CHAPTER V

FIELD WORK IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: POLICE, COURT, AND PRISON

The nature of the agency where students are placed and the scope that it offers for students to practice, through engagement with the clients, practice of methods and social work values is a critical facet of field education. In this chapter the experience of student field placement and work in different sub-sectors of Police, Court and Prison, is detailed through a focus on the students placed there, their work and their learning.

Time line of field work placements in the sub-sectors

Figure 5.1

Over a period of time, various sub-sectors evolved within the Centre as work with Police, Court, Prisons, Institutions, Commission and Rehabilitation. The names of the agencies and some details about them have already been discussed in the previous chapter. This entire section has been grouped into three parts, the first part pertains to the three core sub-sectors of the Criminal Justice System that is the Police, Court and Prison, the second part pertains to the related systems of Institutions, Commissions and Rehabilitation and the third part pertains to other themes that emerged of supervision and writing of recordings. This grouping has been done to make the engagement with content comprehensible and compact. This chapter deals with the first set of Social Work in Police, Court and Prison settings and each in turn will be discussed in depth according to the themes identified of student, agency, sector and curriculum. This chapter reflects content analysis of student recordings and interviews with key informants.
Field Work with Police

“I realised that I enjoy being at the police station and there is a lot to learn just by looking at people who come to the police station and listen to their problems. It taught me to engage with the law and the CJS.” Student placed at Police station.

The police is an important part of the criminal justice system and it is the first point of interface with the public. Internationally by the mid-1920s, social workers were employed as advocates by police departments (Roberts and Brownell, 1999). The link between crime, corrections and social work has therefore evolved from an interaction between law, corrections and law enforcement.

The early phase. In India social work practitioners do not formally work within the police system. The police, however are amenable for collaboration on issues of domestic violence (Dave 2000, cited in Sinha 2012:92). Student placements in police stations were initiated in 1992 through students field work as post communal riots relief work at Deonar police station and in 1993 through the FAP that had appointed two full-time social workers there. In 1994 work at Chembur police station was started and work at Nagpada police station was started in 1999. It was around 2001 that the FAP discontinued work at Chembur police station after 6 years of work because of a policy level decision taken by the agency. This was because after a review it was found that the Police were fitting the social workers into a particular role and not what the FAP wanted to do. They were expecting social workers to take up domestic violence cases, non-cognisable (NC) cases and disputes, basically all non-Police cases but the FAP wanted to go inside lock-ups and work with adult offenders. At that point in time the role of the social worker was well established in domestic violence, neighbourhood disputes and in family matters by practitioners. Chembur police station had gotten used to one role only and were not willing to look at other roles. The senior police officer who was cooperative and had supported this work initially had retired; the new team was not so cooperative and the experimental aptitude was missing in them. Subsequently work in Deonar police station was also discontinued in 1994, as the social workers working there moved out of the city and no one new joined in their place. Work at Nagpada police station was discontinued by the FAP as the social worker had spent time talking to women who were rescued before they were sent to the Protective Home to fill a missing gap. She
had also worked towards reversing an incorrect procedure being followed by the police of not producing the women in front of a magistrate. Once the change was made that is women were being produced in front of the magistrates, that problem was solved and to some extent the purpose was served. Also at that time there was no special court, so picking up cases from various courts seemed too dispersed and work was withdrawn.

The railway police placement was discontinued in 2008 for various reasons. The initial interest of the FAP was in working with vulnerable women and girls in and around the station. The FAP had set up a day care centre for these women but gradually found that they were a resistant group and were coming to the centre only in crisis situations. The social workers were constantly doing relief work rather than rehabilitative work and getting ‘burned out’. The profile of the women were also different, they were not so much crime or negative influences prone, but poverty affected which was not the FAP’s focus area. Also, due to tightening of security issues post the 2005 terror attacks there were fewer cases. Thus the drop-in centre was shifted out of the FAP office to an institution in Chembur and work from the railway station withdrawn.

All of these changes are explained by the Centre faculty Vasu, ‘This has to do with the experimental nature of FAPs itself. The thinking was that they were not there to run a service but are part of a University. The purpose of FAPs is to enter into different fields, especially where nothing has been done or to try out different things and see what works and what does not.’

Apart from placement through the FAP, police station placements were also traditionally made directly by the Centre itself. While the FAP had initiated work in prison, rehabilitation, court and then with the police, at the Centre there was a need to start working independently with the police as this was a way of further exploring the sector. Today field work placements are restricted largely to direct placements in Zone six that is the same zone where the Institute is located and one rural police placement at Thane.

During the period of the study, there were seven student placements in four police station settings. They were two each at NPS, ANC (Anti-Narcotic Cell), SNPS and one in railway police. The police station placements have been of two types, direct or indirect. The direct placement refers to those where the students are working by themselves in the setting without the support of an NGO or FAP. Such a placement is anchored by the Centre directly.
In this case it was SNPS and ANC. The indirect placements were of being in a police setting but through an NGO or FAP, in this case they were NPS and railway police through the FAP. Those placements that were explored through the FAP have been indirect placements and those that the Centre explored by itself were direct placements. Both these were simultaneously explored.

Also though there were seven police placements each was unique; in terms of the year of placement, the location of the police station, the zone and its related social problems, and the nature of the police station. For example with ANC having a specific drug supply control focus and the railway police with a different mandate of prevention of trafficking of women at the railway station. The NPS was close to the red light area and saw many cases of rescue. The SNPS saw peculiarity of the area of overcrowding and communities living with minimum resources. For this reason while police as a sub-sector can be looked at as one unit, each of these police station placements need to be also understood separately.

Work with the Police seems to have been an important aspect of the placement since in the decade chosen for this study (2000-2009) forty-eight police placements were made across many different police stations out of 147 placements done, that is thirty-three per cent which is the highest among all the six sub-sectors. This is indicative of a phase where work was extensively explored in police as a sub-sector and the scope of social work intervention there. The FAP later withdrew work from this sub-sector across different police stations for various reasons ranging from, some purpose of the work being served, some due to the purpose not being met as per their vision, and other external realities changing. Work in Police is still nurtured directly by the Centre even today as a regular placement.

Police as a sub-sector generated 1562 codes in Atlas-ti. The activity that students did the most in the course of their field work were visits to other organisations either with regard to cases or to follow up on some issue. Another activity commonly done was interaction with officials thus indicating an attempts to build rapport and find ways of working together. The most common challenge experienced by the student was the disinterest by the system towards the student and their learning. In aspects related to self, reflections were the most commonly seen in the students’ recordings.
**Students' work**

In this section, with a focus on the student, various aspects of their work are discussed. The activities that students did in the Police station fall into the following categories.

1. **Agency related** - In NPS, work involved understanding the system, procedures, observing proceedings and meeting with officials. Since this police station was in the vicinity of the red light area work involved visits to court, protective home and also the community. In ANC, since in the agency itself there was not much of an opportunity, the student explored work outside in the Sessions court and through awareness programs at a prevention level. Thus work was planned around this rather than being at the Police Station itself. The student was constantly trying to explore what work the social worker can do, so it turned out to be largely a ‘learning’ space rather than a ‘doing’ space. Usually as a prescribed pattern field work agencies need a full time social worker present for them to qualify as a placement option. The presence of this social worker as a criteria is to have a role model available for the student to emulate and learn from. The problem in some sub-sectors where work needs to be developed is the absence of this social worker and yet because one wants to build inroads into the sector, student field work is used as an entry point and thus this agency may belong to that category of the need to explore new areas of work. What this translates into is intense engagement on the part of the supervisor and leadership qualities on the part of the student since it is literally about exploring and opening out the field.

At railway police the student was exploring a new setting in terms of preventive work vis a vis trafficked or run away girls and women; and the railway station was the site to be able to identify and intervene in cases of upcountry trafficking, if any. Though the police station was the base, the student social worker was not there much. It was more adopting a strategy of being present in the community and then bringing back to the police station relevant cases. It was about understanding the role of the railway police, what their systems are, how they network and of exploring NGOs and other resources available (both government and non-government) to work with this group of vulnerable women.

3. **Direct work** - At ANC there was not much work done by the students with clients directly. Arrests were largely on the basis of tip offs and procedures were complex, so accessing that is, meeting those arrested itself was not easy. There was a lot of secrecy because of the drugs connection which also implies possibility of bribes; information was sought through
informers and raids were done on the basis of those tip-offs. This was the main work done in the agency and the students were not involved in any of this. This setting was more closed than other police stations because of the drugs connection. The access to the accused was limited and direct work was largely inferred through various observations and watching cases in courts. For Kavya at SNPS, direct work involved observing several cases and handling eleven cases through family visit follow ups.

4. **Visits**-Anandi in NPS visited NGOs in the area, courts and police stations for cases and the Protective Home for case follow ups. Kavya at SNPS also explored the community through the local NGOs and area social workers and discussed issues pertaining to that area.

5. **Research**-A study regarding stationery and infrastructure requirements and a need assessment of accessibility of two Police Stations was conducted. At SNPS a study of police personnel and their needs and a study on women police constables was undertaken.

A synopsis of the key areas of work done across the different police stations is as follows; in NPS on the issue of trafficking, cases were followed from the police station to the Protective Home. This trying to see inter-linkages across various sub-sectors (here police and institution) seems to be a common thread of field work. There was another type of work students constantly did of trying to link existing NGOs and their services to that of the system since by itself the system is not very inclusive. To reverse an incorrect implementation of the Act, advocacy was undertaken so there was an actual involvement in trying to influence the field.

At Anti-Narcotic Bureau (ANC) also there was a Court link so again from one sub-sector the student was moving to another, here from the police to the court. No matter which wing of the CJS one is located in, there is a certain mobility across the other sub-sectors of both the cases and also of the student social workers following the cases. This was the most challenging setting as the students felt a sense of being a burden on the agency.

In railway police, patrolling and outreach were new aspects of work. Work included focus on destitution, rehabilitation and identifying community. It was about understanding vulnerable groups in the station and there was a preventive element to the work here and homelessness was the issue being explored.
In police station (SNPS), the area had its own peculiar problems of poverty, being riot-prone, poor sanitation and water shortage. Problems of the police identified were health, stress, shortage of stationery and infrastructure. One thing that police as a setting does is give an exposure to lots of cases. Even if the students just sit and process NC\textsuperscript{10} cases there is potential to do significant work there. It seems as if the Police is okay with a women and child focus though with an offender focus they are not so open to it. Regional (Bihari), religious (Muslims), national (Bangladeshi) prejudices, patriarchy, corruption and violence are field realities that confronted students. Exposure to the community and its difficulties is an interesting angle in terms of seeing how work can be located from a preventive perspective. In all of this one finds that perhaps the acceptance is more of the ‘student identity’ rather than of the ‘social worker in the making’ identity.

A part-time supervisor Shika looking after police station placements states that, ‘The Police station is a difficult setting. It has no place for the social worker and no acceptance. Each year it takes time to settle down.’ She gets students placed there to visit NGOs in that area and do a community profile so as to understand issues of that community and understand conflicts that could escalate and reach the police station. It is also a way of identifying what preventive work can be done. Police station being a challenging setting and the social worker not being a part of the system directly, a lot of energy is invested in getting acquainted with the system and then trying to carve out a role for the social worker there.

Social work at police stations was about addressing issues of persons vulnerable to criminalization, victimisation, marginalization, or destitution with both a victim and offender focus. Work was about grievance redressal, conflict resolution, informal justice social control mechanisms, socio-legal and psycho-social support (FAP Handbook series 2012). Anandi in NPS said with regard to role of the social worker that it was to directly work with cases of women victims. She also worked with the Police personnel themselves, ‘Duty officer expressed as to the stressful situation of their profession and personal life, financial problems, lack of empathy from the superiors and so on. SSW gave a patient hearing to the problems and concerns expressed by them.’ As mentioned in Chapter I there is literature

\textsuperscript{10}Non-cognisable cases are cases where the Police just make a diary entry of the matter and do not formally take up the case yet. This is done for various reasons from the case itself being outside the jurisdiction of police intervention or perceived as not serious enough a matter.
available where the role of the social worker is conceptualized as mainly being this, police welfare and attending to their problems.

The role also included talking to the accused or the victim, clarifying about the law, and giving information to the client. This would qualify as being slightly different compared to what the police do mainly because of their identity, and the way they present themselves authoritatively which makes them unapproachable. In contrast a social worker comes across as being more open and approachable. It probably also means that it is necessary to take the larger picture into account rather than just the incident and that then influences the entire interaction and the way the issue or case is handled. For Narendra and Dinesh at ANC, there were no points identified from their recordings pertaining to this theme of role of the social worker. This corroborates with the students having had to struggle with their work there as they themselves have written about the setting being challenging. For Sushma at railway police, the role of the social worker was identifying cases of women in and around the railway station, assessing their needs and exploring rehabilitation options.

The police official (Retired IPS officer) Rameshwar said that the social worker can try to help young offenders to find some job, dissuade them from their original crime and show them a better and socially acceptable path. The Police Officer Bhatavdekar said that the social worker can be used as a mediator between public and police. He thinks that police station is a place where public bring all their grudges and where they ventilate their frustrations so there is scope for a social worker to intervene and help. Here he was referring to the identity of social workers and the potential of the profession and not particularly to the student social workers.

Thus the role of the social worker ideally in the police station seems to be more in terms of trying to ensure legal processes are followed through by the police so no illegal means or unfair practices are used and that the accused’s rights are being ensured as stated in the legal framework. Thus, though the police were relating to student social workers it was about examining the identity and role of the social worker.

Reviewing the scope for social work at the police setting it was mentioned largely in terms of practice, research and advocacy. It has emerged significantly with regard to identifying new issues to develop a deeper understanding, taking up cases and most importantly following up on cases. Evidence of institutionalized prejudice and stereotyping, insensitivity
to cultural differences, unfair harassment and use of excessive force, necessitates the presence of social workers in the police station to address these concerns. Social work in Police station needs to negotiate individual rights to social control (Dick 2005, cited in Sinha 2012:96). This gives us an idea of what the general scope for social work at the police station could be.

This essay is part of the summary report written at the end of the year of a student placed at a Railway Police station through the FAP.

‘There are certain objectives with which this work is being done: mainly, prevent women and girls new to the city from staying on the railway station and establishing relationships there, to motivate persons already residing in the station to shift from there and at the police station to ensure appropriate procedure is being followed while processing women and children.

In class there were different discussions about ‘life at street’ and ‘what are the different situations that a street woman encountered’ but it was actually the field from where the student social worker actually learnt. In the initial days the SSW was exposed to the field through the FAP social workers thus their rich knowledge really helped in understanding of the work area. They had explained what the challenging situations would be, how to work with the police, how to work with the women and other stakeholders. Thus there were different issues that she has worked on in her field work placement. It included working with the Police, working with hospital administration, working with shelter homes, and working with different NGOs working on disability. She has a holistic picture of the whole scenario and not just the experience of working with women. There were three types of women, those who had been residing that since a very long time and thus they have different priorities and different issues. They seem to be quite habitual of street life and thus not affected by it much. Most of them are working in ‘bhangar’ (waste-picking) jobs and they were residing with their co-workers or other life partners. The next group is of women who have not been living on the station for too long and are still in a position to come out of that life. And thus there are at crossroads of where to go. They use their rationale to decide what is right or wrong for them and then if they feel that they should be it of the Railway station and explore other areas then only they decide to move out. The third group is a group that is absolutely new to the city and have absolutely no idea about what is happening around them. They are most vulnerable as they are prey to traffickers, strangers and anti-social people. The basic
need of these people is shelter and proper guidance. They are sensitive cases and proper counselling needs to be given to them. The SSW got an opportunity to work with all three categories, she has been able to build rapport easily with them. She used to have snacks and tea with them at their place only. This gesture gave them an indication that she is one of them and not an outsider. They used to come up with different issues and not necessary always serious ones. She also had an informal relationship with them. Thus the SSW was able to get an insight about their life, their problems, their struggles, and their aspiration.

Even though the SSW got many cases which were similar in their approach, she never generalised the cases as every case was unique and every client was important. For example many women came with the case of institutionalisation of children but each person seems to have a different reason to do it. Thus the SSW was able to individualise the problem.

At the same time there were unwilling clients also whom she met at the station and who did not want to get associated with the SSW. Thus the SSW did not force anyone and gave clients their space and time to decide. The beauty of this process was that some of them started talking to the SSW and used to recognise her at the station and thus from an involuntary situation she was able to bring them in a comfort zone, where at least they could approach her.

The SSW was able to work comfortably with the different stakeholders at the field work setting. Her work was not confined to the railway station only. There were a number of cases which required medical assistance and thus she had to work along with doctors and the hospital administration. Initially they showed a lack of trust but with due persuasion and negotiation and continuous follow up of the cases the SSW did prove that they take cases seriously and that there is a need to have proper coordination between the civil society organisation and the hospitals.

Working with the police was an enriching experience. Through her work at the police station she never had a confronting attitude and always believed in the FAP’s stand of working with the system. It was not initially easy to work with them. They have their own ideology, their own way of thinking and working. At times they thought the SSW was adding more burden to their work. In such a situation the SSW applied a therapeutic approach to the client and understanding their situation and limitation and she did not take an asocial
conflict approach. Thus over a period of time the understanding between the SSW and the police officials improved and there was more coordination and cooperation.

Working with the shelter home officials was another experience. The officials had a very different perception about the women at the station and about homeless and destitute women. According to them no woman who is on the station would like to change her lifestyle and thus would not like the shelter home. So she refused to take cases on that basis. Secondly she refused cases on the basis of disability. Thus a lot of follow up of cases was done by the SSW so that there is continuity in the cases and she could be in touch with the official and develop a rapport also. By the end of field work she did mellow down and started to at least listen what the SSW had to stay and cooperating with her.

It is very difficult to conclude the whole year’s work as there were so many experiences and so many issues she has seen at the railway station. She has not only deal with cases but also did a lot of networking with different organisations and has been able to avail services for the client.

In the first year she had worked in a women’s organisation which was like a self-help group. Thus there were more sessions and interaction at the group level as they were already a group. But the activities were completely different in this setting as it was an open setting the challenges of group formation was very difficult.

Thus in these two years she has been able to learn a lot and she has also been able to unlearn a lot of things and thus these field experiences will go along way in her career and she owes a lot to the field.’

The challenges faced by the students have been varied yet there is a link in spite of them being different kinds of police stations. At NPS it was incorrect practice largely reflected in a different implementation of the law in this case the Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act, not being aware of new amendments to Acts and following the old procedures and red-tapism in bureaucracy which was stated thus, ‘In terms of access sometimes, permissions are used as an absolute so the student is not allowed to move around freely.’

For Dinesh at ANC, the setting itself was very challenging, maybe the agency was so closed and oppressive that there was no scope to explore work at all. He got an exposure to courts
but the role there also was very limited. The ANC was especially resistant to ‘outsiders’ for various additional reasons of secrecy and not being comfortable with students being around. Corruption was another aspect that was mentioned both with regard to prison and at the police station vis a vis movement of drugs for consumption. The student talked about how an accused shared that the police are part of a racket and collect weekly bribes from the peddlers. And that corruptions exist in jails and for a share illegal activities take place within the jail premises. The issue here is not of the negativity or inefficiencies alone but the student’s inability to deal with it and discomfort about how they are supposed to react to this. As new comers and outsiders to the system they are still getting exposed and oriented to the ways of the system. Instances like these become a challenge for them as they are caught between two extremes of right and wrong and not knowing how they are supposed to respond. For Dinesh resistance by the police personnel was another issue. Often when students talk about having no work; it could be that the agency is not being able to define a role for them. Also there is a secrecy within which they function so there is non-involvement of the student. The resistance also may be coming from all of this.

One peculiarity of the government system is the mobility of staff, so transfers are routine and it often affects relations and continuity in terms of work. Another issue is of them not being available, the routine of the police is such that the field contact itself was on night duty on Mondays, so often on Tuesdays he was not around (student field work days being Monday and Tuesday). Also owing to the nature of this work no interaction with any police personnel or accused was entertained in the senior officer’s absence. This was a problem as the senior officer was not always present in the police station on the students’ field work days.

Sushma at railway police faced hostility towards her presence and what she was doing. This may be because it was the first time this setting was being explored for field work. Another aspect that was seen in this setting was violence where she writes about a police constable hitting a man with a stick. This issue of being exposed to violence both covert and overt forms is very typical of the police setting and it is something students have trouble learning to deal with. Social workers on the other hand have a continuity of presence and so can either discuss the issue at a later point with the same officers or bring it to a superior’s notice, or even deal with it emotionally with their colleagues and define a strategy and future course of work. For the student it is all new and quite unnerving. With regard to the issue of violence
the student writes, ‘Case that followed gave a vivid experience of police atrocities and excesses. It was a case of a man whom the police wrongfully slapped with false charges. He was also physically beaten up mercilessly.’

One other thing that really came out was the point of bias as stated by Kavya at SNPS, ‘This was perhaps the most upsetting day of field work. I thought the reactions and responses of the police till now in front of us was restrained, measured and subtle. But the hatred, prejudice and hostility that the police have for the Muslims hit me hard today. The police’s attitude appalled me and made my intestines churn with disgust and left me seething with anger.’ Deep rooted is the bias that the police have against certain sections which colours their judgment and actions and this pertains to what was visible and apparent in the form of opinions or comments made in conversations among themselves even while the SSW was around. The students constantly struggle with this bias they see the police having in their attitude and action towards certain populations and this, by the same body that is supposed to be a protector of society.

Another challenge that is common is with their general attitude, ‘The police were too rude and indifferent. No agency of public service especially like the police who is so important for daily existence can turn down people who come to them for help and ask them to fend for themselves.’ And students with their pro-people training find it different to deal with such behaviours. The way the system interacts with general public in terms of basics whether giving information, direction or advice is the same across the entire CJS. It is as if the individual engagement has been dehumanized to such an extent that the environment is fraught with negativity.

The most emerging issue here was the bias of the police towards Muslims and migrants. Also what came to light was corruption and violence used by the police, this is disturbing for the students in terms of trying to locate social work in this setting. There is obviously a conflict of roles and values with the police being trained to perform a certain role and the student social worker entering the system with a different orientation. The challenge was of how to balance what one believes in and what one is being trained for and yet not confront the entire system itself because of a larger ideology and goal of wanting to work with it in spite of these situations, with a vision to be able to influence through practice over a period of time.
Value Conflict is any situation that causes confusion and distress for the student because of opposing positions, one is the student’s own, emerging from self, experience, academic inputs, professional ethics and the other is a field reality that is very different, almost as a contrary position or action. For Anandi in NPS, it was seen in terms of being exposed to situations of bribery, ‘A woman was told by one of the police constables that if she wants the dead body of her brother faster she should spend more than Rs 1000.’ This was in the case of a man found dead on the roadside, the police having taken charge of the dead body and then handing it over to a relative for a price.

These situations were about being exposed to something they know was against the value system of the profession they were being trained for. Value conflicts related to officials have arisen from individual officers using violence, beating and torture. Student related value conflicts have been, not being able to say no to a client and using the student’s cell phone to make personal calls. Sometimes there were situations where the student suspected that the client was in touch with other partners in crime or involved in criminal activities and anxious about repercussions of that, both with the Police and the client’s crime associates if she was visiting him or even seen talking to him.

However, working with the police also saw some innovation by students. These innovative or creative tasks done were quite interesting and in a way reveal the energy of the individual and the scope of social work in the agency. For Raima in NPS, to understand the new dimension of women in flesh trade a root cause study was proposed, to examine areas from which women have been brought and a study on women police constables and their work conditions. Most of these have been on the based on the supervisor’s suggestion. Some innovative work has also been in terms of cases and how they were handled. The other thing was mapping the profile of women residing in and around the railway station and mapping resources and services available since there were many disabled destitute. Kavya at SNPS did an access audit of a police station and for this she interacted with a lot of police personnel.

11 Sub-Theme
Field work with the police brings to the fore issues of Self\textsuperscript{12} of the student social worker. It has various elements like knowledge gained, reflections, becoming aware of one’s self, positive and negative experiences. Anandi at NPS had a file with very detailed recordings and all the relevant attachments. In the individual conference with the supervisor the student evaluated self, agency, wrote linkages about social work methods, about the agency and all of this was documented in the recordings. In the end a separate essay was written about professional development, suggestions for the next year and impression about the agency. For her, negative experiences seem to be a recurring theme in this setting, ‘I noticed that when he was being beaten the Inspector was observing our reactions. But both our faces were blank.’ Power and violence begin to emerge as recurrent themes in this sector.

Narendra at ANC has not written about self at all in terms of individual self. Even reflection was related to external tasks and not internal learning. It gave the impression that his field work was a lot about trying to explore work in this setting. Negative experiences got highlighted like this, ‘What to reflect on today’s work when we did nothing except tried out our patience once more and one thing that is getting reinforced about me is that I have a lot of patience and patience is a virtue.’ And it gets repeated again when Dinesh at ANC says, ‘Well I have nothing to reflect on today’s work because I don’t think that we have done anything except waiting and waiting and trying out our patience once again.’ These kind of comments are also common especially in settings that are being newly explored as work there is still being established.

Kavya in SNPS was trying to locate her own churning and conflict within what the field work experience had exposed her to, ‘Problem is structural which will need work on macro level. I am not sure how much difference or change can be brought about by working with individuals if the system is what dictates their behaviour or action. This makes me pessimistic. Field work is looking up in spite of my ideological issues.’ These are instances when students have taken something from the field work experience and started developing their own thoughts and beliefs about work.

\textsuperscript{12} Sub-theme
From the above discussion, it is clear that a wide variety of activities were explored and the challenges and value conflicts clearly depict what engaging with this sub-system of the CJS involves for the student social worker.

Reviewing the social work methods, what students did were case work and research though a few supervisors did maintain that it is possible to engage with any of the methods. The police station was often referred to as being amenable to explore community organisation, though work did not go much in that direction except for initiating some work. This was because of various reasons: one that the particular student had a special skill of building relations with the women in the nearby pavement community and subsequent students’ either were not interested in pursuing that task or felt they were not capable of handling it. Secondly that subsequently this project itself was withdrawn by the FAP and so the opportunity of doing that kind of work was no longer available.

Social work methods used was evident in the following writing. Anandi in NPS said, ‘I am able to link up social work methods to correctional field and better understand the concepts. Social case work- five cases, social group work- have not formed a group per se but worked on already existing group of constables, the aim was to make them understand the role of the social worker in corrections, elicit opinion among the constables on certain issues relating to NPS, to understand their problems, short comings in professional and personal lives. Community Organisation assignment links up CJS components beyond physical community but includes functional. Social work research- study on street children, social welfare administration- understanding in terms of hierarchy, how it works, communication patterns, styles, chain of command and authority.’ This was written in the summary recording so it is a part of a year-end reflection where the student was then trying to link all the methods to what she has done or learnt. It seems that some methods are taken up by students or supervisors with greater ease and comfort or lend themselves to opportunities for direct practice in this setting, like case work, research, welfare administration and some for indirect application for a course work assignment like community organisation and group work.

For Raima at NPS, case work meant speaking to girls and discussions about aspects of the case with the field contact. For Narendra in ANC, case work was in the form of home visits to understand peddlers in the community and he handled one long term case of a youth addict. For Sushma in railway police, group work was in the form of a loose open group of
women residing outside the railway station and the work involved being in touch with them regularly to build an understanding about their situation and needs.

With regard to social work methods, the Centre part-time supervisor Shika said that all methods can be used here. She felt that case work is possible and with group work the problem was that there are time limitations, for example with women police constables as a group the students tried to work with them but it could not be continued as it was difficult to get them together at one time due to different duty timings. For community work they did not get much support from the police. Though they were to have meetings with the Mohalla committee (a local area community group for peace building) but a lot of it was on paper. Thus the understanding of methods was more at a task level rather than as a conscious usage and it was more as a reflection done afterwards.

The FAP supervisor Pearl with regard to scope for social work at the railway station said that it was about working with destitute on the station where the focus was on preventing trafficking, with women living in and around the station (especially girl children growing up on the streets) who are vulnerable and working with young girls who had run away. The Police official Rameshwar talked about how scope was most significant in the non-cognisable cases that which the police do not immediately take any action against and also those cases that are not getting the attention of the police. In referring to scope, Kavya at SNPS highlighted the problems the personnel themselves face and Naina at SNPS talked about issues of poverty, in this community basic facilities were non-existent and often that became the cause for conflicts in the community.

There were 147 student placements during the period of study and they were spread across the six sub-sectors as follows:

**Table 5.1**

*Total Placements across the Six Sub-sectors*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Sub-Sector</th>
<th>Number of Students placed</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Court</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Commission</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.1 depicts the total placement done across the six sub-sectors for the 10 year period. Social work in Police as a sub-sector does emerge as having some common trends internally across different police stations in terms of the things that the students have been able to do, the challenges they have faced and the role of the social worker. Some settings like police station 1 and railway police were discontinued largely because the FAP anchoring it withdrew working in police stations as part of their policy decision. Another setting the ANC did not grow because of a tussle between the agency and the Centre. The police was fixated with the security aspect while the Centre was ready to explore work with ground level peddlers, informers and addicts. A change in the faculty member at the Centre level and a change in leadership at the agency level further polarized the positions that each held on to making it difficult to find some common purpose to work together and so the placement was discontinued.

Rhea thought that settings that were nurtured were police station placements at Nagpada, Nerul, Mahim, Chembur and Shivaji Nagar. “But many placements were shut because of lack of people to take it up, in terms of faculty members at the Centre for supervision and nurturing.” This directly indicates how the Centre and the field are closely linked and how and why a certain sub-sector in this case police grew and evolved may be just for a basic reason of Centre faculty members not being available to anchor it. Since fieldwork is what cements that link this would have direct implications of what setting would be available as a placement choice being offered in that year.

In conclusion, police station work is documented as being challenging but students have been able to demonstrate scope for social work through small examples of engagement with the system and in individual cases where social work intervention complements police work or takes over at the point where police do not feel the need to intervene. This work needs to go beyond a mere demonstration or to fulfil a teaching objective and this can happen only when the social worker’s identity is somehow formalised within the system which is a larger struggle for the educators and the practitioners. That will bring an element of acceptance by the police system and take care of the other real issue of potential employment. ‘The most important thing being that the presence of the social worker helps citizens to access the justice system better and leads to an improvement of police community relations’ (FAP 2012 Handbook Series). Thus this sums up the role for a social worker with the Police.
**Field Work in Court**

“There is definitely a need of the presence of a social worker in the court settings. The presence would ensure the settlement of any kind of differences or disputes that might spring up between the individuals and the system.’ Student doing fieldwork in a legal aid NGO.

The Court is the second part of the Criminal Justice System, after the police. It is here where the next interface with the accused happens. Historically internationally, the disciplines of social work and law have enjoyed a close association. As early as 1879, legal strategies were used in the USA to improve conditions for people living in poverty, people with mental illness, those with disabilities, orphans, and delinquents (DuBois and Miley, 2005). In the years that followed, leaders of both the Charity Organization Society and Settlement House movements were involved with legal processes and events (Barker and Branson, 2000). The link between crime, corrections and social work has therefore evolved from an interaction between law, corrections, law enforcement, prevention, treatment and education that has had particular trajectories in various countries.

There were three student placements in all during the period of study in two court agencies, there were two at an NGO and one at a District Legal Services Authority (P TDLSA). The first was an NGO, looking at legal aid at a district prison and the second was a field work placement through the FAP, working with a government body working on legal awareness and legal aid at another district prison. One was an NGO setting and the other a government setting, (though the placement was through the FAP which is similar to the NGO). In the first agency, the entry into court was through cases that were picked up in prison with a specific focus on legal aid, so the student social worker went into specific court rooms in different courts with regard to a particular case follow up largely to get case based information and then to share it with the lawyer and coordinate between the lawyer and the woman in prison. In P TDLSA it was again coordinating on the issue of legal aid between the DLSA and the Thane prison. So again the strategy of both the agencies was similar, of identifying cases that require legal aid; thus one was an NGO and the second a government body responding to the same issue. The social workers in the former setting did not have any physical space identified for them to function out of and in the latter agency, the students were operating out of the agency’s office.
Of the total 147 placements in the decade chosen for this study (2000-2009); seventeen Court placements were made, that is twelve per cent, across different court settings. This is indicative of a phase where work and the scope for social work intervention, was being explored in Court as a sub-sector. Court work was explored through the FAP at DLSA and a central prison and through NGOs. The former is still nurtured by the Centre today as a regular placement. This is a sub-sector that did not grow as compared to the others. Work in Courts was done in two ways; one was to access the prison and identify legal aid cases there and then to follow them up in the respective court rooms, as through the placements of the NGO and the District Legal Services Authority through the FAP. There was another strategy that was used by the FAP at the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate Court from 1992 onwards, of getting a student social worker and/or a social worker to sit in the court premises and operate something like an information and help desk. This interface with public entailed giving simple directions, providing some information about court procedures, actually identifying a few needy cases and referring them to community resources, and eventually doing pre-sentence reports for magistrates. (FAP Annual reports). After demonstrating the scope, the FAP subsequently withdrew from this work and now continues with the individual case follow up strategy through prison.

Since court work was about identifying cases through the prison, there was a balance of agency related work and direct work, which was going to the prison (the young adult offenders section) to identify cases for legal aid. There was a need to coordinate between court and prison; having a link with the prisoner was also important; so court work was also about getting connected to prison work.

Work in courts generated 494 codes in Atlas-ti. In work with courts as a sub-sector, reading and reference was the activity done most by the students. Being confronted with a bureaucratic system was the biggest challenge followed by the student feeling lost indicating the non-clarity of what the student social worker was supposed to do in this setting. In aspects related to self, knowledge gained was the most, implying a big learning curve for the student for this sub-sector. That was followed by negative experiences reinforcing the challenges faced. Case work was most commonly used and value conflicts were minimally mentioned probably because work itself did not go into depth so the experience was superficial.
The activities that students did in the course of work in this setting are in three broad categories as related to court work, prison work and agency work.

**Activities related to Court:** At P DLSA, activities which Vinay did were walking around the court premise, meeting some lawyers, discussing with DLSA officials and observing people in court. Thus, these activities were aimed at exploring the role of the social worker. Here client related activities were in the form of going to different courts to get information about cases, attending court hearings, talking to accused and referring cases to other NGOs.

**Activities related to Prison:** At P DLSA, activities which Vinay did were prison visits, meeting officials and visiting the barracks of young adult offenders in prison. Activities that were client related were: writing applications, talking to inmates, meeting newcomers, making phone calls and making a list of those who had no legal assistance. A program that the student organised was an orientation session done with law students about prison and coordinated the legal aid cell to be operational in the prison. Sasha at NGO visited prison to identify cases and worked in depth on two cases on a long term basis throughout her fieldwork placement period and was able to explore the CJS through that.

**Activities related to the agency:** Sasha mentioned these activities; reading and reference; was taken to the documentation centre and asked to read books and various reports, understand the ideology of the agency, how to fill a vakalatnama, (a consent form authorising a lawyer to represent oneself) attending internal meetings and meetings by NGOs. Since it was legal knowledge based agency, knowledge and information was the main focus, followed by understanding the agency, its ideology and its way of functioning.

The FC Rene who was also a practicing lawyer said that activities the students did depended on the student. She recollected one particular student as having an inquiring mind, who asked a lot of questions and would deliver (sic) on every task assigned to her. She also felt that some students were just not interested or made no efforts to complete tasks. Largely it is that tasks are assigned to the students by the FC. This may be a way of introducing them to work being done in the setting thus following a continuity of a line of work. Once students settle down or become familiar enough they show signs of exploring on their own, identifying new issues or ideas but most of this has to again be approved by the agency as everyone functions within an ideological framework.
Sasha recollected how she was working with lawyers who were over burdened with work. Her main job was to be a link of the lawyer and women under trial prisoners (UTPs) in prison, finding case details from courts, linking UTPs with lawyers and following up on the case. This was thus a combination of court and prison work with a focus on court as the primary entry point.

Describing the role of the social worker, Vinay in P DLSA expressed his own apprehensions about what the role of the social worker should be, ‘Mere taking cases and informing as per their demand is not fitting into the objective of social work intervention in prison. The biggest motive of intervention is correction and rehabilitation which remains untouched until they also are ready to change themselves otherwise the social workers role will be limited to be an agent of the accused or offenders.’ Here the student is able to see and distinguish the potential for depth in the work of a social worker, and not merely some short-term, ad-hoc tasks that fill some gaps in services.

Students are also able to develop a clearer understanding of what the social worker can do, ‘The worker is not a permanent staff (member) in the system hence there are constraints but the worker has the field wide open which is a great advantage.’ This aspect of mobility within the criminal justice system is a very important feature of work here as for the same case one can go to the Police station or for a home visit or to the court, thus venturing into various aspects affecting the individual’s life. And since the identity of the worker is not yet rooted in any one sub-sector as in belonging only to that, the social worker has a certain flexibility as compared to if they were playing a particular role like that of a prison social worker or court social worker wherein their role may have got more anchored within that setting.

Another dimension of the role is facilitating and maintaining the family connection, ‘Family always has a soft corner for their ward but it is the disappointment that does not allow them to come forward. Here comes the skill of the social worker who uses counselling and knowledge to reassure the family about the potential of reformation.’ In prison and P TDLSA the role of the social worker was largely focusing on two aspects that of providing legal aid and facilitating family contact.
Sasha mentions how the role of the social worker was to go to courts and find out details about cases, either dates, legal documents, other information related to the case and give it to the lawyer so they can prepare for the court date accordingly. It was a support role to the lawyers. She further adds that, ‘The presence of a social worker is required because it is at the entry point where individuals coming in touch with CJS need information and support that could be given by the social worker.’ Rene who herself is a practicing lawyer said that prison was the main location from where the social worker can operate since there is better access to inmates/ potential clients there rather than in courts. And though since 2002 lawyers have been visiting prison they do not have time to go weekly so they go twice in a month. This additional support that social workers can provide of interacting with family, home visits and getting secondary information is crucial.

The Judge Surabi said, ‘There is free legal aid but the needy are not getting access. Social workers can see that all the schemes reach the needy. There is a gap and they can fill that gap.’ Thus what emerges apart from the other roles mentioned above as the biggest role is to interact with affected persons and their families in terms of explaining and giving information. There exists an understanding of what lawyers can do, and what social workers can do, and they are distinct roles.

‘The CJS is a closed system, it is never talked about or discussed in society. Hence it is a largely invisible institution until somebody comes under the ambit of it and their civil rights are taken away as soon as they are arrested. The images attached to it are largely negative, police committing atrocities, the pendency of cases in courts, the prison housing habitual offenders and sinners of society and rampant corruption spread across the system. Hence the kind of people entering it are largely considered to be ‘scum of society’, a ‘waste that needs to be discharged’, as written by Sasha. And this is exactly where the social worker can play an important role of giving this population a second chance.'
Surabi sums up the role of the social worker as, ‘If you are rich, educated, with ample resources, you can get access to justice. Those who require it are deprived. There is no literacy, no one to explain, no money to reach out. The social worker can reach out to the needy and link them to the Court.’ Giroux (1997) with his contribution to critical pedagogy concludes this when he states that learning is not about processing received knowledge but actually transforming the learning as part of a more expansive struggle for individual rights and social justice.

Often it is challenges faced that indicate what the students have gone through and the resistance by the criminal justice personnel that exists in the course of this work. One of the challenges of exploring working in courts was Vinay’s own limited understanding about this kind of work or an overall realization of how work with the system itself is a challenge as the system is rigid and takes time to accept a newcomer.

Sasha had difficulty dealing with government offices because of not knowing the local language Marathi. Another challenge was being exposed to corruption, ‘It was a nexus and I wondered how an individual not familiar with the setting, procedures would and belonging to an economically weak section of society go through these processes. The brutal truth was that majority of people who come in the ambit of CJS were from poor sections and the kind of exploitation they endure was evident.’ Language limitation was very evident in this setting in terms of not knowing the local language being an added disadvantage and also the lack of knowledge of law as a limitation. The corruption in the system was also something that the student was exposed to.

Rene talked about how the court is a bit of an alien setting; getting a grip of the system takes time and the student has to make an effort. Reiterating exactly this the student said, ‘CJS can be intimidating if you don’t understand the rules or how it works. I was lost in the courts. The whole process was very different.’ Though there is role for classroom preparation and for supervisory inputs what the student means here is, in spite of that, the student has to experience it on their own.

Another challenge was the attitude of the officials, ‘In prison student social workers were working with women UTPs. They were doing sustained work and mine seemed like a visit. The attitude of the officials was, you can get this information from the case file in court and
they were not ready to cooperate in terms of giving basic information.’ This also indicates how the CJS is not able to distinguish between different NGOs and their specialised focus. For them they all seem to be doing the same kind of work and seem to be adding to their work by making demands of them which in turns means them having to do something extra even if it is about giving information from a register. Also because of the inter-connectedness of everything in the CJS, there may be a tendency to deflect work to another body; in this case the same information can be sought from the court clerk too. Another way this can be seen is that the prison staff are more familiar with the prison student social workers and when others from outside come for some support they do not share the same rapport that they share with the prison student social workers and so the co-operation they offer is compromised.

Rene felt that the way agency defined work and the way she understood social work was different. This largely came out of her own belief that if something was not being done as per the rules in the system it should be challenged or fought against. There existed in her an emotion of being agitated; as compared to the perception she had about social work from the Institute, or Centre, or the way student social workers function, of being more tolerant and accepting. The agency worked on this human rights approach premise that if the State had done wrong, it needed to take it up. The conflict was in ‘What is the ideology of the Institute and of the student. If it’s just accepting the system and not confronting it at all or overlooking, it is wrong, I have a problem with that as it would differ with my own ideology.’ There are conflicting views on this understanding of a social worker being an activist, being angry or using passion to fuel working in this profession. The sensitivity to injustices and the drive to want to do something about it are necessary but there can be different ways as to how it is to be expressed, and being angry or questioning or confronting is just one way.

Ideology was also a critical component of the learning experience. Developing an ideology is an ongoing process and it prepares a student about how to work. Eventually an agency is chosen for placement keeping in mind that it will give opportunities for the student to be challenged, confronted and grow, and for the student the loyalty is to the agency. Ideology can be simply explained as pertaining to, “what I will not do, what I will object to you doing, what I will object to anyone doing” and it is a very personal journey.
It is also important to understand that the student is in a learner mode, if cases or situations come up in the course of field work where the student is not able to intervene for whatever reason (either lack of experience, or on instruction from the supervisor) then it could be handed over to the agency so they can take it up, or else refer it to others working on similar issues. This brings us to the other reality of who can you refer cases to; how many organisations are there in this sector, and how many are willing to take up such cases in view of their own focus area and limitations. At an individual level what resources can be sought and what community resources exist for this group?

It would be difficult to determine innovation in this sub-sector as compared to the others since work here was still being established. However a few examples were identified by the researcher as having the potential to be listed under this category. These have been tasks given by the field contact as Sasha writes, ‘I was asked to make another database compiling some fifty letters of prisoners from prison. The FC told me that she has no time to go through the letters herself so that if I could just write briefly the concerns of prisoners and what kind of help they are seeking for from her.’ Working on this database helped compile the volume of requests that the lawyers got via letters from prisoners and categorising it was like doing some base work of organising the requests so the lawyer could then respond. It was an efficient, time saving method.

The individuality of the learning experience combined with the individuality of the person is what makes field education experiences different for different students and this is the very essence of field education (Mallick 2007). The positivity reflected in one student’s statement connects to this point especially in this light that the student placed in the same setting the previous year did not do well and both the agency and she found the experience not so pleasant.

Sasha’s writing indicated reflective thinking, ‘But working within the system is like taking this better pill, you have no option but to take it.’ or when she says ‘The three and a half hour spent made me feel and realise how a common man feels in the court settings riddled with corruption, lack of information about the procedures and in the absence of someone who would explain to them how to go about the process.’ Also insights where she is able to comment on how things in the system operate. ‘The culture of silence and compliance is so pervasive in the government settings. Most of the work is done through contacts, power,
money but what is shocking is that there is a silent consensus to it, which gives it a societal sanction and legitimacy for a majority of population.’

Self-awareness was evident through statements such as, ‘There have been so many occasions in my life when I have felt wronged and as if I deserved better, when confronted with situations. But I know for certain how trivial they have been and that fortunately I belong to this extremely super lucky class where life has not been so hard. Today I still get very angry, perturbed with the way so many things out there in the world are, but somewhere because of this realisation and such experiences, I have developed this confidence that makes me stand up for the issues that I believe in.’ In a way this sums up how intense and personal a field work experience can become for some students. When students engaged in fieldwork encounter a disturbing event, it acts as a challenge, the resolution of which provides students with alternative ways to interpret their experience and critically examine their own values, ways of acting and assumptions. The experience of the students fits within the framework of reflective learning (Gould and Tayler, 1996; Sheppard and Ryan, 2003 cited in Lam et al. 2007), a central premise of which is the idea that knowledge is founded on experience. This highlights the importance of self and the important role it plays in field work. This does not happen with all students so there must be an interplay of many other factors like; the students own sincerity towards work, interest and motivation in social work itself or desire to study this particular course, which contribute to learning of this depth.

Discussing the social work methods used the emerging aspect was case work in a limited sense, of getting information about clients within the legal aid focus and also research about related issues. The biggest role in this setting has been of identifying women who needed help and then facilitating legal aid for them. It is about playing a support role or a link between the client and the lawyer. Another role has been of filling in for the lawyers or legal aid officials so it was basically about constantly trying to identify who needed help while in custody in terms of those who either do not have support systems, or the money or the know-how, to facilitate their case movement in the judiciary process. Thus it was about getting cases to the notice of legal aid systems and then seeing what more can be done for the family, if need be beyond legal aid, like some emotional support or sponsorship needs for the children’s education. Basically it was about focussing on what else may be required by the family while one of their members is in prison in terms of financial support, information, guidance and or emotional and moral support.
In NGO, working with individuals was the method most commonly used so Sasha went for home visits, did a lot of court visits to get case details. Individual cases were taken up for legal recourse by the agency so the focus was on that with a link of prison and court. Research in the form of studies and data search was more in this setting because a lot of work was about reading up and preparing about issues.

Describing the scope, it was largely mentioned in terms of what all can be done in this setting and all of the expectations were related to working with the client, what they are entitled to, being able to give them information and guidance. The student Sasha said how the lawyer was doing legal aid but she realized the role of the social worker in this. The human side that is talked about in social work was missing in the interaction with lawyers. There is too much paper work and it robbed a chance to have a real contact and see people beyond the point of being just a legal client and as persons. Being a student social worker one has the time and space to do it.

Rene felt that in prison there is scope for social work, especially for women prisoners, where she identifies them as being a group that is most needy. She added how for men their families are always in touch; they want to know what is happening in their cases, for whatever reasons they need them, they are earning members but for women the families hardly follow up either they find it cumbersome to follow up on cases or they are not so emotionally attached or committed and give up, with the intention that life can move on.

Surabi said if there was a cell in court basically to give information and guidance to the general public in need, it would help. There was also this realization that, ‘Earlier people looked at judiciary with respect, now people have lost hope. The hope or faith in judiciary is decreasing; there is dissatisfaction.’
Student placed in an NGO doing Legal Aid work in Prison, this is from her summary report.

‘The student had a great time working with lawyers of the NGO. The work atmosphere was non-hierarchal, informal and conducive which facilitated and enhance the learning and scope of work for the student. There was always a space to voice a concern, ask and clarify doubts, discuss and share issues. The nature of work at the NGO required more of a field based work which proved an opportunity for the student to understand the CJS, the realities and issues at the field.

There is definitely a need of trained and professional cadre social workers in the CJS. This location of the social worker in the court, police and prison setting could facilitate the process of rehabilitation of those confined in the CJS. The jail and the police place much emphasis on administration and custodial responsibility takes a back seat. The sheer volume of work and paper work takes precedence over issues of the victims and offenders. Hence the social worker could play an important role in humanizing the CJS, in ensuring justice is accessible and human rights are upheld. The social worker could play a role in prevention of crime by working with communities and advocating for their causes. One important realization was the ideological framework that the student wants to work within, in the future is engaging with the system, a balanced approach where one works within the existing ambit of law, following rules and procedures but working towards ensuring that justice is given and the system doesn’t cause further marginalisation of the disadvantaged group.

Some suggestions are that at the start of the work, the student should be given a systematic orientation about working of the organisation, the focus and the intervention area of each unit. It will go a long way in helping the SSW in defining and locating their work. A social work student and law intern have a different orientations hence the period of field work placement could be more effectively spent if the organisation is able to capitalize on their respective strengths and aptitude.’

Sasha said that it is true that there are not established work profiles that one can take up after graduating. To further strengthen her point she said they were nine students in her batch and no one pursued the subject Criminology later. Now she thinks, ‘taking the concentration (the specialisation of criminology and justice) does not mean you have to stay in it, studying it has given a lens to look at the world.’ She further adds how though there might not be jobs there is a lot of legal advocacy and that pitches well for jobs as research officers. 'There
are very few established jobs of social worker in prisons; so teaching and research is another domain.’ Also that within the Centre, with FAPs things have become easier for graduating students, ‘We are capitalizing on work the earlier generation has done. The onus is now on us to develop the field.’

This is a reality of this sub-sector of not having enough jobs to take up after completing the program. The FAPs were set up to demonstrate the need to work on this issue but the FAPs cannot be the only source of employment. The FAP has been around for twenty-five years now but it is still only one organisation. There is a feeling among those who identify with the subject, that they should take on the responsibility of continuing the legacy and doing their bit to develop the field.

Sasha said that a certain baggage comes with the title of social worker. She stated how ‘social worker’ was a loose term and it has various connotations. She felt that ‘researcher’ was a safe word for her as it does not put her into a category of social workers. ‘Social worker’ is easy to just say as an introduction. Her discomfort came from the thought that the social worker was a commonly used term, it includes almost any type of person playing any helpful or supportive role. She felt that the word Criminologist is also problematic as it sounds like someone sitting in an office with no practice connection.

Rene said she did not know about what skills are required then added that taking initiative was important, ‘Our system is anyway difficult, so the individual should make an effort and the onus is on the individual.’ Surabi said that sensitivity and tolerance are two skills the social worker should possess; as the wheels of the government or system churn very slowly in India; other skills she felt could be, understanding and being flexible. This indicates that the other personnel in the court system, whether judges or lawyers, though facilitative of the student social worker have not really understood or thought through the identity of the social worker. It is realities like this that also indicate the readiness of the system towards the social worker.
Sasha wrote a comment about how she perceived field work itself, ‘Field work is definitely the soul of this course. I have heard what marginalisation, exploitation and exclusion in so many lectures, in the classroom, in seminars but until I haven’t felt it myself in the field, being with the client, in the setting and in court, in prison, one does not realize the gravity of it. These settings have made me realise what exactly it means to be marginalised by virtue of belonging to a particular group or class.’

Field work in this setting had two strong entry points working from prison so identifying cases for legal aid, and working with lawyers so functioning in a support role. And yet this sub-sector’s work seems to have been left with a feeling that a lot more could be done. For some reason, the work did not take off in spite of prison work being sufficiently established. Regarding the DLSA connect, though the need is fairly easy to see, getting two government systems to coordinate may have tired out the student. Thus the challenges also reflect the students exploring what is the role of the social worker in this setting. The work has largely been in terms of guiding, giving information, and linking up un-represented inmates to legal aid facilities. The role that social workers play is very different from that of a lawyer’s and yet they can complement each other. The social worker is looking at a larger picture; of locating the individual with the systems of family, employment, and citizenship. Direct work was more about information gathering and getting case details rather than intense case involvements. Reading and reference emerged as the key task here. Thus overall, it appears that work in this sub-sector needs to be explored more, and this body of work needs more clarity and acceptance. This could be an area for future thrust. There is a need to be able to clearly envisage and articulate the role of social work in courts.
Field Work in Prison

‘As I entered the gate of the prison, my process of learning started.’ Student placed in Prison.

The Prison is the third wing of the CJS, the first two being police and court. It is here that an institutionalisation or custodial role emerges. Prisons are of different types district and central. There are various sections in prisons where work can be done; like with convicts or male prisoners, but fieldwork has largely been focused on young adult offenders and women under trial prisoners; mainly because this is the focus area defined by the FAP. In 1950 Kendall had studied the types of social work being done and classified them into three categories of individual charity, government activity, and NGO. FAPs as demonstration projects by an academic institute do not fall into this classification, and would then become the fourth category of ‘type of’ social work. Of the above three categories in terms of an identity the FAPs may be closest to NGOs but they are still different since they are under the umbrella of an academic institution so a certain amount of dependency is there on that parent body.

There were four students thus there were four prison placements in all. They were all through the FAP and in different prisons mainly women’s section and children of prisoners (CoP) at a Central prison, young adult offender (YAO) section in two district prisons.

Prison Social Work is an old setting for field work. The central prison was the first prison in which work was started in 1985 (refer to chapter II, pp. 3, 6) so work was fairly established. The main focus was on direct work with women, then agency related activities and then programs. Work was about emulating what has been established as the role of the social worker in prison vis a vis women. At district prison, this was also an indirect placement through the FAP, understanding prison as a setting and its protocols and how to function within prison was done. Direct work was through identifying cases for intervention largely with a focus on family contact and legal aid.

Work in Prison seems to have been an important aspect of the placement since in the decade chosen for this study (2000-2009) twenty-three prison placements were made across different prisons, out of the 147 placements done, that is fifteen per cent. This sub-sector of prison is rich in experience based on the fact that work has been well explored and demonstrated. The FAP continues to work in this sub-sector and even today various issues
like women, children, young adult offenders, rehabilitation in district and central prisons are offered as a regular placement.

Prison as a sub sector generated 861 codes in Atlas-ti. Client related activity was highest, then followed by interaction with official and staff. Thus indicating that prison work was about focusing on inmates and officials. The challenge highest here was disinterest by the prison authorities towards the students; followed by bureaucracy and its demands as being obstacles to the students work. In the aspect of self, reflection was the highest in the students’ recordings.

The Centre faculty member Vasu talking about the activities that the students did in prison listed the following and the FAP supervisor Pearl reiterated this too.

1. **Legal awareness and aid**- Getting into areas of legal aid, writing applications, going to court, follow up with lawyers, legal aid and legal guidance. At the central prison, women section Vidya’s focus was on individual cases in prison and in that a variety of tasks were undertaken like writing applications for women, filling bail application forms, finding case details from prison officials and meeting new inmates. Also court visits, referral of cases for legal aid and making a list of potential cases for probation was done.

2. **Contact with family**- through phone calls, home visits, getting them to come for *mulaqat* (prison visit), building a bridge between client and the family, writing to family outside the city asking them to come and for some needy clients identifying space for shelter after release. At children of prisoners, Emma wrote appeal letters for child *mulaqat* and took phone numbers to make calls to families. Veer at district Prison at the young adult offenders (YAO) section\(^\text{13}\) handled two cases in which breakthroughs were seen due to his interventions. In one case the family followed up with the lawyer and got the bail application processed, in the other case the mother came to meet her son in prison after a long gap and break in their relationship. Both of this was because the student had gone for a home visit and explained the boys’ situation to them and so in a way motivated the families to take responsibility.

\(^{13}\) This section is commonly referred to as the Baba room to indicate young boys of the age of 18 years to 25 years.
3. **Building social skills through self-development and group processes.** The focus here was on group activities, group discussions, education, recreation, art, sports, competitions and awareness programs. The purpose being of getting clients to attend, to facilitate growth of the group, of the individual and broadening their world view. Veer at district Prison YAO section did some interesting group work with the youth with setting up a plant nursery as a productive creative outlet of youth energy. This required getting permissions and coordinating among various authorities. An FAP social worker Shobana who has been a supervisor talked about how some kind of sessions for the staff were organised; also group competitions for inmates in prison, awareness sessions, trainings and hobby classes.

4. **Working with the administration or system.** The tasks within this were understanding staff structure, hierarchy, registers, understanding how courts work, talking to lawyers, going to the Probation department, going to the police station and talking to the investigation officer and bridging the gap between the system and client. At the prison women’s section for Vidya, prison visit involved interaction with prison staff, observing routine of prisoners and the prison itself, meeting prison officials for programs and new ideas, facilitating law student interns and vocational training teachers. At district Prison, agency related activities for Veer were about meeting the superintendent, meeting NGOs, visiting the prison premises, meeting a few officials and discussions with the circle jailors.

5. **Developing resources for continuing and building up work.** Tasks here involved, identifying organisations to help clients during custody or release. Activities within aftercare include working with inmates on a one to one basis, working with the family, community; working on issues of employment, health, escorting to hospital and building friendships. At prison women’ section, Vidya explored vocational training and short courses. Manu in Prison YAO Section worked with the student placed in P DSLA (a court setting) together on a workshop for judicial officers and a legal aid cell with a local law college.

What emerged as the biggest role of the social worker was that of listening to people and their narratives, that space of giving people a chance to just talk was very evident and one realises it is so important in a setting that otherwise is mired with negativity. The other important role was of representing people. In prison the role of the social worker was identifying new cases; where family contact and legal aid was required, speaking to lawyers about the case; thus representing the client. In the district prison, describing one aspect of
the role of the social worker Veer says, ‘I convinced them that we were not there as a part of the authority or police but we explained to them our core objective of being inside. It worked and gradually the new comer boys started feeling comfortable and sharing their part of the story.’ In prison, Manu writes about another role they have played, ‘Counselling helps the client to understand the problem and motivate them.’ Thus in prison, with youth under trial prisoners, talking to them, understanding their individual case situations and focusing on legal aid support through the legal services authority, were the roles played.

At CoP for Emma, being able to just listen to the women was another important role, ‘The major part of the tasks I have undertaken involve the women sharing their frustrations.’ The Prison Official Seema acknowledged that social workers make a lot of great changes. They can think in different ways and often prisoners open up in front of social workers rather than the prison authority. She also added that society and authorities need to be sensitised. Corrections is about vocational and skill education where the person has to be professionally equipped, build rapport with family, meditation for a sound mind and should leave prison as a perfect law abiding citizen.

Reviewing the role of the social worker is important in the context of seeing the place the agency gives to the social worker to operate, it in a way conveys the acceptance by the agency towards social work. It is not necessary that all students are able to play all the roles well and it depends on the personality of the student, the training, what they believe in, the value system of the organisation or even past work done by student or agency. But the role of the social worker becomes an easy entry point via tasks to function within the prison system.

As with the other sub-sectors this one also threw up many challenges for the students. At the central prison, working with women a challenge that was faced by Vidya was corruption, ‘Client said judges are ‘set’ which means they were bribed’. Another challenge was not being very sure who the clients are sometimes asking to contact especially in cases when the family is not in the city. In the district prison, Veer was confronted with the attitude of the official, ‘The Deputy Collector was busy in his own work and seemed least interested, ‘you are simply a student, why are you so much indulging into all this?!!’ Somewhere the perception of the system about the student social worker was that of being an observer and
not having to take up any tasks thus their learning was to be about merely observing and not having to do anything.

In prison, being confronted by bureaucracy is something that Manu had talked about, ‘*Every time the Security asks us why you are coming? Today jailor also asked us this question.*’ Or ‘*sometimes the jail administration allows me to go in easily while sometimes they ask different questions despite knowing the fact that we are allowed as per the permission of the DIG office.*’ Authority is shown by restricting the student’s time and tasks or alternately not being encouraging about tasks that the student wants to do.

Thus in the prison setting the challenges have been varied. Some are related to the student itself, being motivated to explore field work well and do certain things as expected by the supervisor. The concern here is whether the students are earnest enough to follow that. Is that in some way reflecting the depth of engagement of the students in field work? The other challenges have been related to the system and its inherent features like being exposed to bureaucracy, violence and corruption. While it is one thing to study about this in a classroom situation but to actually confront it in the field can be disturbing and challenging for students. Also the attitude of the officials play an important part in this work and it often becomes something that can disrupt or delay work. Learning to deal with all of this and yet function in such a setting is what is additionally seen as of value. The fact that the entire CJS is governed by rules and regulations is something that always comes up. Prisons being custodial institutions the primary objective is custody and security, so often all work to be done in this system gets interpreted in connection with that. Permissions form an important aspect of work here and the formal nature of that, meaning requiring permission for everything makes the student vulnerable to challenges like restrictions of time and access which an official can bring up in the name of a rule but mainly to cover up his own non-cooperation. This is what Parker (2006) described as social workers walking a tight rope between individuals excluded from taking a place within society and the social and political environment that may have contributed to their marginalisation.
The students also experienced value conflicts in the course of their field work. In prison women section, situations that brought about a sense of discomfort and restlessness for Vidya were corruption. She writes how, ‘the client told her how they paid each warden a fixed amount of bribe, to be allowed to keep what they want with them. The client’s group of friends were four people and each paid their share of Rs 100 per matron per month.’

At prison, an important point raised by Manu was about resources and its connection to learning, ‘Now here also is one dilemma that is about the use of resources. To what extent should the student use his own resource to understand the work and learn in the field as resources are limited?’ This problem is taken care of when an FAP or NGO through which the student is placed is able to absorb some expenses incurred by the student during the course of their work but if it is a setting where work is directly being explored by the Centre, having some funds in a pool to fall back on will be required. Or if it is something that is out of the purview of the anchoring agency then the student may end up having to bear the expense themselves. That would then become a hindrance for those students for whom money is an issue in terms of them being on a limited budget and not being in a position to spare funds for field work related expenses.

At CoP, Emma was wary of a client because she made a suggestion of offering a payment to the student for a task to be done. This was probably coming from the experiences of women seeing this as normal in the system, of having to pay for getting basic work done. Also lying to a client about progress in a case because the truth was that it may either never happen or take too long and the student was not feeling confident of handling the client’s reaction after hearing this. Laws on paper and in practice are different and especially in prison and in the police station since students are there with a permission, it curbs what they would like to express. Value conflict comes up when the student believes they should stand up for people’s rights; when they are seeing corruption and violence. This could be due to various reasons; the student’s own belief system, the anchoring agency’s stand and domain of work, or from classroom inputs and discussions of the way things should ideally be in society; which is often seen as a reference point in the work done.

Thus the value conflicts most common were being exposed to corruption, bribery and illegal activities. In settings that are strictly governed by rules; the one thing that seems to be an off-shoot of that for inmates is, of getting their way around by paying for it. This issue of corruption is so complex and ingrained in the system that newcomers, inmates, social
workers and students, very quickly get a feel of it. In one example the student shares how an inmate could not comprehend why she was helping someone for free. This would seem odd in a sub-culture where instances of corruption are commonly heard about or seen. In this sub-culture of prison, a social worker who has a different value orientation finds it hard to ignore and not confront and yet one has to continue to operate because of the FAP or the larger cause that field work has to be sustained here. This becomes a dilemma for the students.

In the course of routine work there are some activities, ideas, or issues that emerge from the field which are novel and new. The students sometimes generate this; and one reason for this could be that they have a certain freedom to explore and push boundaries, much more than what full time social workers can do. This aspect becomes important, as it could be a way of identifying newer focus areas, or showing different strategies at work, or demonstrating a skill.

At work with women under-trial prisoners, Vidya organized a range of programs in prison, a fun fair for the women as a stress buster, celebrated Africa day for inmates from other countries and screened a movie on an issue related to stress and coping. Finally she had a cultural program for the staff and their families as a break. Since custody and security seem to be topmost as a priority for the system it does not have much time or energy to invest in any kind of activity. These are innovative ideas as one does not often see a collective celebration of this sort in prison either for the inmates or for the staff.

Thus innovations in prison work have largely been in the form of doing things that are additional or beyond what is otherwise routinely being done by the social workers. One explanation for this can be that students have the freedom to explore and follow their ideas to a larger extent than regular social workers who are confined by plan of actions and a defined course of work. The fact that the tasks were done implies that the agency accepted the ideas and supported them, since sometimes there might be a cost involved and there might be a need to negotiate this with the system in terms of special permission. These innovations indicate possibilities and new energy of what more can be done. Students come with an enthusiasm and the desire to do more and different things and so most of the innovative ideas have been about creatively coming up with newer ideas.
Dewey (1938) in the concept of experiential continuum talks about the continuity of learning. Search for self was the major premise of the student’s reflection mentioned and the same is evident here too. Components in reporting related to self were reflective thinking, positive and negative experiences, knowledge gained and being self-aware.

Positive experiences have been, in women section for Vidya, ‘Left the prison and the SSW was feeling very elated that both requests had been granted.’ At the district prison Veer writes with regards to a case, ‘I was much satisfied with the fact that he was happy to have an interaction with his family and he thanked me a lot saying brother, I will never forget how today you made it possible for me to talk to my mother. I was overwhelmed by his reaction in this way.’ At COP Emma sums it up aptly, ‘Overall the field work has resulted in extreme changes in my approach and has kind of created the will and interest to carry forward the learnings in the CJS in future and take it up as a full time profession.’

Prison as a setting allowed for a lot of reflection and focus on self. This has happened in various ways; from getting knowledgeable about some things like procedures, and the way things function and even nuances of problems, like the tough working conditions of the staff. Reflective thinking often shows how the student has been able to understand the setting and its context at a more deeper level and is either raising concerns about it or commenting on issues identified; like when a student talks about the stigma attached to imprisonment regardless of whether he is convicted or not, or when a student writes about prison dynamics and the influence of those involved in crime over some of the others, or when a student is able to think aloud about how the person and his behaviour needs to be separated, so viewing the crime different from that of the criminal. Negative experiences were about insensitivity of the staff towards the inmates and positive experiences have been when some of their ideas were accepted or permission given for a request made, or being appreciated for some case interventions, or just feeling a sense of having overcome their fear of the CJS. All of these lead to an increase in confidence and an interest in this work itself. Bleakely (1999) explains exactly this when he talks about how through experiential learning one allows the emerging experience to influence the professional self.

Thus students doing field work in a prison setting are well oriented and involved in the way a social worker needs to function in this setting. That the field contact is someone to emulate and see live in action makes this transition from learner to doer fairly easy for the students. There are a variety of experiences the students have written about indicating the depth of work that has been possible.
In describing the agency itself, all the placements in prison were through the FAP and the way the student is nurtured there is quite evident in the way they have been able to work and in their whole learning experience. There are a few more NGOs that have now started working in prisons but largely with some micro focus on a particular issue like education or recreation or some spiritual consciousness. The holistic rehabilitation and reintegration focus is what largely only the FAP has been doing. So far one or two experiments were documented of students being placed in prison via other NGOs or projects but those NGOs did not seem to have been able to sustain the field work commitment may be because of the stringent curriculum requirements. Voluntary organisations in a prison setting are able to provide various additional support to the prison system in terms of things they do with the inmates to keep them meaningfully occupied and to take care of some of their needs.

This setting allowed practice in working with individuals and groups very well. There was the opportunity to do some research studies too such as an analysis about the legal status of under-trial prisoners in a district prison or a follow-up of an FAP’s ‘drop-out’ cases to get an update about their status and needs. In Prison work, the foundation seems to be in working with individual cases with regard to family contact, legal aid and coping with institutionalisation. As casework many home visits were made, giving information about the case or requesting family to come for mulaqats, meeting newcomers in prison, going to court for a case, speaking to the lawyer, making phone calls to the family and getting legal aid request letters processed. Group work was about general information sharing and a rapport building space to then identify individual cases.

Detailing case work in work with women under-trial prisoners, Vidya stated that working with individual women was the main method used. She followed up on cases to the Consulate office, to police stations and courts. At district prison Manu talks about how the FAP social worker and jailor referred cases to him and his job was to give inmates legal information. In referring to group work in a district prison, Veer had group sessions with boys of the ‘baba barrack’ on positive thoughts sharing, health and hygiene. At prison Manu mentions group work sessions with boys about day to day issues. At CoP, some examples of social action used by Emma can be seen thus, ‘In terms of advocacy work, I have to follow up with the social worker on the ICDS letter and will be accompanying her for the next scheduled meeting. I will also be engaging in follow up work with the concerned authorities in terms of awareness and pro forma that has been sent as a part of the NCPCR.’ The FAP
supervisor Pearl added that for work in prison case work and group work can be used. She further added that community work to some extent within the prison, looking at them as a community or in situations where there are sub groups within prison was also possible.

Highlighting the scope for social work, it has been defined well in terms of being able to connect with women and then link them both at the legal and the social level. Some of the issues that emerged here were mental health, dealing with homosexuality, illegal migrants and problems of the prison staff themselves. The FAP Supervisor Pearl said about scope for work in Prison, ‘There is no system that is addressing underlying psycho social issues largely speaking that is vulnerability to justice, women not being able to access their rights, issue of police, of staff and inter-departmental coordination.’ Thus it is within this domain that the social worker can function since the system is not actually paying attention to these aspects.

The FAP Supervisor Varun working with male young adult prisoners said that, ‘Since there is no one who will go to them and talk to them. A person from outside comes and speaks to them with affection.’ And that itself is such an important role since some are in trauma, some in depression or emotionally upset and they need someone to talk to. The Prison Official Seema felt that social workers are an integral part of the prison system and should be within the system, that NGOs were their image builders and not being in uniform had its advantages.

A range of issues in prison among women like family contact, education, health, gender related, mental health, vocational training and rehabilitation challenges and prison staff problems were identified. In prison it was also about paying attention to how and why youth get into crime and what their thoughts are about getting away from it. The FAP social worker Pearl said issues identified were the situation of Bangladeshis, situation of foreigners in terms of support that Embassies provide in terms of inmates, non-local inmates and their situation, women coming as repeat offenders, women drug peddlers and consumers, children who have witnessed violence and undergone emotional trauma, women in violent offences and their coping situation and women on their own with no family support.
This setting lends itself to practice of case work and group work. Group work for the reason that being an inmate population there is scope to deal with certain common issues related to living in a closed institution and also in terms of being related to their life experiences. The topics that inmates can bond over in a group could be input sessions, educational, recreational activities or even anything that is knowledge based like their rights. Case work is the other method frequently used as each inmate inside is anxious, worried and wanting to get out of prison and yet inside prison, trust is difficult to exercise, so the student social worker is seen as an outsider to the system and someone who one can try and trust eventually. Also the secrecy of their cases and their crime involvement if any and the way their case and life could proceed are points that were best handled one to one rather than in a group. Case work thus becomes an easy entry point to these women. Research is also possible in prison work and may not be reflecting in this set of students that were reviewed as data for this study. It could also be possible that they did not document about administration separately and so also about applying community organisation to prison as a community. The non-existence of social action could just be reflective of the fact that at that point in time either there were no pressing issues to be followed up on or that it did not catch the student’s attention or interest but that does not in any way imply that there are no issues given the nature of the criminal justice system.
Student placed in a district Prison, excerpts from the summary report

‘The purpose and objective of my working in the prison was primarily to have a practical and holistic understanding of working with the CJS. The tasks majorly included case work and group work sessions with young adult offenders. This also gave an opportunity of interaction with the staff and the administration of the prison. I was also exposed to various levels of the CJS in terms of visits to police stations, courts and probation officers.

**Cases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name and particulars</th>
<th>Learning and Observation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(18 years)</td>
<td>Rapport building, home visits, case follow-up, interaction with lawyer, judicial magistrate, probation officer and investigation officer, arranging mulaqat with family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(21 years)</td>
<td>Initial dialogue as series of discussion behind reason of crime, case follow-up in the court and interaction with lawyer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(18 years)</td>
<td>Rapport building, convincing to visit the FAP office post release, case follow-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>(21 years)</td>
<td>Inability to pay fine, referral to another NGO, home visit, convincing to visit FAP office post release.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>(18 years)</td>
<td>Rapport building, a client without parents, helped in establishing contacts with relatives, legal aid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>(18 years)</td>
<td>Referral for legal aid, case follow-up, arranging mulaqat with relatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>(19 years)</td>
<td>Rapport building and convincing to stay with parents, providing legal aid.</td>
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### Group work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Nature of Group Task</th>
<th>Learning and Observation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Teaching of devotional songs</td>
<td>Building rapport with the group, imbibing moral values, and attempt to create a different environment inside barrack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Making sports material available</td>
<td>Pursuing administration and negotiating for sports material successfully, imbibing a feeling of team spirit while play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Session on health and hygiene</td>
<td>Initiating a cleanliness drive within the ‘baba barrack’, motivating boys to keep surroundings clean and bringing about the importance of hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Session on HIV/AIDS awareness</td>
<td>Observing homosexuality as a major concern and bringing about awareness through discussion about HIV/AIDS. Collection of HIV/AIDS awareness material from State AIDS control society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Session on morals and ethics</td>
<td>Observed scope in terms of willingness of boys to imbibe moral values, successful discussion and few group exercises, self-disclosure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Independence Day Celebration</td>
<td>Motivated successfully the boys to participate in a group song in the celebration for the first time, administration appreciated the effort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Republic day celebration</td>
<td>Encore of the independence day celebration, boys were highly motivated by the overwhelming response of the administration, formulate a small singing group in the barrack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Areas which require further learning** - The group therapy session follow-ups required more efforts. There was a need to explore more options for initiating the sessions. The other NGO required better liasoning with the administration on the part of the student. Vocational training project needs to be taken up further, it could not be initiated because of lack of time. Case studies require a more holistic approach, though, lately the student gained a lot of
experience in follow-up of cases. Efforts in the direction of increasing direct communication between the administration and the SSW.

Some suggestions- there is a requirement of one social worker solely for initiating efforts on deteriorating health and hygiene concerns inside the prisons. There is a requirement of a database of all concerned people, that is, medical officers, probation officers, various organisations working inside the prison and contact number of related officials. If one student could take up this project it would be handy information and fasten up the process. Near the Mulaqat section, through negotiating with the prison administration there is a possibility to open a helpdesk.’

Prison as a field work sub-sector is about twenty-eight years old and the entry into the range of prisons in the city has been through the FAP only and that adds a certain value of continuity of work and acceptability but the other reality is that there is a certain dependency on the FAP for this type of work. The FAP itself came into being from explorations in student field work so there is a good symbiotic relation there but the limitation of being an FAP of an academic institution also means that the threshold of crossing over into the sector and functioning independently is not realised. And the engagement with the system is more from the identity of the academic institution rather than that of an NGO. The students had enough to do and their tasks were linked to their role of being outsiders visiting the prison so interacting with inmates and representing them if need be, with their families or for their court matters. Because of the FAP link there was a similarity in the field work experiences even though the client groups across the three prisons belonged to three different age groups of children, youth and women. The nuanced sub-cultural differences of the prisons did not really show except in small incidents like the familiarity of the staff was more in the central prison as compared to the district prison. This could be because of the longer duration of presence of the FAP and students in the prison itself in the case of the former. What did emerge in all three prisons was the key role that the field contact (who was typically the FAP social worker) played in anchoring the students.

Prison work has grown and evolved. Is that as a sub-sector ready to break away and establish itself with an identity of its own as prison social work? Where there is a gap in service, the role of the social worker is there. Is it a temporary need or the consequence of an ongoing systemic limitation?
Features of Police, Court and Prison

Field work with the Police had an element of both direct work and indirect work, the former was with the railway police and in two zones of Mumbai police. In railway police it was about exploring scope, in the two zones it was about locating social work. Indirect work was done in the anti-narcotics cell work where the work itself was about getting a foothold into the setting. Work in police as a setting could involve three main areas 1) police welfare-their problems, stress, health, services, family support 2) the system-so issues of infrastructure, rules being followed, procedures and practices being constitutional and 3) individuals- coming to the police station as victims or offenders, preventive work in the community and exploring NC cases as a starting point for intervention outside the purview of police.

In Prison, fieldwork is largely about focusing on psycho-social issues. It almost seems like the role of the social worker is to individualise and humanize the CJS. People are forgotten in the CJS processing, the social workers attempt is to bring that personhood back and it is in that engagement that one is also able to bring the person to reflect about their life and the need for change. Only the FAP has a presence here.

In Court, the main focus of field work was legal aid and giving information, linking prisoners to various support systems like family and lawyers. It seems that either prisoners are not routinely told about matters pertaining to them or their case, or then in their extreme anxiety they do not fully comprehend it or plain disbelieve what the system is telling them. The role of the social worker has a clear start and end here and it is a temporary role, which is well defined, it is almost like a niche area. It is largely about understanding the individual and their immediate requirement with a clear focus on getting legal awareness and aid available to them.

The possibility of social work has been well defined in these sub-sectors over the last three decades. In terms of sequence, work in prison is the oldest then work with police followed closely by work with courts. The CJS has largely been resistant to the presence of the social worker amongst them. If it is about superficial, temporary activities and programs they seem accepting of it but to share the same power and authority they enjoy with a social worker, the CJS has to still internalise that idea. Work all these years was sustained because of the support of individual officers who believed in the value of this work. The next challenge is
how to get the entire CJS to share that belief. And the time has come to do just that, until a place for the social worker is etched in the CJS, most things they do will be seen more as just humouring the system and being dependent on the good will of individual officers rather than firmly positioning oneself in a professional role and identity. And since the CJS is very power conscious, a person’s designation defines how the system responds to them, this problem of identity really needs to be addressed or else the social worker will continue to struggle being the ‘outsider’ in the system trying to fix ‘inside’ problems.