particular value. Research into the effects of changes in methods of treatment is also needed. The Tavistock Institute of Human Relations has completed a study of the effect of the Norwich system at a local prison, and has submitted a report which is being considered by the Commissioners, and the Home Office Research Unit is beginning a study of the operation and effect of the hostel scheme. Other research studies are referred to in Appendix 8 of the Commissioners' Annual Report for 1960.

Research is a laborious process and may cause inconvenience and extra work for the staff of establishments. But it is an essential stage in the development of more effective treatment if this is to be based not on abstract theory but on practical experience. Those who are in any doubt of this might do well to read again the wise and witty article by Mr. J. P. Conrad in the first number of this Journal.

These three things — training and use of staff, individualisation of treatment, and research — are the essentials of further progress in the prison service We shall be concerned with many other objectives of a more limited kind — the development of group counselling and the hostel scheme, improvements in the quantity and quality of inmates' work and the creation of a more effective system of after-care are examples — but in the long run everything depends on a better understanding of the problems with which we have to deal, a wide variety of treatment methods, and, most important of all, staff who are not only trained in the basic requirements of the work, but are fully informed about, and concerned with, the wider objectives of the system as a whole.



Convict Prison, Fremantle

Unwilling Emigrants*

Seventy-one years ago, in January 1891, a Yorkshire poacher died in Western Australia after a sentence of 'transportation for life'. Here, in story form by 'F.M.E.' is a true picture of a period in our treatment of offenders which is often misunderstood and misrepresented.

THE SUB-TITLE "A Study of the Convict Period in Western Australia" explains the title of the book but the writer covers a wider field than this would suggest and throws fresh light on the early history of the Colony.

She is by birth and education exceptionally well qualified for the study undertaken. A graduate of the University of Western Australia she became a student of social history and for the thesis under review has consulted many sources of information in Australia and England. She is the wife of the Hon. Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories and has made good use of his library of Australian books and of his observations collected over many years. The references and explanatory notes prove how thoroughly she has done her work; the documentation is excellent and there is an impressive bibliography of Official Documents, Newspapers, Journals, MSS and printed works. She has blended all these threads in an attractive pattern. Through the factual accuracy of a Blue-book runs a moving story — moving but never mawkish or sentimental, scholarly in its presentation, compassionate and humane. The story of the letters written by a convict's wife to her husband or rather written by others for her — as she herself was illiterate — which inspired the making of the book, is told in the Prologue. In 1931 the letters were found in a grey kangaroo skin pouch during the demolition of old police buildings

at Toodyay — at one time called Newcastle, a town sixty-three miles N.E. of Perth. Most of the members of the Historical Society Council thought that these letters being personal and of no historical interest should be destroyed. The honorary secretary, Mr. Paul Hasluck, strongly resisted this proposal and after making copies returned the originals to the Keeper of the Records. Twenty years later Mrs. Hasluck came upon the copies which her husband had made and was moved by the pathos of "these poor illiterate letters which at times break into the spirit of true and artless poetry" *Sunt lacrimae rerum* — there are tears in things. She then determined to write a history of West Australia's convict period and at the same time to throw such light as was possible on the personality of the writer of ninety years ago, "yet whose words tear at the heart strings". She was Myra Sykes, wife of a convict William Sykes, and although Myra remains "a wistful ghost arising from the faded ink and brittle pages of her letters", of William we are given a much fuller account. He was one of a family of six and his father, a coachman, died when William was fourteen. His mother married again and after ten years she was again a widow and William unmarried lived with her, and worked as a coal-pit trammer.

In 1853 he married Myra Wilcock, daughter of a miner's widow with six other children. Myra, aged twenty-one, was in service at a private school and he was twenty-six. All the parties at the wedding being illiterate signed the register with an "X" mark. They had four children and sometime after 1859 he was employed at the Masbrough Iron-works. Amid ugly sordid surroundings there was little to relieve the dreary round of work beyond visits to the public house to employ his scanty leisure.

There was one activity in lives of otherwise unrelieved boredom which not only provided excitement but also furnished food for hungry families of ill-paid workers — night poaching, and it was this crime that led to Sykes's downfall. From local newspapers of the time Mrs. Hasluck extracted the story of the poaching affray on the night of 10th October, 1865, which resulted in the death of a game-keeper, and from the same sources she has given us an account of the three day trial at which Sykes and one of his fellow poachers were sentenced to transportation for life and two others to penal servitude for twenty years. Incidentally, the poachers were armed with sticks and stones but the three keepers had life preservers and one of them had a double-barrelled pistol.

To the Judge's obvious annoyance the verdict was manslaughter and not murder.

The coroner alone came out well at the inquest in that he had the courage to condemn the Game laws and the social conditions which made poaching inevitable in the case of desperate men. Posterity would judge Society itself. To make a digression: in reading Mrs. Hasluck's occasional remarks on

social conditions at this time — the mid-nineteenth century — it seems paradoxical that an age when respectability was a cult, morality outwardly most apparent, churches well attended, the country rich and flourishing, coincided with an age when the conditions of the workers in fields and factories disgraced our vaunted civilisation. In the Church there was indolence and place-seeking, in the Public Schools revolting cruelty, in the Army and Navy little regard for the well-being of the men.

There is a certain irony in the fact that the Catechism's "to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me" stifled to some extent efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the poor. Was it surprising that the official attitude to crime was vindictive rather than reformative, Mosaic rather than Christian, uninformed by any considerations of education, heredity, environment or psychology? Was it surprising that the poor sought forgetfulness in drink "the cheapest way out of Manchester" or that men in country districts sought to supplement a starvation diet by poaching a rabbit or two for a hungry family even though poaching was considered a most heinous offence?

To return to William Sykes. From this time onwards Sykes became a number only — 8740 West Riding Prison, Wakefield, and later 9589 Fremantle. Myra saw him for a few minutes after he was sentenced and may have visited him at Wakefield, where he was first punished by solitary confinement for nine months, but never again as a free man. One letter to him from Myra written during this time has survived. From Wakefield he was transferred to Portsmouth, one of the three public works prisons receiving those who had done separate confinement at Wakefield, Leicester, Millbank or Pentonville. By this time (1867) the era of transportation to penal colonies was ending. Men with short sentences did penal servitude in English prisons, long term criminals (seven years to life) did a part of their sentence in England before being transported.

For fifty years (1733 - 1783) the British had sent convicts from England to America but after achieving their independence the Americans refused to receive transported convicts. Attention was then turned to Australia, and in 1787 the first ships carrying convicts after a voyage of eight months reached Botany Bay. In 1852 this system of transportation ended but as will be explained later there was one colony to which they could be sent — Western Australia.

We are given an appalling account of conditions at the public works prisons extracted from an article in the "*Cornhill Magazine*", January - June, 1866 "A letter from a convict in W.A. to his brother in England" in which the conditions at Portsmouth are described.

When Sykes knew that he was shortly to be transported he must have asked Myra to visit him, but the journey from Yorkshire was beyond her means: she was working to support herself and family of

four. She could not write but her employer wrote for her and his letter has survived. She wrote again but this letter is lost although a pathetic list of articles which she sent to him in a box was found in the kangaroo skin pouch. The box contained *inter alia* "old favourite tobacco pouch, two fig cakes, apples, a packet of spice, parcel of tobacco" and the list ends with the touching entry "Alfred (their youngest child) sends his little pocket knife". In March, 1867, Sykes with other convicts embarked at Portsmouth on the "*Norwood*" (785 tons). The master had a crew of thirty-nine and for the care of the convicts there was a Staff Surgeon, R.N. and a Religious Instructor. The "*Norwood*" was the last but one of the convict ships ever to sail to Australia. If Sykes had committed his crime a few months later he would at least have escaped transportation. Other convicts embarked in April at Chatham and Portland and brought the total number to 254 in charge of a military pensioner guard of thirty-four.

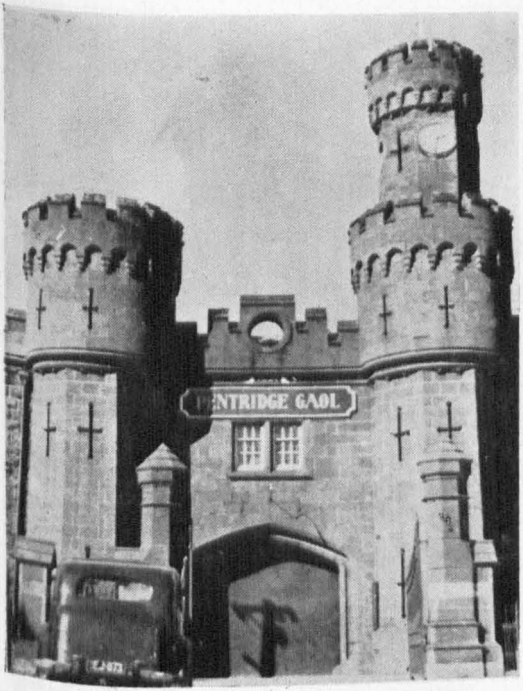
Sykes and his fellow convicts escaped the horrors of earlier transportation voyages when the unfortunate men were chained "half naked and filthy below decks for the entire voyage" attacked by dysentery, typhus and scurvy. An account of the conditions may be found in the "*Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry*" edited by two of her daughters, published in 1847. This source is not mentioned by Mrs. Hasluck.

Thanks to the work of the Select Committee on Transportation and the efforts of Sir W. Molesworth, the conditions on these ships were greatly improved and life on board the "*Norwood*" was reasonably tolerable. The food was adequate—pork, pease soup and plum dough — and in the daytime at any rate on deck and in the open air the convicts found life bearable, even cheerful but at night, herded together below in darkness they suffered inevitably a degeneration in their characters. Their behaviour otherwise was generally orderly and well behaved. Sykes kept a short diary of the voyage scrappy and atrociously ill spelt on one sheet of paper. This too was found in the pouch.

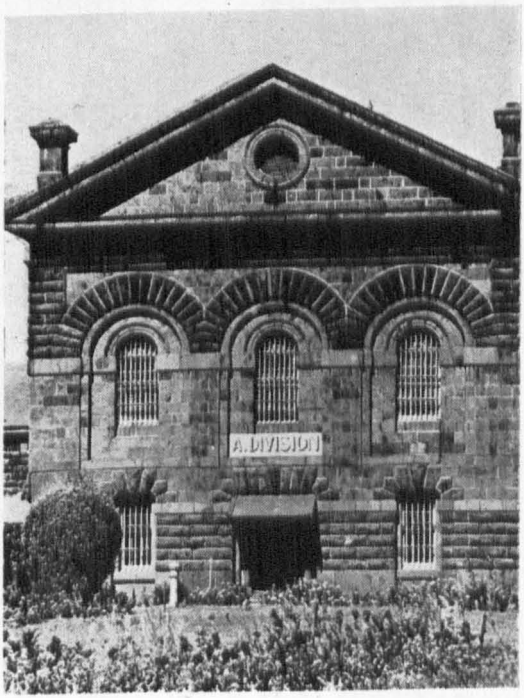
On 14th July the convicts were landed in barges at Fremantle and marched to the Convict Establishment.

At this point we are given a concise history of the State of Western Australia from its foundation in 1829 to the end of the convict system in 1867.

There is one book to which Mrs. Hasluck does not refer considering it perhaps outside the scope of her thesis, "*Cattle Chosen*" by E. O. G. Sharn, published by the O.U.P. in 1926. This is the story of the first group settlement in Western Australia (1829–41) which describes the life and adventures of Mrs. Bussell, the widow of a Hampshire vicar who migrated to the country with her seven children, the eldest being a scholar of Winchester and Oxford — adventures hardly less credible than those of the Swiss Family Robinson.



Entrance to Pentridge Goal, Coburg, one of the Northern suburbs of Melbourne, Victoria.



"A Division" at Pentridge Goal is reserved for first offenders.

Interior of "G Division" (Psychiatric Division) of Pentridge Gaol.

Prisoners moving off to work, at the penal establishment at French Island, Western Port Bay, Victoria. These men will be working without supervision, building fences at a location about half a mile from the administrative centre.

Typical cell at the penal establishment at French Island, Western Port Bay, Victoria.

Convict transportation ceased in 1852 and it had never been applied to W.A. but after considerable reluctance the settlers in that colony petitioned the Colonial Office in 1854 for the establishment of a penal settlement. After prolonged negotiations (which Mrs. Hasluck has traced in detail) this was granted. On 1st June, 1850, the '*Scandian*' with seventy-five convicts on board and fifty pensioner guards with their families reached W.A. and by 1853 2,475 convicts had been sent out. This vast colony with a population of only 5,000 was in desperate need of labourers, not only for agriculture but also for house and bridge building, and road making.

At first the convicts were employed in building prisons, warder's and pensioner guards' quarters, but in time they were used for work more to the general advantage in Fremantle, Bunbury, Busselton and Perth and in the country districts. Through the whole convict period the prisoners provided most of the heavy labour for public buildings but lack of skilled workers among them made it necessary to use at the same time free labour.

Sykes was lucky in that the harsh regime of Governor Hampton had been superseded by the more humane administration of Captain Henderson who, amongst other reforms, abolished flogging except in very rare cases and considered

that putting men to labour in chains, like flogging, did more harm than good. Such treatment and solitary confinement he considered merely led to escapes of men rendered desperate by intolerable treatment.

In fact a convict's life on the whole at this period, certainly for the unmarried ones, was far from being unmitigated misery. Conditions were hard but he was well fed and work in the open was healthy and the hours were reasonable.

Especially free and easy was life on a road party. A warder was in charge of twenty to forty men who lived in huts or tents. Discipline was easy and after a nine hours working day the convicts were free to stroll or sit round a camp fire eating kangaroo stew, with 'possums or parrots as pets. There was too a tobacco allowance. The warder had a convict constable who had earned this post by good conduct to assist him. Ordinary convicts on road making were paid 1d. to 2½d. a day and constables received 1s. 0d. a day after three months service and after twelve months 2s. 6d. a day. They were eligible for increased remission of sentence and in some cases became members of the Colonial police force.

In spite of the forebodings of pessimists there was very little crime during this period and the men treated with humanity responded in many cases and, given the opportunity, became useful members of society. Indeed in many respects the system was in advance of the penal system prevailing in the home country.

There was one famous or rather notorious exception to the generally well behaved convicts 'Moondyne Joe' whose escapes and adventures are still remembered.

His story is told entertainingly in this book. We are also given the story of one O'Reilly, a Fenian, who with the help of a Roman Catholic priest successfully escaped in 1868. Six other Fenians — always the most refractory of prisoners — escaped on a whaler in 1876 through American help.

By 1874 there were only 324 probation and re-convicted men left. Sykes's ticket of leave was due in 1878 but by good conduct he had already earned several months remission. He was given a conditional release in 1885 and was then to all intents and purposes a free man except in the northern gold regions. After seven years of working on the roads he was returned to Fremantle and from there he was sent to Toodyay, then known as Newcastle. He was there in 1877 on ticket of leave which entitled him to certain privileges and the choice of district in which he wished to be registered after reporting to the Resident Magistrate. While at Newcastle he must have seen the arrival of the famous explorer Ernest Giles, who with his party had crossed the Great Australian Desert from Adelaide. Their use of camels for transport caused a sensation among the settlers.

Sykes with his ticket of leave could have applied for his family to be sent out to Western Australia at Government expense. Few

applied for this either because they could not support them, or because they had bigamously married again, or simply because they did not want them. We are compelled to believe from such evidence as is available that his twenty-five years of exile had made Sykes indifferent to home ties and obliterated whatever love he once had for his wife and family, and that he lacked the courage or impulse to support them. He spent the last years of his life, probably on maintenance work, on the line between Clackline and Newcastle. On 29th December, 1890, the police at Newport were informed that William Sykes, conditional release holder, was lying ill and helpless in his hut on the Clackline railway. He was removed to Newcastle hospital and died there on the 4th January of a 'hepatic ulcer with chronic hepatitis' aged 63. His few effects of trifling value and his dog and gun were taken to the police office. The dog was sold for £1.14s.0d., and the gun £1 and this amount went towards the funeral expenses. It was here, as stated earlier, that the kangaroo skin pouch was discovered in a crevice forty-one years later, and the letter in the pouch inspired the writing of this book.

It is regrettable that little if anything can be said in Sykes's favour but the blame for such men's behaviour must be placed largely on the social conditions of the age in which they lived. Mrs Hasluck's book leaves no doubt on this point.

In the first appendix to the book we are given the full text of the letters that have survived: eight are from his wife and in some of them she expresses her longing for news. In one she wrote — or rather someone wrote for her as she was illiterate — "I wonce was thee years and had not had a letter . . . one of the police sade he heard you was dead. I put the chealdren and myself in black for you my little Tirza went to the first place in deap black then I heard that your sister had got a letter from you."

Sykes seems to have written once or twice to his sister rather than to his wife. Myra gave him news of the family and their doings. Her letters are those of a loving and faithful wife. "My Dear husban I sends my nearest and Dearest Love to you . . . with A 1,000 loves and kiss wish we may meet again ho (?) that we'r cold in this world." A part of this letter — a photograph — is the frontispiece of this book. His son William writes in 1875 "Dear father mother would like to no if they would alow you our likeness Dear father you never name me in your letters Dear father mother wants to now if you ever hear of been sat free . . . " There is nothing to show that Sykes was moved by these pathetic loving letters.

Drink was another factor in the degeneration of Sykes's character. We learn that from 1879 he was frequently fined for drunkenness 'the prevailing crime' says the report of the Comptroller General in 1866. In Mrs. Hasluck's words "Perhaps the realization of hopelessness had set in: small wonder if for him and others like him, the

waters of Lethe came only out of a bottle."

Sykes was buried in Toodyay cemetery in a nameless grave outside the consecrated ground, and there he rests with many other convicts all long ago forgotten "they took their wages and are dead" but their wages were small.

They came for the most part from the slums of cities, slaves of "the dark Satanic mills" underpaid, underfed, uneducated victims of the industrial age, but it should not be forgotten that but for their toil Western Australia, desperate for labour for roads and buildings and in the fields, would have disintegrated as a colony. They saved 'the sum of things' not for pay but to gratify the vengeance of a cruel society. The book contains in addition to the letters, explanatory notes references and appendices. There are two of the last of special interest "The Nature of the Convicts sent to W.A. between 1850 and 1868" and "Figures showing Type and Prevalence of offences committed during the convict period." There are eight plates showing early views of Fremantle and Perth, prisons and other buildings and portraits of some of the characters referred to in the text.

F.M.E.

As the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL went to press on the story of William Sykes, Miss W. A. Elkin (Honorary Librarian of the Howard League for Penal Reform) sent a copy of a letter written to the Reverend John Jebb, a relative of the famous Sir Joshua Jebb, architect of Pentonville, first Surveyor-General of Prisons and first Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons. "The points of view expressed about separate confinement and transportation are so different from those given in the histories of penal methods", comments Miss Elkin.

Similar comment was made by Mr. Gordon Hawkins, now Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Sydney, in our last issue, about prisoners who had been sentenced to transportation just prior to the passing of the Act which substituted imprisonment in this country for expatriation . . . . . 'some of them had pleaded guilty merely in order to get sent abroad'. Their reaction when they became aware that they were not going to be transported was described in an official report . . . 'disappointment rendered them thoroughly reckless: hope died within them . . .' Prison historians, said Mr. Hawkins, who regale their readers with stories of the horror and inhumanity of transportation usually neglect such details as this.

The letter from a wife who pleaded for her husband to be transported is another detail of the same kind. The name and address of the family concerned have been deleted in order to avoid embarrassment to any descendants of F . . . . N . . . . about whose subsequent career (in England, or as an emigrant whose wife was willing even if he may not have been) we have no information.

EDITOR

Jan 5th. 1852

"My husband has for years been employed at the Post Office, and has ever borne an honest upright character, till in November 1850 he was unfortunately led into bad company and commenced drinking which sad evil he continued for 3 months, the effects of which so weakened his intellect that in an evil hour he was tempted to open several letters and take out a few trifling trinkets, of little value—which he sold openly for a few shillings—the act of a madman and such a breach of trust he would never have committed had he been in his senses—to which he was soon brought by being apprehended and committed to Worcester Prison—too late regretting the folly that had brought him to this sad condition. March the 8th 51 he pleaded guilty at his trial and was sentenced to '*ten years transportation*'. March 27th he was removed to Northampton Boro' goal where he has undergone nine months separate confinement under the spiritual guidance of the good Christian Chaplain the Revd. Chas. West who has been most kind both to him and myself under the painful circumstances—and I have every reason to believe that my poor husband has become truly penitent, and looking unto a merciful Saviour for forgiveness for the past and strength to help in time of need.

"My great sorrow is to find that on the 22nd of December he was removed from Northampton to Woolwich where he is labouring in the Dockyard at work his health is not capable of—and I am afraid *undoing* all that the good Mr. West has worked in him—for they have no daily prayers—only service on a Sunday. Revd. Sir I will not dwell upon the heavy sorrow and misery brought upon myself and dear child by this unfortunate affair of my poor husband, but state that you would be doing me a great Christian kindness and favour if you would use your interest with Col. Jebb to get my husband removed to the colonies as soon as possible, where—*by good conduct*, he would have a ticket of leave granted to him—and obtain some situation his excellent education is capable of—and again become an honest respectable man.

"I have friends here who are getting up a Petition to the Queen —to pray for a commutation of his sentence—signed by the inhabitants of this place who have known my husband many years, and are convinced of the real honesty of his heart.

"I must state that he was *not* amongst the convicts who last week became mutinous at Woolwich—his address is 'F.... N... No. 1116 Ship Defence'.

"I trust Revd. Sir you will kindly use your interest for me—and pardon the liberty I have taken—but I know you are a Christian Minister and would wish to relieve those in distress.

"Believe me Rev. Sir
Your humble and obdt Servt
E.... A. N..."

The pictures of the early convict prison at Fremantle, Western Australia, and the present-day prisons in Victoria, are reproduced by permission of the Director of the News and Information Bureau at the Office of the High Commissioner for Australia, Australia House, Strand, London, W.C.2.

**Unwilling Emigrants* by Alexandra Hasluck. Oxford University Press. 32s. 6d.

Well — Why Not

"ANON"

Anonymous contributions invariably raise problems of one kind or another. Short of putting Scotland Yard on the job, we had no means of finding the anon whose work appears below and so we were deprived of any opportunity of putting the critical finger on him direct. But we are not easily cheated of our simple editorial rights and pleasures and we would suggest that the sooner he emerges from his current 'Frank Norman' period and achieves his own style, the better it will be for whatever literary future he may have.*

**We cannot imagine that a woman would do this to us!*

THIS PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL begins to have possibilities.

I mean, the Editor says let's not be too cautious or complacent and they print some bits by two of the boys and best of all they let this geezer C. H. Rolph have a go about this not letting fellers write what they want when they want while they're inside and then taking it out with 'em.

Now I would like to support this Mister C. H. Rolph 100 per cent and then I'd like to put in another 100 per cent on me own account.

You see I reckon its like this. All what Mister Rolph says about there not being many as'd write anyway is dead right and that about some of it being real hot is right an' all. But what is not many out of 25,000 odd people? I don't know. You don't know. No one knows. It might be 20 and it might be 200. And if some of the writing's real hot well what about it? It's not a bad way to get it out of yer system is it? And some of the writing might be real cool if you know what I mean. Real cool. Of course most of it'd probably be a load o' tripe hot or cold but I reckon most people who have a go at writing have got to write a lot of tripe so as to learn how to write at all. And if it makes you feel better and gives you summat *positive* and *creative* to do while you're in the nick then that's O.K. even if it is tripe.

But they won't let you do it. Or at least they'll let you write in notebooks what have to be specially issued or on bits of paper you get for e.g. evening classes because of course you could generally manage to get simple stuff like paper and pencils anyway if you really had to. But they won't let you take it with you even if it ain't about the nick and they won't let you send it to no publisher while you're inside

and you can't scarcely show it around to sort of share it with somebody not without some screw poking his nose in and asking "What rubbish you got there?" etcet. etcet.

Now I've looked into this matter as you might well guess and I've talked about it with responsible Officials with a capital "O" and they have done their best to explain why you can't send it out or take it with you. And what they say comes to this.

1. Inmates (which is what we are Oafishily called) might let slip a few names or give a few too many details and some of 'em might not be true at all and if they was true some of 'em might be embarrasing etceterah rah rah! Furthermore some bright boy might use his writings to work a flanker on the Official Channels such as Petitions to the Home Sec. and letters to Em Peas and all that cobblers.

And all this would mean

2. Infinite labour, real hard graft for the censors who have enough to do with all those letters what people outside are inconsiderate enough to write to people inside and vicey versey.

3. They say that author type inmates would maybe be able to make lolly while they was doing their bird and this would'nt be fair to plumbers and general dealers and seven day drunks who might not be able to hold a pen let along write with it.

Well now I don't think these reasons are worth a row of beans never mind a quarter of snout. And here's why.

A. If anyone wants to rabbit a few names and details about the place he can do it dead easy. He can certainly do it when he gets out and half the books by ex prisoners (sorry inmates) do just that. I mean there's plenty of embarrasing details and names of staff and stuff like that tho' of course the publisher's lawyers take care of the real naughty and libellous bits.

B. I will grant you that the censors have a lot to do and how they manage to read half of it I don't know. P'raps they don't. But what I'm getting at is that while we artists are all against *any* kind of censorship (because if there wasn't no censors we couldn't 'alf write some best sellers!) if we *got* to have censors the censors what censor letters ain't no good for censoring novels and plays and poetry and such. You got to realize that the censor in prison is just an ordinary screw what's been told to censor. He may be O.K. at looking out for names and pack drill and requests for files, gins, pneumatic drills, a hot bird or erotic litrature, and he would probably recognize a plan to bust into the nearest bank if he saw one but when it comes to the finer things of life he generally don't know whether his fundament is bored or punched. I mean if they come across a bit of James Joyce or Dostoiyefsky they'd think they was nutters and get them in the hospital and maybe certified.

So if you've got to censor an

inmate's litrature you better have someone who knows summat about it such as the Tutor Organizer or the feller what takes the Eng. Lit. classes or whatever. Or why not have Mister C. H. Rolph as the Chief of a panel of censors up and down the country? I mean you don't mind people like that giving their opinions of your writing. They might be useful.

C. Now there's been a great deal of talk lately (and there's always a great deal of talk and not much else in this racket) about helping people to lead a good and useful life on discharge and we need lots of After Care and look how many full time Welfare Officers we've appointed and we're going to employ a lot more and so on and so on. Well O.K. But what does this Welfare Officer and After Care man try and do to fit you (as the book says) to be *able* to lead this good and useful life? Well if a feller's a carpenter or a shoe repairer or whatever he'll try and fix him up in his own trade. I mean that's just common sense ain't it? If a feller hasn't got a trade but he fancies having a bash at some particular kind of work what the Welfare Officer can fix up for him they'll have a try for that and that makes sense too. But if you go along and say you're a author or you want to have a go at being a author they're likely to die of laffing if they ain't actually rude about it. They think authors is all finely cut geezers with long hair bow ties and delicate perfume. They never even heard of Ernest Hemingway. And Brendan Behan they just don't want to know about. And I'm not just talking about Welfare Officers either. As a matter of fact they're better than most when it comes to not being unpleasant. But when you first go in the nick they ask you what your job is and if you can go back to it and then a bit later on they have something called a Review Board. This Review Board is for geezers what's doing over 12 months and you go in and there's some sort of Governor (generally a Dep.) and a Chief Screw and a Chaplin and a Welfare Officer and other geezers such as a Head Shrinker and a Tutor Organizer if they've got one. And they're supposed to find out if they can train you and what are your prospects and whether you can go to an open nick or not. And the Governor or Chief nearly always asks you like "What are your plans for when you go out?" And his voice says I bet this feller never had a plan in his life and if he did he'll still come back to prison. And as like as not his voice ain't far out but it's a bit irritating for the one or two here and there who do have some ideas. It sort of discourages freedom of speech if you know what I mean. You see what I want to say is "Look Sir, I'm doing a 2 stretch or a lagging (or whatever it is) and in me own time after I've done me stint on the mailbags I'd like to have a go at being a author Sir. I'd like to send me writings round the publishers Sir and if they take 'em then I'll have some money waiting for me when I go out and I shan't need no public funds

which can be spent on some less fortunate geezer and I'll be real chuffed and maybe I'll have a sort of satisfying job then Sir. And if the publishers won't look at me writings then I'll know I'm not going to make no lolly that way and we can see about getting me a job as a bricky's labourer or summat in time for me discharge." Mind you all the time I'm saying it I don't really think much about the publishers *not* taking me writings. With a talent like mine they ought to just jump at the chance. Me a bricky's labourer! I'd rather be in the nick.

Still perhaps you see what I mean. There's inmates what can write the "revelations" and "reminiscences" of the nick like Mister Rolph says and that's all. So that's all right for them. There's other inmates can write about the nick if they want to but it don't really take their fancy all that much, not to write about it directly that is. For them it's the *people* what's interesting and the things they do and the things they say and the way they think, not The System. And for just a few inmates who are *real* creative there's an urge to write about any dam thing under the sun any way they feel like it.

So I reckon The System ought to let 'em and it ought to let 'em try the publishers if they want to while they're still doing their bird—the writers not the publishers that is, though there's some publishers who might benefit from a bit of bird at that especially them what turn down my writings.

And while we're about it the same goes for any inmate what can paint or draw or make pots or baskets or invent things etcet. etcet. etcet.

I mean they let inmates do corrispondence courses and take degrees and City and Guilds and all sorts of things to help 'em when they go out. So why not the artists? Why can't we have a go at improving ourselves? What's the difference? I ask you to please tell me what is the difference? I can't see any. Really I can't

Detention

JOHN H. WAYLEN

DETENTION WAS INTRODUCED to the range of methods open to the Courts for dealing with young offenders by Section 18 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. It is perhaps enough to say that its general intention was to provide an alternative to imprisonment for young offenders aged from fourteen to twenty-one; and so to pave the way for the provisions of the Magistrates' Court Act 1952, Section 107 (4), which forbids the imposition of sentences of imprisonment upon this age group.

The Dilemma of Detention

Since the passing of the Act the training in Detention Centres has, in some ways unfortunately, become associated with the notion of a short sharp shock. The difficulty of carrying this idea into effect is more easily seen if a simple practical question is asked. In order to produce a short sharp shock for eighty boys during twenty four hours in the day and for three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, what is to be done? Lord Pish Tush (it will be recollected) first described this course of treatment and his arrangements are recorded in the lines:

To sit in solemn silence in a dull
dark dock,
In a pestilential prison with a
life long lock,
A-waiting the sensation of a
short sharp shock,
From a cheap and chippy,
chopper on a big black block.

Already we are on the fringe of absurdity.

But this absurdity touches detention in a very real way. Pleasantly alliterative though it may be, the phrase disturbingly suggests that somewhere in a dim background there is carried on a system of semi-legalised physical torment. Nothing, it need scarcely be said, is further from the truth.

The consequence has been the emergence of two principal bodies of criticism. There are those who unthinkingly welcomed the sort of regime which the phrase suggested without considering how it was to be carried out, and who, having since visited a centre have been disappointed that no short sharp shock was readily perceptible: and there are those who condemned the idea of detention from its first inception, who seized upon the words as exactly expressing their worst fears, and who have since made no attempt to visit any Centre to re-examine its methods.

It should therefore be said at once that however pleasing the short sharp shock theory may be to those not actually called upon to undergo it, it does not stand up to serious examination. Intelligent persons have suggested that detention centre inmates should not have beds; that they should never be allowed to wash in hot water;

that they should not have books; should not play games; and so on. These suggestions are no doubt made so that detention may be suitably hard: though what exactly is meant by hard in this context is something which has never been satisfactorily established. This is one of the dilemmas of penal reform and is particularly the dilemma of detention. It is not easy to decide what, in detention, is a luxury, and what is essential to it. It is even less easy to know how hard (or how soft) the regime should be. One thing however seems clear. To follow this sort of thinking very far is likely to result in detention centres becoming very much what prisons were some hundred years or so ago. Thus with very little effort it will be possible to come full-circle and to establish something which will be the exact opposite of the declared object of detention—to provide an alternative to imprisonment for young offenders aged from fourteen to twenty-one.

In spite of this danger it will probably be generally agreed that the young men sent to detention do require pulling up—and somewhat sharply. What detention has to do therefore is to provide a regime that will not reproduce all that was worst of the dirt and desolation of the old time prison—and so justifiably arouse public fears; and yet will provide the tonic shock suggested by those who inarticulately require that detention shall be 'hard'.

There seems to be only one way to do this. This is to insist that whatever is done shall be done as well as the boy is able to do it and that no other standard shall be accepted. To be kept at a high standard of performance in everything all day and every day will, it is suggested, together with the paraphernalia of security and an atmosphere of discipline, provide all the short, sharp, shock that is necessary or practicable. And it has these added advantages: that when the shock wears off, as inevitably it must, and a feeling of familiarity takes its place, a natural inclination to do things well may possibly remain; and the method may be used to train as many boys as necessary throughout the whole of their sentences without undue strain.

It is easy enough, no doubt, once the way has been pointed, to agree that this shall be the object of detention and to define it in suitable language. As thus:

> The objects of detention shall be to induce in young offenders a respect for law, a regard for property, and a proper sense of pride in themselves; to foster in them an awareness of their own neglected abilities: and to do so by means of an ordered, regular, and demanding routine, and by the personal influence of the staff.

But this is not to dispose of the problem of detention. There then arises another and greater difficulty. Critics and theorists have, as a rule, a very clear idea of the results they desire that detention shall achieve. They require that youths shall become less intractable, less

noisy, less given to the use of offensive weapons (and language), less riotous, less disorderly, less dishonest: more inclined to useful occupations, to good manners, to more responsible attitudes and orderly behaviour, and to honesty. They would like to see them more mentally alert and aware, and less apathetic and bored. These are very admirable aims. The further problem of detention is that when techniques are employed to try to produce these results the critics do not recognise them for what they are. They see only the drills and not their significance. And they appear to imagine that the good habits which they so much wish to see in the inmates can be learnt without being practised. It is to this problem that consideration must now be given.

The Practice of Detention

Detention has to deal with two principal classes of offenders—the disorderly and the dishonest; and it will be well to recognise that these two groups are not identical. The disorderly, those who brandish offensive weapons and who fight and brawl, are by no means always dishonest; nor are the dishonest necessarily disorderly. There are, it is true, those who incline somewhat to both—the car thieves for example. But broadly speaking there are two main groups and it will be evident that in handling them differing techniques will be required. To complain therefore, as some do, that the keeping tidy of lockers is not calculated to make anyone more honest is to mistake part, at least, of the object of detention.

If any attempt is to be made in a short time to induce orderly habits and thoughts in youths who have hitherto been disorderly it will be very necessary that every aspect of detention centre life shall play its part. It will therefore be desirable that the very buildings themselves shall assist by permitting an orderly movement. If there can be established by a proper setting out of changing rooms, lavatories, showers, washing facilities, dormitories and so on, a fundamental basis for an orderly and logical flow of traffic it is not perhaps fanciful to suggest that this may have some impact, however slight, upon the hitherto unruly habits and disorderly conduct of the inmates, as well as upon their confused and unthinking minds. But again no claim is made that these arrangements will make anyone more honest.

Routine

The daily routine, or to be more exact, the application and interpretation of the daily routine will be directed to lending emphasis to this need for reasoned thinking in an orderly world. It would be tedious and indeed unnecessary to list the possible ways in which this may be attempted. A single example will suffice. This routine will almost certainly provide between the hours of twelve and one for the single item 'Dinner'. It will be possible, of course, for the matter to end there. That is to say inmates may arrive as they are ready and

in overalls, queue with a plate in either hand, bolt their food and depart in search of it matters not what profitless occupation until one o'clock.

Or they may come in from work, wash off muddy boots and put wet overalls in the drying room; put on house shoes in the changing room and picking up soap and towel (which they will have remembered to put there in the morning) proceed to wash. In the dormitories they will complete their changing for dinner and when all are assembled in the dining room the meal may be served. A table of four will collect a first course and having returned to their table may be succeeded by the next. At the conclusion of that course one boy will remove the plates to the scullery for washing later whereupon all four can collect a pudding. Each boy must therefore give some of his attention to what is going on so that proper turns may be taken. Manners will be noted: a 'thank you' to the cook will not be out of place. And finally the tables will each be cleared by one boy and when all are ready a return can be made to the dormitories to change back again for work.

Thus will be taught with a minimum of difficulty and effort (the new boys learning from the example of the seniors) tidiness, orderliness, good manners, cleanliness, alertness of mind, and respect for and care of property.

Critics of detention who see only this aspect of the work when they visit are disposed to speak slightingly of 'regimentation', to deplore the 'moulding to a pattern', and are quick to point out that all this is but the outward and visible sign of only a present intention on the part of the inmates to obey rules for reasons of expediency. If this indeed were all, detention would stand condemned. If there is to be any real permanence, if there is to be any real change of heart, there must be derived from somewhere an inward and spiritual grace. It would not be reasonable to suppose that such inward grace will be supplied solely by attention to cleanliness even though it be next to godliness; nor by manners which proverbially maketh man. But it will be a strange philosophy indeed that denies the value of these things: and denying them supposes that moral training is thereby made easier. It does nevertheless happen that people who readily understand the need for an inward and spiritual grace appear to suppose that grace will burgeon in some spontaneous manner from within with no fostering care from without.

Moral Training

It is therefore necessary to consider from what influences may spring this inward and spiritual grace. Broadly speaking it will be from the words and example of the staff and from their interpretation of the regime. But unless this is to remain a pious hope or idle counsel of perfection some practical work will need to be done.

Enquiries must be made of every person who may be likely to give useful information about the boys' backgrounds and previous histories—parents, police, probation service,

school, employer, and so on. These, taken together, may indicate the sort of life the boy has been leading, the stresses and strains to which he has been subjected, and may assist in suggesting why he has behaved as he has.

Thus a first appraisal can be made. It now becomes of the first importance that the staff—the officer in charge of the house, party or gymnasium—should make their own estimate and make it known to the Warden. This they will do by means of weekly reports. These reports take the form of answers to certain questions. Thus the house officer comments upon the boy's general attitude to staff and to other boys; on whether he is naturally clean and smart; on whether he takes trouble or mumbles under his breath when given an order. The work party officer reports on his standard of work, whether he works hard, is reliable and can be trusted to do a job alone, or whether he has constantly to be supervised: whether the work is beyond his capacity or whether he grasps instruction readily: and again what is his attitude to other people. Any special characteristics not comprehended in these questions (and other similar ones) will be reported under a general heading.

It will scarcely be possible that all boys shall be reported on each week in this way. But it is important that it shall be done weekly until the boy attains his Grade II for which he becomes eligible after the first month. Another report after the next month will bring the inmate to within a few weeks of discharge (regarding three months as a normal sentence). This will provide a useful opportunity for a review of progress before discharge.

The value of these reports is very great and they are interpreted to the boy by the Warden each week. He will, if necessary, discuss the reports with the staff responsible for making them. It may be that a policy will be necessary so that all members will stress the same training point to a boy. Advice which he will not accept from one is perhaps more likely of acceptance if tendered by all.

So by example, report, consultation, agreed policies and advice an attempt is made to arouse an inward and spiritual grace. But grace may not always be attained save through tribulation. It may well happen that advice is rejected, that no effort is made, that positive misconduct occurs. In such extremities it may be necessary to proceed to disciplinary measures.

Discipline

The question of standards of discipline within any institution (and perhaps more especially within a detention centre) is one so calculated to arouse controversy and passion that it is scarcely possible that any written word may meet with general acceptance. But the problem exists and must be faced: nor will it be made the easier by a non-committal, hesitant, or apologetic approach.

The truth is, as has so often been stated, that, in the end, discipline, by which is meant a will to conform to certain standards of behaviour whether inside or outside an

institution, must come from within the individual. It must spring from the inward and spiritual grace already mentioned. It is an error to suppose however, as many people do, that this self-discipline which comes from within will emerge with no encouragement from outside: with no encouragement, certainly, from a formal or orderly routine which is curtly dismissed as regimentation: and with no assistance either from a reasonably close supervision. This is commonly denied on two grounds: one, that boys must be given an opportunity to misbehave so that they may be seen for what they really are—a policy horridly suggestive of the *agent provocateur*; and second, that if they are controlled whilst in custody they will, on release, be lost from absence of this control—a theory which completely ignores that they may have learnt the necessary lessons in the meantime from the patient instruction of the staff.

Perhaps the first thing that should be said is that it is not necessary, simply because the word detention is involved, to try to maintain discipline by means of constant loud shouting or a feverish running about. Because this is not done visitors sometimes wonder where the short sharp shock is to be found. A quiet firmness in an ordered life is what is required—but the firmness must be firm: and when that is established there can be demanded the highest standards of work and conduct. In such an atmosphere it will be the object of the staff, as has already been said, to induce in the inmates a respect for law, a regard for property, and a proper sense of pride in themselves; and to foster in them an awareness of their own neglected abilities.

Deliberate misconduct or any failure on the part of the inmates to make the best of themselves and their opportunities will be dealt with as a disciplinary offence. Of the various sanctions which may be imposed loss of remission and removal to a detention room are by far the most important. The use of this first very powerful sanction will, by itself, produce a very high standard of work and conduct. Furthermore it can be explained to even the dullest boy that if he wastes time at the beginning of his sentence the only effect will be that more will be added at the end; and for the staff a few more days training time will be provided. But perhaps more important, the boy will immediately be required to return and face the situation which gave rise to the report. This, though valuable, will not always be wise; and for those (usually few) occasions on which it might not be wise the detention room is provided. Here the inmate will be provided with some separate work out of association with the other boys. But even in a detention centre there will be borne in mind the general principle that the term should not be longer than that which it is thought necessary in order to produce the change of heart for which the staff is looking and hoping.

Education

Some of the boys received into

detention will be below school leaving age and these will be found in the junior centres. Their necessarily full-time education may be regarded as a continuation of their normal schooling.

In a senior centre 'schooling' will not be suitable for eighteen and nineteen-year-old youths during so short a period as three months necessary though it may sometimes appear to be. The sort of boys who come to the senior centres have no great use for writing and arithmetic. They are not called upon in their ordinary everyday affairs to write frequent and clearly expressed letters. They do not need to know more of arithmetic than will allow them to give change. In the same way that others who consider themselves to be better educated have allowed their Latin or algebra to lapse because they have no especial use for either, so have boys in detention allowed their English and arithmetic to lapse. It therefore becomes a real question whether, in a short sentence of detention, it is wise or useful to compel a boy to devote hours to subjects for which he has no particular use, in which he has no interest, and in which he is likely to be as ignorant as ever six months after his discharge.

As boys are continually moving in and out of the centres by the ordinary processes of admission and discharge some cyclical method of conducting further education in subjects likely to be of interest to the class of boy received is required. Many new subjects of which the boy may hitherto have had no glimmering but which may well be useful to him suggest themselves. One only will serve as an example of what can be done. A course is established in the internal combustion engine. On one evening instruction is given about plugs; on another pistons; on a third the gear box; and so on. Provided the parts are related to the whole there emerges an intelligible and interesting course no matter when the individual boy is admitted to or discharged from the class.

It is abundantly necessary that young men of detention centre age should be fit. This has been recognised by making an hour's physical education every day a statutory requirement for all inmates. But again the shortness of the sentence leads naturally to a consideration of what may be suitable and practical, and what may appear to be suitable in theory but has in fact little practical value.

Any games played must be of an active nature: they must be easily learnt: they must arouse interest: they must be adult: and they must be such that a boy may be reasonably inspired to go in search of a similar game on release—and find it. Two activities fit all these requirements, running and association football. It will therefore only be reasonable to devote some time to these things so that the inmates may be instructed in the use of leisure when they come to be discharged.

It has been argued that detention is not the place for table

tennis and darts and the existence of an indoor games room has been regarded as importing a holiday camp atmosphere. This is not a reasonable view. It is not uncommon to hear magistrates and others exhorting youngsters to join a youth club or to visit their local libraries and so to provide themselves with leisure time occupations. If this is sincerely meant it is not then reasonable to send them for three months to an establishment where no suggestion of introduction to a youth club atmosphere is permitted, or where the reading of library books is rigorously forbidden. It will be better to devote half an hour at the end of the day to these things and to encourage the inmates, additionally, to treat with respect property which is not their own.

It is almost safe to say that boys received into detention know nothing of their religion. This will be observable on their very first appearance in Chapel. It will then be found that it is always necessary to announce upon what page the Order of Service is to be found as failure to do so will result in most of the new arrivals becoming lost in the Commination Service or straying helplessly and sadly amongst the Psalms.

In religious matters, as in all others, it is important to know precisely what it is intended to do. There is a considerable spirit of enquiry amongst most boys about religion and not the least amongst those who are sent to detention. Instruction is on a cyclical pattern. Thus each three month period must comprehend the complete Life of Christ. It matters not that this arrangement will not maintain the liturgical tradition. What does matter is that the instruction shall be dynamic and forceful—if necessary dramatic. Its impact on the mind must be equal in every way to the impact of the hour's physical training upon the body. Time is short. A sense of urgency must prevail. There will be visual aids—a quarterly showing of suitable films on the wonders of nature and matters of fact and faith. Thus these things will come alive and be real: and the memory of the Story will remain long after the recollection of the most brilliant sermon will have faded or the weekly readings from the Old Testament have been forgotten.

Thus the instruction in detention. What of the Sunday Service? Most boys have a religious sense. They have moments when they see what they might have been and when they would give a good deal never to have entered upon evil ways. They have moments when they perceive, however dimly, that it is better to be pure than impure, law abiding than disorderly. The Sunday service should aim at these faint spiritual stirrings and in attempting to develop them will, by encouraging the boys to try again, bring them to an awareness of the grace that is within them.

Finally reference should perhaps be made to one of the more serious criticisms of detention — that individual treatment of the boys is not possible and, as a more extreme variant, that contact between boy

and staff is discouraged or denied.

The critic should work for a week in a Centre. He would then find friendliness and good humour existing between officer and boy. He would realise that a just anger on the part of the staff at some misdemeanour, reflecting perhaps a grave character defect in the inmate, is not merely an unnecessary display of an unbridled authority. He would see the care that is taken over the weekly reports. He would hear the advice that is given to inmates so that disciplinary offences may be avoided. He would appreciate the desire that officers have that their charges shall do well ('the award of Grade II would be an encouragement to him'). He would notice that boys, although kept at full stretch, bear no kind of resentment. He would hear the discussions that take place to determine what will be the best way of handling an individual boy. And he would begin to understand how it is that one who, on arrival, was described as, 'ungainly in action, of weak concentration, his personal habits far from what one expects', could, at the end of five months, be said to be, 'a leader among boys, keen and alert, and very proud of having learnt to make mats': and could also, three months after discharge, write to his Physical Education Instructor:

"Dear Sir,

Just a line or two in appreciation to the good advice you gave me before I was discharged. I know you will be pleased to hear that I have joined a gym club so I can carry on learning my gymnastics which I hope to benefit by in the future. I know you won't believe me but I have really got my brother interested in keepfit exercises. I will now close with confidence."

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Norman House

An approach to Homelessness

MERFYN TURNER

OLD BILL was the criminologist's dream of an "inadequate". He was forty, looked sixty, and from photographs he produced he seemed to have looked sixty all his life. He was small, lithe, and apologetic for his existence. His father was a sailor, his mother a drunkard, and Bill claimed to have been driven to stealing to feed his younger brothers. He had wandered, stolen, sold matches and lavender, and Old Moore's Almanacs. He had lived in hostels, Reception Centres, and disused buildings. Since the age of fifteen, he had spent more time in punitive establishments of one sort or another than he had in free society. His criminal record was distinguished by its length. He could not have hoped to maintain himself on the proceeds of his offences. He had stolen from his landlord when he was living at a small hostel. He had stolen newspapers from an unattended stand, bread rolls from a bakery, and chocolate from a sweet shop. He had two convictions for loitering with intent to steal from motor cars, both of which he vigorously denied.

Like most men in prison, he disliked his place there and longed for freedom. "When I come out this time, my friend", Bill wrote, "I'm going to settle down, get a steady job, and a room to live in. Hostels are no good at all, my good friend". Bill survived for not more than three months after every release. Four letters he wrote are almost duplicates, distinguishable chiefly by the date of writing and the variation in the length of prison sentence. "I'm sorry to say I've found you again my friend, but not in the right place, but the wrong place, my friend. The Judge this time gave me six months. But never mind, God is good, my very good friend". The continuing goodness of God was as certain as Bill's determination to settle down, and to live "like other people live. If I had a place to go to when I come out this time, these places (prison) would never see me no more, my good friend".

Bill wrote his last letter from prison in 1956. He died suddenly in 1959. But during those three years he achieved his ambition to live like other people live. He found a job which was within his capacity, and he held it. As a

cinema attendant he may have been the least esteemed member of the staff, but he believed that he was as important a member of the team as the manager. He found private lodgings, and he stayed there. He saved, and bought clothes, and acquired a steady girl-friend. She was an immature middle-aged woman who looked with pride to Bill as her hero. Bill, with equal pride looked on himself as her mentor.

His funeral was as undistinguished as his christening. Like all inadequates, he had fought an unequal fight without ever questioning its inequality. Repeated failure, therefore, remained a mystery. The hope of success may have been dimmed with time. But it was never extinguished. There was always a next time, when there would be a place to go to, somebody to accept, to support and sustain him, and so help him to show that he was no different after all from others who settled successfully and happily in society.

There were only three of us at Bill's funeral—the priest, Bill's girl, and I. The priest could be excused for thinking that Old Bill was just another of society's lonely, forgotten men, resting now in the chilling anonymity of a large London cemetery. His girl was more concerned with tomb-stones. As for me, as I looked down on the machine-produced coffin—paid for out of Bill's own savings—I couldn't help smiling a little as I thought how impossibly pompous he would have been if he had realised that he was one of the architects of Norman House.

It was men like Old Bill who brought home to me as a visitor at one of the London prisons, the crippling handicap for the offender of having nowhere to go to on his discharge from prison, and no family or friends who could exert a stabilising influence upon him. Lodging houses gave shelter. The Assistance Board stood the cost. The Labour Exchange might offer a job. But while the help given might prevent an immediate return to prison, it did nothing to integrate the offender in society.

Norman House was already a fact when Old Bill came out of prison for what was to be the last time. For the next five months he lived at the house, experiencing for the first time for many years, if not for the first time ever, what it is to be respected and valued, and accepted. He belonged now in a family of fifteen people, most of them men with a similar background to his, a history of deprivation, repeated social failure, and many imprisonments as the penalty for it. Soon he had saved enough to buy a suit. He had his photograph taken to commemorate the event. For Bill it was a great occasion. It signified a triumphant emancipation from Charity and Patronage. And there were people to share his pleasure.

When he moved into lodgings the pattern of his life was set. From then until his death he maintained his routine, always

calling at the house at least twice every week.

During its first five years, almost two hundred men lived at Norman House. Some were older than Bill, but most were younger. Few had known and lived with both parents. Some had known neither, and had lived in public all their lives, from the orphanages of their chidhood to the prisons and the lodging houses, the reception centres and the open road of their later years. But there were others who'd had a better start in life. Their intelligence was higher than average. They had done better in school and in work. They were skilled or semi-skilled workers. For Old Bill and others like him, their failure was inexcusable.

All the men who lived at the house in the first five years responded to its way of life. The family was never bigger than fifteen members, and no two, however similarly they might have been psychiatrically classified, bore sufficient affinities for them to be treated alike.

The Warden and his wife demanded a social and economic equality. Everybody was required to work for his living, the only exception in the eyes of the offenders and naïve visitors being the Warden. The life of the house was lived on the ground floor, in the kitchen, the dining room where all ate together, and the sitting room. There was no escape allowed from human contact. It may have caused annoyance and irritation, and sometimes emotional outburst. But the whole concept of Norman House centred in the belief that failure in the sphere of human relationships underlies criminal behaviour, and that for many offenders, learning to live with people is the first step in the process of personal adjustment. "Going Straight" is not a mechanical adherence to a non-delinquent way of life. It is the outcome of attachment to people. So far as the inadequates who lived at Norman House are concerned, their condition of social isolation in the past made acceptable living meaningless because there was nobody to approve the behaviour.

Crime ceased while the offenders lived at the house because crime had become meaningless. Men who had been accepted by the family they had joined responded by living in the way the family lived. Crime never presented a problem because it was frequently the least of the men's problems. Even those whose criminal behaviour seemed to be more psychologically motivated than that of the low-grade inadequate, acquired a temporary and superficial control over their tendencies and impulses, possibly because the emotional involvements which they could no longer escape gave them an outlet which had previously been found in criminal behaviour.

The process of growing-up in a family is never easy, and not all

who fail find themselves in prison. But to create an artificial family of people with problems, and often a long history of failure, offers no prospect of peaceful growth. The men who came to Norman House were selected, for not all homeless men in prison want to live what may well be for them an entirely new way of life. Others who show a desire are so disturbed that living at Norman House could do little to secure a satisfactory and lasting adjustment. The homeless men who were accepted in the first five years were those who wanted to settle, and who showed some ability to achieve it. In the first year almost all the men came from one London prison where they were visited regularly by the Warden. By the fifth year less than one-half came from that prison, the majority being accepted, therefore, on the recommendation of social workers directly and indirectly connected with the courts and prisons outside London. The final decision still remained with the Warden.

This development brought its own difficulties. In particular it revealed the defects of a coldly scientific classification of offenders, and statistically determined prognoses, on the one hand, and on the other the defects of the generous, compassionate, uncritical assessment which was built on hope. The process of living in a family sometimes made nonsense of classifications, and always revealed differences to emphasise that there is no dividing line between sickness and health, normality and abnormality.

Norman House has been criticised for its selectivity—its refusal for example, to accept alcoholics, or pathological gamblers. Originally selection had been made according to the offender's desire to settle outside prison, and his ability to succeed with the help Norman House offered. But experience quickly showed that there was a group aspect also to the offender's resettlement. Individual therapy remained important. But it was fully effective only when it recognised the therapeutic force which the group exerted. It was clear that the offender who stood to gain the most in a climate of this nature was the inadequate. It was not suited to the needs of the alcoholic, or the pathological gambler.

The group did not operate therapeutically by accident as it were. The prison scene may have improved greatly in the last decade. But it is still divorced from reality. It is the artificiality of the prison environment that induces in the prisoner a false sense of well-being. For the inadequate in particular, freedom is no philosphical concept. It is the right to live as others live—working, loving, and watching the telly. Looked at within the four walls of his cell, it is a simple life, and eminently accessible. "If I can work in here for two-and-ninepence a week, I'm sure I can work outside for a fiver". But a

week out of prison takes the shine away from freedom, and life becomes real again.

So the work of Norman House became the responsibility of supporting, persuading, pushing, and sometimes bullying men to do what they had promised themselves with such easy facility when they were in prison. This in turn made a heavy demand on the staff. It was the degree of their availability that determined the therapeutic force of the group. Some men may have complained that they were "under a microscope". It was their needs that shaped the treatment in the same way that deprived children demand attention. The parallel between them was always a close one. It was revealing, also, that those who complained of the treatment were not only those whose need for it was greatest, but who were also the quickest to feel the loss of it when they moved into private lodgings. It was a sad day when John Smith, with his long history of wayfaring and petty crime returned to the house after three days in lodgings to ask; "Please can I come back again?" It was a child who spoke, confessing a child's need for support and protection.

During the first five years, only one man went back to prison while he lived at the house. But almost one-half of the total failed to maintain their progress when they left. They tended to leave their jobs, lose their lodgings, wander from the neighbourhood, and in some cases to return to prison. This indicated that the inadequate at least needed to live for longer at Norman House than the four months that had become the average length of stay by the end of the fifth year. It also indicated that the step from the house into society was too severe. To meet the need for continuing and decreasing support, Norman House is about to open its own boarding house.

A study of the first two-hundred men to pass through Norman House indicates that the greatest contribution the house can make lies in the field of inadequacy. It can help the neurotic and the mentally ill. But it cannot resolve their condition. It supports the sexual offender, for example, so that he is available for psychiatric treatment. But unless treatment is pursued realistically and intensively, experience shows that even two years at Norman House does not affect his basic condition.

The needs of the inadequates approximate more to the needs of children. They need affection and the security that comes from knowing it is not affected by what they do or do not do. They need attention. In short, they need the discipline of any healthy, well-ordered, happy family. And that is what Norman House is peculiarly well-qualified to give.

Norman House, The First Five Years, a short objective report, is available from Norman House, c/o 24 Harberton Road, London, N.19.: 2s. 6d. (postage paid)

Work for Prisoners

G. EMERSON

IT WAS as long ago as 1933 that the last review of prison employment was conducted by a body drawn from outside the Prison Service. Since then there have been big changes both in prisons and in the pattern of industry throughout the country, and the need for a fresh study of the subject was felt. Early last year, therefore, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland appointed the Advisory Council on the Employment of Prisoners to be a standing advisory body with terms of reference covering all matters of consequence relating to the employment of prisoners and borstal inmates. The full terms of reference were as follows:—

> "To be a standing council to advise on the organisation and management of industries in prisons and borstals, including the supply of sufficient and suitable work; the development of other forms of employment for inmates; the industrial training of inmates; and related questions".

The Council is essentially a body of industrialists (in the widest sense) rather than penologists. The Chairman is Sir Wilfred Anson who until a little while ago was Deputy Chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company. He is also a Justice of the Peace and has a wide range of interests especially in education. Both sides of industry are strongly represented and there are two Members of Parliament, one from the Government side of the House of Commons and one from the Opposition benches. Representatives of the Prison Commission, the Scottish Home Department and the Ministry of Labour have been appointed Assessors to the Council.

The Council were faced at the outset with an almost bewildering number and variety of questions and topics on which their advice was needed. Here are only a few of them. What are the most suitable kinds of work for prisoners serving sentences ranging from a week or two to several years? Is there enough suitable work available? How, in the light of modern developments in industry, should

prison industries be organised? Can work in prisons be made a valuable part of the general training of prisoners? Should prisoners be given incentives to work well and if so what incentives? Are borstal boys being given the right kind of vocational training courses?

When the Council met for the first time, hardly any members had special knowledge of the penal system. Their first task, therefore, was to make themselves familiar at first hand with conditions in prisons and borstals. During the past year or two they have paid many visits to many different establishments either individually or as sub-committees of the Council charged with some special subject of investigation. For the most part it is by dividing itself into sub-committees that the Council has proceeded with its inquiries. This has enabled the Council to cover a great deal of ground by studying different subjects simultaneously. Every member of the Council has been a member of at least one sub-committee and many of more than one.

The fruits of the first year's activity—it might fairly be called intense activity—were presented to the Home Secretary and to the Secretary of State for Scotland in the form of the Council's first report. This has since been published and is on sale through H. M. Stationery Office.

The report shows clearly what subjects the Council have been studying and what conclusions they have reached. They decided to concentrate first on what seemed to be the biggest and perhaps most important group of problems, namely, those relating to the employment of male prisoners in prison workshops. This meant leaving until later the detailed consideration of such matters as non-industrial employment, extra-mural employment, work for women and for borstal inmates, and vocational training,

After an introductory section the report sets out briefly the relevant facts about conditions in prisons as the Council found them. They were shocked in local prisons by the serious effects of overcrowding, old, unsuitable buildings and a shortage of staff upon the employment of prisoners.

> "The results are that prisoners' working hours in some general local prisons are as few as sixteen hours a week; that even during these short hours prisoners are removed from the workshops for various other prison purposes, such as bathing, and interviews; and that the development of better types of work is gravely hindered. This is a grim picture but the very large prison building programme gives hope for the future; and we feel sure that even in present conditions much can be done to improve prison

industries". (Paragraph 18 of "Work for Prisoners").

The Council found much better conditions in open, regional and central prisons, but even there they found room for improvement.

In Section III of the report the Council make a brief incursion into the philosophy of work for prisoners. They were aware of the existence of a number of different and, for the most part, mutually contradictory ideas about work for prisoners. At one extreme, for example, there was the old and now, surely, universally discredited idea that work was part of a prisoner's punishment; and, at the other extreme, that work is a right enjoyed by every prisoner. The Council took a line of their own:—

> "We believe, first, that the fundamental reason why prisoners should work is that every person should make the best contribution he can to the community; secondly, that suitable work, if properly organised, is a most valuable part of a prisoner's training; and, thirdly, that prisoners represent a considerable labour force which ought not to be wasted". (Paragraph 23).

The report goes on to elaborate the second of these propositions which, in the Council's view, is and will remain the basis of their whole approach to work for prisoners.

The Council believe very firmly, in the potential value of work as training. The reasons for their belief are essentially simple. If they say in effect, you want to give a prisoner the best possible chance of going straight on leaving prison, you have got to make it as easy as possible for him to get *and keep* an honest job. It is no solution merely to find a job for him and push him into it. If he cannot do the job he will either get dismissed or will leave of his own accord, dispirited and more than ever convinced that his line is crime.

No, the Council say, if you want a man to work honestly on discharge from prison, you must get him used in prison to the sort of work that is most likely to be available to him outside. That means chiefly two things; he must be given a good hard day's work in prison, and he must be got accustomed to the sort of work that is most common in modern industry. Moreover, this work must be organised and carried out in prison workshops in the same way as in modern factories.

This is what the Council mean by saying that suitable work, if properly organised, is a most valuable part of a prisoners' training. It follows from this that, if work is to be any good as training, prison industries must be run efficiently. The Council do not consider the present level of efficiency to be nearly high enough. Among other things the tempo in

workshops must be greatly increased; one member of the Council has said that a prisoner accustomed to the tempo of most prison workshops would be completely bewildered on going to work in a normal factory.

The Council, therefore, invite the prison authorities to face this question: is the potential training value of good work for prisoners worth the price which must be paid for it, i.e., "priority for a big effort to raise efficiency" in prison industries? The Council point out that they, not being penologists, are not competent to answer this question, but they emphasise that a definite answer must be given: "... it is no more possible in prisons than outside them to have well-run industries if there is uncertainty about whether or not industrial efficiency should be subordinated to other considerations". (Paragraph 29).

What the Council mean by "priority for a big effort to raise efficiency" is, in effect, enough devotion—or diversion—of effort and resources to ensure the implementation of the recommendations contained in Section V of the report and onwards. Before coming to these recommendations, however, the Council consider in Section IV what is suitable work for prisoners and whence it may be obtained. The question of suitable work is one of some importance on which there is plenty of scope for diverse opinions, and some of the Council's views may not be readily acceptable to everyone. Believing as they do that work has a positive part to play in the training of prisoners, they naturally condemn any idea that the purpose of work is merely to keep prisoners innocently occupied and hence that the kind of work does not matter. The Council think that, on the contrary, it is of great importance that good, clearly purposeful work be provided. "Clearly purposeful" means that the prisoners themselves should know that their work really is put to good use.

The Council consider that the most suitable work for the great majority of prisoners is fairly simple repetitive work on production lines, such as is found in many modern factories. This may not attract general agreement. Some people may take the view that such work offers little personal satisfaction and is too monotonous in prison conditions. But the Council had heard such views expressed before coming to their own conclusions. They adhere to their main point, which is that prisoners cannot be expected to lead honest lives on discharge unless they have been accustomed in prison to working normal hours at a typical industrial job in typical factory conditions. The Council add:

> "Moreover, we consider that the monotony of the work we recommend can easily be exagger-

ated: there may well be more satisfaction to be gained from such work if it is well-organised in good conditions than from desultory work of the handicraft type. And in many prisons it is no longer a fact that outside his working hours a prisoner spends most of his time in his cell. We see every reason, with the facilities which are being increasingly provided for prisoners to spend their leisure hours together, why they should be expected to do the same sort of work as that performed by great numbers of free men and women". (Paragraph 47).

The Council do not consider there need be any great difficulty in getting suitable work of the kind they recommend. They are satisfied that other Government departments could give ample work to prisons and would do so provided that prison industries demonstrated their ability to turn out work of good quality on time. Here, the Council say, is another reason for improving the efficiency of prison industries: as in the case of private industry, a plentiful supply of work to prison industries is dependent on efficiency.

The Council consider briefly the question of competition between the work of prisoners and the work of free men. They think it at least as important that prisoners should not be idle and a charge on the community as it is in the case of free men. They point out that the prison labour force is only a tiny fraction of the total working population of the country, and express confidence that sufficient suitable work for prisoners can be found without its having any appreciable effect on the interests of employers and workers outside prisons.

The Council regard with approval the performance of work in prisons for private employers at the market rate for the job. They feel that this helps to maintain desirable links between prison industries and industry outside.

In Section V of their report the Council make various general recommendations for improving the efficiency of prison industries and in Sections VIII to X there are similar recommendations relating to particular industries. The first group of recommendations in Section V deal with ways of improving the industrial organisation in prisons. The second group relate to the general prison regime as it affects the efficiency of prison industries. The Council draw attention to the fact that the efficiency of prison industries depends a great deal on factors outside the control of the industrial staff. Among other things, the Council recommend that every effort should be made where necessary (i.e., chiefly, in the local prisons) to increase prisoners'

working hours to what is normal in modern industry, and that interruptions in working hours and the labour turnover in workshops should be cut to the minimum.

Sections VI, VII and XI deal with special subjects which the Council have studied, namely, job training, prisoners' earnings and local advisory committees on the employment of prisoners. Space permits here only a brief reference to the Council's recommendations on these complex subjects. The Council consider that much more attention should be paid to job training, i.e., the training of prisoners for work in prisons; that the prisoners' earnings scheme should be drastically revised to provide for more flexible incentive payments to prisoners; and that local advisory committees on the employment of prisoners should be appointed at the larger prisons situated in industrial areas.

Section XII of the Council's report relates to Scotland. Of course, practically the whole of the report applies to Scotland as much as to England and Wales, but Section XII deals with matters peculiar to Scotland.

The report has provided much food for thought. Many of the recommendations are not such as can be fully implemented at once: they call for progressive development over a long period. Action has already been taken in England and Wales and in Scotland on the recommendations about prisoners' earnings and a new system of payments was introduced last August. The Council's recommendations about local advisory committees have also been put into effect by the appointment of committees at Liverpool, and Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds prisons, and similar action is being taken in Scotland.

Such is the Council's first report. It will be clear from this brief account that what the Council have to say is of considerable interest to all who are concerned in the running of prisons.

Since the preparation of their first report the Council have turned their attention to other problems within their terms of reference. At present they are studying the employment of borstal boys with particular reference to vocational training.

Research in Penal Institutions

R. L. MORRISON*

RESEARCH IN penal institutions is research conducted by people (researchers) on or with other people (inmates or staff), helped or hindered by these people or by yet other people (who have certain vested interests in these matters). All this adds up to a very complicated situation indeed and one cannot, in a short article, take up more than a few aspects of it or put to you anything more subtle than one obviously loaded view of it, that of a prison psychologist.

There are certain problems which some of us are very conscious of and feel very strongly about. These centre largely around questions of whether research should be done by inside people or outside people or both together; whether some research is best done in one of these ways and other research in other ways; what are the advantages and disadvantages of one method over the other and so on. We could look at all this from the point of view of research theory and design, but it may be more useful to begin by personalising these questions and giving the flavour of the kind of feelings that in practice intrude into the discussion and handling of these problems of research planning and execution.

Very briefly, the general background situation as regards research in penal institutions can be regarded as one in which many people in the field, both specialists and laymen, recognise the need for research, want to do it themselves but have little scope for this—partly because the pressures of practical routine work prevent them and partly because the authorities have been slow to accept the idea of either pure or applied research as an essential and integral part of any institutional treatment system which aspires to be efficient. According to this view the real need is for "a fully-built-in operational research procedure".

Some time ago, prison psychologists as a group expressed very similar opinions. After recognising that there is a place for all sorts

* Based on a paper read to a British Sociological Association Weekend Conference. December 1960.

of research in the world of criminology, we went on to say this: "At the best, however, we regard 'outside' research by universities or other research organisations or by individual research workers, with mixed feelings. We realise that some of these investigators may bring to their task skills and knowledge which we ourselves lack; we also know that most of them are seriously deficient in specialised knowledge of prison conditions. In their most extreme form, these deficiencies not only vitiate the research results of such workers but also result in distorted accounts of prison work. As regards the latter, we are particularly concerned with the unfortunate repercussions which such work will have, and has in fact had in some circumstances, on the work of prison psychologists and especially on our relations with colleagues and inmates.

"At present, we are expected to 'co-operate' with outside workers and to provide advice, as well as assistance for them. We are also driven to do so in many cases to protect our own professional interests. The paradox exists of psychologists devoting time to assisting in activities which to a large extent run counter to their own research aspirations. The ambivalence and frustration underlying such concealed assistance to others makes even the assistance itself of very dubious quality.

"This situation is clearly unsatisfactory for all concerned. We would suggest that prison psychologists, either as a group or through their Chief, should be consulted on the necessity and advisability of any piece of 'outside' research at the earliest possible point, i.e. when any particular scheme is being planned or projected and before official permission is given. We feel that in all cases our views should be sought on whether any project agreed as necessary should be undertaken by outside workers alone or in real partnership with prison psychologists or whether prison teams could best conduct such work themselves. As regards the first of these possibilities, we feel that any advice we might offer should be duly acknowledged and that such advisory roles should be recognised and budgeted for as part of our work load.

"We are, however, concerned that such outside research might be regarded as completely adequate by itself, that research be left at that without any recognition of the need to supplement it by other approaches which, as far as the Prison Service is concerned, we should regard as more realistic and likely to prove more fruitful in any case.

"We consider that research done within the prison field by prison personnel in contact with offenders and experienced in the understanding of their attitudes and behaviour is a really urgent necessity. We feel that at least equal priority should be given to investigations of what actually happens in prison in terms of the mental processes and social relationships of people undergoing

training, to studies of the nature of the prison culture and its impact on the persons concerned. More specific training problems, such as 'the good prisoner', resistance to training, absconding, failure, the detection of potential recidivists among Star prisoners, we regard as pre-eminently suitable for research by prison staffs, even as likely to be investigated successfully only in this way. We feel that, though such work should probably be conducted by research teams involving various types of prison personnel, psychologists are particularly well suited, by the nature of their training and techniques, to occupy central roles in the planning and execution of such projects.

"Beyond that, we see a place for 'pure' research, whether by use of tests and questionnaires, or from the vantage point of intimate training and therapeutic contact with prisoners, on a wide range of matters from, for example, the effect of family separation in childhood to the results of physical treatment of mental abnormalities.

"Finally—and more fundamentally—we would like to see adequate recognition given to research as a central feature of the psychologist's whole approach to his work, acceptance of the scientific attitude of mind as involving constant scrutiny of methods, validation of techniques, the rigorous testing-out of hypotheses and verification of judgments. This can only be achieved if adequate time and opportunity is provided for psychologists within the normal operational performance of their duties for continuous follow-up of their diagnosis, conclusions and recommendations into the succeeding stages of training and return to society."

In another context this has been said: "One is driven to regard the research model of academic teams attempting to operate largely on their own without properly integrated and recognised field assistance as an extremely uneconomic way of spending research money".

We should perhaps concentrate on the general point of view which is expressed in such passages rather than their detailed content. It seems likely that such feelings are not peculiar to psychologists in prisons but are shared to a greater or lesser degree by others—doctors, assistant governors, social workers and so on. Indeed one would suspect that similar feelings might easily be generated in Probation Officers for example or certain specialists in factories in relation to outside investigators in these areas.

This kind of problem crops up in its most acute form, of course, when the "outside" research threat involves the same discipline "inside". To some extent the problem is easier, for example, for sociologists who penetrate into prisons since there are no sociologists in there already, occupying either scientific or inmate roles as far as I know. Yet something of

these difficulties exists for sociologists as well because boundaries are difficult to define (where does sociology end and social psychology begin) and because prison personnel of all types and levels tend to guard their experience jealously, to be over-sensitive about it, to over-value it in some ways and under-value it in others. In general they tend to be suspicious or sceptical of the expertise possessed by any outsiders. All of this gets muddled up in controversies about the value of practical knowledge and experience of real criminals as opposed to academic theory.

Much could be said about the pros and cons of one type of research worker as opposed to another or of different types of research roles, especially in relation to the kind of sociological-psychological research that almost all of us would regard as overdue in penal institutions—studies of the prison organisation and culture and their effects on prisoners either directly or indirectly. One can balance the advantage of, say, the fresh outside approach against time wasted by naive students learning the facts of life inside or contrasting the relative independence of the outsider with the restraints and prejudices operating on inside workers because of their "official" roles, responsibilities, and so on. My own bias here tends to favour the operational research role as neither necessarily reducing one's objectivity nor limiting one's information, at least, not more than any other kind of role. One can often see the researcher from outside taking up or being seduced into concealed roles of which he may not even be aware. He is then no more free from emotional distortions or biases than the inside worker but is simply caught up in involvements of a different kind. Indeed one could argue that one of the advantages which the experienced inside worker may have in this respect is that of having worked through a lot of these problems whereas the outside researcher may still have to struggle with his feelings for the duration of his project, distorting his data in the process.

II

The kind of problems which arouse the greatest heat or concern in inside personnel are probably those which arise in the area of "treatment research".

As regards "objectivity", for example, it can seriously be argued that research with the aim of evaluating a treatment technique, such as group counselling by lay staff, or a training system such as that of detention centres, is most appropriately conducted by people whose attitudes to the methods in question are more positive than negative and who are themselves practised in these methods. To regard this as simply a device for ensuring that these techniques will be seen at their best rather than their worst by investigators with positive identifications is too crude a way of putting the position. One

wants rather to ensure that the investigator is accepted as sufficiently benevolent or understanding to enable group counsellors, for example, to behave normally, i.e. without the anxieties and inhibitions which would be created by a person seen as hostile or even as completely uninvolved. One might take this position further and argue for the researcher having a "helpful" operational role in this case, for example, the provision of technical support and supervision in staff counsellor groups. One would prefer, of course, if such a research worker also had a certain self-awareness to enable him to minimise distorted perceptions of his data and to off-set any gross bias in his interpretation of his material and his own effect on it. The inside researcher may be seen as a rival but the outside researcher is in danger of landing in the much more difficult situation of being regarded as a critic as well. It does not require much imagination to see that the investigation of social interaction among and between inmates and staff in a prison wing may constitute a much greater threat for prison officers or officials than for inmates. The defensive behaviour thus generated in such personnel may range from the most obvious obstructiveness through subtle interchange with the social situation which is being studied, to all sorts of concealed and unconscious resistance to the whole research operation.

One could also discuss "naive research" in this field—research, which is not research at all because of its lack of satisfactory design. One could criticise "successful experiments" which are "experiments" only in the sense of trying something that has never been tried before and "successful" only because people have assessed them uncritically or from a need to justify them. A more serious danger, however, is that of new developments being written off as "failures" when the crudeness of their investigation or the interpretation of "inconclusive" results has played into the hands of those who are resistant to change.

The classical, one might even say the "academic" approach to these evaluations problems, has tended to rest on simple control designs which compare "treated" samples with "untreated" controls.* Blanket treatment comparisons, or "one-factor" studies, based on this model have proved to be singularly unsuccessful in providing clear-cut answers to the questions asked. The disappointments and frustrations suffered by researchers in America has forced them to doubt the value of "proving" or "gross" research conducted on such a basis and to argue the need for intensive "finding-out" research as a preliminary and for further "fine" (i.e. theory-integrated) research as

* The term "untreated" is misleading for a start. In our field it is always a question of comparing people being given one treatment (the new) with people given another treatment (the old) or deprived of the new.

a necessary sequel to any crucial studies.*

Simple control designs are on the way out and the whole trend of American studies is one which recognises that when treatment or training methods, which, no matter how tightly devised, inevitably include variations, are applied to groups which are inevitably heterogeneous, differential responses can be expected in the different sub-groups involved. This being so, an "interaction" design is necessary to take care of the possibility that such sub-group differences or trends within groups may cancel each other out and treatment effects thus become "masked" or lost in over-all group comparisons. As Grant* has recently summarised the Californian position: "The question is changing from 'which correctional program is best' to 'which program is best for which kind of delinquent?' Our researchers are trying to develop *classifications* which are *related* to treatment *alternatives.*"

The treatment field is perhaps at its most vulnerable in the face of "premature research" which can be wasteful and misleading in its results. There is no great virtue in rushing in during the development stages of some technique and getting negative treatment findings which would have been anticipated by well informed expert opinion. Such "destructive" research can only be justified where exaggerated, stupid or dangerous claims are made for a treatment method or no serious attempt at all is being made to develop limited evaluative studies aimed at refining technique and tying it up with some sort of rationale or theory. It may take a long time to build up in this way

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* There is an excellent discussion of the relative values and functions of "gross" as compared with "fine" research by Wellman J. Warner in Chapter IX of *Youthful Offenders at Highfields.* H. Ashley Weeks et al. University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor 1958.

Similar references to "proving" as opposed to "finding-out" research (especially when the former has a one-factor design) can be found in Norman Rudy's Appendix I, *SIPU Phase II, Thirty-Man Caseload Study,* pp. 30-31. California Department of Corrections. 1958. The general conclusions here are that without adequate qualitative exploratory studies as a preliminary, quantitive "proving" research may be uneconomic and even futile.

See also *PICO, First Technical Report* 1958, p. 75 and *IT (Intensive Treatment Programme) First Annual Report* 1959, p. 14.

* Grant, J. Douglas, in *The Research Newsletter,* Vol. 3, No. 1, March, 1961, California Department of Corrections.

The classical reference in this connection is to Grant, J. D. and Grant, M. Q. *A Group Dynamics Approach to the Treatment of Non-conformists in the Navy,* Annals. Vol. 322, March 1959, pp. 126-135.

to the point where one can meaningfully or usefully apply crucial tests,* i.e. in terms of efficiency in relation to some criterion such as re-conviction or detectable personality change. (By "useful and meaningful results" I mean ones which enable people to work out where they go from there.)

The fundamental dilemma here is one where pressure is exerted to push ahead with "proving" or "gross" research to evaluate new techniques as soon as possible. The earlier one does this the less likely is one to be in a position to make such research "sensitive" or precise, i.e. designed in such a way as to make its results meaningful and conclusive enough to lead to sound practical decisions. Warner† has pointed out that, left to himself, the social scientist would rarely seek answers to the kind of questions that the public or the policy-makers ask, at least in the form in which they are asked. The closer the research worker is integrated within the penal field, the more certain this is. The paranoia of those who would like to see research done from the inside often takes the form of a suspicion that the outside researcher is much more likely than they themselves are to collude with the authorities in asking the wrong questions.

This is no place to explore the jungle of criteria against which to judge "success". One aspect of this, however, is of special importance to us. Those who make excursions into prisons from ivory towers outside are mainly (and rightly) concerned with the "outcome" of new or existing training methods as measured "objectively". Inside operational researchers, and the innovators themselves, tend to regard them as doing less than justice to more immediate considerations, effects on institutional processes and so on, which often seem amenable only to "subjective" assessment. Fenton* has expressed this view very firmly in relation to group counselling in California and its complicated repercussions on, for example, institutional morale and management.

The general point to be emphasized is that the attitudes to research which underlie this kind of assertion are those which are typically generated from the "inside". Outside research workers tend to be regarded with the suspicion that they not only fail to share but fail to "understand" these views. They tend to be distrusted as likely to apply methods and criteria which those in the field would regard as inadequate,

* Fenton, N. *Group Counselling: A Preface to its use in Correctional and Welfare Agencies.* Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, California, 1961, p. 34. "Once begun, the program should be given sufficient time under patient and critical auspices before making any comprehensive evaluations as to its usefulness."

† p. 138, op cit. Note 2.

* pp. 20-21, op cit. Note 4.

or to draw conclusions which those inside would regard as over-simplified and even unfair.

III

Ideally one would look forward to a situation which fostered or facilitated real co-operation between research workers from outside and those with research and operational roles inside. It is only too obvious that this would profit all concerned. It is also becoming obvious that the most effective studies in institutions are likely to be those conducted by interdisciplinary teams comprising whatever clusters of specialists and lay field experts seem most appropriate to any particular penal institutional problem.

It may be some time, however, before we achieve this ideal research situation. We can perhaps best work towards it by recognising the situation for what it is now.

If operational research by inside personnel is allowed to grow to reasonable proportions and to develop "along the right lines" (!), we shall become more receptive to what is often seen at the moment as the intrusion of the outside worker. Until we solve our own problems here, we are hardly likely to be falling over ourselves in order to solve other peoples'. Not that anyone need despair. By and large we are quite nice people who are capable of settling to work and get on reasonably well with other nice people, even if there is a certain amount of emotional wear and tear in the process of achieving these good relationships.

In the same way, as outside researchers learn to involve inside personnel in their projects, from the planning stage onwards, they will be received even more warmly. (Here I don't mean the professor in charge having a high level chat with some remote official in the Home Office or the Prison Commission, but contact made almost from the start at the institutional working level with those most likely to be directly concerned.)

As things are at present, it would seem that we need to pay a lot more attention to the interpersonal aspects of research situations, especially as they affect other workers in prisons. My own guess would be that a good deal more could be done, especially for young research students, to prepare them in advance about this, to alert them without creating panic, to what sort of emotional experience they are in for when they come into penal institutions, to support them while they are undergoing these trauma, in short to make them more sophisticated about what is involved in the conduct of research by people, on people, with people, or despite people, in penal institutions.

IV

One might well let these matters rest there as reasonably complete and sufficiently complicated but certain bright young men in

California have taken things even further and begun to open up the possibilities of involving inmates in research roles.

Now to those who have read *My Six Convicts** or *Life Plus 99*† the notion of prisoners as research assistants, administering and scoring tests or questionnaires and doing statistical calculation will not appear as entirely new. But that was only a beginning. One of the many suggestive and significant ideas which emerged from the work done by the U. S. Navy with non-conformists at Camp Elliott‡ during the war was that of using correctional institutions as self-study communities. This "do-it-yourself" approach has now spread to the Research Unit of the Californian Medical Faculty.§ Flippancy, however, will have no effect in undermining the solid arguments used to justify these innovations—the opportunity they give the offender for repaying his debt to society, their relevance for the development of the "therapeutic community" atmosphere, the methodological gains for research itself in cracking the inmate culture from within or reducing personal bias by a diversified team approach. Need one spoil these beautiful thoughts by enlarging on them? Perhaps we can risk one final comment.

Questions of whether research in penal institutions should be undertaken by outside or inside staff or by anyone at all may not yet have become very hot issues, except for those most directly concerned. But should these ideas of inmate participation in research ever look like being imported and taken up seriously, then watch people rush to get into the act.

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* Wilson, D. P., London, Hamish Hamilton, 1951.

† Leopold, N., London. Gollancz, 1958.

‡ Grant, J. Douglas, *The Use of Correctional Institutions as Self-Study Communities in Social Research.* B. J. Delinq. Vol.VII, 4 April 1957.

§ op cit. Note 3. This edition of the Quarterly contains three articles on research work by prisoners (two of them by inmates). The first describes a survey on women's attitudes to group therapy, planned, conducted and analysed by inmates, and the other two refer to the part played by inmates in a data-processing unit, not only in scoring these tests etc. but in planning data analysis and writing reports.

Lions and Elephants

R. D. FAIRN

"OF COURSE," said the Commissioner as he and I entered the prison gates a few months ago, "they have to keep a fire burning here all night to keep the lions away". The prison was the women's establishment at Langata just outside Nairobi in Kenya, and this phlegmatic statement illustrates how different are some of the problems our overseas colleagues have to face from those we meet at home. At Manyani prison, in the same territory, elephants, made desperate by the prolonged drought, had attacked the water pipes. Such hazards might raise an eyebrow or two amongst some Foremen of Works I know.

These thoughts came back to me the other day when the Colonial Secretary's Advisory Committee on the Treatment of Offenders was laid down, upon the transfer of this and like functions from the Colonial Office to the new Department of Technical Co-operation. This seems to be the moment when some note should be taken of the part the English Prison and Borstal Service has played in the Commonwealth territories. Perhaps we were a bit Victorian when in 1946 we opened the Staff College with the name, *Imperial* Training School, but that blessed word announced the proud fact of the contribution in training, advice and service which it has been our privilege to make to the Empire and Commonwealth over the years. Nor is that contribution diminishing with the shrinkage of the old Empire. As I write, quite apart from a number of officers who have recently returned to us, there are no fewer than seventeen others, either temporarily transferred or in "approved employment" overseas, ranging from Mr. G. J. Hawkins, once of the Staff College and now lecturing on criminal science in New South Wales, and Major James, also of the Staff College, who is Commissioner of Prisons in Singapore, to Mr. T. H. Pool, a Supervisor of Works but building, as I write, a new prison in Bermuda. To this number should be added others like Mr. O. V. Garratt, once a Housemaster at Feltham and until recently Adviser on the Treatment of Prisoners to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the present Director of Borstal Administration, who served for some time at a borstal in Burma.

From very soon after the opening of training classes for officers

at Wakefield in 1925, a tradition was created by which we always had some serving overseas, a tradition inspired very largely by the late Sir Alexander Paterson, who had himself visited many of the territories. From time to time these officers and others recruited outside the Service would return to this country to undergo a prisons tour led by Mr. Paterson as he then was—some of us irreverently called it "A.P.'s Colonial Circus". After the tour the party would end up at Wakefield and adjourn to Bradford, there to enjoy the generous hospitality of Mr. D.G. Ackroyd, J.P. On one occasion Oxford was included in the tour and A. P. arranged for a lecture to be given in his own University College on the *Ethics of Punishment*. The lecturer was a university don and the development of the theme was profound. At the conclusion there was the usual embarrassed hush before discussion breaks out. It was not long before the silence was broken by a tough from Tanganyika. "Well, of course, there is only one thing to do: flog 'em." What better opening could there be on such a theme?

These grand tours are no longer appropriate to this day and age. In their place the Staff College provides every year a three months course for prison officers native to their several territories, and as I have travelled the world I have met brown and black colleagues in the overseas services for whom Wakefield is a magic word: it spells for them fellowship and has led them in their turn to offer me the most generous hospitality.

I have mentioned Paterson's visits to foreign parts. Selections from some of his reports can be found in S. K. Ruck's *Paterson on Prisons*. After the war and on his retirement, the first Director of Prison Administration, Mr. N. R. Hilton himself undertook a number of journeys at the request of the Colonial Office and I have had something of the same good fortune since 1955. In Jamaica, British Guiana, Barbados and Kenya, and in Cyprus with Sir Lionel Fox, my visits have both enlarged my circle of friends and given me a vivid appreciation of the kind of problems they are facing. Life in the territories overseas is very different from what it is here. Our colleagues there have no welfare state as a supporting context. Lions and elephants are amongst the least of their troubles. Short though we are of staff at home they are even shorter. Let us keep them in mind from time to time.

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Prisons in Denmark

R. S. TAYLOR

THE STUDY TOUR of Danish prisons organised in May 1961 by the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency included members of the Prison Service,* magistrates, doctors, probation officers, representatives from approved schools, after-care and others actively engaged in work with offenders.

Members of the party had an excellent opportunity to become acquainted with one another during the two days sailing from Tilbury to Copenhagen on board the new Soviet ship *Mihail Kalinin*. The ship is a very graceful vessel of 5,000 tons, painted overall in gleaming white except for a red band on the funnel decorated with a hammer and sickle. In spite of rumours, there was no caviar and the food was plain with boiled fish appearing at most meals.

In Copenhagen Mr. Hans Tetens, Director-General of Prison Administration, welcomed the party and from him we learned that Denmark (a country of 100 inhabited islands with a population of four and a half millions, a quarter of whom live in Copenhagen) has a prison population of 3,200, including 600 men awaiting trial and forty-five women. This population is now fairly static and considerably smaller than the 6,000 prisoners who were in custody in the immediate post-war years. Nearly one half of the men serving sentences of over four months spend at least part of their sentence in an open prison. Most establishments are a third below capacity and there is no shortage of prison officers in spite of full employment. Most establishments have one officer to three inmates but in some which we visited the ratio was nearer one to one. The standing of the Prison Service in the community seemed higher than at home and it was evident that there are generous funds to draw on.

Our first visit was to the State prison at Vridsloeselille built on the radial system in 1859 and the 'Wandsworth of Denmark'. With a capacity of 350 and daily roll of 250 men, mostly recidivists serving long sentences, is the largest prison in the country. The staff of 172

* The Prison Service group included a governor, medical officer, psychologist, psychiatric social worker, borstal matron, a discipline principal officer and a hospital principal officer.

comprises Governor and Deputy Governor, both lawyers (members of the governing grade are all university graduates), chaplain, steward, psychologist, welfare officer, full time headmaster, with three teachers, twenty-three clerical staff, two chief engineers and thirty workshop foremen. There is one chief officer, six principal officers and 100 prison officers, who work on a three shift system. The prisoners are employed in a brush shop, tailor's shop, shoemakers' and a foundry. This prison, like all the others visited, is in excellent decorative condition. All internal brickwork has been plastered and painted and the buildings are very clean, there being unlimited cleaning materials available. Some reconstruction work was being carried out in one of the wings. Solid concrete floors are replacing the galleried landings. Each landing is then divided into two separate cell units. This modification is being carried out in all the older cellular prisons, and where it has been carried out it is obvious that there are great advantages in having more space. Men can be closely supervised and section officers can know their men well. The prisoners work a forty-two hour week and earn an average of £1 per week. Some earn more than £2 per week. Each man keeps one third of his earnings for current use, one third is saved for him until he is released and one third is retained to contribute to the cost of his imprisonment. Assaults on staff and fighting among inmates are very rare. For serious breaches of discipline the Governor can order a man to be confined to his cell for up to three months and for minor infringements he may be fined. There is no dietary punishment. There is a constant patrol of the boundary wall which is armed at night.

Under Danish law there are special provisions for certain types of offenders such as alcoholics, sexual offenders, psychopaths and persistent offenders. Alcoholics may have their sentence suspended on condition that they remain in a treatment centre until cured or they may be committed to prison where they receive psychotherapy and antabuse treatment. Dangerous sexual offenders can be ordered by courts to be castrated but so far no offender has been compulsorily castrated. Psychopathic offenders, described in the Penal code as 'persons whose permanent condition is one of defective development or impairment or disturbance of mental faculty including mental abnormality', may be sentenced to a completely indeterminate sentence called 'psychopathic detention' or a determinate sentence (between six months and three years) called 'psychopathic imprisonment'. The sentence which an offender receives depends on the seriousness of the crime, the degree of instability and criminal responsibility. The decision to release the offender is made by the court, not the prison authorities. In 1959 just over 400 men were undergoing detention in the two special centres for psychopaths at Herstedvester and Horsens.

Herstedvester, which is just outside Copenhagen, was established in 1953 and under its Medical Director, Dr. Georg Sturrup, has achieved a world-wide reputation as a treatment centre. It was disappointing that Dr. Sturrup was in America on a lecture tour at the time of our visit, but Dr. Jacoby, the Deputy Medical Director, gave a very detailed account of the work of the institution and conducted us round. The staff consists of five psychiatrists, one general medical practitioner, three psychologists, four teachers, six social workers, sixty prison officers, twenty workshop foremen and fifteen clerical staff. There is accommodation for 180 men housed in three cell blocks of sixty men each, these being divided into self-contained units of fifteen men. There is an open section on a farm two and a half miles away for twenty men and a semi-open section sixty miles away for forty men. Before the war, sex offenders were in the majority of those in psychopathic detention but now seventy per cent are property offenders with men convicted of arson, fraud and sex crimes making up the remainder.

The main treatment methods used are group and individual therapy and drugs, including hormone treatment for sex offenders and hallucinogenic treatment (l.s.d.) which has the effect of calming some violent patients. Voluntary castration may be recommended for sex offenders whose crimes involve violence and for certain persistent offenders who might otherwise spend a very long time in detention. Although castration is voluntary, there is a strong inducement in the fact that many men who have been castrated have been released within two years of the operation. Most of those who have not consented have had to remain in custody for very long periods, one man even spending twenty-six years in detention. Before the operation, permission has to be obtained from the Ministry of Justice who take advice from the Medico-Legal Council on each case. A married man must obtain the consent of his wife and he must have a medical recommendation for the operation. About thirty such operations are carried out annually. Follow-up studies have shown that, in the past twenty-five years, only five out of 200 men have committed further sex crimes, none of which was serious. About ten per cent have committed other offences, while fifty per cent of those who were not castrated committed further offences, including serious sex offences. Our hosts were used to criticism from foreigners about these methods and their ethics. A party of Russian criminologists who had recently visited the centre described castration as barbarous, a comment which the Danes regarded as ironical! Dr. Sturrup has stated that there are no appreciable physical after-effects of castration. The commonest after-effect consists of attacks of sweating which disappear in the course of time. The skin often becomes smoother and finer in texture and body hair including beard diminishes, although the

hair on the scalp becomes stronger and incipient baldness can be halted or even improved. Only in a few cases are the changes such that the man in the street could detect any difference. It has been stressed that these measures form part of the medical treatment in which the only consideration is the promise of a normal, healthy life; it is not a security measure imposed by society on persons who are sexually dangerous.

The other psychopathic detention centre, at Horsens in Jutland, is the oldest of Denmark's security prisons. Extensive structural alterations have been carried out to adapt it to the requirements of a modern therapeutic centre and it is less austere than Herstedvester. Although the two establishments have the same function, it seemed that at Horsens greater emphasis is placed on group therapy and probably less on physical treatment. Dr. Sachs, the Medical Director, expressed his dislike of the term 'psychopathic' and explained that detailed examination of such people had shown them to be chronic neurotics whose neurosis had developed under very stressful conditions during childhood and adult life. The aim at Horsens is to establish an atmosphere of welcome, help and encouragement. Dr. Sachs explained that because of feelings of failure, rejection, scepticism and inability to trust anyone are so deep-rooted, treatment is possible only by more intensive means than is usual; for this reason it is essential that each inmate has access to individual treatment as well as group therapy. Those directly responsible for treatment, the psychiatrists and psychologists, must belong to the establishment and be completely integrated into the regime. Members of the discipline staff meet the psychiatrists and psychologists to discuss individual cases and they attend group discussions where the topics include treatment methods and problems of control and discipline. In Dr. Sachs' view, crime prevention could be improved by more intensive after-care including the provision of clinics where men from the psychopathic centres could continue their treatment, which at present ends with their discharge.

In this connection it was unfortunate that we were unable to visit, as planned, the much discussed Forensic Psychiatric Clinic directed by Dr. Max Schmidt. At this clinic, with a very large professional staff, exhaustive pre-trial examinations are carried out. There has been criticism that these enquiries are of such a nature as to make subsequent treatment difficult. Attached to the clinic is a hostel where men on a suspended sentence who are at work during the day can receive treatment during the evening. Most of the men at this hostel are alcoholics.

Persistent offenders may be given one of two forms of indeterminate sentence, workhouse or preventive detention. The former sentence approximates to corrective training and the latter is similar to its British counterpart. The P.D. sentence is from four to

twenty years. In practice men normally serve seven years. A prison board similar in composition to the Third Stage Advisory Board decides when a man may be released. There are twenty-two preventive detainees in custody, all of whom are serving their sentence in security prisons, including a number at the psychopathic centres.

Eligibility for workhouse is similar to the requirements for corrective training but it can also be given when an offence is committed under the influence of drink, even if the offender has no previous convictions. The sentence is from one to five years. In practice most men serve three years although an increasing number are being released after two years, a trend which is expected to continue.

Workhouse is served at Sonder Omne in the midst of 2,000 acres of barren heathland where land reclamation is the main work for the inmates. The capacity is for 316 men but the roll in May 1961 was 180 with a staff of 130. There are three sections, closed, semi-open and open. On arrival all men spend six months in the closed induction centre and, if their behaviour and industry are satisfactory, then they move to the semi-open section and finally to the open section. There is a special section for younger men. Home leave is granted after eighteen months and after nine months men can walk beyond the boundary and meet visitors in the local village. Men sentenced to workhouse are rather older than corrective trainees, with ages ranging from 21 to 60, the 30-34 age group being by far the largest. The majority are thieves but a large minority are alcoholics who undergo treatment during their sentence. While many work on land reclamation, others are employed on the farm with its pigs and magnificent herds of cattle. There is also a large joiner's shop where very fine furniture is produced. The average earnings on piecerates are 27s.0d. per week. About fifteen per cent abscond annually but few are at large for long. The reconviction rate is similar to that for C.T.s but when the large number of alcoholics, who must be bad risks, is taken into account, the result is probably better. There are obvious advantages in having degrees of security in a single establishment dealing with a recidivist population. It is the view of the Governor, Mr. Neilsen, that this progressive system would be aided if there were a hostel in a neighbouring town for use in the final stage of the sentence, but as yet there is no prison hostel in Denmark.

We had a further meeting with Mr. Neilsen, who has visited many British prisons and borstals, when he read a paper on the development and use of open establishments. He doubted whether any inmate should spend more than two years in an open prison, or under training, because the effects of institutionalisation and the onset of apathy after such a period made these treatments less effective. Mr. Neilsen disapproved of dormitories

which he felt likely to encourage indiscipline and establish gangs and cliques among the inmates. It is the policy in Denmark to put every prisoner in a single room. He would prefer to see open establishments much nearer to large towns because staff and inmates alike suffered from being an isolated community.

The open prison at Norre Snede showed us what can be achieved by an intensive treatment programme (the term 'treatment' is used in Denmark where we use 'training'). At Norre Snede young men in their early twenties who have comparatively slight criminal records are imprisoned. There are fifty inmates and almost as many staff. All the men are serving sentences of less than two years and the average is seven months. The effort of the whole staff is directed towards exerting an educative influence in every sphere of activity. Here, more than at any other prison visited, it was apparent that the whole staff was involved in the treatment programme of the prison. The role of each member of the staff has been clearly considered, and is understood by the members, and we were told that the confusion and uncertainty which can arise when 'everyone wants to get into the act' has been largely overcome.

In the first three weeks after reception, new entrants attend the 'primary school' for the whole of each morning. Classes are taken by eight senior staff members, including the chief officer, who lecture on various aspects of the structure of society and on prison life. There are refresher courses in Danish and arithmetic as well as physical education. In the same period the psychologist interviews each man and circulates a report to every member of the staff concerned with each man. Some inmates are seen regularly by the psychologist but those who require some intensive psychological treatment are transferred to the psychopathic centres. Each man is seen by the Welfare Officer. There is no P.A.Y.E. in Denmark so that most inmates are in arrears with taxes and they also have H.P. and other debts to be sorted out. Most of their homes are visited to find out the family's attitude and circumstances. This is undertaken by members of the prison staff, including discipline officers. The men often introduce their family to individual members of the staff when they visit the prison. There are regular staff meetings at which each inmate's case is reviewed every two months. The inmates work a forty-four hour week (longer in the summer) on the 180 acre farm, on the twelve acre market garden and in the joiner's shop. Steady employment in productive work is regarded as important in the re-education of men who have mostly been erratic in the past. The fact that the whole establishment makes an annual profit of £750 is an achievement which is good for the morale of all. Almost every man has a job and accommodation to go to on release. Of the 122 young recidivists released in 1953, sixty-five per cent had not

been known to have had a further conviction five years later.

The last visit was to the Youth Prison at Soby Sogaard which is the equivalent of an English borstal, an influence freely acknowledged. The similarities were more obvious than the differences. The chief difference is the absence of housemasters in whose place are four graduate teachers, each of whom is in charge of a section of fifteen lads. The Governor is a lawyer and his Deputy is an educational psychologist. The lads earn about 18s. 2d. a week and when a lad has saved £3 he may go on a week's holiday. A specially industrious, well-behaved boy may earn up to five such holidays a year. The average time spent in the institution is fourteen months. After-care is arranged by the borstal itself and generous funds are available. About seventy-five per cent are not reconvicted in the five years following their release.

In comparison with his British opposite number the Danish discharged prisoner is very well provided for. He takes out with him one third of his total earnings, kept for him during his imprisonment. In addition the after-care authorities have at their disposal ten times the funds available to the societies here. There is full employment and an ex-prisoner does not meet with quite the same antagonism as here. Each man is under close supervision for the unexpired part of his sentence. In addition to a small number of trained probation officers there are 600 part-time supervisors, most of whom look after one man each. These come as volunteers from all sections of the community and some prison officers undertake supervision on a voluntary basis. It was said that the improved prison treatment methods, compulsory after-care and the wide-spread use of the suspended sentence had helped to keep the crime rate steady in Denmark, which alone in Western Europe has had no recent increase.

In Denmark we found much that we admired in the twelve institutions and establishments which we visited, including staffing which is generous by any standards, the intensive treatment of inmates in small units and their employment on useful work for a full working week, compulsory supervision on release and no general increase in the prison population. On the lighter side I shall remember a typical Danish cell, overheated, with numerous vigorous pot plants, attractive modern furniture and no chamber pot.

No account of the tour would be complete without mentioning the wonderful hospitality we received. We were entertained at the prisons with excellent meals which always include very tasty 'smorrebrod' (open sandwiches). Our hosts answered our questions very patiently in good English and we were able to reply to the toasts in the one word of Danish that we did know 'Skol'.

Book Reviews

SAFE LODGING

Merfyn Turner
Hutchinson & Co. Ltd. 25s. 0d.

THERE HAS BEEN in recent years, a spate of books about prisons and prisoners. Some, by ex-prisoners mainly, have been of the kitchen sink variety, amusing but hardly edifying; others by over-enthusiastic "do-gooders" of the sentimental variety. More worthy of consideration have been those written by ex-governors or ex-Prison Commissioners.

I approached, therefore, the reading of Merfyn Turner's book *Safe Lodging* with some reservations, doubting the power of a book about people with whom I am in daily contact to grip me except in critical irritation. However Mr. Turner's book about the carrying out of an ideal has that rare quality of combining subjectivity and objectivity. It has the ring of authenticity and sincerity—the spirit of the true humanitarian who sets out to *do* something constructive about a grave social and emotional problem, not just to *talk* about it.

His observations on a prisoner's mentality and his phantasies about his rehabilitation into society are shrewd. Familiar to all who deal with offenders against that society are prisoners' excuses and self-justifications for being "inside"—"they were covering up for others who were not in prison; their lapses were caused by a temporary foolishness, alien to their normal behaviour; they were 'framed'; or the police told them to plead guilty to make it easier for themselves".

Here in Merfyn Turner is someone who, in the section of his book which concerns itself with the birth of Norman House, has the honesty to admit that neither he nor his Homes, at least initially, had the experience to deal with the more complicated and specialized emotional problems of the true alcoholic or the homosexual or the inadequate psychopath. Here is someone with the courage and candidness to confess (as some who have devoted years of study must know but do not always acknowledge so frankly) that the more one studies human nature and its reactions to its own internal conflicts and external environment, the more there is to learn. Here is the humble expression in words which most of us only feel but can not express so well, of facing up to reality.

Mr. Turner points out what many social workers have felt, that just to satisfy a man's material needs and give him an admonitory pat on the back to help him on his way, is not an adequate answer to a man's problems as to how to deal with himself and the tough world outside prison. He emphasises the need to understand

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

a man's mental, emotional and spiritual requirements—often so pathetically slight and easily supplied if only they are realised—a need for security, for a warm, comfortable home, for affection and friends, for a feeling of belonging to a family—because man is by nature a social animal—not a vegetable to be watered and fed that it may flourish and bloom to everybody's pleasure.

Mr. Turner has a firm grasp of difficulties which a man has to face after imprisonment—not only his struggles with his own personality and his readjustment to society, but society's acceptance of *him*—particularly the man alone in a large metropolis with no ties, no friends except his comrades of the underworld. To answer their unspoken pleas Mr. Turner describes vividly his search for a *home*—a *real* home for such men.

All his characters are described with a vivid terseness and reality which might be the envy of a novelist or playwright—a cross-section of all types of human nature. If just occasionally Mr. Turner verges on the over-sentimental, as in his description of Norman House's first Christmas, this is a fault that may be forgiven in one of so Christian a nature. He makes up for it in another chapter and in dialogue scattered throughout the book, where he does not pull his punches about the past inadequacy of certain social agencies.

I would recommend *Safe Lodging* to anyone who loves people and who has a sincere desire to do something practical to help society reclaim some of its prodigal sons—with an honest appraisal of their limitations when approaching a colossal task—rather than merely talking or reporting about such problems.

This book highlights very clearly by its descriptions of *real* people with genuine problems—the difference between the purely intellectual approach, the sociological survey and research—and the practical attack on these problems.

The two former methods have their place, but in the end, it is the realistic tackling of a problem which counts and is of the greatest worth to humanity.

SALLIE TROTTER.

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COMMON SENSE ABOUT CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

C. H. Rolph
Gollancz 6s. 0d.

THE PUBLICATION of this succinct and very readable book at a time when the problems of crime and punishment are causing such widespread concern is singularly apposite. Mr. C. H. Rolph has covered a wide range of topics in the 175 pages of his book, and while no doubt much of the ground will be familiar to the serious student of the social sciences, it is the type of book that is very much needed at the present time. I would strongly recommend this book to all

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

members of the prison service, particularly as the author has a sympathetic and understanding approach to many of our problems.

Mr. Rolph begins by defining crime and punishment, and then has some pertinent and sceptical remarks to make on the extent of the crime problem in England and Wales at the present time. He has some cogent remarks to make about The Criminal Statistics —

> No one thinks much of this publication, least of all the highly expert statisticians at the Home Office, to whom it is a kind of reappearing "fat boy" ineducable, unreliable, embarrassing to its parents but warmly welcomed everywhere else because of the flesh-creeping tale it tells.

The book then examines specific forms of crime, their "supposed" causes (there is an important section dealing with the moral atmosphere of our society and its effect upon youth), and then crime prevention and detection. Mr. Rolph, who is a former Chief Inspector of Police, deals at some length with the controversial subject of police-and-public relationships. He discusses the whole question of "voluntary statements" and the irregularities that occur — those familiar with the views of prisoners in group counselling sessions will know how strong their feelings are on this subject. He makes a plea for the use of tape recordings in place of the written statement for the questioned person, which would seem to be a very reasonable and necessary reform.

Capital and corporal punishment are covered in two chapters, where the case for retention and abolition is carefully examined. There is useful material here for essayists and potential debaters, although I doubt if the arguments for abolition will convince majority opinion (estimated at seventy-five per cent of those questioned in a recent poll.)

The most important chapters of the book are those on imprisonment and after-care. One would have wished for these subjects to be treated at greater length. The author writes with passion about the appalling inadequacies of prison buildings, and he rightly makes the point that classification of prisons can have little value at the present time. The perennial problems of prison work and wages are examined, and the author criticises the Trade Unions for their unrealistic fears about competitive prison labour —

> . . . the Trade Unions should be brought to see that their dread of a new force of "slave labour" is about as real, and well founded, as China's fear of Tibet.

The case is made for a greater use of probation, and the desperate need for a revitalised Probation Service is recognised, where the status and remuneration for the probation officer would be truly commensurate with the importance of his work. Official parsimony is also blamed for the limitations of the present after-care services. It is very salutary when one compares the amount of money spent on rehabilitation of offenders in Sweden.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Progressive opinion has long held that there must be an extension of non-institutional forms of training for offenders, and mention might have been made of Training Centres, an extension of the Attendance Centre idea, as suggested by Sir Basil Henriques. Training Centres might provide realistic training, and they would certainly be economical. Perhaps experiments will soon be carried out along these lines.

This book seriously questions many of the principles upon which the administration of justice is based, and perhaps some of them need to be examined again in the light of common sense.

G. P. McNEAL

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PROBATION — THE SECOND CHANCE

John St. John
Vista Books 25s 0d.

THIS IS an important book. It is the only non-textbook devoted wholly to an objective study of the English probation system and its author is an experienced writer, a skilled observer and an accurate reporter. The result is a picture of the probation officer's work as it really is.

He describes truthfully the background against which it still too often has to be performed; the inadequate office accommodation, the dingy waiting-rooms, depressing to officer and probationer alike, the squalor and smells ('the bedridden, querulous grandmother; an insanitary, shared lavatory . . . urine, armpits, tired breath . . . very, very old dirt and the reek of boiling mutton bones') of many of the homes and doss houses the probation officer has to visit. This is the real stuff and will be recognised as authentic by anybody who has worked in this field.

The characters that people Mr. St. John's canvas are equally real; troubled, dishonest, feckless, aggressive, unstable, deprived, they are all familiar figures.

The author is conscious, too, of the professional difficulties within the service and indeed of the probation officer's war within himself. He is not uncritical of all that he saw and learned and he recognises the dangers the probation officer himself encounters in his work. Many probation offices will acknowledge, for instance, the soundness of the following observation; 'Despite his rich diet of human relationships and his daily contact with life at its rawest, the probation officer can in fact all too easily become walled in by the small, closed world of the court, the office and the cells: the isolation is in part self-protective and is intensified by long hours and evening visits that leave little time for normal leisure and friendships. There is always a risk, too, that the casework technique combined with the court's authority, gives the probation officer a false sense of omniscience and invincibility.

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Despite the new ideas and the cross-fertilization with other disciplines, is there perhaps a danger of a new orthodoxy, a casework academicism?.

And here the author unwittingly reveals a curious weakness, and a major omission in his book for he, too, appears to have become so involved with individual casework techniques as to fail to attach sufficient weight, as an influence on the offender, to the pressures of sub-culture groups. True, in two chapters, he refers to society's own values but these rather superficial references fail to take account of the enormous force of sub-group pressures as a factor resisting individual case-work techniques. It may be that the author is more aware of these forces than he here indicates and that he intends to discuss them in a later work.

Meanwhile we must be grateful to Mr. St. John for this rewarding result of much patient research and to the Home Office and the probation service for affording him the freedom and co-operation that made it possible. One would welcome the appearance of this book in a paperback edition so that it may be available to a larger public. It should certainly be read by all those engaged in or associated with this and allied fields of social work.

F. C. FOSTER.

Inquiry into Prisoners and their Families

*P E P, AN INDEPENDENT research organisation, has received a combined grant of £12,000 from two private Trusts for the purpose of carrying out a three-year study of the needs and problems of the families of men in prison. At present there is little systematic knowledge about such families. The inquiry will review the economic, social and psychological factors affecting them and will evaluate the ways in which their needs are at present met and the implications for future policy in regard to the welfare of prisoners' families, particularly during the period of separation.

As far as possible regional differences will be taken into account by the selection of a balanced sample of families from all parts of the country. The men themselves will be interviewed as well as their dependents in order to gain a picture of the complete family unit during imprisonment. It is intended to pay particular attention to the question of hire purchase commitments, since the number of people in prison for debt continues to rise sharply.

The work is being carried out with the co-operation of the Prison Commission and the Home Office with Mrs. Pauline Morris as the Senior Research Officer.

P E P has carried out many previous inquiries into social problems. "Family Needs and the Social Services" was published in April last and a major current inquiry is concerned with the Community Mental Health Services. This new study is, however, the first P E P project in the field of crime and delinquency. The present programme of P E P also includes a study of the trade unions in a changing society and a major project concerned with the European Common Market.

*Political & Economic Planning

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

H. J. Klare is Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform.

Mrs. Sallie Trotter is the Senior Prison Welfare Officer at Wandsworth.

A widow of the Chief Assistant Solicitor for Scotland (B.T.C.) she is an M.A. in Philosophy and Psychology of Edinburgh University. She also holds the post-graduate Diploma in Social Study of Edinburgh and was the John Craigie Cunningham Prizeman for her year.

During the war, she took her training as a State Registered Nurse in Kingston County Hospital, Surrey, later joining the Q.A.R.N.N.S.(R.) as a Nursing Sister in the Navy.

After her husband's death, she was attached to the City of Edinburgh Public Health Department, first as the matron of a large day nursery, then as Organiser for Health Education.

In 1953, Mrs. Trotter went to Canada where she became first, an Adult Probation Officer for Ontario in Toronto and later the Governor of an open prison for women.

On her return to England in 1957 she became a care almoner for Surrey, holding this post until her present appointment thirteen months ago.

She writes historical novels and has sung professionally in Scotland and in Canada.

Peter McNeal took a degree in Sociology at the London School of Economics and worked as research assistant to Dr. Hermann Mannheim for one year prior to joining the Prison Service in 1957. He is an Assistant Governor at Hollesley Bay Colony.

G. Emerson is a Principal seconded from the Home Office to the Secretariat of the Prison Commission.

R. D. Fairn is Chief Director of the Prison Commission.

R. S. Taylor studied psychology at Cambridge and is an Associate of the British Psychological Society. Joining the Prison Service in 19[illegible] he has been at Wandsworth since 1951 and is a Senior Psychologist.

John H. Waylen, M.B.E., at present Governor of H. M. Prison, Aylesbury, and Warden of the Detention Centre at Aylesbury, joined the Prison Service as Housemaster in 1947 at North Sea Camp. From 195[illegible] to 1955 he was Deputy Governor at Portland, and after a spell as Deputy Governor of Strangeways, Manchester, opened the Senior Detention Centre at Werrington House in 1958. He has been at Aylesbury since 1961.

R. L. Morrison was the first non-medical psychologist to join the Prison Service in 1946. He was Principal Psychologist at H. M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, when in September 1961 he joined the staff of the Council of Europe to serve for a period in the criminology section. He is a member of the Association of the Tavistock Institution of Human Relations, a former Hon. Secretary of the British Society of Criminology, and was until recently a member of the Editorial Board of this Journal.

Mr. A. W. Peterson was Deputy Chairman of the Prison Commission from 1957 to 1960, when he became Chairman. He was educated at Shrewsbury School and Merton College, Oxford, and entered the Home Office in 1938, where he served in various departments, including the Criminal Department. He was Principal Private Secretary to the Home Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, from 1946 to 1949, and Personal Assistant to Mr. R. A. Butler during 1957. He was Secretary of the Royal Commission on Betting and Lotteries 1949-1951.

F. C. Foster is Director of Borstal and Y.P. After Care at the Central After Care Association.

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