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Prisoners Open Their Own Cell Doors

Revolutionary Experiment at Albany

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A REVOLUTIONARY experiment, which might well serve as a pattern for the Prison Service as a whole, is taking place at Albany Prison. Upon reasonable request, cell doors are unlocked or relocked by remote control. Particularly valuable in respect of night sanitation—but with a much wider potential—this is an imaginative experiment, admirably combining the elements of enlightened thinking and advanced technology. It is yet another appreciation of the innate dignity of the individual inmate; and, for the prison officer, the system saves time and tedium.

The new system, which in the first instance has been introduced in "A" Hall at Albany, represents the fulfilment of a pledge by Lord Stonham, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Home Office, when he opened the prison on 20th April, 1967. On that occasion he deplored the necessity for the degrading procedure for night sanitation, when a man was locked in his cell—the "slopping out" process—and he said that an automatic electronic system would be devised.

Although the original idea was simply to make the ablutions available to prisoners at night, the authorities have killed several birds with one economic, technological stone. The practical work-out of the scheme has been designed to produce other facilities; the general business of locking and unlocking cell doors at other times of day has been examined—and the Albany project is an experiment on behalf of the Prison Department. So the Island is taking a national lead; although the use of electronic devices is not new to the Service, this is the first time it has been introduced as a general-purpose scheme.

The *County Press* called on Mr. David Gould (for probably our last interview with the governor before he takes up his national post as an assistant director). He explained the system, and he also afforded us an opportunity to see the scheme in operation. It worked perfectly.

Fundamentally, it is a very simple

Photo: Paterson's of Ryde

Operating the simple intercom device

system. Instead of bolts on the cell doors being manually operated by an officer with a key, it is possible for the bolts to be released by electric energy, and the prisoners can then operate the lock. A control panel enables the staff to monitor the movements of prisoners.

An intercom device in the cell is contained within a comparatively small metal plate, about 9 in. by 3½ in., fixed flush to the wall. If a prisoner wishes to leave his cell at night, he presses a button in the plate, to establish contact with the control room. On receiving a reply, he presses the button again and states his request, the controller releases the bolt, and the prisoner can let himself out. By a similar procedure of communication, when the prisoner returns to the cell, the officer in the control room can re-secure the lock.

The system can be used at other times of day—such as unlocking prisoners in the morning. (Remote control can operate up to eight doors at a time, or any combination of numbers up to eight.) This means that staff can be on duty without having to carry a cell key, or themselves having to unlock the doors. Locking and unlocking of the prison can be achieved much faster with electronic devices. This makes the staff more readily available for other duties.

PRISONERS CO-OPERATE

Mr. Gould said: "The use of the system requires some co-operation from the prisoners, which they have very willingly given. They learned quickly and sensibly how to use the system. The management of the control panel requires some skill on the part of the staff—rapidly acquired, and now operated with confidence. An experimental period in the one hall at Albany is regarded as a success, and it may be that it will now be spread throughout the prison and that, with modifications, it may be used in other prisons".

Asked whether the system was likely to work in other prisons, Mr. Gould said that, in one respect, it was very easy to carry out the experiment at Albany because prisoners and officers had learned to co-operate with each other. Equally, however, the advantages for the prisoners were likely to secure their co-operation. It gave them opportunities to do things for themselves, and they had shown great readiness to accept them. He thought it would be applicable in any situation. It could provide greater freedom, within the bounds of security.

"Once we have really mastered the technical problems of this kind of

Photo: Paterson's of Ryde

Senior Officer Taylor operating the Tannoy control system in the hall staff office

development", he said, "it is quite obvious that all movements can be controlled by it. Prisoners would be able to move about without the present physical help of the officers —and the officer would no longer require his turn-key function. In theory, the device can be used to cover any of the locks which are at present operated by key. There is no limit to this development. What one has to do is to make systematic use of a method which gives the same sort of security given by a key".

The system was designed as a composite project between commercial firms who do work for the department on the usual contractual basis, departments at head office, and the people on the spot at Albany Prison. The officer responsible for administering the experiment locally—organising the training of staff and prisoners—is the officer in charge of "A" Hall, P.O. Wheeler, assisted by the remainder of his staff, including Officer Hanley, with technical assistance from Engineer Jolley.

"EXCITING PRIVILEGE"

Summing up the project, Mr. Gould said: "It has been an exciting privilege to have been required to supervise this experiment—which, in all probability, will have a profound effect upon the development of the prisons of the future".

During our tour of the installations, as seen by the prisoners, we saw some of the ancillary constructional work, necessary in the interest of security, but maintaining the pleasant amenities of this showplace building. To confine the prisoners within the bounds of their respective landings, the staircase well, serving four floors, has been enclosed in the

Photo: Paterson's of Ryde

The staircase well in "A" Hall has been enclosed with "bandit proof" glass, and extra doors have been built on all floors, to confine the prisoners within their respective landings when they open their own cell doors

form of a cage of "bandit proof" glass. Extra doors have been built on all floors, some of them having time-operated locks, others—for the benefit of the night patrol—being opened on the intercom system. There are intercom wall plates for the use of staff on each landing.

An additional installation which has proved a great boon to staff and prisoners—which, however, has no direct connection with the electronic system—is a Tannoy system in the hall staff office. This enables the senior officer to control the movements of all prisoners on all landings, without the need to call up to his colleagues. Incorporated in this is a radio rediffusion system, which is particularly appreciated by those prisoners who do not possess transistor sets. It is a popular attraction on the occasion of big sporting events which are broadcast after the prisoners have retired to their cells. The radio relays the three main B.B.C. programmes; and switch control from the Tannoy can give different programmes for each landing, if required. There is a separate switch for staff use, mainly the night patrol; another for volume control at night.

Perhaps the biggest boon to the prisoners, of a side effect nature, is the installation of light switches in the cells. The switches were installed so that the prisoner could readily use the intercom system in the middle of the night. They have the added benefit of relieving the officer of the duty of turning off the switches, and a touch of freedom for the prisoner by enabling him to dictate his own sleep-time "curfew" —or, should he suffer from insomnia, he can switch on the light and read himself to sleep. There is still a landing switch, for the use of the patrolling officer. This gives a soft glow within the cell and does not disturb the prisoner.

YOUNG OFFENDERS IN WEST BERLIN—*continued from page 20*

policy of erecting extensive new housing estates or tower blocks and of moving people into them without first working through to a satisfactory means of coping with all the individual, group and community problems which inevitably arise. Further, one wonders to what extent a preoccupation with providing dwellings is, at least at some levels, a substitute for tackling the vastly more intractable human questions.

More important, perhaps, are the longer term possibilities of an exchange of ideas and information which may serve both to benefit existing services on both sides and to stimulate fresh lines of thought.

A Place to Live

WRVS ANONYMOUS

A HOMELESS boy straight from borstal conjures up for many a vision of a youth, tough in all ways, and raring to go. In reality, as those concerned know only too well, the boy may make some show of bravado, but he is likely to be underdeveloped, apprehensive and above all, inadequate. Who can blame him? He has been cut off from the current of life at what should have been a formative period of growth in the community from boy to man, and in all probability he has also lacked the opportunities for development which come from a secure childhood with a happy family background.

The homeless boy coming out of borstal needs, at first, something more than an impersonal lodging, even with another such as himself for companionship, and landladies are often hesitant about taking such boys. To him, however, the proposal of WRVS house probably suggests a large, rather over clean, house presided over by somewhat elderly women in green uniforms, kind, but not the boys' cup of tea, although constantly offering this beverage.

What WRVS do, in fact, try to provide for the boys is something similar to the best type of lodging house—a friendly atmosphere, but not the complete familiarity of family life, for which the boys are not yet ready.

The WRVS houses are situated in Birmingham, Nottingham, Cannock (Staffs.) and in Glasgow, and all but one is in a working-class neighbourhood. They are known by the number in the street and attract little notice from the local inhabitants. A visiting governor recently asked at a garage on a nearby corner where the house for borstal boys was and the garage man had never heard of it.

The houses each accommodate about eight boys, with room for one or two more on home leave. A married housewife is in charge and her husband follows his normal occupation and sets the example of going to regular work.

In general, the boys have little difficulty in finding work, and the

weekly charge, usually £4 10s., leaves them sufficient or sometimes more than ample pocket money. Housemothers encourage a savings bank account and the gradual acquisition of clothes, transistors and the other things owned by workmates.

All is far from plain sailing of course, and the houses are run in co-operation with the Probation Service, without whose support they could not continue. A probation liaison officer is appointed with whom the residents maintain contact either by visiting the probation officer or more generally through regular visits by the officer to the house where, from time to time, he joins them for an evening meal.

There is a WRVS committee on which the probation officer sits and which exercises some selection since there are some boys whose problems require that they should be under more professionally skilled care. One WRVS member visits the house regularly, often when the boys are out, to give the housemother an opportunity to discuss the running of the house. Her job can be a lonely one. In some cases men associates also take an interest and visit in the evenings and make opportunities for the boys in employment or recreational pursuits.

Planning the future of a resident is important and if there is a chance of him returning to his family, regular contact is maintained with the home probation officer, otherwise the aim is towards establishing residents in the area and to prepare them for moving into lodgings in the local community. The help of a friendly associate can ease this transition.

The housemother, like the good landlady, is at the heart of the matter, but her success is achieved by very varying methods. Confidence must be gained at the individual boy's pace. One housemother adopted the practice of asking a different boy to help her wash up alone each evening, because she found that "things come out" more readily over the sink. One problem, a sign of immaturity, is that when one or two boys have settled down and come to regard the housemother as "Mum" they deeply resent new incomers making demands on her time and attention. The older residents may decide to "get them out", and trouble ensues. Above all, great tolerance is needed. Nearly every boy who comes from borstal feels he must prove his manhood by getting drunk. This is accepted with little notice taken of it, but it must not be allowed to become a habit.

Regular contact between the probation officer can help the housemother to understand the causes and implications of particular behaviour, e.g., childishness, aggressiveness—conduct that may tend to jeopardise the stability of the group. Occasionally, to safeguard the group, it is necessary for an individual resident to be asked to move.

Housemothers (and their husbands) have been most understanding of the fact that the boys'

insecurity may be the result of gaps in their upbringing. One very underdeveloped boy who did not mix well was happy for weeks playing alone with a model railway which had belonged to the housemother's children—filling a gap—and then became happier in adult company. One housemother and her husband spent a very long Sunday driving a boy from the Midlands to Southport because he had never seen the sea and something was missing. Another boy with golden locks was never at ease and would not look anyone in the face. At last the housemother got to the root of the trouble—the boy was absurdly sensitive about his appearance and longed for black hair. He got it—the housemother and her husband proceeded to dye his hair—not perhaps a social worker's solution but one which worked! Another boy—very unsure of himself had long untidy locks which he used as a symbol for the personality which was so lacking. The day came when he realised he no longer needed the locks. He had a good job, friends and "Mum". He was still too insecure to take the plunge and go to the barber himself, but was sufficiently secure in the house to ask the husband to take him.

These are success stories, but there are obviously failures also. Boys leave to go into lodgings before they are ready and drift into bad ways, and others find temptations—generally in the shape of a motor-car—too much for them and go back into borstal. Although residents are committed following further offences while living in a WRVS house, experience shows that several return to the area because it provides them with security in the form of familiarity. This suggests that the siting of a home is not too important and so long as there are employment prospects, the house can be assimilated into the community.

Every landlady knows she must keep her rooms well filled to make her house pay its way and in the same way WRVS finds these houses very difficult to run economically because of empty places. It is not easy to get the boys in the first place because they get a false picture of a hostel run by women and it is not easy to avoid sudden vacancies for reasons explained above. Visitors from borstal institutions or any probation service are most welcome to come at any time to see the houses and it is hoped that they will try to direct to them the type of boy for whom this help can be of so much value.

Young Offenders in West Berlin

FORD LONGMAN

LAST WINTER I visited Berlin in response to an invitation by the Minister for Family, Youth and Sport to spend a week in West Berlin looking at social services and discussing them with elected representatives, civil servants, academics and workers in the field. It proved a fascinating and stimulating visit—though also rather exhausting since Berliners claim that their beneficial climate makes one need less sleep!

BACKCLOTH

West Berlin is in some ways a beleaguered city. It is, of course, now literally surrounded by walls and barbed wire and one becomes conscious of the tension that exists. This is particularly noticeable when crossing the frontier into East Berlin —an interminable business.

West Berlin is very far from self-supporting. It had an adverse trade balance of DM2,400 million in 1965. This balance was in addition to a yield of DM3,090 million in taxes to the Federal Government which, in return, provided subsidies, loans and other forms of aid totalling DM4,060 million. Hence West Berlin relies heavily on a federal subvention.

Even though the value of orders received by West Berlin industry increased by 67 per cent between 1958 and 1965, exports are still too highly concentrated in a few fields—electrical engineering (33.5 per cent in 1965) mechanical engineering (10.8 per cent) and steel construction (6.4 per cent) accounting for over half, and food and beverages (20.4 per cent) over a fifth. The printing trade, in particular, has suffered from the loss of the city's central functions as a capital, the economic disruption of the city and the reduction of the local market. Whereas 8.3 per cent of the working population were employed in printing in 1936, only 4.1 per cent were so employed in 1965.

West Berlin has gone to great lengths to attract visitors, both to maintain its links with the outside world and to bring in additional revenue, especially dollars. In 1965, 740,000 visitors registered (214,000 from abroad) and the average length of stay was three days.

West Berlin is an ageing city. The population pyramid shows a marked preponderance both of women and of the higher age groups. There are 1,327 women to every 1,000 men. Women in Berlin as elsewhere live longer than men, and most of those who died in the two wars were men. In addition the long period of unemployment after 1950 (when 300,000 were out of work) led many able-bodied Berliners to emigrate to West Germany; while 17 years of restricted entry has prevented normal immigration.

The disproportion between working and non-working population in Berlin is greater than in any other German city. By the end of 1964 the percentage of old people (65 years and over) who had to be supported by the earning population amounted to nearly 20 per cent (433,000 people) as against 11.5 per cent in West Germany. This figure reached 24 per cent this autumn and is expected to reach 33 per cent within a few years. Thus the burden of the economy falling upon a rapidly diminishing section of the population is a very serious one. We can compare these percentages with around 14 per cent in cities like York—where the incidence of pensioners is already regarded as a problem.

Moreover, as the proportion of pensioners increases, that of young people decreases and youth are very conscious of being in a minority. For this reason, among others, they tend to leave the city thus exacerbating an already chronic condition. The imbalance in the population is also reflected in many ways—such as the voting patterns, the forms of entertainment available and the styles of clothes and accessories displayed in the principal shops.

Berlin is an extremely clean city. Air polution seems almost entirely absent: one might almost be walking in the country. Despite extensive building operations and road works the streets are clean and tidy. Virtually every site which is still derelict from the war has been grassed over or turned into a car park. Over 8,000 acres of parks have been freshly laid out in West Berlin since the war. The standard of hygiene in public eating places of all kinds, from the best hotels to the lowliest cafes and pubs, seems much higher than in Britain—as does the standard of cooking.

The authorities complain about vandalism but I saw comparatively little evidence of this: telephone boxes, for example, were not damaged—nor were they extensively protected with wire mesh as in many areas in this country.

German efficiency is impressive. Examples range from the canopy at Templehof Airport dating from the 1930's, and still the only airport in the world where aircraft can taxi in to unload their passengers under cover, to the electric lifts (without internal doors) which seem to function so reliably. It was with particular pleasure therefore that one discovered examples of the reverse! One particular incident will serve. On the day before I spoke to a day conference of social workers in the headquarters building of the Transport Workers Union (the O.T.V.),

the five-storey block derelict building next door was demolished. This was done by detonating explosive charges in it and bringing the whole structure down at one go. The job was done expertly and neatly, the police having made a great parade of searching the building beforehand. After the explosion and the collapse of the building a man and a girl emerged from the ruins—fortunately unharmed—having been sleeping together in an attic. This incident caused much merriment in the city at the expense of the already unpopular police. Doubtless Aesop could have derived several morals from this!

The 12 boroughs which comprise West Berlin all have housing difficulties in terms both of actual numbers and of problem families. To cope with this three new towns have been built in addition to housing estates. These new towns, in order of completion, are in Neukolln, Spandau and Reinickendorf.

Traditionally most of Berlin's population lives in block hauser, large blocks of flats, formerly in ornate Victorian style, more recently in modern idiom, and many of them with service lifts to which only the tenants have keys. Being purpose-built, however, the problems of noise, etc., are not so great as in converted Victorian houses in this country. Moreover, generations of living in flats seems to have accustomed the Berliner to coping with this admittedly rather unsatisfying way of life which can be particularly difficult for those with young children and/or animals. The cost of living and the price of land have risen so rapidly in recent years, however, that the aim of many people to eventually own a house of their own on the outskirts is now only possible if they win in the State lottery.

It has a population of 2.2 million in an area of 185 square miles (as compared with 1.1 million in 155 square miles in East Berlin) giving a population density of 11,900 to the square mile. Hence the pressure on land is very high.

The normal proportion of children under the age of 18 years on housing estates in West Berlin is 15 per cent, but in Markisches Viertel (one of the three new towns) it amounts to 35 per cent and faces the authorities with considerable problems in relation to schools and sports facilities. It also intensifies the need, both for nurseries (since many mothers are out working all day) and for playgrounds, including adventure playgrounds. One adventure playground has already been constructed in this new town under the guidance of Jack Lambert and it appears to be running very well. Other adventure playgrounds are planned as the amenities are provided for further sections of the new town. Such facilities are sorely needed since children must needs be encouraged to develop a constructive approach.

Vandalism is an increasing problem in this new town—which is receiving far more than its fair share of families with problems. These families get moved on from one new

development to another. As Markisches Viertel may be the last major new development in West Berlin it may also become the end of the journey for a disproportionate number of such families. The authorities are already finding, for example, that the electric lifts in the blocks of flats are continually going out of action as the children tamper with them.

The rents of the flats are based on their floor area and, on average, a family with a flat of perhaps 60 square metres floor area pays between DM200 and DM220 monthly. This compares with an average income of the head of the family of about DM120 weekly.

In many cases this income is supplemented by taking other jobs (it being quite common to have two or three jobs in Berlin) and/or by other members of the family bringing in additional income. In fact these figures underline one of the problems that face many of the tenants—that of making ends meet.

We in this country are becoming increasingly aware of the sort of problems created by populating housing estates with one class of people—often 97 per cent being wage earners—who have usually been living in rooms or a flat or condemned property. On top of this they are expected to pay a much higher rent than before as well as much higher transport costs to work, to their extended family and to their old friends and haunts. They are also faced with the necessity of furnishing their new home, if they can, with lino, curtains, kitchen equipment and new furniture, all out of the same income as before. Simultaneously they are exposed to the wiles of the H.P. salesman, without any advice on how to cope with the entirely new situation into which they have been thrown, and without neighbours with more experience and expertise to whom to turn. It is small wonder that tensions are created in these families and between neighbours, that loneliness wreaks havoc, that rates of crime and vandalism soar, that many families give up hope and leave (often by way of a moonlight flit), that voluntary organisations are hard pressed to cope with these problems, and that mental hospitals, clinics and social agencies are grossly overworked.

By and large, a somewhat similar situation faces the West Berlin authorities, although the privations of the last 25 years seem to have produced a greater degree of self-reliance and ingenuity in Berliners.

The Reinickendorf authorities are well aware of the problems which face them in Markisches Viertel and are alive to the need to take prompt and positive measures. The elected representatives are working very hard (and full time) on smoothing the path. Their priority at present is schools, nurseries, playgrounds and a wide variety of sports facilities and leisure activities. Among the latter there is particular emphasis on angling, sailing, canoeing, football, chess and target shooting.

While in Berlin I paid two visits to the Jugendhof Schlachtensee,

Zehlendorf, which resembles a borstal, and one visit to the Jugendarrestanstalt Neukolln, for which we have no parallel although in some ways it is similar to a detention centre.

JUGENDARRESTANSTALT NEUKOLLN

This establishment was built in 1901 as a city prison. Due to be renovated shortly, it is now the only prison establishment in Berlin in which W.C.s are not provided in each block of cells.

This institution houses young people who are given a short sentence ("arrest"). Arrest is not regarded as a punishment, and technically this is not a prison. The treatment given here does not form part of the juvenile's criminal record and normally details are not available even to other government agencies. Neither the boy's school nor his place of work are informed about residence here and the Press are not allowed to attend proceedings in Court. For the same reason the maximum sentence is four weeks. In practice, treatment takes one of three forms: (i) a four-week sentence; (ii) every week-end for four weeks; (iii) a one-week short sentence.

To be sentenced to attend this establishment is generally regarded by the boys as a more severe punishment than being in prison. It is supposed to be a kind of shock therapy. The regulations prescribe that every fourth day should be a severe one, but in practice the first two days are severe and thereafter things are rather easier. Treatment on a severe day includes no mattresses (i.e. a plain wooden bed) and only three blankets, and the food limited to plain bread and coffee. Moreover, the boys are not allowed to work on these days, but are confined to their cells, usually singly. Apparently they find isolation almost unbearable. Normally, work is regarded by the young people as approval of their behaviour and something to be strived for. It is therefore possible to use it as an inducement or incentive.

Actually the opportunities to do any kind of work here are very limited. The boys are here for such a short time and everything has to be done within the economic framework of the institution. Nonetheless orders have been obtained from a number of firms to do quite simple jobs: (a) repairing beer bottle crates; (b) sorting out scrap metal for usable parts; (c) folding surplus newspapers for use by market stallholders. A fourth way of keeping the boys occupied is, of course, the maintenance of the establishment itself.

The only kind of work being offered is of low status, but the authorities have been unable to develop anything else so far and there is no room in the building for machinery at present.

The young people sent here, in contrast with those at other establishments, are not paid for working.

Provision is made for a maximum of 85 inmates and normally this institution houses between 35–50

during the week and between 75–80 at week-ends.

From a rehabilitative point of view this is not a satisfactory system. There is no continuum between the delinquent's behaviour, his apprehension, the sentence and the treatment given here. In addition, long waiting lists and excessive bureaucracy result frequently in two to three-month intervals between the offence and the sentence and a further two months' wait before the boy can be admitted to the Jugendarrestanstalt.

The boys are housed one to each cell unless they are suicidal. According to German law, legal responsibility commences in this area of crime at the age of 14 years though in practice boys are not usually sent here under the age of 16. The average age is 18–20 years. A special law governs the treatment of juvenile delinquents up to the age of 21 and therefore the upper age limit is normally around this age, although a boy is acceptable up to the age of 24 if, for example, having committed an offence under the age of 21 he was fined but failed to pay.

This is the only institution of this kind for boys in West Berlin. The corresponding institution for girls, attached to a women's prison, can receive up to seven girls, but it is not usual for girls to commit offences of this sort

The offences for which boys are sentenced here are mainly: (i) offences against property, including stealing; (ii) truancy; (iii) deviant behaviour in the sense of destructiveness or vandalism; (iv) deviant sexual behaviour (only about 2 per cent).

The boys come mostly from the lower classes—though this is not so much a matter of financial poverty as of the social implications which go with it. In general the wide lack of education among these boys seems to be more of a factor than lack of money. They do not know enough in general and have little idea of using their leisure time constructively.

From the educational standpoint the main problem is those young people whose only offence is truancy. Boys do not regard truancy as criminal and they do not see why they should be punished. Truancy occurs chiefly because, although children can leave full time school as early as 15 years, and most leave at 16 years, they are legally obliged to attend vocational training in school once or twice a week until they attain 18 years apart from being trained in certain trades. Among these youngsters is a small proportion, untrained and doing unskilled jobs, who are not motivated to attend school. In addition some employers ask the age of potential employees and, if they find they are under 18 years, hesitate to offer them a job because they must spend time at school. This tempts boys to claim to be older but eventually the authorities catch up with them! Some of the judges are very reactionary and sentence a boy to as many days in this institution as he has played truant. This can mean

that two boys go in on the same day, one sentenced to 27 days for failing to attend school, another sentenced to only 14 days for quite severe vandalism or car stealing. This makes very little sense and the boys resent it.

This establishment is staffed basically by 15 officers who are members of the prison service. The governor is, however, able to influence the selection of staff and tries to obtain younger men and avoid those who have served for 10 or more years at an adult prison.

In addition there is a teacher, who comes part time from a neighbouring school, a Protestant clergyman (77 per cent of the population being Protestant) and a prison social worker. These three are not members of the staff.

The social worker is a liaison officer from the Ministry for Family, Youth and Sport and keeps communications open between the institution and the Ministry. He attends five times a week for between two and five hours on each occasion.

In general, the prison social worker gives essentially practical support to the young people, e.g., ensuring that the rent for a flat continues to be paid or settling problems with a school teacher or employer. He also listens to the boys' requests and gives them chance to talk about anything that is worrying them.

He also functions in a more general way. Institutions are inclined to develop a law of their own without any influence from the outside world. Hence it is necessary for someone from outside to question the usual routine from time to time.

His other main duty is to observe how the boys have behaved in here and to report to their social workers. Many of the boys are already on probation and therefore in touch with the social worker. There is, however, some difficulty in tying in "arrest" with probation since the probation officer is not called in by the Court as technically this is not a punishment. Probation was introduced about 12 years ago, but the "arrest" system has a much longer history.

I doubt whether one can be very optimistic about this form of treatment. About 40 per cent of the boys come back and this does not include those who go to Jugendhof Schlachtensee or to prison. On the other hand the picture may not be so black since the kind of offences for which boys are admitted are not particularly severe. This establishment is not for criminals, but for giving a short sharp shock to youngsters whose deviant behaviour is symptomatic of their difficulties in growing up. Even if 40 per cent do come back one should be careful about saying that this system does not work at all. The role of this institution is at the fringe of the delinquency problem.

Jugendhof Schlachtensee

At the Jugendhof Schlachtensee I met and talked with the governor, Herrn Kohn, and the deputy governor, Herrn Blume. This establishment is in many respects similar

to a borstal in this country and accepts about 400 boys aged between 11 and 21 years.

By law, the boys must leave at the age of 21 years whether or not they are ready to go, but in practice this does not prove much of a problem: currently only 10 boys are 20 years old.

Both the boys and the staff are divided into nine houses. Five of these houses are in this complex; the other four are in two satelite establishments of 100 boys each, aged 11–15, in the Borough of Tempelhof. The staff include 16 different professions and trades for training the boys in a variety of vocations.

At one time about 30 per cent of the boys came from East Berlin but, as a result of the present political situation, there are at present only two boys who originate from there. Most of the boys now come from the centre of Berlin. From the distribution map on the office wall it seemed that many of the boys came from fairly small localities coinciding with what could broadly be described as deprived areas.

The governor commented, however, that this was not entirely so. Moving people from the inner areas of the city on to big housing projects in the suburbs had not affected noticeably the pattern of behaviour among the juveniles who were moved and the incidence of delinquency, and of sentencing to this establishment, seemed to be much the same as before. The underlying pattern is that 80 per cent of all boys come from families broken in one way or another (including children who are illegitimate or orphans). In fact the staff have been surprised to find that the boys in the institution represent statistically almost exactly a cross section of the community structure. There is not the concentration in the lower social classes that one might expect. The only remarkable deviant criterion is that virtually all the boys come from broken families in one way or another—and broken homes are found in all social strata.

It may be, therefore, that the apparent concentration of cases in certain areas of the city relates to a tendency for broken homes to be more typical of these areas—or even that these areas prove in some respects more attractive to those whose families are breaking up.

At Schlachtensee there are five houses as follows:

(i) for neurotic boys;
(ii) for boys who have been severely neglected at home in the sense that they have committed truancy and delinquency;
(iii) for physically and mentally retarded boys;
(iv) for aggressive "blocked" boys; and
(v) closed house for those boys who have repeatedly shown delinquent behaviour or repeatedly escaped. The maximum spell in this house is four weeks. It also receives about 20 boys remanded for sentence by a judge. The boys in the main complex have a school of their own.

The two satelite establishments at Templehof which take 100 boys each send their boys either to a normal school or to a special school for ESN children. One establishment has a house for 60 boys who go to an ESN school and another house for 40 who used to. The other establishment has a house for 60 boys who go to normal school and another (closed) house for 40 boys.

A total of 9,500 boys have passed through the institution since 1946. Sixty per cent of the boys do adjust and come to accept the social situation. Twenty per cent later go to prison and there are no records in respect of the remaining 20 per cent.

On average a boy stays for a year in this establishment. Of this year, eight months are spent living and working in the institution and the remaining four months, providing good progress has been made, are spent working outside and sleeping in the institution at night. The boys in the main institution have schools of their own and there are 16 different opportunities for work. Of these, four are special training centres for the following trades: blacksmith, electrical mechanic, joiner and shoemaker. Other workshops are training centres for semi-skilled work in trades such as tailoring. The staff find that the boys are fairly good practitioners but are weak on theory.

Before the boys move from a closed to an open house they are tested by one of a team of three psychologists unless they have already come direct from a diagnostic centre. After six months the boys are tested again in order to assess the efficacy of the treatment. The boys are encouraged to use their free time in a responsible way as well. For this purpose they are divided into nine groups which spend their time on such activities as (i) camp newspaper production, (ii) camera club, (iii) pottery, (iv) metalwork. Boys may take part in various groups once or twice but they must then decide which group they wish to stay with for six months. In addition boys are taken to concerts, plays, etc., on a voluntary basis.

If a boy behaves well in his unit as well as at his work place and at school he receives DM8 a week. It is astonishing that boys are prepared to pay out of this as much as DM2 to attend a concert or play. It has been found that practically none of the boys have experienced concerts or plays before.

Each boy costs the taxpayer DM24 (43 shillings) daily. The annual budget for the establishment is DM3.5 million (about £315,000 prior to devaluation).

It is interesting to note that the boys here, unlike those in similar institutions in the Federal Republic outside Berlin—which are usually situated well away from cities—can go home at the week-end if they have behaved well. They are therefore able to meet their families and girl friends regularly and there are practically no symptoms of homosexuality in the institution. The total number of boys displaying these symptoms has increased during the last two years but it is still

uncommon. It is necessary here to distinguish between some three or four boys, who must be placed in a single cell at night, and a larger group of boys who are prepared to make DM30 or DM40 through homosexual contacts.

Boys normally are allocated three to a room in order not to have too close a relationship in any respect. All the boys can decorate the rooms as they like within reason.

Reasons for detention on two recent dates are as follows:

TABLE I

	1/11/66	15/7/67
1. Families have neglected them and the State has taken over parental rights (Ff)	142	152
2. Parents have asked for support and hence parents can come and collect a boy back at any time (F)	199	217
3. Have been sentenced by a judge without a time limit (s. 10 JGG) ...	17	17
4. On remand (s. 71 and s. 72)	22	12
	380	392

Hence about 50 per cent of the boys come in at their parents' request.

The offences for which the boys are admitted are chiefly (i) stealing, (ii) truancy, (iii) failure to go regularly to work.

It is also possible to place the boys in the following categories:

TABLE II

	1/11/66	15/7/67
1. Boys with father and mother (not necessarily living in harmony) ...	112	107
2. Boys with divorced parents	110	125
3. Illegitimate boys	107	106
4. Boys with one parent living	48	50
5. Boys with no parents living	3	10
	380	392

In all about 80 per cent of these boys come from disrupted families.

There is a prison for boys in Plotzensee. It is used only for up to 200 boys who have committed serious offences (for example, murder, severe rape or stealing with violence) or who are recidivists.

In recent years the average age of entry to Jugendhof Schlachtensee has gone down steadily with an increase in delinquency by youngsters. Children under 14 years cannot be sent to prison: hence boys who have committed 30 or 40 breaking and enterings still come here if they are under 14 years of age.

The institution has a good record for treating boys by psychiatric means, especially in cases of bed-wetting and stammering; but it often takes 30 or 40 sessions with each boy to do this. The staff are quite proud of the progress they have made. When the institution was built one psychiatrist was allocated to the staff. Since then the complement has increased gradually until there is now a medical team of three psychiatrists, two psychologists, one

general practitioner and one psychiatric social worker.

On going round the establishment, the following points particularly impressed me:

(i) the boys were allowed to wear their own clothes off duty, even in the closed house;

(ii) ample provision for recreation and leisure to a high standard. One open house, for example, had a jazz band in the basement and a small orchestra on an upper floor, both well equipped, as well as a good library;

(iii) the boys were permitted to smoke off duty (though not, I think, to drink alcohol);

(iv) the atmosphere appeared to be more homely—and rather more scruffy—than in many of our institutions;

(v) the boys ran their own camp magazine and clearly enjoyed doing so;

(vi) in some respects the legislation governing this establishment was more akin to our mental health than penal legislation;

(vii) the machinery and equipment provided in these workshops was of a very much higher standard than in our prisons or borstals, or most of our mental hospitals.

Conclusions

For a variety of reasons it was not possible on this occasion to look in detail either at the provision of services and facilities in the fields of education, health, welfare, police or adult penal establishments; or at the broader aspects of social planning including its relationships to physical, economic and industrial planning. The authorities expressed their keenness, however, to pursue these questions on subsequent occasions, both in West Berlin and on individual visits to the U.K. and these exchanges have, in fact, continued.

This, I feel, is very useful since not only did it prove possible to establish, despite the language barrier, a remarkable degree of rapport, but one was struck time and again by the close similarity of basic problems in West Berlin and the U.K. despite many historical differences. For example, the young people in West Berlin stratify out, and resist conventional youth service and youth club provision, in much the same way as in Britain. They also pass through the same successive phases and fashions, although generally a step or so behind London in point of time. Moreover, the same stresses build up as a result of trying to reconcile the right to personal freedom with responsibility to and by the rest of the community; though the "mix" of factors is rather different in Berlin.

Moreover, seeing the same problems in a different setting stimulates a fresh approach. This visit does, for example, lead one to question even more seriously the present

Continued on page 6

Parole is Top of Research List

OF THE MANY subjects listed in this year's International Exchange of Information on Current Criminological Research Projects, the results of one U.K. study are likely to be keenly studied by prisoners, public and prison staff alike. This is titled, simply, "Parole project".

The aim of the research is to study prisoners eligible for parole on 1st April 1968 and subsequently. In addition a study of the decision-making process of the Parole Board will be included. The correspondent is Mr. N. H. Avison, lecturer at the Department of Criminal Law and Criminology, University of Edinburgh, Old College, Edinburgh 8.

The development of criminal organisation which will be a comparative study of criminal organisation and its connection with social development, especially in Britain since the 14th century. Miss Mary McIntosh, Department of Sociology, University of Leicester, is correspondent.

Another is "Effects of imprisonment on prisoners", a study of longer and shorter term prisoners with the aid of psychological tests to determine how far two current hypotheses about the effects of imprisonment are borne out. The hypotheses are:

(*a*) Clemmer's theory of progressive prisonisation; and

(*b*) Wheeler's U/curve theory.

The present study predicts that either will apply according to the pre-incarceration personality of the prisoner. The correspondent is Dr. Howard Jones, B.Sc. (Econ.), PH.D., head of the Department of Sociology, University of Keele, who will be engaged in the research with Mr. Paul Cornes.

The Penal Research Unit of Oxford University is concerned with nominal penal measures; a study of measures for offenders which involve no punishment, supervision or restraint. The aims of the study are to discover which adult male offenders (aged 17 and over) convicted of indictable offences are being selected by magistrates' courts as suitable for these measures. To show how successful these measures are in comparison with other forms of disposal available to the courts, and to show how successful these mea-

sures are in dealing with different types of offender.

Dr. N. D. Walker and Mr. D. J. Steer are engaged in this. Their address is: Correspondent, Penal Research Unit, Oxford University, St. Cross Building, Oxford. Dr. Walker, with Miss S. F. McCabe, Mr. R. F. Purves and Miss J. Chapman, is also concerned in "Contested trials in higher courts", a study which is at present only in its pilot stage. It is intended to examine the whole process of trial from the moment at which the defendant is charged by the police through the preliminary proceedings to the trial in the higher court and the verdict of the jury. The study will have particular regard to cases in which the defendant is acquitted, since there is evidence that acquittal rates show wide variations from one set of courts to another. It is hoped that some reasons for these variations may be suggested if "categories of innocence" could be established, such as that the offence with which the defendant was charged was not generally regarded in the area as particularly "criminal", or that the defendant aroused the sympathy of those who heard his case, or that there was overwhelming evidence that he had had nothing to do with the offence with which he was charged.

LEGAL AID

Yet another Oxford project is legal aid in criminal cases, a comparative study. This is an empirical study of the legal aid scheme in criminal cases aimed at discovering—

(1) what demographic, social, economic and judicial characteristics of police areas are associated with the differences between areas in the proportion of legal aid certificates granted;
(2) the characteristics of those who receive different kinds of legal service; and
(3) the effect of different types of legal representation on the outcome of trial. Techniques to be used: questionnaires, interviews and statistical analysis.

Dr. N. D. Walker and Mr. C. M. Low are engaged on this project.

Two probation-orientated projects are listed. The first, a pilot study to categorise different styles of interpretative group work by probation officers. At a later stage an attempt will be made to assess effectiveness of these styles when matched with different types of offenders.

This project has begun with a group of nine probation officers who are taking a two-year course in group work (conductor: Dr. R. G. Andry; teacher in group dynamics: Mr. Paul de Berker). They were selected from 18 candidates, all of whom took the following test battery:

(1) Cattell's 16. P.F.
(2) Eysenck Personality Inventory.
(3) California F. Scale.

After two years, the nine successful candidates for group training and the nine others will be retested to see whether those with fairly inten-

sive group experience show up differently, and in what way (e.g. less rigid, less anxious, etc.).

The correspondent is Mr. Geoffrey Twistleton, a principal psychologist in the Prison Service, working from Howard Centre for Penology, 30–32 Tabard Street, London, S.E.1.

Secondly, "Developments in the use of probation; a critical examination of principles, practice and trends in the probation service".

Part 1. Historical development. (A brief general survey of changes occurring before 1964.)

Part 2. The structure of the organisation. (General identification of function through examination of case material. Questionnaire investigation of attitudes, expectations and professional priorities amongst principal, senior and main grade probation officers with special reference to organisational need, degrees of professional autonomy and training background.)

Part 3. Review of selection procedures and methods of training.

Part 4. Trends in casework practice identified by literature survey and examination of case material.

Professor D. C. Marsh and Mr. A. W. Hunt, the principal probation officer, Law Courts, Southampton, are engaged in this.

JUVENILES

Detention centres are featured in another Oxford project—"Reconviction rate of offenders committed to detention centres compared with a control sample of other offenders". For some time there has been considerable pressure on places in senior detention centres so that courts which would have used this measure were unable to do so because senior detention centres in the courts' geographical area were full. It is proposed to use this fact to obtain a control sample of offenders whom courts disposed of in some other way, to match a series of cases committed to detention by the same courts and at roughly the same time. Mrs. S. F. McCabe and Miss J. Chapman are engaged in this, working from the Penal Research Unit of Oxford University.

"The use made by juvenile court magistrates of the idea of welfare in their court dispositions" is a Keele project in which a questionnaire will be administered to a sample of magistrates sitting in urban and rural juvenile courts with the aim of ascertaining how they interpret the welfare duty placed upon them by the Children and Young Persons Act 1933, and in particular the bearing of these on their function as members of a court of criminal jurisdiction. The correspondent is Dr. Howard Jones, B.Sc.(Econ.), Ph.D.

"The enforcement of factory legislation." A case study in the enforcement of laws relating to white-collar crime, aims at investigating offences committed by 200 factory occupiers during a period of four and a half years and the methods used for dealing with such offenders. The researcher is Mr.

W. G. O. Carson, M.A., DIP.CRIM., Department of Sociology, University of London, Bedford College, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.

WOMEN

A statistical description of all sentenced women in prison was made at the beginning of 1965 when the complete index of these women was started in the Home Office Statistical Branch. This description has been published in Home Office Research Unit Report No. 11. Another analysis is being made of the population 18 months later and it is hoped to see the effect of the 1967 Criminal Justice Act by making a similar analysis at a further period when its provisions have been in force long enough to affect the prison population.

Misses N. Goodman and J. B. Price are engaged in "A description of the female population". Miss N. Goodman is senior research officer at the Home Office Research Unit, Horseferry House, Dean Ryle Street, London, S.W.1.

Miss C. M. Carmichael, Department of Social Study, University of Edinburgh, with Miss M. Browne, is engaged on "Borstal girls as a focus for studying anti-social deviance in women".

Fifty girls, from 17–21, admitted to H.M. Institution, Greenock (Borstal) contrasted, it is hoped, with a control group from amongst inmates of (girls) Young Offenders' Institution. A depth study of each girl is undertaken from the following angles:

(*a*) inter-personal relations;
(*b*) level of functioning;
(*c*) present and previous offences and disposals;
(*d*) familial reaction to offence(s); and
(*e*) nature of family unit and girl's domicile.

Attention will be paid to the institutional structure, including staff/inmate relationship. Comparisons will be made with young offenders.

"The reform of Scottish Prison Administration in the 19th century", is another Scots project based on the official records of the prison administration and the many relevant official reports of inspectors and royal commissions.

The correspondent is Miss Susan Hitton, M.A., Department of History, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.

Italy will investigate "Immediate effects of aggressive content in mass media communications". A "violent" and "non-violent" film will be presented to two groups of subjects aged 16–18, college cultural level. Attitudes and values toward the concept "violence" will be measured before and after the presentation of the stimuli. Measure of intelligence level, personality traits, interests, comprehension and resonance of the stimuli also will be secured. The correspondent is Mr. Franco Ferracuti, professor of penal law, Institute of Psychology of the University of Rome, Rome.

Italy will also investigate the role of the motor vehicle "as an object, tool or occasion of crime".

Belgian research has another "violence" project, and another on "War and the prison population".

An End to Borstal Training?

D. G. LONGLEY

THE PURPOSE of this article is to consider the indeterminate sentence as a basis for borstal training. It is, no doubt, argued that it is a constructive means of making training more effective as it is supposed to be directly related to merit and reward. It might, however, be equally argued that far from being a constructive tool to be used in training it works, in fact, very much to the opposite effect and can be positively harmful by impeding what is trying to be achieved in the training situation.

The arguments in favour of an indeterminate sentence would seem to centre mainly on the theory that those directly in charge of the training of an inmate are best qualified to decide when he should be released. The borstal sentence is one of between six months and two years and the release date of an inmate is decided by the institution board, consisting of the senior members of staff of the establishment, on the recommendation of the individuals most closely concerned with day-to-day handling of the inmate. This removes from the Courts themselves the obligation to consider a suitable, specific penalty which is directly related (as would be a term of imprisonment) to the offence and previous criminal history of the convicted person.

The institution board then has to consider an inmate for release when it deems it most likely that the inmate has gleaned the maximum amount of benefit from his training and is in such a frame of mind that he is least likely to commit further offences. In these circumstances, it is arguable that this makes for a wholly artificial and contrived situation which more often than not, bears very little resemblance to the facts.

The institution board has to assess an inmate's qualifications for discharge largely on the basis of his institutional performance. The staff may recommend release on the grounds of his good behaviour, willingness to co-operate, the interest that he has shown in his training, any radical change in the way he appears to think and, in some cases, the length of time that he has served. The aim of borstal training, one presumes, is basically to help the

inmate by advice, discussion or guidance to cope more adequately with the stressful situations that he is likely to encounter after his eventual release. This, obviously, is difficult to achieve within the bounds of an institution; with the additional handicap of an indeterminate sentence and its concomitant artificially induced strains and tensions, it might well seem almost impossible. An inmate in borstal, theoretically at least, has to work to earn an early release date. The barriers he has to surpass in the grade system are artificially created, have no real relevance to what is ultimately being attempted in the training context and, more often than not, actually work against what is trying to be achieved.

One problem with which all staffs of borstals are constantly being confronted is how to deal with the inmate who is shrewd enough to recognise these artificial barriers over which he must pass before he can be considered for discharge and merely conforms superficially to institutional standards in order to gain this end. If conformity (which is desirable in itself for the good running of the establishment) is not to be penalised or discouraged, how are staffs supposed to approach such a problem? Could one really justify the prolonging of an inmate's sentence merely on the grounds that he is suspected of going through the motions and paying no more than lip service to his training? This would, one suspects, be an extremely difficult case for a governor to justify to an outside body and might even be deleterious to the good running of his establishment. Hence, one suspects, many inmates slip through borstal sentences by merely conforming to the artificial standards of their institutions.

If an inmate's release date is to be judged on his behaviour, then this too, can produce some very anomalous situations. He could, for example, be an absolute pest at the beginning of his training and incur disciplinary reports leading to downgrading or delayed grading. He might then show considerable improvement in his behaviour and ultimately earn a fairly early discharge. In fact, his chances of doing so might very well be improved as the contrast in his performances would be so obvious as to positively suggest that he has improved "because" of the training itself. This could mean an accelerated discharge over an inmate who has plodded along in a mediocre manner without being in any way a disciplinary problem. For it would seem that with the indeterminate sentence, an inmate tends to be judged very much on his current performance and is rarely penalised for what has happened in the past.

The indeterminacy of the borstal sentence certainly would seem to have an unsettling effect on inmates generally, but sometimes it even tends to preclude their taking full advantage of the opportunities borstal can offer. Some inmates are deterred from applying for trade courses for fear that, by so doing, they will unnecessarily prolong the length of time they will have to

spend in borstal. Many, in fact, forgo the chance to learn a trade through mistakenly believing that a quicker discharge can be obtained by not committing themselves to another six months of custody, often despite strong and forthright advice to the contrary from members of staff. Such is the magnet of an indeterminate release date that almost everything an inmate does is looked upon as a means to that end and learning for its own sake or for some future and (to most inmates), very distant benefit, is discounted.

What opportunities are there really in our establishments, and especially in the closed ones, for the staffs to assess objectively any real changes that have occurred in an inmate's attitude and outlook? Within so many borstals, the opportunity to test an inmate's progress and sense of responsibility are limited and artificially bounded. Our institutional standards really have so little relevance to the environments from which the inmates generally come and, in closed establishments especially, considerations of security make it virtually impossible for staffs to assess any real progress that an inmate might have made. Much has been made in the past of the word "loyalty"—especially loyalty to members of staff and loyalty to the house or establishment where the inmate resides. But how realistic, again, is it to expect a young man from a delinquent environment in a ruthlessly materialistic society to conform to the norms of a Victorian public school. The old borstal tradition has lost its impetus and is no longer relevant to the conditions of today. It had great value while there was the opportunity for a worthwhile pioneering experience to be shared by both staff and inmates. Such, no doubt, was the value of the march to and the building of Lowdham Grange. Once, however, buildings are established, something contrived has to be substituted and this quickly becomes stagnant. Staffs lose their enthusiasm as programmes are repeated and inmates are quick to see how different systems of training can be circumvented.

In the borstal system today, staffs are trying to help their charges cope with problems of modern living in an artificial situation which is made more artificial by the super-imposition of a scheme which can work against everything that is trying to be achieved. Staffs of borstals, in so many cases, are trying to help inmates to cope with their own inadequacies and limitations yet, at the same time, a system of competitiveness is encouraged which frequently induces further unsettledness and sometimes deceit, not only on the part of the inmate but also of the staffs as the way to an inmate's discharge is manipulated.

The institution boards of borstals, by their very nature and the circumstances in which they invariably operate, also of necessity, come to some very inconsistent decisions. Here individual members of staff try to convince their colleagues of their justification in recommending inmates for discharge on criteria

which vary from comments on their institutional performances to intuitive guesses as to how successful they think they will be after release. How often, however, have our predictions been completely erroneous? One inmate may be recommended for release because it is recognised that the establishment can do no more for him, even though failure may be predicted; another with a possible chance of success, may be detained to derive further benefit from his training. One inmate may be detained because of his previous record and the argument about protecting society's interests is employed while another may be recommended for release because further institutionalisation is considered as something which might be positively harmful. Different arguments may be produced to cope with the different cases with which the board is confronted. In our decisions, it may be said, we are far from consistent.

The value of borstal training is undisputedly derived from the relationships which an inmate is able to form with members of staff—and the change of attitude which he is able to acquire from such relationships. For any real benefit to be gained from such relationships there needs to be a reasonably stable environment for them to grow. It could well be argued, therefore, that the indeterminate sentence often works against this by reason of the unsettling effect it has on the inmates who are never sure when they will be promoted or selected for discharge.

Finally, it is also arguable that the imposition of the indeterminate sentence for borstal training in our Courts works against the principles of justice whereby the lengths of sentences are usually related to the offences committed and the previous criminal records of the convicted persons. Borstal training is now almost the only custodial sentence which the Courts can impose on a young offender. Young men between the ages of 15 and 21 are considered responsible in law for their actions and it could be argued that they should be accorded those standards which adult offenders receive. This would not preclude consideration being given to the personality and former record of the convicted person, but some consideration could also be given to the gravity of the offence committed. Full reports on individuals could certainly be before the Courts when sentencing is being carried out, and probably these reports from the relevant agencies would be more objective in recommending appropriate lengths of sentences to be imposed than are the staffs of borstals, whose opinions are so often clouded by irrelevant institutional considerations and biased outlooks on individuals.

More important perhaps, determinate sentences could provide a more stable background in which an inmate, if he is willing to learn, would not be hindered by artificial barriers to progress and the necessity to convince others that he is worth consideration for release. The same sanctions of prisons of loss of

remission would apply in cases of misconduct and this would at least ensure that the inmate loses something positive for his misdeeds.

One hears occasionally of borstals which work to average times for lengths of sentences and the length of time that an inmate serves varies very little from individual to individual. Even so, there is very little consistency from establishment to establishment in what is considered an appropriate or inappropriate sentence for an inmate to serve. This perhaps, in some ways, is how it should be if the principles of the indeterminate sentence are adhered to, by which each individual should be considered on his merits.

One might suggest, however, how much more realistic it would be if lengths of sentences were determined beforehand. This way, a training programme could be planned with greater ease, and the inmate's approach to training would not be cramped by speculations of, and machinations towards, an early discharge date. Also, how much more in accordance with the principles of justice it would be if the length of a sentence was in some way related to the gravity of the offence committed and the criminal record of the offender.

Contributions

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Borstal Pre-release Discussion Groups

P. C. BIBBY

FOR SOME TIME members of Liverpool Probation and After-care Service have visited borstals to see the individuals who would be their responsibility when released on license. We tried to visit at least twice during the detention period, firstly soon after admission, especially important if the officer and lad do not know each other beforehand; and secondly, towards the home leave period. This procedure was made more compatible with economy of time, money and resources, by each of the area offices within Liverpool allocating one officer to each borstal. This meant that, unless there was good reason why the lad should be allocated to someone else, every lad from that area going to a particular borstal was allocated to that borstal's officer.

I became responsible for Hindley Borstal in my area and due to its proximity to Liverpool, was able to visit every 10 weeks which meant that I would visit four or five times in the average lad's period of training. I have no doubt that these individual interviews helped in starting or continuing a relationship with the lads, enabling them to see their after-care officer as more than a name on a license form who would write, if they were lucky, a few times during the order, but whom they did not know as a person. This was shown in their response when they were released from borstal in that a larger number than before not only kept in touch but also seemed to make more use of the interview periods than had done previously.

The idea occurred almost simultaneously to my colleague, Mr. Simonet, and myself that this time could be better spent at the borstal, seeing the lads initially in a group, with shorter individual interviews following. It was felt that these groups could possibly be of advantage in allowing them to express their feelings more freely which would enable us to understand them better as individuals and also

to understand better how they react in a group. At this time we were rather vague as to whether the lads would feel they benefited or not, other than the benefit of being excused a half-day's duty in the borstal.

At this stage we were aware not only of our own inexperience in the running of groups, but also the limitations of this particular group. The fact that they were held bi-monthly meant that they could not be classed as intensive groups and that between each group meeting approximately one-sixth of the old group had been released and about one-sixth of the new group were additions. This by its very nature put a limit on the potential of the group, but it was a limit we had appreciated when we started. Another factor of which we were aware was that of the difference in attitudes and interviewing technique between the two leaders. This was resolved by our leading alternate meetings while the other leader was present. This had the advantage of different methods of leadership being used while also showing the lads that people of different outlook could still work together. After the meeting the non-leader always discussed the leader's conduct of the meeting in an attempt to learn from each other. There was one constant factor that we originally had largely ignored as being irrelevant, namely the effect of the housemasters on the group. We had underestimated the cog-oiling effect they had on new members of the group before their first meeting.

Our first meeting was approached with some trepidation on our part and also on the part of the lads. They were unsure of what was supposed to happen, possibly being conditioned by their experience of officer-led groups in the borstal.

After outlining the purpose of these pre-release discussions, it was thrown over to the lads to discuss their attitudes to after-care, only to be greeted by general silence. This meeting developed into a dialogue between one lad and the leader. This was rather disappointing but was to a great extent due to the newness of everybody to the group situation. Later groups flowed better, possibly because in these later groups a good majority always had taken part in similar groups; discussion in these groups centred on subjects such as family, girl friends, work expectations, police persecution. It was noticeable that those groups in which instruction or justification were offered by the officers tended to flow less easily than those in which discussing was allowed to flow freely.

We had the feeling that these groups were more helpful to us in assessing the way in which the lads reacted to each other and to authority, but we possibly obtained their real feelings about the group when we had to consider winding it up. This occurred when the numbers of lads known to the officers reached four, which we felt was too small a number to meet with two officers. Two alternatives were open to us, either to finish the group, or to bring in another colleague who had lads

at this borstal. The members of the group chose the latter, although this did increase the number of officers in the group. What was very interesting was that it was not the most vocal and extrovert members of the group who felt they would miss the group most, but the quiet introspective members expressed their fears most. This was partly noticeable in the group itself but more so in the later individual interviews.

Later groups, therefore, contained three officers, and it is true to say that they have not flowed as freely as the two officer groups. There may be a number of reasons for this, the most obvious of which is the increase in "authority" within the group. Other factors might be that having three officers leads to even greater conflicts over "leadership" at either conscious or unconscious levels and could lead to "ganging up" by two officers on the third, or the fact that between the two groups so far held there was a longer period than usual, namely almost three months.

The second of these groups was extremely hostile in a quiet passive way and except towards the end when this hostility was verbalised, it was a very trying experience containing many long hostile silences. The fact that the officers were able to withstand this without retaliating in like manner may well be a good thing, but at the time it did not seem so to the officers. Discussions in this group produced the suggestion that it would be more helpful to see the lads individually before the group, so that their individual problems which are so important and immediate to them can be dealt with in the hope that this positive attitude might be transferred to the group.

The future of this particular group involves change, as one of the officers is soon to stop visiting this borstal, and indeed this particular group may cease. But a number of points come out of this experience.

(1) These groups are at least as useful pre-release contacts as individual interviews are in establishing rapport, especially with previously unknown lads.

(2) The groups have enabled officers to see and understand the lads in a group setting.

(3) The groups have enabled the lads to see the officers in a group setting, and to see that officers of different outlooks can work together.

(4) It is often the quietest members of the groups who gain most support from the group.

(5) Of the 12 lads to be released since the group was started four have got into further trouble compared with three out of 10 from all other borstals in the same period who have not been subject to these groups. This is not statistically significant but is hopeful, when one considers that Hindley is a "closed" borstal, and takes the more difficult type of youth.

The Swansea Experiment

D. LONG

WE SEEM to be passing through a stage where group work and relationships are of paramount importance in prison life. For decades now, the prison system has, by its very nature, been punitive—rules and regulations without number have been written to ensure the inmates' good behaviour or salutary punishment. The rule was, do WHAT you are told WHEN you are told, and do not dare to question authority. Neither must you think, or attempt to have any control of your movements, for such action would be construed as taking over the system. For some strange reason, running parallel to this edict, was the aim that men should be trained and encouraged to lead a good and useful life upon discharge. How one can reconcile life inside a total institution, to that of a man taking his responsible place at the head of a family is beyond understanding. Probably the case has been overstated, but it was against the background of silent labour, long hours in cell, and an over-vigilant staff, that Sir Alec Paterson said that a man cannot be trained for freedom in conditions of captivity. It is felt that Sir Alec at no time meant that training in a total institution was impossible, but that its effect would be negligible, especially if communication and inmate-officer relationships were not allowed. For some time the problem of understanding and relationships has been recognised, and more and more people are thinking logically and realistically on the question of discharge.

There are two main tasks which every governor is charged to fulfil. The first is to carry out the orders of the committing authority to hold the man in custody. The second, to train and fit the man for discharge. The task which must take precedence can be high-lighted in this way. No governor is held to account if a man should return to prison after a period of prison training. On the other hand, in every case of escape a full and detailed explanation will be called for.

However, having satisfied ourselves that a man is secure, then there must follow some form of progressive training to assist him when discharged. Nevertheless

before any training is attempted there must be a relaxed and productive atmosphere, the attitude between officer and inmate must be one of understanding and confidence, and it was with these thoughts in mind, that a number of officers approached the then governor of Swansea Prison, Mr. W. Perrie, asking for social training to enable them to fulfil this modern role more efficiently.

This was mid-1964, and Swansea at this time was a clean, well ordered prison. Inmates were reasonably obedient and the young staff did little to come to grips with the many social problems around them, mainly because they were not encouraged to do otherwise. They were aware of this and asked for training which would enable them to take their proper place in the rehabilitation team.

Early in 1965, a 12-week course in "Social History and Administration" was arranged by the extramural department of University College, Swansea. Twelve officers from Swansea Prison attended, and all 12 completed the course.

In the winter of 1965–6, a second course was arranged, the subject being "Parliament and People". Some 20 officers enrolled for this but only 50 per cent completed the course. The consensus of opinion was that the course bore little relationship to the prison officer's job, but there can be no criticism of staff or tutors. Staff were not at this point content to learn too much background, they were seeking quick knowledge which they could apply, and the organisers put this failure down to experience.

However, the ardour for learning persisted, and during the following 1966–7 season, courses were arranged to cover a wider field. A three-year course to take in evolution, criminology and penology was arranged and staff were invited to enrol. The response was so overwhelming that other courses were arranged to avoid disappointment.

A short course in psychology and an intensive case-work course were made available to us and all the places offered were filled. The average attendance at the courses was in the region of 72 per cent, and when one considers the excess duties officers are called upon to perform this was an amazing figure.

Parallel with these courses, in-service group training was begun. The training consisted of 12 two-hour sessions, the first of which concerned themselves with interpersonal and inter-group relationships, the remainder with management problems within a prison. Much of these last six sessions was given over to consideration of the implication of change. The sessions were arranged to allow for a lecturette followed by a study group and a full permissive group session. There were introductory lecturettes on "Development of Personality", "Small Group Behaviour", "Skills and Role Adaption", the "Implication of Change" and the "Rotation" theory of leadership. As most of these subjects had their root source within the prison, discussion and argument went on far beyond the

allotted time. Such was the interest and involvement engendered amongst the staff.

The most fascinating type of group was the permissive group which allowed all members to sit as peers, searching and questioning each other's motives. From this type of group all prison discussion groups and indeed management groups were modelled. It was felt that only by allowing uninhibited discussion would staff be able to sample the real emotional effect of group work, and also if group members were to function properly the first ingredient was confidence. If nothing else, uninhibited group work gave confidence both in expression and professional skill.

Quietly a mild social revolution was in progress. The standard of social knowledge and know-how was high and staff were not only thinking but eager and hungry for further learning. The whole time they were being supported and counselled. It was recognised, that if one is to experiment, there are bound to be mistakes, this is inevitable and it is in this area that a wrong decision by the hierarchy can be damaging. To illustrate this: There was a time when some uncommitted members of Swansea staff decided to work to rule for no apparent reason, unlocking cells slowly and singly and refusing orders to revert to normal unlocking practice. This was serious indiscipline and the usual procedure would be for disciplinary action to be taken, but this was not done, the officers responsible were asked to explain their actions and the matter rested there. Some senior members of staff thought this foolhardy and were quick to say so, only after a considerable time was the wisdom of this action really apparent. The goodwill and support of the staff continued throughout, where otherwise the punishment of staff may have united them against further progressive training.

As the in-service group training came to a close, staff were left to decide for themselves whether they wished to use their new found expertise in the training of inmates. Some decided that the emotional stress of group work was beyond them, others felt that to sit as a peer in a multi-prisoner-prison visitor-officer group, and then to revert to being a disciplinarian within the hour was just not for them, and the more we consider this problem the more sense it makes. It was realised that only a few exceptional people are able to cope with this Jekyll and Hyde type of group, but with practical training many others had valuable skills to offer and many of those who had submitted themselves to practical group therapy were to continue in prisoner groups.

At first, two groups of 12 started to sit together, consisting of eight inmates, two officers and two prison visitors in each group. This was increased to five groups later when other staff had been trained. All the members were volunteers and the groups were confidential. Much of the initial discussion was local chit-chat, progressing to prison

problems and attacks on staff, but because of the permissive atmosphere which was cultivated within the group, the criticism of behaviour was by no means one sided, the inmates too came in for their fair share of attack.

Surprisingly a good level of understanding built up quickly, the varied and deep discussion which followed, regardless of its turbulence began to weld the group into a real supportive unit. Much of the credit for this must go to the staff groupers who, through their intelligent handling of group situations, became quickly accepted as peers by inmates.

The point had now been reached where the one person in a position to gain the most information, both by observation and knowledge of a man's background had the added opportunity of testing conclusions in group situations, and reports emanating from this knowledge were proving most accurate.

At this stage, it was obvious that this wealth of useful information had to find an outlet, and many management groups were set up, dealing with education, association, working-out schemes and other subjects. Because of the confidentiality of the groups only abstract information could be used, but this in itself was no problem because quite often impressions were sufficient to satisfy the needs of the particular group. Only the working-out scheme group was tied closely to group learning. It was necessary to counsel those inmates who would qualify for the scheme to join a group, as it was felt that before a man could be selected or rejected to work outside the prison, a full and deep study of his make-up would be helpful. At this time there were probably six inmates who could qualify to work outside, they all became members of a group for about four months and nearly all were accepted for the scheme. None of those completing their time working out have to date been re-admitted to prison, and the last was discharged some 10 months ago. Whether the support and emotional learning from within a group played any part in this is difficult to say, but the success rate (in terms of staying out of prison) of inmates working out who have NOT undergone a group experience, has diminished considerably since this time. In all cases the inmates have been supported continually by the working-out scheme management group.

This is only one example. There are many more instances where group learning has been used directly in a management situation. The welfare officer himself draws heavily upon information supplied by uniformed staff in his everyday social and rehabilitation work, and is himself heavily committed to training in group theories.

A continuous feed-back of group information is of ultra importance to enable group members to re-think and re-learn from each other and this was done regularly.

Another area of importance is continuity. It was found that if only one non-inmate member was able

to attend, the group would still function normally, and in a local prison, with all its Court commitments this is very important.

People have often been heard to say "let's start group work", as if all one needs to do is to get a group of people together and automatically one has a functional group. We at Swansea have agreed that the old adage: "You can lead a horse to water . . ."—is very apt. A lot of hard work must be put into the question of relationships, as it has already been said, the group members must be confident in each other, they must be able to rely on the confidentiality and good intentions of their fellow groupers, and this productive relationship must be handed on to others and it must be tested through good and bad times, and if after all this, staff and inmates are still able to realistically tackle everyday problems, then a prison can begin to work.

What this work will be depends largely on the type of prison. Starting from the wrong end first, the first priority of a central or regional prison, as of all prisons, will be security and this to a large extent depends upon observation and analysis of information. This coupled to the physical aids is the means of ensuring that inmates remain in prison. After the security of inmates has been ensured, the next job in order of priority (accepting of course the daily routine) would be training towards discharge and whatever form this training takes the whole object is to release a man from prison able to think and make decisions for himself. Although this same area of training will be performed in local prisons their overall task is much more varied.

As you are aware a local prison serves the Courts, so therefore every adult member of the prison inmate population has, at one time, passed through a local prison where he has been classified and according to his category been placed into different prisons and different training situations.

We at Swansea, who for years have been working on training in a relaxed atmosphere have, we feel, surmounted the first important hurdle, relationships, and are now ready to formalise our thoughts and expertise to a more tangible system. Swansea, under a new governor, has been split into units, all men serving three months and over pass from reception to a classification unit where a classification team carries out the initial documentation. Each week those inmates with whom the classification unit has finished are allocated to labour by a labour board, and are passed to a reassessment unit. The staff of the reassessment unit are responsible for the inmate progress reports and group training, and from this unit they are passed to a more progressive training unit where they are able to dine in association and be out of cell for the most part of 12 hours.

About 24 inmates are able to progress further to the ultimate training unit where they live in unlocked dormitory conditions within the secure prison. Group

discussion in this unit is really buoyant and uninhibited, problems and crises do arise and are nearly always solved within the unit. Other units such as the discharge unit which will deal exclusively with those in their last months of sentence are in the pipe line. This unit will be directly under the wing of a welfare officer, so from the time an inmate is received into prison until his date of discharge he is being constantly assessed and reassessed.

The most pleasing aspect without a doubt is the skilled way in which staff are tackling their new role. The punitive, unyielding discipline of days gone by has been replaced by a tolerant and realistic desire for good behaviour and regard for one's fellow.

To repeat once more, the importance of relationships cannot be over stated. Before any form of training can begin there must be a genuine awareness of others.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Educational Rehabilitation

Prisoner Attitude and Inmate Attendance

PETER O. PERETTI

Men sent to prison often have a chance to rehabilitate themselves. Part of this rehabilitation is achieved through the educational treatment programme at the institution. The present paper reports an attempt to indicate: (1) different attitudes prisoners have toward the educational programme; (2) importance of such a programme to them; and (3) four specific reasons why inmates maintain that they attended the educational programme within the walls of the prison for at least a short period of time. Results show that the mere presence of the educational treatment programme cannot serve the inmate body maximally unless prisoner attitude is positive. It also suggests that there are several specific reasons for educational attendance aside from the academic study itself, and unless these reasons are handled by some other means, the formalised instruction might be of little value to the student.

A RECURRING PROBLEM of discussion by inmates during my three years as group counsellor at the Michigan City State Prison has been that of the educational treatment programme. Many of the counsellors have not completed their elementary school grades and some have desired to participate in the educational rehabilitation programme.

Education is a "must" in modern-day society. In today's prisons, many of the inmates who do not take advantage of the education offered them may complete their sentence, be paroled to society, and be unable to cope with "life on the outside". Such problems might lead the persons to drift back into their former criminal activities (*Kansas City Times*, 1966) Burke and Simons.

One of the major goals of the Michigan City State Prison is to rehabilitate the man to be a useful member of the society. One of the means of accomplishing this is to educate him in a manner which will be useful and practical for him in the world of work (*Lake Shore Outlook*, 1967).

When a new inmate enters prison for his law violation, he is first assigned to the admission and orientation unit where he is kept separate from the general prison population. Here he undergoes a series of tests, interviews and examinations; results of which are kept

in his packet. He also receives major orientation regarding his expected behaviour while incarcerated, after which he is assigned a job and housing—in the dormitory or cell house.

A major aid to the inmate at this time is his counsellor who assists him in working out approved mailing and visiting lists, as well as discussing personal and social problems regarding the prisoner's institutional adjustment. If the previously given tests and examinations indicate the man to be a functional illiterate, his counsellor may suggest school attendance. Educational rehabilitation is encouraged but not compulsory.

At Michigan City, the school at the Indiana State Prison is accredited by the Department of Public Instruction, having a continuous commission operating from the first through the twelfth grades.

Each of the first four grades are divided into three levels. At the first level are inmates classified as illiterates or ones who can barely write their own names. A second level consists of those who can, with some effort, read and write. Students attaining the third level have the highest literate levels for their grade.

From the fifth through twelfth grades, departmentalisation occurs. There is a special teacher for each subject. These teachers are qualified in their own area of specialisation (Payne, 1968).

The school is operated on a 12-month basis with four months for each semester. Elementary grades may be somewhat accelerated according to student progress. Some students, after having been assigned to a grade, find it below their academic knowledge and, after a month or so, may be reassigned to a higher grade level commensurate with their past achievements before being incarcerated.

If high school credits were earned before being confined, then credit for such work may be accorded the inmate. To be eligible for graduation the State requirements of 16 required and 16 elective credits must be earned (Lane, 1968).

School operates for seven periods, five days a week. It begins at 7.55 a.m. and ends at 3.45 p.m. For some, it is their only full-time assignment, however, with the consent of a foreman in a shop, one can go to school on a part-time basis, taking one or two courses each day. Correspondence courses on a high school and college level are also offered. These cost the inmate $1.00 and books are usually furnished by the local institutions.

The most important element in the entire programme is the inmate himself. This paper considers his attitude toward the educational programme and the major reasons why prisoners seem to attend.

METHOD

The subjects of my study were 83 inmates of the Indiana State Prison, Michigan City, Indiana. These men were all designated to an honour detail at Beatty Memorial Hospital, Westville, Indiana, where they were

assigned duties on a work force. Each of these men has had an excellent record which gave him the privilege of being a member of the detail. Twenty-seven had attended school.

Materials. Individual and group interviews with the subjects specifically probing into the area of educational rehabilitation, academic achievement, education for practical living, and related areas concerning educational problems.

Each man was also asked to write a brief summary of his own experiences with the educational programme at the prison, if he was involved, or his reflections on the system as an outsider.

PROCEDURE

Responses to the interviews and questionnaires were gathered over a period of three years from the 83 inmates. There were sessions of two hours when the only discussion was the educational rehabilitation programme. At other times, the educational problems might be discussed for one-half to an hour. The total time taken to consider the depth of the problems over the years was approximately 70 hours.

As new men came and "older" men remained releases or transfers to other details of the institution, questionnaires were completed by the men leaving and their views on various problems aired. There was considerable agreement between the men on many of the major issues regarding education.

RESULTS

In order for an inmate to be aided by the educational treatment programme it might be helpful to consider his ideas and attitudes toward the system and its possible consequences for either positive or negative influence. The inmates did have some positive attitudes toward education in the prison, a few of which were: it would help them get more money when they "got out"; it would help them get a better job, and it would help them to "stand on their own two feet". These positive attitudes, however, were in the minority, and we will consider the negative ones more carefully.

The greatest percentage (78 per cent) of negative responses regarding the educational programme centred around the qualifications of the "teacher" himself. Few of the "teachers" at the Michigan City Prison are fully qualified for their positions. Many "teachers" and helpers are inmates. Although they might be more knowledgeable than the student inmates, they tend to lack the information acquired by the college graduate specialising in the educational curriculum.

Such personnel also tend to "give" high grades and special attention to "students" if they are rewarded. Favours such as a "pack of cigarettes", "a few bucks", or "food" can do much to enhance the progress of the student. Inmates have also suggested that some of the prisoner teachers will also use their social

power and influence to try to manipulate others into doing their bidding. "Bidding" in this sense might have homosexual implications.

A further problem responded to in many questionnaires (72 per cent) was the lack of truly skilled help in the vocational educational programmes. Attitudes of the prisoners were that here they are often faced with having to perform a trade or skill which is foreign to them with little expert guidance. When they come to the institution, many try to become assigned to trades which are somewhat similar to what they had done on the outside. In many instances, this is not possible. When placed in the new job, an inmate may be expected to perform well, however, with few truly skilled persons for guidance, many are unable to perform adequately.

In the same area, there is the problem of the "boss", who may also be an inmate, who is "playing the angles". He has somehow obtained the power position, through legitimate or illegitimate means, and will demand the new prisoner work hard. If any questions are asked, or if dissension arises, the inmate is transferred or reprimanded severely. This is especially prone to happen if you find yourself in the same skill or trade which you possessed on the outside and are definitely better at the job than your "superior".

There were 68 per cent of the questionnaires which stressed inadequate tools, books, or other materials making for a successful worthwhile programme. The inmates stressed that the operation of the academic and vocational educational programmes was conducted with many outdated, outmoded and/or different books, tools, and other materials when compared to similar programmes or systems outside the walls. Men felt handicapped by the inadequacy of the materials to provide them with a fundamental basis for practical occupations.

Some felt additionally handicapped by outdated curriculum or work processes which they believed needed updating and/or revision. Programmes were seemingly being operated at a level different than that from the same institution on the outside.

The foregoing negative responses were constructed of those with at least 50 per cent of the inmates answering in the same or similar way. Those negative attitudes having less than 50 per cent representation will not be considered here.

One might ask why the inmates do attend class for reasons other than the positive attitudes previously mentioned. From content analysis of the questionnaires as well as the interviews with the subjects there seem to be four major reasons why the inmates at the State prison in Michigan City attend or attended the educational programme:

(1) Some inmates have nothing better to do, or they just want to leave their cell. The result is that they enrol in classes at the school.

"I had a lot of idle time and wanted to do something with it", or "You have to do something to make the time pass during the day", are a few examples of some of the responses in this area. Most of these discussions contain the same kinds of attitudes or ideas. The men want to make their "time" go faster, but aren't willing to work during the day. Being alone and seemingly bored much of the time, they decide to sit in the classroom to be amused. In few of the statements were acquiring knowledge or learning skills mentioned.

(2) Prisoners who go to school to escape work. They are similar to those above, except that they mention their lack of interest in performing any kind of physical labour. "The State put me here, now let them take care of me", or "It beats working in the tag shop", "School is lots easier than bustin' my brains (*sic*) over a machine all day" are examples. The classroom provides a haven of rest and entertainment. Comments in this category seem to indicate that here is the inmate-student who causes the most trouble for the teacher. Here might be the student who likes to show off, laugh, disrupt and ridicule the teacher and others because school is a "blast". Academic achievement is again in the background as the educational programme provides an "out" for laziness, lethargy, or just plain lack of interest in work programmes.

(3) A third type might be labelled the "rebel". He is determined to learn so that he might challenge the teacher with twisted types of questions, possibly to "get even" for past experiences in his life. This is the "wise guy", but only wise in specific areas for specific reasons. "If I had more education they never would have caught me", or "Nobody's goin' (*sic*) to tell me anything when I get a few more facts", are responses which might be classified here.

The individual is also looking for answers to justify his rationalisations about his condition as well as his relations with others. Education can provide him with leverage to explain past behaviours and sanction possible future movements.

(4) The final reason for attending school is to please others. This is the "apple-polisher". He wishes to please the parole board with a long list of credits and activities. Looking at his packet, this man is naturally a joiner. A long list of voluntary associations is presented, however, one might question the extent to which this inmate believes in any of them or profits from their experiences. "I'm getting educated to satisfy the parole board and get a parole"; "To please some people in the right places you have to have things like this on your packet", or "I'm going to school because the parole board and my counsellor said I should, if it will get me out of here, then I'll do it", are some examples of answers.

Conclusions

Educational treatment programmes of many State prisons are designed to provide experiences and

knowledge for the inmate in order to help them relate better to others and provide a foundation for increased economic achievement. There are problems inherent within the programmes themselves, some of the more frequently discussed by the inmates were presented in the paper.

Prisoner attitudes are important to any rehabilitation programme for, without the proper positive attitude, the programmes may be doomed from the start. Negative attitudes toward the educational programme tend to focus on lack of "qualified" personnel or teachers, lack of skilled help, lack of modernised equipment and processes, and lack of freedom from inmate bribery, blackmail, manipulation, or other relations which may develop when fellow inmates are in power positions.

Attendance at school for educational purposes for prisoners seems to be a minor reason for most men. It is overshadowed by attendance because: (1) there is nothing better to do; (2) it is a means of escaping work; (3) it provides a means of learning knowledge useful in challenging others, or of providing rationalised justifications for unlawful actions; or (4) the men feel that this might be the avenue to a quicker parole.

With the aid of the administration and counsellors, possible guidance and assistance to inmates might solve some of the problems which seem related to educational rehabilitation. A fuller understanding of the role of education in the modern, everyday world of work might motivate the inmates to try harder to attain the educational services offered, no matter what particular drawbacks might be negating such action. Possible considerations of problems and situations as stated in this paper might guide to some extent future courses of action.

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Letter to the Editor

TO THE EDITOR,

Prison Service Journal.

Sir,

Publicity accorded within the Prison Service to the Whitley Council joint working party's "The Modern Role of the Prison Officer" is welcome and deserved and should result in a significant increase in status and belated recognition of role. Regrettably, both advantages may be insular and restricted to the narrow confines of the Prison Service.

As a body we have finally convinced ourselves that our role is not purely custodial or defined by negative factors of containment, control, retribution, deterrence or punishment. For decades, prison officers have been a maligned and depressed group, tolerated and treated as necessary evils of a penal code, and occasionally, in spite of high personal ideals, we have been made painfully aware of the social stigma attaching to the terms "warder" and its definition. Press insistence on using it (nearly half a century after it was officially changed reflects ignorance rather than malice and may be due to inadequate salesmanship on our part, as a change in properties is an allied expectancy when a change of brand name is announced.

A major factor determining "class" or social level is occupation or worker-role, and society recognises positions requiring training and specialised skills by rewarding the holders in an economic, that is financial way, or by aesthetic means bringing honour or pleasure, or in the symbolic reward where self-respect and personality development accrue.

Recently announced financial rewards appear to coincide with the newly modified interpretation of role, while the intangible nature of the other rewards and the fact that they cannot be conferred by legislation means that the Service must ensure that society is made aware of our efforts and aims, and judge (and reward) accordingly.

There still exists an aura of mystery and secrecy about prisons and their purpose and there is, too, the misconception that prison exists solely for custody and punishment. Custody and the protection of society must remain primary considerations but bearing in mind that most of even the worst offenders must eventually be released, surely one must admit that the real protection of society is to aim to discharge

men who will now accept the society whose rules they broke, a society which must eventually re-accept them. This will largely depend on what happens to them while in custody.

Many responsible citizens feel the Prison Service's "secrecy" or lack of information to be a deliberate, calculated attempt to conceal unpleasant facts. It is not easy to glamourise or publicise many mundane aspects of penal routine, while prominence given by Press or TV coverage to escapes or notorious crimes ensures a ready reception. There is no easy solution, except to capitalise all available advantages and try to destroy the illusion of isolation and the misconception that only close relatives can develop an interest in prisoners.

The introduction of more people from outside, not directly connected with prisons, would be as welcome as was the entrance of welfare officers, teachers and prison visitors. Accepting the fact that of necessity prisons create artificial environments with their own sub-cultures, it is surely doubly necessary to involve responsible outsiders, so trying to develop an atmosphere more like that of the society to which our inmates must return.

Surely local Press involvement in prison life, both work and recreation, would interest local communities; as it is, the public is insufficiently aware of the increasing association of prison staff with probation and after-care personnel. They should also know more about the extension of the Huntercombe experiment and the proposed staffing by prison officers of hostels for homeless ex-inmates, a quite revolutionary step emphasising our involvement with prisoners even after their release.

The number of associates working with the Probation Service proves the public interest can be aroused, but to attract more, we must ensure the public is made aware of the work of the associate, how he is trained and how he feels about his work. How to attract volunteers may be as hard as to attract recruits to the officers' ranks, where it often seems that advertising appears in newspapers and periodicals not generally regarded as serious job-vacancy catalogues and perhaps purchased more for sensational rather than literary or informative content. Again, one sometimes feels that the actual advertisement, while necessarily stressing material security, almost ignores the more human aspects of the job.

Certainly it is strange to see that local Press and TV are not used when all recruits are initially interviewed at local level. The appointment of local or even regional Press and public relations officers would fill an obvious gap.

The Prison Service has itself to sell; society can only assess the value of the Prison Service by contact and interaction.

I am, Sir,

Yours etc.,

A. A. M. MACKENZIE,
(Dartmoor).

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