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The photograph (*Twelfth Night*) on page 24 is reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of *Education*. The quotation at the end of the article also appeared in that magazine.

Psychiatry and the Penal System

J. K. W. MORRICE

A FEW YEARS ago, a member of a prison visiting committee expressed great impatience at my description of a prisoner's state of anxiety and depression. He felt that the state of mind of a prisoner was unimportant; he was a different order of being who was in prison to suffer. Happily, this attitude has already become rare among the informed public and those who have prisoners under their care. There is now general agreement that rehabilitation and guidance are necessary in prison and that a prisoner who is ill in mind should receive attention in the same way as if he were ill physically. The psychiatrist, in his role of doctor to the mentally ill, is more or less accepted therefore by prison authorities and by prisoners themselves. It is when he adopts other functions that difficulties arise.

Indeed, even when the psychiatrist confines himself to his accepted role and seeks to treat *neurotic* reactions, he may stand accused of aiding prisoners in evading unpleasant duties or consequences. He is thought of as being on the prisoner's side and a threat to the established order. This is not

generally true. No psychiatrist with prison experience would try to interfere with the routine of the establishment or to protect a prisoner from his just punishment except in unusual circumstances. What governs a psychiatrist's actions, however, is his belief that neglect of a man's emotional difficulties in prison renders him more bitter and antisocial. On the other hand, to give the prisoner an opportunity to voice his complaints and worries, to give him help by talk or medicines, is to gain his goodwill and confidence. Rehabilitative measures may then stand a chance.

It is true that the treatment of emotional disorders in a penal institution (compared with outside practice) is hedged with difficulties; it requires a little more finesse to know when and how much to interfere; it is necessary to accept the restricted treatment facilities of most establishments and the artificial or stressful life that the prisoner may be leading. On the one hand, it is an unusual prison that has a therapeutic atmosphere in it, even these days. And on the other hand, the "patient" may

not be trustworthy and may seek drugs in order to peddle them. In addition, habituation to barbiturates or amphetamine preparations appears to be remarkably easy in prison and it is in prisoners that bizarre and extravagant side-effects of tranquillisers and energisers occur. There is no doubt, however, that these new drugs can be of value in the treatment of neurotic, psychotic and psychosomatic disorders in prison. Nevertheless, what I am anxious to emphasise is the atmosphere which still prevails in so many corrective institutions and which is anti-therapeutic to the extent that the psychiatrist is forced to recognise it and seek methods to counteract it.

It is not generally accepted that much of the theory and practice evolved in recent times by psychiatry is applicable also to delinquency and crime. But similarities can be shown if comparison is made between the patient in a mental hospital and the criminal in prison. For example, the factors which lead to chronicity in the psychotic inmate may be largely those which render the criminal recidivist. One may cite loss of contact with the community at large, infrequency of visits from relatives and friends, loss of independence, an authoritarian regime and so on. Until recent times the insane patient enjoyed the sequestered privilege of the mental hospital in elaborating his delusional ideas. In the same way, the prisoner today, secluded from reality and lacking active rehabilitation, surrounds himself with phantasies of the criminal life.

Behind the high walls—physical and mental—that separate him from the real world, the prisoner is set a code of behaviour and thought that is maladaptive to anything but a future career in crime. To combat this, to offer some inducement to become law-abiding, it is important to change the atmosphere of prison in the way that has proved so beneficial on the mental hospital front.

Psychiatrists and psychologists who are dealing from day to day with both the mentally ill and the criminal are aware of these parallels. My concern is to point them out to others and to plead for a greater application in the sphere of criminology and penology of what has been painfully learned in the field of mental health. Hostility towards the psychologist, sociologist or psychiatrist who dares to preach prison reform or make out a case for new methods of sentencing or after-care is voiced by a certain section of the press and the public. This is probably inevitable. It is also understandable that some magistrates, police and prison officers view the activities of the psychiatrist with some alarm. (Some of us invite disapproval by unhelpful reports or unrealistic advice; although I must say that sometimes the conditions under which we have to work give an excuse.) It is not this of which I complain but rather the acceptance of the psychiatrist in theory but not in practice.

Osler emphasised that "a judicious distrust and wise scepticism are the sinews of understanding".

It is accepted that new methods and techniques are bound to be criticised when introduced into the authoritarian regime of prison, particularly when they seek to alter that regime. One can feel sympathy with public feeling that expresses itself as anxiety over the humane policies of today, anxiety that the deterrent effect of prison sentences is weakened by them. But one grows impatient with professional penologists who pay lip-service to the new deal offered by psychiatry and social science but spend their days ignoring or obstructing it. Even in the United States, where psychiatry is a respectable calling, Abrahamsen* complains that "it is regrettable that the great strides we have made in psychoanalysis, psychiatry, sociology, anthropology, education and social work have been applied in such small measure to the actual treatment practices in the field of juvenile delinquency and crime, particularly with regard to correction".

I think that there may be public apprehension that the humane treatment of criminals in some ways condones crime. Perhaps it is this feeling which underlies the present demand in this country for birching and capital punishment. I have thought in my own dealings with criminals how important it is for the psychiatrist to retain a sense of right and wrong. Not that he should preach or make moral judgments or even argue on moral grounds. But the prisoners (and

one would hope the public) should gather implicitly from his words and actions that, although the psychiatrist is in prison to understand and help and not to judge or punish, he does not condone criminality. It might do our public relations good if psychiatrists and their colleagues were more willing to say straight out that most of us are not primarily concerned as to whether prisons are harsh or not; we offer new methods because we believe they are effective and logical. In fact the prisoner may find them a great deal more demanding and painful than merely doing his time. Moreover, the methods which psychiatry suggests, although of great importance because of the principles that underlie them, are largely modifications of the present regime. There is no reason why other methods should not continue, combined or in parallel. Personally, if I thought birching would deter hooliganism I would be all for it. I do not wish the criminal mollycoddled. I would rather his life were difficult and trying but *to some purpose*; not punishing for the sake of punishment. But this theme takes us into the realms of sentencing policy which (due though it obviously is for overhaul) is outside the scope of this paper.

One aspect of human behaviour recognised in recent years as being of importance is the influence on the individual of the group or society in which he lives. This knowledge has led psychiatrists in mental hospitals to try to structure the patient's environment in order to make his whole day a therapeutic

* Abrahamsen, D. *The Psychology of Crime*. Columbia Univ. Press 1961

experience. This is what is meant by Therapeutic Community—the deliberate employment of all the potential of both staff and patients, according to their abilities and training, in a treatment plan. To achieve this in mental hospitals necessitated a shake-up in the old authoritarian and hierarchical system. A therapeutic community cannot be imposed. It has to be seeded and cultivated. It needs certain conditions, e.g. the freeing of channels of communication; understanding as a first step in controlling aberrant behaviour; and a measure of self-determination allowed to patients. Those who have experienced the advantages of such a system would like to see it used more widely in the care of delinquents and criminals. One can visit many approved schools, borstals and prisons without meeting signs of group methods or deliberate structuring of the community. And yet, surely the day is past when we believe that to send a boy to an approved school or borstal, or a man to prison, and merely fill in his time as best we can, is rehabilitative and calculated to fit and encourage him to lead an honest life? Too often, on the contrary, these institutions are colleges of crime and turn out not honest citizens but sophisticated criminals.

It has been shown that staff in close daily contact with patients in hospital come to share a common viewpoint—what has been called the socially shared psychopathology of everyday life in hospitals. It seems to me all the more likely and

dangerous that what happens in hospital also happens in prison. Against the vicious code of the prisoner what has the prison officer to offer under the old regime? He can only come in time to share the prisoner's outlook or else separate himself from any real contact with him. Neither of these attitudes can be considered useful or therapeutic.

It is against this background (illuminated by Miller*, Morris†, and others) that my colleagues and I plead for a new deal. A destructive critic might suggest that for psychiatry to instruct penology is an example of the blind leading the blind. He might tell the psychiatrist to first put his own house in order. This criticism is not entirely unjustified. In psychiatry there are large areas of uncertainty. Even the group techniques of the therapeutic community have failed to make an impact on the prejudices and self-satisfaction of some psychiatric hospitals. But where these methods have been sincerely applied no one doubts their value. The efficacy of psychiatric treatment is not always open to convincing scientific proof. There is no conclusive evidence I know of which shows psychological methods in the treatment of criminals to be superior to others. But subjective impressions are not without validity and general considerations suggest that psychiatric techniques have some-

* Miller, P. R. *The Prison Code*. Am. J. Psychiat., 1958, 114, 583.

† Morris, T., Morris, P. and Biely, B. "It's the Prisoners who run this Prison" Prison Service Journal. Jan. 1961.

thing worthwhile to offer.

If the purpose of imprisonment is reformation not punishment then, as Fenton* points out, since more than ninety five per cent of all convicted offenders are ultimately released, logic demands that we direct our resources towards their re-education. Somewhere along the line we must try to make responsible citizens out of them. If it is also agreed that a large proportion of prisoners are emotionally disturbed, then reformation cannot be accomplished without therapy. This is particularly so when the crime consists of impulsive and repetitive behaviour derived from irrational and perhaps unconscious forces. The prisoner needs a chance to unlearn old bad habits and relearn new good ones. Now this is something that psychiatrists think they know about. We may vary in our approach from Psychoanalysis to Modern Learning Theory; but in so far as criminal behaviour is learned or acquired—like a neurotic symptom—it should be susceptible to our methods of investigation and treatment. There may be criminals who will not respond to this approach or who will not co-operate. But I am not offering psychiatry as a cure-all. Of course other methods and regimes are necessary within institutions and without. We need everything from an efficient police force to a proper after-care service. But if the powers-that-be are really anxious to combat crime and effect prison reform, then here is one

promising approach that needs support. We need personnel and funds, facilities and co-operation to put our methods into practice on a reasonable scale. It would be worth while cutting through legal red-tape and prison tradition to provide controlled experiments and fundamental research. I am being clamorous about this because the time is past for polite hedging. I have stated elsewhere that "when dealing with the higher prison administration, the psychiatrist should remember that he is playing quite a small instrument in the works band." But sometimes it is valuable to give a solo trumpet performance.

Another difficulty that has to be faced is that prisons are overcrowded and under-staffed and fulfil other functions besides the custody and training of prisoners. They also act as diagnostic centres, holding units and dumping grounds. Officers spend a great deal of time checking bodies in and out to the detriment of their rehabilitative duties and their enthusiasm. Trade officers, too, feel that the task begins and ends with the fulfilling of the work contract; and the opportunity of active therapy which work affords (as demonstrated by Maxwell Jones) is neglected. But this is why the psychiatrist can be useful as consultant and adviser, as well as therapist or report writer. He does not want to make a take-over bid for the prison or borstal. But he wants recognition for his experience and an opportunity to practise his methods. I do not think he is getting this and this is why I plead, "Give the Headshrinker a chance"

* Fenton, N. *Group Counseling*. California, 1961. p. 24.

A Little Chopped Parsley!

F. G. T. BELCHAM

THREE MEALS a day, seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year, multiplied by the number of inmates in prisons, borstals and detention centres works out at approximately thirty million meals a year, and may perhaps give some idea of the magnitude of the task allotted to those concerned with the feeding of the inmates. It may come as a surprise to know that we provide and cook in a year some 670 tons of fish, 1,000 tons of meat, 5,000 tons of potatoes, 5,000 tons of bread (mostly home-baked), 1,000 tons of cabbage and tons and tons of oatmeal, cheese, pulses and home-made jam, and perhaps most surprising of all we use 7,500 gallons of vinegar. The quantities quoted are not intended to interest the commercial caterer, whose motive is that of profit, but such huge quantities of food are sure to leave an impression on the layman whose only connection with food in any quantity is the capacity of his individual stomach.

There are times when instances suggest that all may not be well with inmate feeding, but how many people in free life have any idea of what is the standard of meals, or if there is anything really to complain about? Those familiar with inside conditions

know there is not. Do people in free life, who read or hear of these incidents and perhaps criticisms, think in terms of smoked salmon and peche melba and consider that inmates should receive such dishes? Or do they think in terms of bread and water, and believe that bread and water is all that they should receive? Should prison food be as good as or better than the working man's domestic fare or should it be on a par with a five-star hotel?

Let us admit that before the war the food provided for inmates must have been on the verge of being punitive. Breakfasts never varied, and merely consisted of bread, margarine, porridge and tea year in year out. The dinner meal was of the most simple kind consisting of sixteen different meat and vegetable combinations and served with monotonous repetition each cycle of twenty-eight days. Treacle pudding as a sweet course was the only sweet served, and this never more than three times in the twenty-eight days. The supper meal, served at about 4.30 p.m., never varied and consisted of bread, margarine, cocoa and cheese, and that was the last food or drink served until breakfast the following morning. Every

item of food served in those days had, by law, to conform to specified weights and measures, and the method of distribution was the most primitive and very much in keeping with the silence, no smoking and rigid discipline of those days. The dinner meals were served in a two-part cylindrical aluminium tin. The upper part fitted into the lower. The lower would contain the main part of one of the statutory meals, say, Irish stew, and the top tin would contain steamed unpeeled potatoes, the combined weight of both would be twenty-three ounces. In the larger prisons, it was necessary to commence weighing and portioning the food into the tins at 8 a.m. to be ready by serving time at 12 noon. They were then packed into wooden trays which held about twenty tins and both trays and tins were stored in primitive steam-heated hot closets until serving time. At noon dozens of inmates would be escorted by officers to the kitchen to collect the counted dinners, so many to each wing, according to the number of inmates. It usually took five people to serve one tray—two inmates to carry the tray, one officer to unlock the cell door, one officer to hand the tin of food to the occupier of the cell and another officer to lock the cell door. Once the food was in and the door locked, if he wished to complain about it or to question the weight, he had to do so at once and to leave it untouched until it was weighed in his presence. If his complaint referred to the quality of the food, it was exam-

ined by the medical officer as soon as possible. It can be imagined, therefore, that as the meal had to be uneaten in order to complain about it, complaints were not numerous.

With the outbreak of war and introduction of national rationing, it was necessary to break away from the rigid set dietaries, but nevertheless the meals followed the same pattern until rationing ended. There was little alternative. The knowledge of the cook was limited, as indeed was the cooking equipment.

The year 1948 brought a few changes in the dietary scales and gave some latitude to the cook, and as a first step a sweet pudding was introduced with the dinner meal. However, because the dinner tin in which the food was served had only two compartments, there was, of course, nothing to serve the pudding in, and there was no alternative but to give each individual his portion of pudding in his bare hand! At this time a new method of distribution came about. Instead of officers serving food at cell doors, serving points were introduced at strategic positions in the hall or wings, and inmates were given their individual tins of food to carry to their cells. It was a common sight to see a man eating his portion of pudding on the way to the cells, and many of them had consumed it before they got there. There was only one plate in each cell, and if the main course was tipped from the tin on to the plate, the pudding (if not already consumed on the way) had

to be placed on the cell table until the main course had been eaten. Some inmates would save the pudding to eat later in the day. At a little later date, some addition to the bread at supper time was provided—this took the form of cheese or meat savoury or jam, or perhaps a bun or sweet cake of some description, and this innovation caused some consternation to many of those whose duty it was to serve these extra items.

Tea now replaced the cocoa for the supper meal, and the cocoa was served, as it is today, later in the evening. Our cook officers were beginning to acquire a completely different outlook on inmate feeding, but their endeavours were somewhat baulked by the limitations imposed by the cylindrical tins and the lack of kitchen equipment and machinery. Gradually, as time went on and as funds permitted, modern kitchen equipment was made available. Refrigerators, slicing machines, vegetable preparation machines, automatic bread slicers, general purpose mixing machines and power operated dough mixers all found their way into the kitchen. Fresh fish was introduced on the scale of rations; this created the necessity for the provision of fish fryers.

Then came a remarkable change. The cylindrical tins were replaced by a four-compartment plastic tray which enabled the cook officer to provide a greater variety of meals from the authorised rations. These trays created quite a sensation and placed a completely new look on inmate feeding. The mid-day meal now comprised three

courses—soup, main dish with vegetables and a sweet pudding. A freshly baked bread roll was now introduced to be served with this meal, and the entire meal was served cafeteria fashion at strategic serving points. No longer was it necessary for an inmate to accept what was given to him with no opportunity to refuse food not to his liking or palate, and if he had a grievance about his food, the matter could be attended to at once. The plastic trays have now been replaced by stainless steel trays with soup bowls.

Attention was then turned to breakfast. Hitherto, for perhaps one hundred years, porridge and bread was the only item allowed for breakfast, but now a second course to the porridge was made possible. Sausage or bacon, or marmalade, or some made-up dish is now generally served at breakfast time. Further improvements to the supper meal were also made and today's supper meal might be fried fish and chips or cheese and salad, or a made-up dish of some kind. The salad consists of shredded cabbage and other root vegetables from the authorised ration, together with (occasionally) fresh tomatoes. Attention was next turned to the bread ration which inmates received in definite weight quantities whether they wanted it or not and this, unfortunately, at times led to excessive waste. Today bread is almost unrationed and, apart from the roll with dinner, is sliced by automatic machine, and inmates in many establishments are allowed to help themselves to what they want. Those who need

it take plenty, and those whose need is not so great take less. In other words, inmates take what they require, and as a result there is very little waste. The ration to the institution as a whole is not exceeded, and in many instances it is below the authorised scale.

Dining in association came into being and has been extended to the limits which space will allow. Inmates can talk freely and discuss topics of interest with their table companions. The tables are furnished with condiment sets and in some instances flowers are arranged and add to the decor of the surroundings, giving an appearance of interest and pride shown in the dining arrangements.

The diets had never in the history of prisons contained any fresh fruits, but this was altered and Governors are authorised to spend fourpence per head per week on fresh fruit. Inmates enjoy

the occasional orange or banana or apples, and the tomatoes provided under the allowance add attractiveness to salads and various cooked dishes.

Hospital diets, as with ordinary diets, were limited in variety. There is no hospital diet as such today. Sick inmates receive the normal meals issued to the prison as a whole, plus whatever additions or special items the Medical Officer recommends, and much thought, care and attention goes into the preparation of invalid foods.

Packed lunches for outside workers have also received attention, and a cash allowance is authorised to provide items of food which are suitable for sandwich fillings. A far better packed meal than hitherto is now possible.

To indicate the advances made to improve inmate dietaries, a comparison of meals served in 1939 and 1959 is given below :

| 1939 | | | 1959 | | |
|------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|----------------------|--|
| Breakfast: | Tea | 1 pint | Breakfast: | Tea | |
| (without | Porridge | $\frac{1}{2}$ pint | | Porridge | |
| any | Bread | 6 oz. | | Bacon, fried bread | |
| variation) | Margarine | $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. | | Bread | |
| | | | | Margarine | |
| Dinner: | Haricot | | Dinner: | Vegetable soup | |
| (one of | mutton | 25 oz. | | Meat pie | |
| the 16 | Bread | 2 oz. | | Cabbage, Roast | |
| varieties) | | | | potatoes | |
| | | | | Fruit pudding and | |
| | | | | custard | |
| | | | | Bread roll | |
| Supper: | Bread | 8 oz. | Supper: | Tea, Bread | |
| (without | Margarine | $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. | | Margarine | |
| any | Cocoa | 1 pint | | Fried fish and chips | |
| variation) | Cheese | 1 oz. | Evening: | Cocoa and | |
| | | | | Savoury filled roll | |

To give an indication of what can be produced from the present-day rations, the following meal, which was not a special occasion, is known to have been actually served for supper in a prison:

Hors d'œuvre
Grilled mutton chop,
green peas and chips
Apple pie and custard
Bread and tea

Inmates' rations are centrally controlled and every item of food is on a strict ration basis. These, and the varying scales for the different categories of inmates, are carefully compiled having regard to the climate, age and labour factors to ensure adequate nutrition. It is common knowledge that practically every inmate adds to his body weight whilst in custody.

Officers in charge of kitchens with a flair for this type of work are trained in our own cookery school. The cook officer is taught to plan the menu and convert the rations into a variety of meals at his discretion, and it is necessary for him to be ever conscious of the importance of good food attractively served and to recognise that good food is the basis of good health. In no walk of life outside the prison are the efforts of a cook more criticised. He has to satisfy the inmates all of the time and he is well supervised. The Governor, Medical Officer, Steward, Visiting

Officers, Visiting Magistrates and Committees are all interested in the food, and the cook has to satisfy them all. Nowhere else can it be said that food is so important as it is to a prisoner.

It must be remembered that the majority of our prisons are among the oldest of public buildings and the problem of introducing up-to-date methods to provide proper and adequate catering facilities is very real. We try to meet ever increasing demands consequent upon the rising population and to improve our standards. The cooks possess a good knowledge of their job and apply it with enthusiasm and above all display a spirit of service to a public which is not always appreciative.

The question posed is, is there anything wrong with prison food? Is it desirable that the diets should contain elegant gastronomical fare, or should it be as it is, well-balanced, well-cooked, plain, wholesome and served in as attractive a manner as facilities will allow? (It is surprising what a little chopped parsley can do to enhance the appearance of food.) The answer must be "no" to the gastronomic fare. There have been so many improvements in prison food in recent years. Indeed, it has been written that one of the most outstanding improvements in prisons in recent years is the food, and inmates really have not much to complain about.

Officer Training

NOEL SMITH

HAVING RECENTLY completed a course of training at Leyhill, and whilst it is fresh in my mind, I feel that some comment ought to be made.

Let me first go back a few months to the moment when the decision had been made to apply for the job. If one is to be truthful I am sure it must be agreed that the majority of us did not apply because we wished to be social workers or reformers of sinful characters; no, the choice was far more selfish. The younger man being attracted by the career offered, (I might add that this line of approach in advertising could possibly improve the recruitment), the older man probably with a secure job in mind, whilst another fellow might see in it just another form of work with a reasonable weekly wage.

Like a good number of the general public, I had no idea of the structure of the prison service, what it stands for, or how the penal system of today works. My original views on the subject of treatment of the law breaker, I now realise to be completely wrong: they might almost be described as criminal in comparison with today's outlook. This appears even more absurd when I say that my imagination led me to believe that the

population in prisons would consist of "hard-cases" and vicious looking roughs, living in really uncivilized conditions.

However, my application having been accepted I found myself at the gates of my local establishment where I was to undergo four weeks preliminary training. There were some conflicting opinions amongst the officers as to the importance of this basic period. Some agreed with it, whilst others thought it only confused.

Its true importance is only noticeable when one gets to the proper training school. I found that auxiliaries from borstal institutions were at a distinct disadvantage, as they had not had the opportunity to study the routine or structure of a prison. (That is where, in my opinion, the basic training period falls down). Thanks to my training principal officer and his excellent classroom tuition, I found that my knowledge of prison duties was quite a bit in advance of many other students.

There is a need to establish a more uniform system of basic training. A reasonable period of time should be spent daily in the training office (possibly a longer period in the case of borstal auxiliaries) where any differences

between local procedure and standing order procedure can be clarified. This would eliminate confusion during later training. It would be an advantage if some of the more difficult precis, such as those dealing with privileges, bail, etc., were studied and explained, thus easing the study at the training college.

The only problem which arose during the four weeks was the mixed feelings which developed as regards to my approach to the job. Many different ideas resulted from talking to the officers. Some were rather harsh in their outlook, others seemed very lenient. My former opinions which had been influenced by imagination were shattered. I found an easy going system, I was shocked by the time wasted and the way that many idle periods were daily passed over. Instead of ogres I found on the one hand intelligent human beings, and on the other end of the scale some rather pathetic individuals; in between are characters of varying intellect.

Whilst a wonderful sense of companionship existed amongst the officers, the "Could-not-care-less" and "Bang-them-up" attitude was noticeable in some cases. Unfortunately these few individuals are not really happy with the work and they deem it their duty to warn off any new entries. Consequently a little apprehension crept in and it was with this confused state of mind that I proceeded to the Training School at Leyhill.

As I approached the School a completely new outlook began to develop. The majestic looking

mansion standing in its vast well-cared-for grounds, the few words of welcome on the blackboard in the hall and the friendly reception from the staff, removed any anxiety and a relaxed feeling fast took its place. I felt that I was coming into a really worthwhile service and this air continued throughout the course and, in fact, still does exist.

The main reason for the success of this class was without a doubt the situation of the School. I am certain the atmosphere of the place encouraged the students far more than the nissen huts at Wakefield. There were no entertainments near at hand, except for the Officers' Club, thus we had more time to spend and devote to our studies. The next class will be even more fortunate in that they will be able to relax in the sun on the lawns whilst doing revision. There was nothing depressing about this out-in-the-wilds establishment and the desire to do well became an obsession.

Of the course itself there is very little to criticise but much to praise. It is often referred to as an endurance test; whether this was in the mind of the designer, I do not know. If a man, selected for training, is of the right calibre then he should be able to cope quite easily, although I must admit, a little mental weariness did creep in towards the end. For this, and a few other minor reasons I would like to see the course lengthened by a couple of weeks.

Visits to the various establishments seemed to come at the wrong end of the course. It is really essential that auxiliaries from

borstals should see a closed prison and not quite so important that auxiliaries from closed prisons should be able to have a look at the borstal system. These visits should, in my opinion, take place at the beginning of the eight weeks then *all* students would understand the contents of the precis. Just to illustrate this point a little more, some auxiliaries were completely baffled when mention was made of the "Inner Wicket gate" or "the inner safe", etc. They had no idea what it looked like, let alone what it was.

The last two days were spent almost entirely in the main lecture hall, listening to various officials pointing out how our co-operation was required to produce an efficient service. Regardless of the fact that most of the speakers were very interesting, I feel sure that they would have received better attention if the lectures were incorporated in the body of the course.

Apart from this the periods were extremely well conducted and although there was much complaint of the difficulty in grasping the knowledge of Civil Defence and First Aid together with the discipline duties, and comments of how unnecessary it was, I am certain that everyone did quite well and now realise how these lessons relieved the monotony of the classroom.

Quite a lot of criticism and the attitude "Why must we know about John Howard" arose amongst the students. Obviously no job can be really well done if taken up at a half-way stage, neither can

appreciation of the development and reasons for today's system be accepted unless some mention is made of its back-ground. A great deal was learnt during these lessons and, together with the many films, the object of today's penal system became quite clear. Here lies, in my opinion, the most important part of our training, and personally I would like to see more emphasis placed upon it for two reasons.

Firstly, human nature being what it is, some people require far more convincing than others, and, secondly, if a uniform system for treatment of prisoners is required, then all must be agreed upon the same outlook.

I was very surprised that more periods were not spent on inter-section quizzes. This appears to be by far the best method of revision. It creates an alive and an alert atmosphere and is more constructive than reading the rather overcrowded note books. This brings me to another point regarding the precis; the true meaning of the word precis is lost; they contain quite a bit of unnecessary repetition, they read almost like complicated statutory laws and they are inconsistent in as much as some contain certain nouns with capital letters whilst others think only a small letter is required. There are even a few technical errors which I believe have been pointed out by the training principal officers.

Additional "lecturette" periods would be useful from the point of view that they instil confidence in the students. P.T. and Judo lessons were a great boon in this respect

but I feel that more time should be devoted to the latter, as without a terrific amount of practice the art is completely useless, and time was wasted here.

From these few points it can be appreciated that an extension to the course could be quite an asset. More time could be spent in practical work in relation to the duties of a discipline officer and, instead of cramming the knowledge, we could learn it soundly.

Taking into consideration the amount of ground covered by the course it can be seen that my

criticisms are negligible. An enormous amount of study and thought certainly must have gone into its construction and it was administered in an excellent manner by all the staff concerned. Praise must also go to the Cook and Bakers who provided us with an abundance of excellent meals. Thank you all.

Finally I would like to say that the last two months have been a thoroughly enjoyable experience which I would not have missed, and it has provided me with a sound foundation to my future career.

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"What, ho, I say! Peace in this prison!"
H.M.P. Leyhill, (formerly Tortworth Court.)

Learning Through Liberty

An Exercise in Living

J. L. WARHURST

WHEN, IN 1946, LEYHILL was opened as the first self-contained open prison it became fashionable to speak of the 'Leyhill Experiment'. It is the misfortune of the said prison that this label still adheres. To speak of life in Leyhill today as experimental is to deny to it recognition of its established place in the English prison system.

There were two phases in the original experiment. The first can fairly be said to have ended when it was established beyond doubt

that men could be imprisoned without the aid of high walls and bars. The second phase was less predictable. Could a small community, freely moving within well-defined limits, produce a social code of its own strong enough to maintain order and a sense of well-being within the framework of an imposed discipline, itself rigid to conform with prison regulations? Under the guidance of an imaginative Governor and staff, themselves working under a sympathetic

Authority, it soon showed that it could. What has happened since then has been a natural growth and an almost inevitable development. Expressed in another way, it can be said that this new community has merely followed the pattern set by mankind since the beginning of history; it has recognised its responsibilities, assessed its limitations, exploited its advantages, and co-ordinated effort.

Why, then, is the open prison assuming such an important place in the field of Prison Reform? The answer lies, of course, in the nature of the life that such a prison permits. If it is accepted that the primary task of the prison authorities is to ensure that no man in custody shall be allowed to deteriorate mentally, morally or physically (and what process of reform can exist without this essential prerequisite?), then this answer is easier to understand. The more nearly the artificial society of the prison approximates to the natural society of the world at large, the better the chance of the individual to retain his mental faculties and his moral attributes. If this should be considered too negative a view, the case can be taken further. Fitting himself into the social pattern of the nation is what we ask of every prisoner as we release him. The more remote from reality we make the conditions of his imprisonment, the more difficult becomes the adjustment we ask him to make. If, on the other hand, men can be led to see themselves as still being members of Society, as is possible in an open prison of this type, and, if, while still prison-

ers, they can continue to practise this membership, with all that this entails, then release is more a matter of change of circumstance than transition from one form of life to another. Leyhill takes on a certain prominence because it is the oldest establishment of this type, and therefore the one with the longest established code of its own.

It would be a mistake, however, to assert that in Leyhill lie the answers to all the problems. At its best, Leyhill is but a pale reflection of the world outside. With fewer than 400 men, many of its problems are little other than minatures of the real thing. Within its boundaries Liberty takes on a new meaning, and Responsibility a new focus. It is a society without its most important social unit—the family. The pressure of the community is greater, and the opportunity for privacy much reduced. Entertainment is too easily come by, and rewards gained at too small a price.

Nevertheless, it is a valid claim that an open prison of this type can provide, in large measure, the three essentials of a free life: Freedom of Choice, Freedom of Movement, and Freedom of Expression. Here is its great advantage over the closed establishment. Stone walls may not a prison make, but they have a very distinct hampering effect on the man who decides that he would like to go and pay a social call on his friend in another wing. It might be argued that none of these freedoms is absolute, and that therefore the difference between the closed prison and the open one is in reality only

a matter of degree. To the purist, this is indisputable: but to the prisoner freedom means something much simpler—a chance to do something *as and when he wants to do it*, even if he has to accept limitations in the process.

Each of these freedoms is worthy

possible, and guidance permissible. Choice must also, if it is to make any pretence to reality, be a matter of the moment as well as a determinant in long term planning. This is how we free citizens live our daily lives. What we shall do when all the day's duties and engagements



"Why have you suffer'd me to be imprisoned?"

of examination. Each is limited by the circumstance of imprisonment, and therefore each is in danger of appearing as a travesty of the real thing. In no case is the danger greater than in that of Freedom of Choice. It is here that Authority has to discipline itself very severely. The temptation to say to men: "We expect you to take part in our activities. Choose what you will do." is very great. But this is not choice: it is selection. Choice must involve a principle, and must start with the man's own decision to do something or to do nothing, for this is the base on which a free life is built. After that selection is

are finished is usually what we shall decide to do when that time of leisure arrives. It was not planned this morning, or last week, or at the beginning of term. Freedom of choice begins to mean something to a prisoner when, at the start of any leisure period, he can say to himself "I will do this," or "I won't do that," knowing that whatever his decision prison administration is not going to be disturbed and himself the victim of a searching enquiry. That wrong decisions are too often made is less important than the fact that they are made at all. Class registers show an infuriating smattering of

noughts: but they show an even larger collection of ticks, which are now invested with a significance they would never possess under a system of compulsion or sanctions. It is the misfortune of the closed prison that the meeting of any class involves an elaborate system of unlocking, collection and moving of men, with extra elaboration being caused by every absentee. At the best he senses disapproval; at the worst, he knows he is to be called to account. The open prison is free from this restraint. As in any evening school or institute outside, the class meets if and when the students turn up. If they don't, it doesn't.

Freedom of movement is obviously greater in the open prison than it is in the closed one. Men move without escort, singly or in groups, over the whole of the area placed within bounds. This may appear a small concession, but experience suggests that its effect on the prisoner's outlook is considerable. Possibly he sees in it a mark of the trust accorded to him: more likely he looks on it as a status symbol — the privilege of the red band in the closed establishment. This is only conjecture; the hard fact is that on those infrequent occasions when expediency has required men to be escorted in groups the obvious resentment has been quite disproportionate to the small amount of inconvenience caused. As with Freedom of Choice, Freedom of Movement has to be continuous. Very few citizens in the outside world will devote the whole of an evening of leisure to one activity, and one only. To condemn men,

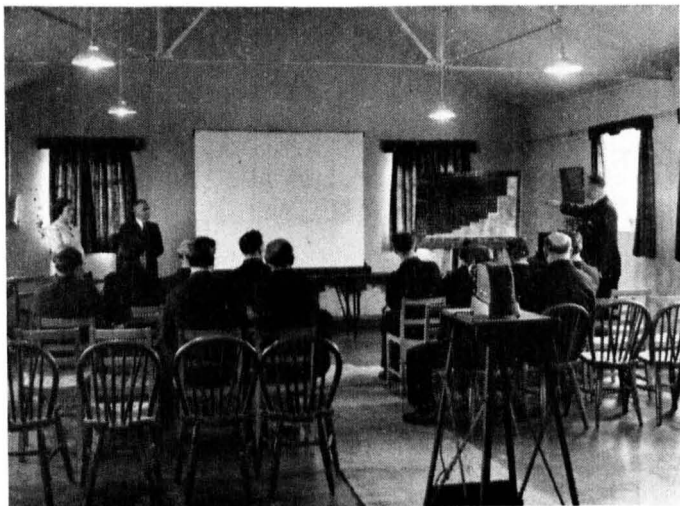
because they are imprisoned, to such a restriction merely emphasises the difference between their life now and the life they once knew. It is the misfortune of the closed prison that it must, in large measure, impose such a limitation. It is the good fortune of Leyhill that it can vest this process of recreation with an air of reality.

Freedom to express one's self is vital. It cannot be claimed that the open prison has any great advantage here. Too often, unfortunately, the new entrant from a large establishment such as Wormwood Scrubs has had to be informed that the outlet he had found so beneficial to him there is closed to him whilst he is here, since a smaller establishment cannot offer the variety of a larger one. On the other hand, he is making one great gain, since the pattern of activity is at all times fluid. The men working in the Art Studio at seven o'clock may be replaced by an entirely different group at eight o'clock, and the individual finds himself on the common ground of a shared activity with a much larger number of men. The continuation of this process at all times, and in all places, results in a much healthier communal spirit than would be possible without this flexibility.

It is only too easy to grow pontifical when enumerating the advantages of an establishment with which one is closely associated. By the same token one tends to gloss over its defects and dangers, whilst playing down the virtues of any rival institution. Nevertheless, one feels in an unassailable position

in one respect, namely, in the assertion that an open prison is unrivalled as an exercise in responsibility and trust. If this is conceded, then the role of Authority at Leyhill takes on a definition which makes it both easier and more rewarding. It must be, at all times,

certain conditions be even more important in prison than it is in the free world, since, with the exception of those in training, few prisoners are looking on their daily work as steps in a career. The framework within which leisure occurs is very relevant. Here, at Leyhill, are five



"My words are as full of peace as matter".

Mrs. Allen (Marriage Guidance), the author, and
Rev. W. J. Price (Chaplain), with Pre-Release class.

to inspire and nourish; to foster the atmosphere in which the tradition of the place can grow and strengthen; and, always, to make it abundantly clear that the strength and well-being of a community lies in its ability to control itself by the social code growing from within in contrast to the superimposed system of discipline imposed from without.

Since the exercise of freedom involves the relaxation of other restraints leisure has an importance of its own: as in the outside world, so in prison. It may under

manufacturing shops, four vocational training courses, an extensive market garden, and 135 acres of land, much of it formally laid out as parkland. In consequence, there is no difficulty in providing a reasonably hard day's work for each prisoner. It is outside the scope of this article to do more than pay tribute to the section of the staff that ensures that this provision is made smoothly and efficiently. The point to be noted is that the prisoner can view his leisure time from the same angle as the citizen of the free world—a rest period

from some necessary effort.

There is one obvious danger. 400 men organised during their labour hours can so easily be organised during their off-duty periods, and the temptation to do this is very strong. The uninformed visitor is so impressed by the sight of every man being employed, instructed, entertained, or otherwise sorted out—and so disturbed at the spectacle of a prisoner sitting with his feet up round the fire—that it seems almost a kindness to show him what he feels he ought to see. But to do so could only be at the expense of a tradition that has now many years of growth behind it. Organisation must come from within, and not be imposed from without. There obviously is a place for authority, but its role is that of controller, and not that of inspiring genius. The partnership is perhaps best shown by an example. A group of men, all members of the prison dramatic society, and including in their number one professional actor, decided that their greatest weakness was in the spoken word. Unknown to anyone but themselves they met from time to time to read plays and poetry borrowed from the prison library. Before long this arrangement proved insufficient for their needs, and they asked for the use of a classroom and the loan of a record player with suitable records. When the group seemed securely established it was suggested to them that they might like to prepare something for presentation to an audience. The suggestion was readily accepted. At the time the prison did not possess a tape recorder, and therefore the show

had to be live, though unseen. With the help of the radio engineering group a small room was fitted with microphone and amplifier to serve as studio, and the large reading room hung with loudspeakers, well disguised by foliage. By this time, of course, the staff was deeply involved, particularly with the necessary administrative arrangements. Christmas Eve was chosen for the night of the presentation, and all men later to attend Mid-night Mass were invited as audience. It was an informal, and memorable occasion. Since those days, a number of recordings have been made for the Bristol Hospitals Broadcast organisation, the prison has obtained its own tape recorder, a professional teacher has been engaged from time to time, and the standard of production improved out of all recognition. But never has the thrill of that first unaided performance, with all its faults and make-shift background, been exceeded.

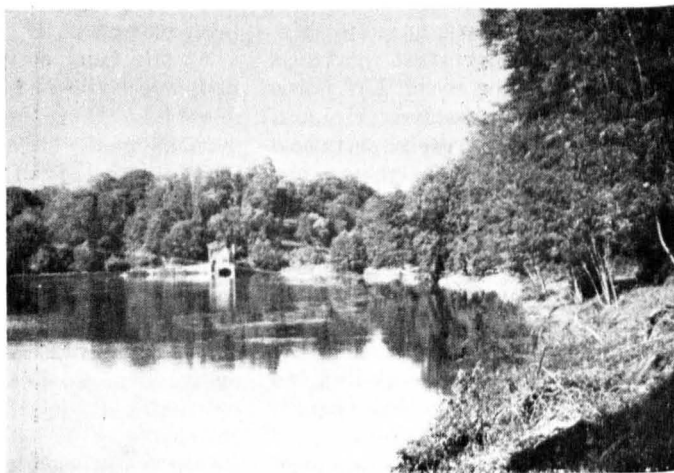
At the time of writing there is no group of this nature in existence, nor has there been for some months past. This is one of the disappointments that has to be borne. The success of any activity is dependent on the level of enthusiasm for it, and, whereas prompting from above can provide a healthy stimulus, only enthusiasm born of a natural desire can thrive on its own. To keep a group alive by artificial means borders too closely on the realm of directed activity, and very brittle relationships are established. There is, after all, very little point in grafting on to dead stock.

The value of a group, as distinct from a formal class, lies, therefore, in its virility, its almost absolute dependence on its own intrinsic merits, its flexibility, and its simplicity. If two or more men wish to share a common interest, let them co-ordinate their efforts, pool their resources, set up their own system of government, and get on with the job. It is no more complex than that. Nevertheless, it is the breeding ground for the larger projects that follow, and the natural source of the inspiration round which the formal education programme is built.

This, then is the real justification for the existence of the group, or informal, activity. Initially it provides a ready outlet of expression; ultimately it is the foundation of the complete education programme. At this stage of Leyhill's development it is possible to trace the history of nearly every formal class (except those linked with vocational training) to its origin in this field. The bird-watching group decided to enlarge its scope, and a University extra-mural class in Biology has resulted. Facilities for study-

ing Natural History produced a demand for regular fieldwork meetings. A weekly sing-song led to the engagement of a teacher and the formation of a male voice choir. Men using the hobbies room asked for a chance to do better quality work, and now can attend carpentry classes in the prison, or (in certain cases) a furniture design class at Bristol Technical College. The process also works in reverse. From the tailoring class has sprung a little group practising design. The official orchestra has a splinter group of guitarists. The Art Class formed itself into a sketch club for the Summer months. Sometimes a group appoints an instructor from amongst its own numbers. Then there is a straight transition, and a new class is included in the programme.

A flexibility such as that suggested requires two things. Space, if not unlimited, must be abundant.



"What country, friends, is this?"
No Illyrian shore, but a Gloucestershire backcloth
for Twelfth Night.

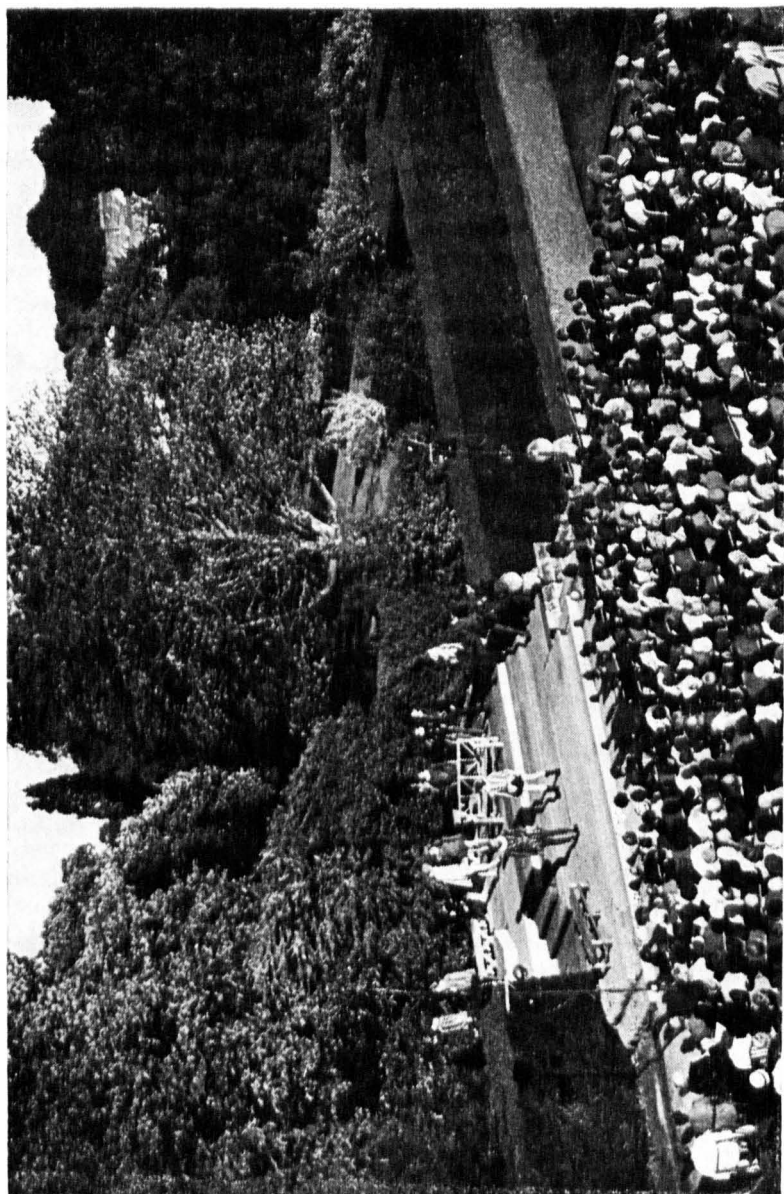
Leyhill is very fortunate. Partly housed in the former country seat of the Earls of Ducie, and partly in a large hutted camp in the grounds, the prison has no shortage of small rooms ideally suited to small group activity. In the second requirement it is equally fortunate. Gloucestershire Education Committee, the Authority responsible for most of the prison classes, takes a very liberal view of prison education, and gives its assistance just as readily to the informal as to the formal side of the work. It is obvious, of course, that the full programme cannot be a one man, or even a one authority concern. Help is forthcoming most readily from Bristol University, Bristol Council of Social Service, the W.E.A., the local churches, and a host of other organisations. Within the prison the Church of England and the Methodist Church both have flourishing men's Societies. The Dramatic Societies turn to the Assistant Governors for help. The Steward captains the Cricket Club. The Governor holds the guiding hand over the prison magazine. Perhaps most important of all, a number of the uniformed staff, following the lead of the Chief Officer whose patronage of the Bird-watching group is as practical as it is invaluable, take a very active interest in many aspects of this work.

One danger is evident. A constant watch must be maintained to ensure that the weekly programme of some fifty-five formal classes does not suffer from too great an enthusiasm for the more intimate atmosphere of the informal meeting. Experience suggests that this

danger is more apparent than real. At the time of writing (Autumn, 1961), there is an average enrolment of about eleven for each class, with an average attendance of about nine. Of equal significance is the fact that seventy-five per cent of all prisoners attend at least one class per week.

During a seven-day week the average man has nine leisure periods, seven evenings and two afternoons. A survey taken over a period of six weeks shows that of the fifty-four leisure periods enjoyed by the average man during those six weeks, he has spent seven on classes, eight on group work or hobbies, ten on organised entertainment or recreation (including gardening on his own allotment), and twenty-nine pursuing his own devices (including television). The last figure appears rather alarmingly large, until one remembers that it includes all his reading, letter-writing, and studying. It is more true to say that it is unrealistic compared with behaviour outside, where television is taking a much larger toll of the nation's spare time. But it must be remembered that a prison community is one without family ties. The survey is not displeasing when one remembers that the prisoner is all the time free to do something, or nothing, as he himself decides.

How many decide to do nothing? This figure remains very steady at something just short of twenty per cent. These men constitute a very real problem, and the answer is not necessarily that of providing a more extravagant coating of sugar on the pill. Television, films, illus-



"Our play is done, and we'll strive to please you every day."

trated lectures and question-and-answer sessions all help. Even so it remains a serious defect of the system that one man in five deliberately rejects most of what the prison can offer him. On the other hand it would be too sweeping a statement to say that he is getting nothing out of the place, and as an ever-present challenge he is certainly not without value.

Who are these men, the enthusiasts, the die-hards, and all those that lie in between? Not very different from any cross section of the population at large. An analysis of the last 300 discharges showed:

Executives and professional men 4 per cent

Managerial class and small business owners 5 per cent

White collar workers 23 per cent

Artisans 68 per cent

These are ordinary men, with very ordinary occupations and social backgrounds, and not, as popular opinion too often assumes, a collection of stock-brokers, company directors, graduates, and ex-public school boys. The things most of them like to do in prison are the things they liked to do outside. Where there is a deviation from this general principle it is in the right direction. Very few centres of 400 population could support four University Extension classes, as Leyhill does. The prison can, and to some extent does, open new vistas and teach a man to set his sights a little higher. Response, of course, varies. To the most mature, Leyhill is a way of life; to the least so, it appears as a rather peculiar form of imprisonment where advantage can be taken of authority with compar-

ative ease. To the majority, it is somewhere in between.

No less important is the view taken by the outside world of the prison and its work. In one way, Leyhill is suffering from too much good publicity, and as a result, to not a few minds, Leyhill means Shakespeare in the open air, cricket under the trees, exhibitions in Bristol, or Carol Services in the Church. These are the highlights of its life. They set the seal on endeavour, and they link the establishment with the cultural life of the nation. But they are not the essence of the place. Leyhill is not a little world apart, nor its inmates freaks of humanity. They are still members of a Society which cannot reject them, even though it has the power to confine them. It is comparatively easy to make good prisoners, but not so easy to make good citizens. Here they can, if nothing else, put into practice the arts of good citizenship. And if, as does happen from time to time, they can be led to something higher, so much the better. It is with pride that Leyhill quotes the words of a visitor to one of the open-air plays:

"Shakespeare was very close to us that night; for these people of whom all the men were prisoners—and we must not shrink from the word although we forgot it for a couple of hours—did what he wanted his Players to do: they thrilled us, entertained us, and brought us so much nearer to an understanding of his artistry, his poetry and his sense of fun that we were, so save the word, the better educated for our attendance at this unique performance."

Profile of a Prison Population

Sentence and Social Background of 890 Women in Holloway Prison, 1959/60.

by

MOYA WOODSIDE

*May God preserve the City of London, and make this place
a terror to evil doers.*

—Inscription on the foundation stone of Holloway, laid 1849.

IN THE YEAR 1852, the House of Correction at Holloway, described by Henry Mayhew¹ as "a noble building of the castellated Gothic style" was completed by the City of London Corporation at a cost of £92,700. It was planned to accommodate 400 prisoners in single cells, 288 men and 112 women and juveniles. Fifty years later, the House of Correction, which had been enlarged, was converted into a Female Prison. The remaining men were transferred to Brixton Prison, and all the women then in Wormwood Scrubs, a contingent of 300 together with their female staff, were moved to Holloway. On that first night of exclusively feminine

occupation, October 24th, 1902, 820 women were locked up within its walls.

At all times and in all countries, women criminals are fewer than men. Yet instead of their smaller and more manageable numbers being an incentive to research and to penological experiment, they have largely been ignored. Wootton² has pointed out the gaps in our knowledge about women serving prison sentences, particularly in this country. The large-scale investigations of Fernald³ and the Gluecks⁴, on U.S. reformatory populations, were undertaken nearly 30 years ago. Apart from Lombroso's⁵ historical survey and the more recent work of Pollak⁶, female

criminality as a special study has attracted little interest. There are descriptive accounts of women in prison by such observers as Size⁷, Banks⁸, and Pailthorpe⁹; no survey comparable to that of Roper¹⁰ at Wakefield has ever been done. The Criminal Statistics, which provide basic data, must by their nature remain impersonal. What follows is an attempt to illumine some of the statistics from within, and to give a more detailed picture of a sample of women prisoners today.

Definition of Material

Holloway, with current accommodation for 828 inmates, combines the functions of a local, regional training, and central prison, together with a Borstal Recall Centre, and receives all types of women offenders. The material of the present survey comprises all convicted individual women who were sentenced during the twelve month period June 1st, 1959, to May 31st, 1960. No women re-admitted on a second or subsequent sentence was included.

The total turnover of the prison

for the twelve month period was 2,598, of which 890 or thirty-four per cent were sentenced individuals. Excluded from the survey were all prisoners on remand; temporary transfers (as for example, special psychiatric observation); those released the same day or next by Order of Court; those paying a fine the same day or the next. (An arbitrary "cut-off" at forty-eight hours was imposed; those who paid after this time were included. This group were mainly "habituals"—the alcoholics, prostitutes, and an occasional debtor), Girls sentenced to Borstal training and Borstal recalls from Licence were excluded, as also H.M.P. patients sent to Broadmoor Hospital.

All data were obtained from the Nominal Register. When items of information were missing, a search (not always successful) was made in the individual records, but the 890 records were not otherwise studied

Courts from Which Sentenced

Holloway Prison serves not only the County of London but eighteen Counties in Southern England. The

TABLE I

| Courts from which sentenced, 1959/1960 | | |
|---|--------|----------|
| Court | Number | Per Cent |
| London Courts | 527 | 59 |
| Courts in Home Counties (Essex, Kent, Middx., Surrey) | 177 | 20 |
| Other Courts in Holloway Catchment Area (Hants., Berks., etc.) | 164 | 18 |
| Courts elsewhere outside C. Area | 22 | 3 |
| TOTAL : | 890 | 100 |

majority of prisoners are committed from Courts in the London area.

The last category, transfers after sentence from more distant prisons such as Manchester, mainly consists of women with long-term or preventive detention sentences.

Nature of Offence

The total number of offences listed is greater than the number of individuals, since 153 women had more than one charge (and several had more than two). Common examples of this were larceny and forgery, receiving and obtaining goods by false pretences, etc.

Larceny continues to be the predominant female crime (eighty point three per cent of all indictable

of self-service stores multiplies the opportunity and the temptation to steal. Writing sixty-six years ago, long before these techniques of merchandising had been devised, Lombroso observed that "the huge shop, with its manifold and various seductions, betrays women into crime". What would he have said of the seductive emporiums of today?

Frauds too have taken a different character. The Welfare State, with its many cash benefits, offers new opportunity for fraud and forgery to the thousands of women holders of Family Allowance, Pension, or National Assistance Books. Post Office Savings Books, also widely held, are another temptation

TABLE II

| Indictable Offences. 1959/60 | | |
|------------------------------|--------|----------|
| Offence | Number | Per Cent |
| Larceny | 347 | 55 |
| Frauds and False Pretences | 167 | 26 |
| Violence Against the Person | 50 | 8 |
| Receiving | 25 | 4 |
| Breaking and Entering | 20 | 3 |
| Other Offences | 17 | 3 |
| Robbery | 6 | 1 |
| Sexual Offences | 1 | — |
| TOTAL : | 633 | 100 |

offences by females in 1959) but has changed in character with the changes in industrial society. Domestic servants, a vanished race, no longer exist to steal from their employers; the "expert pickpockets" of Mayhew's day have given place to a regiment of expert shoplifters. The growth in recent years

to dishonesty. In comparison to men offenders, the "white collar" crime of the great majority of these women in Holloway is of a very minor nature, related to their domestic experience and, in the case of "false pretencers" their allegedly female traits of dissimulation and deceit. Crimes involving

real violence or gang participation are comparatively few (the category "Violence Against the Person" Table II above, included seventeen cases of illegal abortion, a common type of female crime). It is of interest to note that only one case of attempted suicide was actually sentenced during the twelve month period, compared to ten during the two years 1954 till 1956 reported by Epps*¹¹. This indicates that Magistrates are making more use of the mental health services for these disturbed women, and that the proposal for new legislation to remove attempted suicide from the list of offences had an effect in advance of its adoption.

The figures shown for soliciting and drunkenness are a considerable understatement since (for this analysis) all re-admissions were

excluded, likewise those who promptly paid their fines. The actual proportions of this recidivist group where offenders are frequently given the option of a fine, are much higher. Some alcoholics, for example, had from eleven to seventeen prison sentences within the twelve-month period. The increased penalties of the Street Offences Act, which came into operation on August 16th, 1959, were only becoming noticeable during the second half of the survey.

Although recidivist women drinkers still present a large and discouraging problem in Holloway¹², their numbers are indeed modest compared with half a century ago. The old Nominal Registers for 1902, when total prison turnover was vastly greater than today, show that out of 2,623 receptions in January and

TABLE III

| Non-Indictable Offences. 1959/60 | | |
|---|--------|----------|
| Offence | Number | Per Cent |
| Offences by Prostitutes | 170 | 55 |
| Drunkenness | 72 | 23 |
| Disorderly Behaviour (includes obscene language, obstruct P.C., etc.) | 25 | 8 |
| Cruelty to or Neglect of Children | 10 | 3 |
| Traffic Offences | 10 | 3 |
| Offences v. Aliens Restr. Acts | 9 | 3 |
| Brothel Keeping | 8 | 3 |
| Offences v. Vagrancy Acts | 7 | 2 |
| Offences v. Revenue Laws | 1 | — |
| Unlawful Possession | 1 | — |
| TOTAL : | 313 | 100 |

* Epps' two year series comprised 100 consecutive admissions, ninety-four on remand and six already sentenced. In the twelve months 1903/04, 228 attempted suicides were remanded to Holloway.

February of that year, 1,622 or sixty-two per cent were on charges of drunkenness. This social change towards temperance has been paralleled by a change in the treatment of children. Cruelty and neglect sufficient to incur a prison sentence are now rare (ten cases only in 1959/60), but in the first two months of 1962 thirty-eight women were sentenced for this, with an additional sixteen found "drunk in charge of a child".

The Welfare State too has been responsible for the disappearance of begging in our time (fifty-eight prison sentences for this offence in January/February 1963), and for the disappearance of those unfortunates stigmatised as "Disorderly (or Refractory) Pauper" (eighteen sentences, January/February 1963). Destitute women no longer roam the streets: their successors occupy the benches of the National Assistance Board. The seven convictions under the Vagrancy Acts in 1959/60 were mainly elderly women "tramps" who refused to accept accommodation in Reception Centres which the police would have arranged.

Non-Criminal Prisoners

Compared with men, the proportion of women committed under

Civil Process is small (Prison Commissioners Report¹⁸, 1959, Appendix 8, Table IX), nor do they figure largely in Holloway's population.

The many sentences for debt give cause for concern. These women are not calculating imposters, running up bills for goods and services which they never intend to pay. They are, with a few exceptions, muddled housewives who have got in tangles with hire-purchase or other domestic commitments, often without their husband's knowledge. They may have resorted to fraud or to selling unpaid-for articles, in an attempt to stave off the eventual day of reckoning. Those with a large family of children, trying to manage on a marginal income, are particularly liable to find themselves in difficulties. Here are two cases from one morning's Reception Board at the prison.

Mrs. A., sentence seven days for debt. Has five children at home, says her husband works for the G.P.O.

Mrs. B., twenty-one days for debt (of forty-two pounds). Stands silently crying, shakes her head miserably when asked if she's going to be able to pay off any of the debt. Is separated from her husband, has five children

TABLE IV

| Civil Prisoners, 1959/60 | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Debtors | 56 |
| Contempt of Court .. . | 12 |
| Forfeit Recognisance .. . | 6 |
| Default Sureties .. . | 3 |
| Non-compliance with Court Order .. . | 1 |
| TOTAL: | 78 |

aged nine years to eighteen months, and is again pregnant.

In a third case, debt, fraud and folly are compounded:

Mrs. C., sentence twelve months for stealing washing machines. She obtained one from a salesman, got behind on her instalments, obtained another machine from elsewhere, sold the first one for twenty pounds to meet her original instalments. She has eleven children, aged thirteen years to three months.

For the record, it may be noted that eleven of the seventy-eight Civil Prisoners were members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—sisters in spirit of their Suffragette predecessors in Holloway fifty-six years ago.

Length of Sentence

The time spent in prison is less than would appear from Table V below. This analysis is based on maximum sentences: in practice one third is remitted on all non-civil sentences over a month

provided the offender has been of good behaviour. Furthermore, some of the short-sentence women pay their fine and leave before the sentence has been completed (all those paying fines *after* forty-eight hours were included in the analysis).

Women offenders as a whole receive shorter sentences than men (Prison Commissioners Report¹⁸, 1959, pp 19/20), and Holloway is called upon to deal with an enormous number of these short-stay transients. As Table V shows, a quarter of the women in the sample stayed less than fifteen days; four fifths less than six months. The six months to two years group, where training and re-education can be effective, comprised only one-fifth of the entire sentenced population.

To present ways of thinking, a maximum security prison like Holloway is not a suitable place

TABLE V

| Length of Sentence, 890 Individual Women, 1959/60 | | |
|---|--------|----------|
| Sentence | Number | Per Cent |
| 7 days and under | 66 | 18 |
| 14 " " " | 97 | |
| Over 14 days and up to 1 month | 173 | 62 |
| Over 1 month and up to 2 months | 117 | |
| Over 2 months and up to 3 months | 132 | |
| Over 3 months and up to 6 months | 131 | |
| Over 6 months and up to 9 months | 40 | 10 |
| Over 9 months and up to 1 year | 53 | |
| Over 1 year and up to 2 years | 51 | 8 |
| Over 2 years and up to 3 years | 19 | |
| Over 3 years and up to 4 years | 6 | 1 |
| Over 4 years and up to 5 years | 1 | 1 |
| Over 5 years and up to 7 years | 3 | |
| Over 7 years and up to 10 years | 1 | |
| TOTAL | 890 | 100 |

for these petty offenders with seven and fourteen day sentences. Apart from debtors and contempt of court cases, the short-sentence women are the flotsam and jetsam of society—alcoholics, vagrants, prostitutes, the homeless, etc. Many are mentally subnormal or mentally ill. The prison can do little for them other than providing food and shelter and a minimum of medical care; nor does the sentence have a deterrent effect as the high rate of recidivism shows (Woodside, *op. cit.*).

Although we may deplore the position today, a look back over Holloway's history, shows the change that has taken place in sentencing policy since the beginning of the century. For example, during the month of January 1903, when 1,863 women were admitted to the prison, 884 or more than half had sentences of fourteen days or less*. Of these, 308 were for seven days, 240 for five days, and seventy-five for three days. 215, or sixteen per cent were for

one month. At the upper end of the scale, only thirty women had sentences of six months and over (twenty of the thirty were for six months). Prison in those days can have differed little from the workhouse casual ward; and the task of the clerical staff, transcribing all this coming and going, must have been immense.

Age

Middle-aged women from forty to forty-nine contribute the largest group to the female prison population (Prison Commissioners Report¹⁸, 1959, Appendix 8). They are closely followed by women of thirty-five to thirty-nine, with an earlier peak at twenty-one to twenty-four. The Holloway sample shows a similar distribution.

The first three groups contain a large number of young prostitutes; housewives, mainly dishonest, predominate in the middle three groups (more than half of Holloway's population); and some fifty old-age pensioners bring up the rear. This wide range of ages

* No sentence was recorded in 155 cases.

TABLE VI

| Age Groups, 890 Individual Women, 1959/60 | | |
|---|--------|----------|
| Age | Number | Per Cent |
| 17 and under 21 | 70 | 37 |
| 21 and under 25 | 162 | |
| 25 and under 30 | 97 | |
| 30 and under 40 | 214 | 44 |
| 40 and under 50 | 189 | |
| 50 and under 60 | 105 | 12 |
| 60 and under 70 | 34 | 5 |
| 70 and over * | 19 | 2 |
| TOTAL: | 890 | 100 |
| * Includes 2 over 80 and 1 of 78 | | |

and interests, all within one institution, makes it extraordinarily difficult to plan any comprehensive programme of rehabilitation.

Marital Status

The findings in this and several following sections must be interpreted with caution. Legal and administrative data are carefully checked and scrutinised before entry in the Nominal Register;

may be tired or harassed, with a long queue of new admissions still to book in). These difficulties must be mentioned though they only apply to a small proportion: the over-all picture derived from the Nominal Register is broadly correct.

As one would expect from the age distribution of the group (Table VI) almost three-quarters of the women are or have been married. The number of "separ-

TABLE VII

| Marital Status, 890 Individual Women, 1959/60 | | |
|---|--------|----------|
| Status | Number | Per Cent |
| Married | 441 | 50 |
| Single | 262 | 29 |
| Widowed | 75 | 8 |
| Divorced | 56 | 6 |
| Separated | 52 | 6 |
| Not known/not stated | 4 | 1 |
| TOTAL: | 890 | 100 |

social data, unchecked, is transcribed from the information given by the woman herself on arrival at the prison. Circumstances then are not always propitious for communication: it may be late in the evening, after a long day in Court or transfer from an outlying area. Women are tired, may be cross or tearful, suffering a "hang-over", in a "so what" mood (especially prostitutes, alcoholics, other habituals). They may be disinclined or too upset to give complete and accurate particulars. Some may not even speak English. Receptions Officers do their best (but they themselves

ated" is likely to be an understatement: women may say "married" on admission when in fact they are living apart from their spouse. Those cohabiting also tend to say "married"; further error is introduced by differing statements on different admissions. Such discrepancies, confirmed by other prison sources, were noted in the study of one recidivist group (Woodside; *op.cit.*). They apply, though in lesser degree, to statements of religious persuasion.

Birthplace

Published data on the country of origin of prison population, male

or female are not available*. This item for technical reasons, was not computed in the Wakefield survey (*Roper*, personal communication); and the analyses of birthplace of Borstal boys are not of a comparable population (Mannheim and Wilkins¹⁴; Rose¹⁵).

It seems that the London-born are comparatively law-abiding and immigrants greatly at risk. A fifth of this prison sample comes from countries elsewhere, the largest contingent being that of Eire—nine per cent†. In view of the allegations made about the anti-social behaviour of West Indian

immigrants, it is of interest that only seven West Indian women were in the sample. The category of Foreign Born included a number of girls who had contravened the Aliens Regulations and were recommended for deportation.

Religious Registration

On arrival at the prison, every woman is asked to state her religion, and what she says is recorded in the Register. It is not possible here to assess the degree of interest (or disinterest) in the religion professed, nor to ascertain the number (certainly small) of

TABLE VIII

| Birthplace, 890 Individual Women, 1959/60 | | |
|---|--------|----------|
| Place | Number | Per Cent |
| London | 261 | 30 |
| Home Counties | 142 | 16 |
| Rest of England (includes Channel Islands, Isle of Man) | 244 | 27 |
| Eire | 80 | 9 |
| Scotland | 68 | 8 |
| Wales | 28 | 3 |
| Northern Ireland | 10 | 1 |
| British Commonwealth | 25 | 3 |
| Foreign Born | 27 | 3 |
| Not known/not stated | 5 | — |
| TOTAL: | 890 | 100 |

* The study by McClintock and Gibson, "Robbery in London" had not been published when this paper was written. They found 15% of offenders were born in Ireland.

† The position appears to have been the same 100 years ago. Henry Mayhew who attended a service in Holloway prison chapel in 1861, conjectured that "many of the inmates, from their arched eyebrows and peculiar features, were of Hibernian extraction".

those who decide to change their profession on different admissions to prison. (This change does not imply conversion: it is usually some secular reason of fancied advantage.) Once in prison, everyone is expected to attend one religious service each week unless they obtain special permission not to go.

Despite the limitations of these findings, it seems desirable to record them for comparison with other studies of religious affiliation in delinquent populations. Fernald, the Gluecks, Munnheim and Wilkins, all found an excess of Roman Catholics; a similar excess appears in the Holloway sample. This is related to place of birth (Table VIII): Irish (and to some extent Scottish) Roman Catholic immigrants to this country, lacking roots and often in relative poverty,

demonstrated against nuclear armament.

Occupation

As all previous studies have shown, the poor, the unskilled, the unstable and the handicapped, make up the great bulk of any female prison population. Lacking opportunity for training, or ability to profit thereby, the occupations these offenders follow are mostly of a lowly order. This is seen to be so in Holloway, among those for whom an occupation had been

TABLE IX

| Religious Registration, 890 Individual Women, 1959/60 | | |
|--|--------|----------|
| Religion | Number | Per Cent |
| Church of England (includes 'Protestant' (4), 'Anglo-Catholic' (3)) | 532 | 60 |
| Roman Catholic | 250 | 28 |
| Church of Scotland | 19 | 2 |
| Church of Ireland | 1 | — |
| Nonconformist (includes Methodist (17), Baptist (13), Presbyterians (4)) | 36 | 4 |
| Quaker | 10 | 1 |
| Jewish | 6 | 16 |
| Salvation Army | 4 | |
| Evangelist (1), Pentecostal (2), Universal (1) | 4 | |
| Spiritualist | 1 | |
| Hindu | 1 | |
| Nil/no religion | 26 | 3 |
| TOTAL : | 890 | 100 |

are more likely to drift into crime than their settled neighbours.

Another similarity with the findings of other investigators is the very small number of Jewish delinquents in Holloway. The number of Quakers (10) may appear surprising: it was swollen by civil disobedience prisoners (famously known in prison as "the atom bomb girls") who had

stated: although previous employment could not be ascertained for the numerous "Housewives" recorded, prison experience suggests that their social background is similar to the rest of the sample.

Those who said they had no occupation were usually girls sentenced for soliciting: there were also a few young ex-borstal girls who had never held a job. Domestic

work was casual or institutional: none of the seventy-seven were in private service. "Housekeepers" and "Hostesses" were a dubious category, likewise the large number of Waitresses (this appears to be the intermittent occupation or "cover" adopted by many convicted prostitutes).

Although the employment experience of this present Holloway sample is limited and

by poverty and delinquency, is revealingly shown by a look at the occupations recorded for January 1903. (Occupational distribution in subsequent months was much the same).

Some of these occupations, e.g. Hawkers, have now disappeared; others, such as laundry workers, have dwindled away (what countless back-breaking hours, bent over steaming washtubs, this legion of

TABLE X

| Occupational Groups, 890 Individual Women, 1959/60 | |
|---|------------|
| | Number |
| Hotel, Canteen and Cafe Workers (including "catering", cooks, barmaids, and waitresses (56)) | 130 |
| Domestic work (including cleaners) | 77 |
| Workers in factories | 74 |
| Clerical and Office Workers (including telephonists) | 61 |
| Workers in shops | 31 |
| Nursing (including trained, assistant, childrens) | 26 |
| Workers in Entertainment Industry (including hostesses, singers) | 21 |
| Dressmaking/Hairdressing (and other personal service) | 16 |
| Housekeepers | 16 |
| Laundry workers (including ward maids/orderlies) | 12 |
| Professional occupations (other than nursing, including teachers) | 7 |
| Miscellaneous (mainly unskilled) | 45 |
| | 516 |
| Housewives | 300 |
| Nil | 57 |
| O.A. Pensioners | 14 |
| Not known/not stated | 3 |
| TOTAL: | 890 |

unbalanced, there is evidence of great advance compared with a generation ago. The change which has taken place in the condition of women, even in those singled out

women must have spent). "Charring" too has been transmuted with the years: women willing to do this work are either Cleaners on a regular wage or sought-after

Daily Help. Not a single office worker or shop assistant was among the 1,362 prisoners in 1903, compared to ninety-two in 1959/60. We may note that nine women admitted to earning their living by prostitution: such frankness is not met with at Receptions today, even

lated hours in deplorable conditions (such as the "sweat shops" of the East End clothing trade), without security for illness or unemployment, should seek to blot out their cares in drink.

Social Class

The assignment of social class

TABLE XI

| Occupation Groups, 1,363 Women, Holloway, January 1903 | | | | | | Number |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| Laundry, Washerwomen, Ironers (52) | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 302 |
| Charring | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 258 |
| Lawyers | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 152 |
| Dressmaking, other needle trades | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 118 |
| Servants | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 92 |
| Factory workers, machinists | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 77 |
| Cooks | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 36 |
| Waitresses | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 9 |
| Prostitutes | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 9 |
| Barmaids | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 |
| Housekeepers | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 |
| Field Workers | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 |
| Actresses | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 5 |
| Miscellaneous (mainly unskilled) | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 24 |
| | | | | | | 1,103 |
| Nil/no work | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 247 |
| Not stated | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 13 |
| TOTAL : | | | | | | 1,363 |

among prostitutes with repeated convictions. Unfortunately, there is no way of discovering how many of those listed as having No Work could be equated with the Housewives of 1959/60. The old Nominal Register does not record marital status, and the description "housewife" must be a modern usage since it does not appear in 1903. In general, it is easy to see why these women fifty-nine years ago, doing ill-paid work for long unregu-

lated hours in deplorable conditions (such as the "sweat shops" of the East End clothing trade), without security for illness or unemployment, should seek to blot out their cares in drink. for any population containing married women is bound to be unsatisfactory and incomplete (data on husband's occupation is rarely if ever available), and in Holloway, a further subtraction has to be made of the single women who said they had no occupation. For these reasons, it has only been possible to analyse the social class distribution for approximately two-thirds of the sample. As already noted in relation to employment

(p.85) the remaining third are unlikely to differ in any significant way. The classifications used in Table XII are those of the Registrar General.

This analysis errs if at all on the generous side: the benefit of doubt was given (for example) to women listed as Nurses who may in fact have been assistant nurses or even nursing orderlies (both lower classifications). The group in Social

characteristic of other upper-class offenders in Holloway are embezzlement, false pretences, debt and contempt of Court. Eccentric isolates may find themselves in trouble with the law; so too may high-principled pacifists.

Previous Convictions

A prison sentence does not usually follow a first offence unless the charge is a serious one, e.g. manslaughter, assault, fraud involving

TABLE XII

| Social Class, 890 Women, Holloway, 1959/60 | | | |
|--|--------|----------|-----------------------------|
| Class | Number | Per Cent | Greater London Census 1951* |
| I | 3 | .6 | 4.9 |
| II | 27 | 5.0 | 16.6 |
| III | 228 | 42.2 | 54.7 |
| IV | 139 | 25.7 | 10.7 |
| V | 125 | 23.1 | 13.1 |
| Retired | 15 | 2.8 | — |
| Students | 3 | .6 | — |
| Total Known | 540 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Not Known | 350 | | |
| TOTAL: | 890 | | |

* Males over 16 only

Class III is inflated by the inclusion of "club hostesses" and the large number of waitresses (fifty-six). Though they must be so assigned, this status, in the prison setting, is a misleading one.

Of the thirty women in Social Classes I and II, a number were mentally disturbed, alcoholic, or addicted to drugs. In more fortunate circumstances, their behaviour would have led to psychiatric treatment in hospital or institution, rather than to prison. Offences

large sums, etc. The greater part of the prison population will therefore be found to have earlier acquaintance with crime, dealt with then by fines, probation and occasionally conditional discharge. In 1959, the proportion of all women received under sentence into prison with no previous proved offences (other than Liquor Law offences) was thirty-two per cent; sixty-eight per cent had been previously convicted. (Prison Commissioners' Report, 1959, p.45). When we exam-

ine the Holloway sample a similar distribution appears even though all types of offences are included*. Only 285 women (thirty-two per cent) had no previous convictions recorded in the Nominal Register, against 605 who had (sixty-eight per cent).

A study of the figures reveals the sad inefficacy of existing penal methods in reforming a minority recidivist group. These women, mainly alcoholics, prostitutes, petty thieves (or a combination of all three) have run the gamut of sanctions perhaps from Borstal on, seemingly unaffected in their anti-social careers. Here are some examples taken at random from the Register:

14 fines, 9 imprisonment, 2 probation;
97 fines, 21 imprisonment, 1 probation;
59 fines, 27 imprisonment, 5 probation;
118 fines, 32 imprisonment, 6 probation;
1 Borstal training, 3 probation, 20 fines,
15 imprisonment (age 56); 3 probation,
1 mental hospital, 13 fines, 4 imprisonment.
(age 32)

One woman, an elderly alcoholic, had the astonishing total of 518 fines and 65 prison sentences on her record. For habituals like this, Holloway is a familiar haven, almost the only home they know. Officers are greeted as old friends, certain duties (such as Wing Cleaner) are claimed as by right, and disappointment expressed if the favourite cell is not allocated.

Transfer to Open Prison

There are now three minimum security prisons for women, Hill Hall in Essex, Askham Grange in Yorkshire, and the recently-opened

(November 1960) Moor Court in Staffordshire. All prisoners with a "Star" classification, i.e. those serving their first sentence, are eligible for transfer: in addition, a number of recidivist women prisoners thought suitable for training in open conditions have also been transferred. For the past two and half years, women who have reached the third stage of a Preventive Detention sentence have been sent to Askham under the Hostel scheme, which is working very satisfactorily there. "Stars" selected from Holloway have gone mainly to Hill Hall, as and when places are available.

In practice, a number of exclusions are made: the grossly physically unfit and the mentally unstable; women who are in advanced pregnancy or under treatment for venereal disease; women judged likely to abscond. Habitual prostitutes are not sent, nor women convicted of brothel-keeping. Length of sentence is not a factor in selection: a woman may go if she has only a few weeks to serve. The over-riding principle, so far as possible, is to avoid contamination or corruption by known hardened offenders.

Of the 890 women in the 1959/60 sample, 171 or nineteen per cent were transferred to open prison (169 to Hill Hall, 2 to Askham)*. The main prison, with its most hopeful material thus "creamed off", is left with rejects and recid-

* A total of twenty-two women went to Askham from Holloway during the twelve month period. The other twenty had been sentenced before the survey began.

* The Nominal Register does not distinguish between different types of previous offence.

ivists and required to frame a training programme suited to their needs. Contrary to what might be supposed, "Stars" are not always enthusiastic over the prospect of transfer. Some dislike the added responsibility of open conditions, or fear they may be tempted to run away. Many dislike sleeping in dormitories and would prefer the privacy of a prison cell. Some, while awaiting their place, get settled on the First Offenders' Wing, make their friends, don't want to move again. Others fear that relatives will not make the extra effort to visit at a distance. "Women are not very fond of change" was the verdict of the experienced Assistant Governor who has frequently to deal with this reluctance when she breaks the news of the move.

Comment

Prisons, unlike hospitals, cannot choose whom they will admit or whom they will send elsewhere. Nor, again unlike hospitals, can they decide the length of stay. All who come from the Courts to Holloway must be received: old and young, sick and well, the bright and the dull, women who are pregnant or with infants in arms, the psychopathic, psychotic or normal. They may be sent for any length of time, from two weeks to many years. Some leave a trail of problems outside; the problems of others are emotional and carried within. The complexities—legal, administrative, medical and social—involved in dealing expeditiously and appropriately with this constant stream of human material

can scarcely be appreciated by those outside the prison service.

In their recent report¹⁸, the Prison Commissioners deplore the amount of staff time and energy which, in a large local prison, is taken up by the transient population and diverted from any more constructive function. They also point out that the task of training convicted prisoners is hampered by the large proportion serving short sentences. This situation is all too evident in Holloway: during the twelve month survey period, two-thirds of receptions were women on remand, together with those who paid fines or were otherwise dealt with.* Among the one-third of sentenced individuals, eighty per cent had sentences of less than six months, and of these, eighteen per cent less than fourteen days. Women in this latter group, 163 of them in 1959/60, have barely settled after admission procedures when they start their interviews for discharge.

A prison sentence, however short, remains a punishment. But, from the reformist point of view, it is open to question what is being achieved and whether, in some cases, the social upheaval so caused is proportionate to the gravity of the offence. For example, sentencing mothers of young families for debt would only appear to diminish their chances of repayment, while society meantime bears the cost of keeping their children in care (a cost which in the financial year 1959/60 averaged £8.11.5d per child, per week, for children in the care

* See Definition of Material, p.2.

of local authorities). Experience at Holloway causes one to hope that the recommendations of the United Nations Report on Short-Term Imprisonment¹⁶, suggesting constructive alternatives for short sentences, will gradually be adopted in this country.

The Prison Commissioners' plans for breaking down Holloway into a number of smaller units are to be welcomed. Although within the existing institution different types of offender are segregated as far as possible, the emphasis on security and the totally unsuitable buildings make it difficult to create a therapeutic regime, however enthusiastic the staff. Architects of the 19th Century designed prisons in accordance with the penal philosophy of their time; to-day, modern concepts of penology call for the re-socialization of delinquents in carefully selected groups, under conditions of minimum security. When the new institutions for women are built, it will be possible to carry out these aims, and at the same time, attract the qualified specialist staff who will be needed.

The social class distribution of the Holloway sample invites some tantalising sociological speculations. Is the under representation of the upper social classes a reflection, as Wootton (op.cit) suggests, of the tendency of Judges and Magistrates to feel that prison is more suitable for the lower classes? Are upper class women more often put on probation? (they are certainly more likely to have medical "protection" for offences related to drug addiction and alcoholism, and for attempted

suicide). Are department stores, for public relations reasons, reluctant to prosecute the upper-class non-professional shoplifter? Then too, there are differing levels of temptation: upper class women (unless their behaviour is psychopathologically determined) are unlikely to pilfer foodstuffs and articles they can easily buy; lower class women, in comparative poverty, may be impelled to this type of theft by envy or necessity. Women sentenced for soliciting (another large prison group) rarely have an upper or middle class background.

One would not have expected that a study of this Holloway prison population would throw light on the social advancement of women. Yet there, in the copper-plate handwriting of the old Nominal Registers, is evidence of the revolution which has taken place since the beginning of the century. Women's emancipation from domestic servitude and the trend away from the home; eating out in canteens and restaurants, clothes ready-made, launderettes and vacuum cleaners, the simpler style of living generally and the new kinds of women's work available: all these emerge from comparison of prisoner's occupation in Edwardian days and in our own. The destitution and widespread drunkenness, commonplace fifty-nine years ago, has disappeared; workhouses have been turned into hospitals or homes; the number of women sent to prison is but a fraction of what it used to be. When Henry Mayhew visited Holloway exactly 100 years ago,

he saw women inmates under strict rules of silence employed in picking oakum, laundry work, or knitting. Today in addition to domestic activities, women in Holloway have evening classes in a wide range of subjects, amateur dramatics, a library service, psychotherapy and group counselling. Progress has not ceased: women's prisons fifty years from now may well be quite unlike our present institutions, and embody new ideas and methods making more effective their work of reform.

Summary

Data relating to the offence and social status of 890 individual women sentenced to Holloway prison during a twelve month period were extracted from the 1959/60 Nominal Registers. This group comprised thirty-four per cent of total receptions during the period.

Fifty-nine per cent came from Courts in the London Metropolitan area. Larceny accounted for over half of the Indictable offences; soliciting over half and drunkenness almost a quarter of Non-Indictable offences. A large number of the imprisonments under Civil Process were for debt.

Short sentences preponderated: four-fifths were for less than six months. Nineteen per cent were transferred to open prison.

Middle-aged married women made up the majority of the prison population; their occupations were largely domestic and unskilled. A quarter had been born elsewhere than in England.

The distribution of social class

and religious affiliation differs from that of the general population.

Some problems of a multi-classification women's prison are discussed; comparison with the Nominal Register of 1903 induces reflections on social history.

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Book Reviews

THE COURAGE OF HIS CONVICTIONS

By Tony Parker and Robert Allerton.

Hutchinson & Co. Ltd.

16s. 0d.

"WHO'S FOR JESUS?" 'Robert Allerton' puts this question into the mouth of his caricature of a Church Army captain. He doesn't need to answer it. Clearly he is strictly for himself. Apart from a passing weakness induced by a kind thought for dear old Mum, and a faint puzzlement when treated with a kindness and consideration, he is the prison "right guy", the professional, dyed-in-the-wool, all-of-a-piece, no-chinks-in-the-armour, social predator. Virtue is dull and unremunerative (where did honesty get poor old Dad?); crime is entertaining, and if one applies oneself, undeniably profitable. Prison is seen as a fair exchange for the freedom to please oneself outside it, and as a bonus there is the sexual freedom that middle-class adolescents exhaust themselves dreaming about. There is pride in violence used simply as a professional aid to robbery: by implication, violence as an uncontrolled expression of anger or frustration is reprehensible, not on grounds of its social significance, but as an expression of weakness in the professional criminal's attitude. There is an air of realism about it all, touched occasionally and typically by idealism in areas where commonly-held opinions are thought to be

materialistic or cynical. It is, of course, highly romantic. His account of his childhood and adolescence and developing criminality is familiar enough. What is unusual is the intelligence and facility he displays in putting into some semblance of shape the destructive elements in his character. The latter part of the book affords him the opportunity of poking fun at all the agencies who have failed to halt the progress of his delinquent career. Those who have read books by prisoners will be familiar with the content of this; it is, however, well and amusingly written.

Tony Parker, the Prison Visitor who recorded and reproduced the confidences of this apparently well-integrated criminal, is charmed by what he has uncovered and to be honest, we have all been diverted or annoyed. The human situation in which, as individuals, we have to find some expression for our appetites within the socially-acceptable pattern of behaviour, is for most of us perilous. Fortunately most of us grow up, but perhaps never so completely as to fail to be attracted to the unfettered life or to be amused by destructive criticism of the forces that restrain us, and when criticism is as well expressed as this, we are startled into awareness. What a source of fun all earnest people are — schoolmasters, clergymen, psychologists, magistrates, prison staff,

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

do-gooders and all. From time to time we give each other cause for laughter and, sometimes for blushing. We are all so busy unfolding the secrets of delinquency that we ought not to mind too much when the process is reversed.

Tony Parker disclaims any qualification or ability to answer the question as to how the personal qualities of his friend could find expression in society instead of against it. I hope it will not astonish him to learn that what is written in this book is not unfamiliar to members of the prison service, who are concerned with just this question. There are, fortunately, comparatively few criminals as professional as 'Robert Allerton': the majority who come to prison justify themselves or otherwise state their needs. The courage which now supports 'Robert Allerton' may not always sustain him. Crime as a profession has the disadvantage that success tends to diminish with continuing practice whilst the penalties of failure increase. The possibility is that when he comes to express a need for help he will have reached a point where help is no longer possible.

ALAN BANTON.

ROBBERY IN LONDON

Cambridge Studies in Criminology Vol. XIV
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Evelyn Gibson.

Macmillan & Co. 168 pp.

30s. Od.

THE CRIMINOLOGIST of today, particularly the man concerned with the cause and treatment of delin-

quency, will find little in this concise and well-diagrammed study into Robbery in London, which will assist him toward diagnosis and care for those men who may be committed for this particular offence,

This volume, the result of painstaking research and teasing out from a wide variety of sources of some eighty-four separate factors, is a full examination of the offences of robbery committed in the Metropolitan area in the years 1950 and 1957, and during the first six months of 1960; this has been carried out in an attempt to view this offence in its fuller perspective as a social and criminological problem. Indeed the magnitude of this problem may shortly be seen in the figures published on 8th February, 1962, when the Metropolitan Police Commissioner stated that the number of robberies in London increased by twenty-six per cent over the previous year; that in 1961 robberies totalled 963, six times as many as in 1938: there is however consolation in that New York City had seven times this figure for the corresponding period.

The McClintock/Gibson study has been based on the cases known to the police; in 1950, 287, in 1957, 462, and 333 during the first half of 1960. The mounting graph has already been noticed. Professor Radzinowicz, in his preface, has pointed to the climbing volume of robbery with the disconcerting fact that today there are far more undetected robberies, with a commensurate financial reward for the skilled operators: more robberies.

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

(seventy per cent of these crimes undetected) less convictions and more profit. In 1961, £618,000 were stolen in total and in nine per cent of these robberies more than £1,000 was involved; in 1950 only eight incidents concerned more than £1,000, and twenty-one in 1957. All these factors would suggest that the detection rate needs drastic re-examination; indeed this book should give much needed impetus to the new Police recruiting campaign announced by the Home Secretary. Crime, as Mr. Gordon Hawkins of the Staff College once proved so convincingly, obviously does pay.

This book, then, seems far more concerned with robberies than robbers, and for this reviewer, more interested in the problems of diagnosis and cure of the criminal, it would appear that factors were not clearly examined which might give more knowledge to those concerned with the study and treatment of delinquents.

What is learnt of the robbers as individuals, rather than as numbers in a statistical survey? In the factors teased out from the wide sources available to Mr. McClintock and Miss Gibson, a very general picture only is painted; and indeed it must be made quite clear that of the sample examined, there were sufficiently few to make any conclusion very general indeed. Only a limited few are ever caught, the 'mugs' who may not be typical robbers.

The offenders examined seem to differ very little from the usual

run of any prison population; unsettled, inadequate labourers, with a lack of any social stability, they seem to be men who have no conscience about crime in general, and robbery is just another charge in the calender. They need not necessarily be men of a violent disposition; it would seem therefore that in many cases this is a situational crime, rather than an emotionally motivated one. Any Member of Parliament seeking support that even the Irish be banned under the proposed Immigration Bill has ample ammunition in that an increasing number of Irish immigrants are involved in this particular offence. It was a surprise to note that the authors saw no apparent significant number of coloured men involved in this crime, men who would seem more prone to this act on account of their particular social and emotional problems in a strange and usually hostile land. Perhaps the only suggestion toward any interest in the social and emotional makeup of these criminals is in the statement that those born between 1935 and 1942 were more prone to violence; even this factor however may well bear no positive correlation to the facts.

It is the legal profession who seem to have clearly appreciated the whole picture of the treatment of criminals; for they, unlike the workers in this study, are more concerned, and rightly so, with the treatment and/or punishment of the offender, rather than the offence. There was a decline between 1950 and 1957, in the severity of sentences, with few

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

men being given the maximum: in 1950 seventy-six per cent were committed for penal treatment, and only sixty-nine per cent in 1957, with an increase being noted since. But in all cases the judicature seem to have been justly concerned with the criminal: Society at last, though still inadequately, is accepting its duty toward criminals; all that is needed now is a form of penal treatment based on equally logical and rational grounds.

This volume is eminently readable, and, as an introduction for the general public into crime and its makeup, is extremely valuable; neat tables, succinct summarization of statistical evidence at each chapter's end, with a broad summary of the picture. Yet to anyone who is concerned professionally in the more practical field of criminology, be he 'copper', 'screw', or 'beak', there is little which is new or even provocative, with a possible lead into a different line of action or of treatment. The police are told that they are achieving little success; prison staff are given a superficial picture, statistically proven, of the men they already handle, and the judicature is shown that it is fulfilling its prime requirement.

This book then, for the reviewer at least, has been a disappointment; the authors seem never to have gone far enough, nor deep enough, into the crucial and socially important considerations aroused by this increasing use of violence in crime, at a time when the mass media are being strongly criticised

for their dramatisation of such phenomena.

J. R. C. LEE

CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

A Rational approach to Penal Problems.
Sol Rubin.

The Library of Criminology, published under the auspices of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency.
Stevens & Sons. 35s. 0d:

HE HAD BEEN in prison twice before and had previously broken his parole. He had now served his minimum sentence of three years for his latest offence and the possibility was there of seven more years to serve before his maximum was completed. His work record was good; he had been in "L" block on two occasions for breaches of prison discipline; he had given six pints of blood during his prison stay. A pleading letter from his wife, confirmed that she would have him back — "his two children needed him" — but he had no specific plans for employment. He had reached only seventh grade level in school, but had not volunteered for schooling in the prison. He was not an alcoholic. The detailed report was studied and scored; the ten minute interview with the prisoner was over and he had stated his case and answered questions.

"I suggest two years;" "I had thought three." The two members of an American State Parole Board agreed that the case should be reconsidered in two years' time, and within the next week the prisoner would be informed that his chances of parole were in sus-

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

pense until he had completed five years of his sentence. As I sat in the small interview room in the old Ohio State Penitentiary with its four thousand inmate population, I tried to put myself in the position of the Parole Board. Wielding as they do such power, they attempted to balance the interests of the offender, the prison, and the outside society, whilst not uncognisant of the susceptibility of the popular press to highlight any unsuccessful prediction.

It is against a background of such experiences, limited though they have been during a stay in America, that the writing of Sol Rubin in *Crime and Juvenile Delinquency* has for me gained in significance and poignancy. This is a book written by an American, primarily of interest to Americans, and for the most part preoccupied with detailed problems related to the American correctional systems. And yet, beneath the details, fundamentals are examined and questions raised that make the book of universal interest. In particular, it should be read by anyone who is concerned with the source and use of judicial power and discretion, and conversely with the rights, legal and social, of the offender.

Although England has generally set its face against indeterminate sentences, Mr. Rubin's critical analysis of the effect of such a practice in America is of considerable interest. This interest is certainly heightened when one lives in a state (not untypical)

where the inmates in state and federal prisons alone, per head of population, are about twice as numerous as in England; where over ninety per cent of the prisoners are released on parole and where in the penitentiary here, fifteen per cent of the men are "lifers". Mr. Rubin maintains that the effect of a minimum as well as a maximum sentence has been to increase the length of the average prison sentence served. Desirous of reducing both the incidence and length of prison sentences, Mr. Rubin, however, does not recommend the English pattern of fixed sentences, but rather a judge-fixed maximum sentence (no minimum) with a flexible parole system.

In dealing with young offenders, meanwhile, Mr. Rubin is on the whole in favour of the "Youth Correction Authority." This implies, again, agreeing with judicial discretion being transferred from the judiciary to an administrative body responsible for the supervision of the institutional treatment of young offenders. The main danger, here, he sees, is that if the institutional side of treatment becomes, or appears to become more progressive than the non-institutional, the unnecessary use of the former may well increase at the expense of probation. Hence his insistence that the correctional and judicial system should be viewed in its entirety. Within this overall appraisal, Mr. Rubin is continually emphasising the need to safeguard the rights of the offender, not only as an end in itself, but as an indispensable element in the process

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

of rehabilitation. This is stressed in his discussion of the all-important relationship between the individual and his probation and parole officer, including the problem of the rights of the accused with respect to the pre-sentence report upon which his punishment may well be based. Nowhere, however, is it brought out more clearly than in his section on Juvenile Delinquency. Here he implies that within the welfare approach there lie the seeds of despotism, which for the unwary can so easily stifle the very end which is being sought. As the emphasis in the handling of juveniles has moved from deterrence to reform, the implications of this section of the book are extremely important and very relevant to some of the discussions included in the Ingleby Committee Report.

"The Juvenile Court Law", writes Mr. Rubin, "should not attempt to govern child behaviour with special standards of conduct until—and this has not happened—child behaviour experts agree that these standards are necessary for children or the community". Whilst one would have been happier with a definition of "child behaviour experts", the point has real significance here in this state, where a delinquent child is defined as not only one who violates the law, but also one who is beyond control, or habitually truants or "who so deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or others." It has significance wherever there is a feeling of obligation to assist a

child, or indeed an adult, whose behaviour is regarded as primarily harmful to himself/herself rather than to the community. "The concept of the juvenile court is a noble one," writes Mr. Rubin, "—that the child should not be punished for his acts or condition, but should be helped and protected . . . Existing legal provisions relating to detention, procedure and disposition have given unusual powers to the court. Are they in balance with provisions to protect the child and parental rights?" Moreover as the powers are widened, so is increased the need of court personnel of the highest calibre and training to exercise that power. Nor is it only the court personnel, for here the vital discretion as to whether the delinquent child shall be dealt with formally "in court" or informally "out of court" is widely exercised by police and probation officers. In the City of Columbus for example, of the 5,400 "delinquency" cases in 1960, less than a half, 2,255 actually went to court, over 2,000 being "closed" by the Police Juvenile Bureau, and over 1,000 by the Probation Office. Mr. Rubin's concern that judicial procedure should be kept under constant review is matched only by his belief in the desirability of all correctional institutions being studied and judged in terms of their effectiveness. Some readers may disagree with certain of Mr. Rubin's ideas of research, including his somewhat destructive criticism of the Glueck's prediction studies, but one can only hope that at least a few of his many ideas will bear fruit. Certainly this reviewer agrees

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

that "in correctional studies we ought to study, discover, and analyse not only the nature of the correctional services, but their living constitutions, the attitudes, personalities of the people performing them and the manner in which the acts are done."

NORMAN JEPSON

GATE FEVER

Jane Buxton & Margaret Turner
The Cresset Press, 21s. 0d.

THIS IS NOT an important book and it is refreshing to note that the writers do not claim that it is, nor do they believe that they have written a work which will inspire far-reaching prison reforms.

This lack of conceit, rare enough in prisoners to come as a pleasant surprise to those who have been irritated by the vanity of many prison scribblers, shows at least a commendable desire to keep an open mind. It is inevitable that the prisoner sees the worm's eye view but these particular worms have turned quite fiercely from time to time and not allowed themselves to be trampled upon. The fine fury of indignation over medical treatment, for instance, is easily understood coming from a girl with a severe pain locked by herself in the dark in the wee small hours. What could she know or care about the hundreds of women cured in prison of hitherto unsuspected ailments, of the eyes tested, the teeth extracted, the hearing aids supplied, the operations performed on men and women who have been neglecting themselves for years

"outside"? One has to smile about the dead mice and beetles in the jam pots (subsequently washed, it is noted, in a solution of soda strong enough to crack the skin) when one remembers the delicious strawberry jam of one's childhood poured into pots but recently collected, full of slugs and dead roses, from the churchyard.

Criticism of hard-hearted and hatchet-faced officers who nag, or shout, or appear to be disinterested, mellows considerably towards the end of the book when the authors have learnt to work with them and to know them personally. There is a fine scorn for the system in general which, goodness knows, has as many faults as any other system, and one could hear almost identical complaints made about the powers-that-be in any large school, hospital, factory, or barracks.

It is a matter for some surprise that two intelligent and well-educated young women should have been so easily impressed by the pathetic tales told them by other prisoners, either to gain sympathy, or to enjoy the pop-eyed amazement of the "new girl". All the prison chestnuts are trotted out afresh to horrify the reader; drugged cocoa; officers digging graves in secret; cosmetics concealing contraband goods; well, it all makes very pleasurable reading and we have at least been spared the legend about the dead baby in the cell which some old woman usually relates to newcomers with much drama and relish.

Our authors, however, have tried to be fair and have not grudged the praise where they thought it to be

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

due. Nor should praise be grudged for this book as a whole. It is well written, excellently observed, and gives a vivid picture of what it feels like to be a prisoner at Holloway. Small evocative details bring the very sights and sounds of the prison before the reader and Jane Buxton's illustrations are both restrained and moving.

M. E. G. STOCKER

THE EXPLANATION OF CRIMINALITY

Gordon Trasler

International Library of Sociology & Social Reconstruction.

Routledge & Kegan Paul.

20s. 0d.

THIS BOOK is not easy reading. Its style varies from a rigorous exposition of scientific method to a somewhat polemical survey of the problems encountered by psychologists working in penal institutions.

That is a pity, because the core of Dr. Trasler's argument is important and cogently presented. He is concerned with the lack of a scientifically based theory of criminality within which research and methods of treatment can be developed and evaluated. He suggests that the modern theory of learning as a conditioning process may provide the necessary basis. This defines social training as the efficient conditioning of anxiety to produce "passive avoidance" behaviour in the face of anti-social temptations, opportunities and even of anti-social thoughts. Its mechanism, the context of the latest sociological findings and the theory's use in indicating profitable lines of

enquiry are discussed in some detail. Criminal behaviour, on this view, is the result of ineffective social training.

However, Dr. Trasler appears to miss-state the psychoanalytic position and consequently to undervalue the current contribution of prison psychologists to treatment. He dismisses analytic method as "intuitive" and unable to produce specific predictions of behaviour. Surely its basic tenets are that each individual seeks optimal satisfaction; that good social adjustment is part of such satisfaction (except where *deliberately* sacrificed for other reasons); that its achievement is often hindered by emotional attitudes carried over from childhood; and that hindrances can be removed by bringing them to consciousness. It is not the *analyst* who has to be convinced of their existence, but the patient who, finding himself liberated from old bonds, can proceed to a better adjustment to present reality. There seems no reason why treatment on these lines cannot be tested by follow-up studies. Specific predictions would seem to be unnecessary.

Dr. Trasler wants prison psychologists to make recommendations which are "the result of theoretical deductions based upon accurate observations, which will usually take the form of quantified test data". Instead, he says, we are given a general picture of such parts of a man's personality and abilities as can be measured by existing tests, which is not necessarily relevant to the *causes* of his criminality. He overlooks the

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.

usefulness of this information in estimating how a man uses his potentialities. In our training establishments we are in fact, groping towards analytic application of it, believing that if a man can be helped to use his potentialities in a socially acceptable way the satisfactions he will obtain will be greater than those hitherto obtained through criminal acts, and his behaviour will alter accordingly.

Also, Dr. Trasler seems to part company with good sense in asking that our establishments become laboratories until the psychologists eventually come up with a refined theory, embodying "quantified data" (implying that then our training problems will be solved by reference to a few principles and a table of psychological logarithms). It is when they approach human problems in such euphoric confidence that scientists seem not only simple-minded but often cold-bloodedly inhuman. For example, discussing child training, Dr. Trasler treats "affection" purely as a factor in creating a requisite dependant on the parents so that anxiety conditioning becomes possible. It is widely agreed that love is the essential element in child rearing; that good technique without it is as ineffective as the mere simulation of good man-management technique in promoting good industrial relations. But one can coolly "quantify" the giving of love without destroying its value to the recipient? And does not the same

hold for other emotionally derived attitudes?

I would like to see Dr. Trasler's researches pursued, but let us be very sure what recommendations for reformative action this Trojan horse of a theory produces before welcoming it unreservedly.

E.V.H.W.

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THE HOMOSEXUAL SOCIETY

Richard Hauser

The Bodley Head, 1962. pp. 166. Price 18s.

"EFFORTS should be made to destroy the myth which represents the homosexual life as something noble, artistic, superior. Instead it should be shown to be the result of social stress which has retarded a person socially and bodily and as such may be equated with enuresis."

Once Mr. Hauser has diagnosed the homosexual problem in this way he goes on to stress the need in society for advice centres readily available to youths and men who may be anxious and miserable and also to parents, teachers and others responsible for the young who may need help. If one such centre could be opened in the near future as a pilot scheme and be allowed to grow from small beginnings into a multi-purpose service then he feels that a great stride forward would have been made in helping such socially sick people.

At the outset the author indicates his method by taking to task "the Art which is called Social

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

Science". He is convinced that there can be an over concentration of knowledge in one department, leading to a neglect of common factors underlying problems in different fields. Specialised studies are necessary but they must be balanced by a comparative approach which embraces a number of departments at the same time. In this way he prefers to call himself a "comparative sociologist", fitting this survey into the general framework he has adopted for his other community studies involving housing areas, schools, prisons and mental health. He brushes statistics aside, by so doing hoping to "find what is invisible behind the mask of what is visible and measurable". Whether he is successful the reader himself can best judge.

The material for the book was obtained by listening to the comments and views of about four hundred people, gathered together in groups, of whom most had experience of living homosexually. It is these views, carefully, and sometimes luridly, recorded which illustrate the diverse backgrounds, types and attitudes of this sector of society, and which forms by far the most satisfying and most valuable part of the book. For here is insight into the attitudes and behaviour of these men, the majority of whom feel condemned by society to live a Jekyll and Hyde existence. It is because this book succeeds far better descriptively than analytically that it may help in the valuable task of stimulating a far greater awareness and

understanding into the individual problems of the homosexual.

Mr. Hauser recognises that there exists a hard core of homosexuals (rating six on the Kinsey scale and forming four per cent of the male population) whom he fears may well be constitutionally determined, but by far the larger number are those he calls bisexuals. These men prefer their own to the opposite sex but have had heterosexual relationships and may well have married and had children. Their homosexuality is one response (alcoholism and other forms of anti-social behaviour are others) to stress situations which can happen at any time during maturation forced on the individual by his immediate environment,

Such a conclusion would have been more convincing had it been related not only to past studies of homosexuality but also to a consideration of the emergence of such practices and attitudes in other and earlier societies. This book leaves far too great an impression that this problem is a product of modern day society and as such could easily be minimised by careful social manipulation. Surely the causes of homosexuality have been shown to lie far deeper and be more complex than this? Is it so easy, for example, to become a homosexual through what he terms 'social infection' in all male societies—approved schools, prisons, public schools and the like?

Of course such practices take place—and all too frequently—but may it not be more to do with the strength of the sex urge in these situations (often at adolescent age,

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

and away from the opposite sex) than the direction it will take in later life? Haven't the basic behaviour patterns already been formed at an earlier stage (a far more subtle and less understood mode of social infection) making fairly certain that those who continue these practices afterwards would have done so anyway? The man who is a homosexual and marries, does so, not because he has no strong cravings for his own sex, but because he can more easily hide his true feelings from society this way. The tragedy is surely that so many of these marriages fail because the basic homosexual drives remain in spite of heterosexual experience. This relationship appears in no way to 'infect' the man back to normality as such a social infection theory could lead to believe. It was Gibbens' study of 100 borstal boys in 1957 that did much to discredit the over-emphasis on the significance of earlier homosexual practice in later behaviour patterns.

Mr. Hauser believes that homosexuality is invariably the outcome of social infection aided by an increasing lack of communication between the young of both sexes. At some stage in development stress occurs and a blockage or fixation is produced which hinders the person from growing up fully. He endeavours to relate this resulting 'immaturity' to a five-scaled table of Personal and Social Age (at the apex of which comes full personal and social maturity and integration), by means of which

any individual can measure his development. Through group discussion it is hoped to lead the individual to ever increasing insight and maturity which would eventually effect complete and healthy intergration with society. Thus the homosexual who states that he is happier without the responsibility of a family is accordingly seen to be socially and personally immature and could presumably be helped by being on one of Mr. Hauser's groups. Yet is it not more likely that he is rationalising his motives for not marrying and the true causes of his homosexuality lie, not so much in any immaturity that can be remedied, but in far deeper and more complex factors outside the scope of these groups and (unfortunately) Mr. Hauser's book?

Due to so much misunderstanding and bias the stresses on a man discovering he is a homosexual are excessively severe and it is to Mr. Hauser's credit that he is seeking to do something practical about it. It is an indictment on society that so many young men, their parents and others concerned, have nowhere they can turn for advice and information. It is not a convincing argument that he puts forward for the alleviation of the problem of homosexuality. At the very least, such group work as he envisages could help many who are desperately unhappy, at present, to come to terms with themselves and lead a more useful and guilt-free life than they are able to lead at present.

I. D.

BOOK REVIEWS—cont.**PRISON SCREW**

L. W. Merrow Smith and J. Harris
Herbert Jenkins 21s.

BOOKS by Prison Officers about their work are very rare and thus the experiences of Mr. Merrow Smith, who in his time has been an outstanding officer at Parkhurst, Principal Officer at Wakefield, Chief Officer at Oxford amongst other places, are to be welcomed. The many stories he has are interesting and often amusing, but it is a pity that most are about Parkhurst and little is said of his time as Principal and Chief Officer, for this would have been of value. He also gives a perceptive account

of prison routine which will be interesting to the lay reader, Mr. Merrow Smith has not however been served well by his collaborator, for the summary of his views and opinions on penal practice do not appear to spring from the detail of his experiences. He claims that the letter of the rules should be strictly adhered to and that he is a man without compassion as far as prisoners are concerned yet the conclusion one draws from the main body of his book is that he has been ready to use his initiative in looking after prisoners and that he is, in the best sense, a wise and compassionate man.

M. SELBY

New Books

The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review.

INDIA AND ABROAD

Facts and Perspectives, with regard to Social Defence and Child Guidance

This monograph, by Shree R. B. Mishra, Senior Psychologist at the pilot centre for the education of juvenile delinquents at Hazaribagh, Bihar, is a report submitted to the United Nations. Mr. Mishra, who toured the English prisons at the time of the Second United Nations Congress, also made a comprehensive study of conditions in the Scandinavian Countries. His report which includes some shrewd comments on various prisons and hostels, may be borrowed from the Editor.

BLACKFRIARS SETTLEMENT

Annual Report 1960-61 describes the work of the fifty-eight voluntary 'Associates' who each take responsibility for one individual ex-prisoner. They meet him while he is still in prison, try to plan work or accommodation or other

assistance for him, and keep in regular touch, after his discharge. All this, of course, in their spare time. And often in considerable portions of their spare time, for they quickly find that mere attention to material needs is almost valueless. Instead they have really to try to get to know their man, really try to be a friend to him. For it is frequently in this less tangible way that the Associate does most of his good work. Often what the man most needs is someone who is genuinely interested in him, who will take real trouble in helping and listening, and who does not need to think of him as one of a given case-load. Someone who will be patient or even welcoming, who will not condemn him for an occasional lapse, and who will not be irritated if he is slow or inarticulate. And, most of all, someone who will not attempt to impose upon him a false and alien middle-class morality. Mr. David Collett is the Warden and Mr. Alan Markham the Organiser of the Prison After Care Scheme. Copies of the report are available from 44-47 Nelson Square, S.E.1.

NEW BOOKS—cont.

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF
CORRECTIONS Vol. 4, No. 1.

Articles on the Youth Prison in Sweden, Yugoslavian Young Offenders, Northern Nigerian Training Schools, South African Juvenile Delinquents and the work of the Institute for Prevention and Detention in Rome.

The Journal's news of Current Research in Canadian Universities and elsewhere includes reference to "A design for Clinical Classification of Offenders", "Criminal Partnership" and an historical study of crime and punishment in Canada.

Dr. Sturup, of Herstedvester, writing on "Is there a place for corporal punishment in a penal system?" says "We seem to be reluctant to acknowledge the fact that aggressive behaviour is not counteracted by our answering in kind."

A LANCE FOR LIBERTY

J. D. CASSWELL, Q.C.,

Harrap.

25s. 0d.

Fascinating, beautifully written and well illustrated, this is an account of many famous legal occasions, many connected with Mr. Casswell's own work as Counsel for the Defence. Prison officers (and prison doctors) will be intrigued by many references to men, and women, they have met in the electric atmosphere of a murder trial. There is an illuminating reproduction of a note passed by Neville Heath to Mr. Casswell after a reference to "continual observation". It read "Continual observation" at the hospital consists of an old warden, almost illiterate, and with no knowledge of medicine, present in the ward throughout the day. The daily observation book kept by him records such things as "slept" or "didn't sleep". In other words quite normal occurrences. No real observation is kept. The book has many such details which will be of considerable interest to the student of human behaviour.

THE PURSUIT OF CRIME

SIR RONALD HOWE, former Head
of C.I.D., Scotland Yard.

Arthur Barker Ltd. 21s. 0d.

This is another book of reminiscences which offers fascinating glimpses of the

big names in the criminal world and it is particularly interesting to read the opinion of a lawyer turned policeman of the psychopathic personalities who have figured in the sensational trials in this century. "What is to be done about people such as these?" asks Sir Ronald at the end of a chapter on Christie, Gifford, Haigh and Heath. "I cannot say I like the idea of paying taxes for the permanent upkeep of men like Heath but capital punishment is plainly no solution as a deterrent for these psychopaths and paranoics because ultimately they seem to welcome death."

CRIME IN OUR TIME

JOSEPHINE BELL.

Nicholas Vane

21s. 0d.

This is another useful volume for the serious student. Because of the author's training as a novelist, and doctor of thirty years' experience, this is a shrewdly written and carefully observed piece of work. It begins by contrasting a day of crime in London in 1900, with a similar day in 1930 and then another in 1960. 'Big names' jostle with the small fry of the courts but the types of criminal are described clinically and dispassionately. Here are some definitions which will be equally acceptable to the doctor as to the layman and the general public for whom, Miss Bell says, this book is intended. The law and its administration is examined in detail, as is the prison administration and the general background of the treatment of the offender.

The remedy, says Miss Bell, is with us. "It is time we stopped grumbling at the 'badness' of our society's erring youngsters and helped them to secure their heritage. It is time we took full responsibility for the behaviour of our own children, seeing in their faults and failures not an unfair evil, not a social embarrassment, not a threat to our own convenience, but a close reflection of someone's manifold shortcomings".

Among new methods in dealing with delinquents mentioned by Miss Bell is "Group" work. Students of group methods in penal institutions will like to see how these are being developed in New Zealand. The Secretary for Justice, in Wellington, is responsible for a duplicated booklet on this subject which may be borrowed from the Editor.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

John Lee a Languages graduate from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, joined the Prison Service in 1957 after being in the Royal Navy. He has served as a Housemaster at Rochester and Hollesley Bay Colony.

Moya Woodside is a psychiatric social worker who joined the Prison Service in 1959 after over eight years on the staff of the York Clinic, Guy's Hospital. She is a Commonwealth Fellow of the London School of Economics and joint author with Dr. Elliot Slater of *Patterns of Marriage* and author of *Sterilisation in North Carolina* a study carried out during a research appointment at North Carolina University.

F. G. T. Belcham the first catering adviser to be appointed to the Prison Service, joined in 1946 following service with the Royal Air Force where he was a Staff Officer at Bomber Command Headquarters. He is a Fellow of the Hotel and Catering Institute.

Alan Bainton is the Governor, H.M. Prison, Wakefield and a Member of the Editorial Board of this Journal.

J. L. Warhurst has been the Tutor Organiser at Leyhill Prison since March 1956.

Noel Smith is an officer at H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.

J. K. W. Morrice is a consultant psychiatrist to the South-Eastern Regional Hospital Board, Scotland, and is Deputy Physician Superintendent at Dingleton Hospital, Melrose. He is also an Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Psychological Medicine, Edinburgh University. He is at present Visiting Psychiatrist at Saughton Prison, Edinburgh, where a Psychiatric Unit has been established, and several years ago

was instrumental in initiating a psychiatric service for Peterhead Prison in the North-East Region.

Dr. Norman Jepson lecturer in Criminology at the University of Leeds, has been in America for a year, at Columbus (Ohio), lecturing and undertaking research into police and penal methods.

M. E. G. Stocker was born and brought up in the Channel Islands. She worked in the States of Jersey Children's Library until 1939. She served in the A.T.S. in England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Holland and Germany and was demobilized as a Chief Commander in 1947. After three years in the Control Commission for Germany she became an Assistant Governor at Holloway. She has since served at Manchester, Birmingham and Hill Hall prisons and is now Governor of Askham Grange open prison for women.

M. F. G. Selby read history at Cambridge then managed a boys' club in West London. He joined the Prison Service in 1956 at Huntercombe and is now an Assistant Principal at the Officers' Training School, Wakefield.

E. V. H. Williams a Birmingham graduate in Economics, Politics and Sociology, has been in the Prison Service since 1955, at Feltham and Lowdham as Assistant Governor. He is now on the Applied Social Studies Course at the London School of Economics, on a year's secondment.

Ian Dunbar took a degree in Political Science and Economics with a Diploma in Social Science at the University College of North Stafford. He joined the Prison Service in 1956 and is now an Assistant Governor at Leyhill.