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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

STAFF TRAINING is the major theme of this edition. The presentation is less comprehensive than we had hoped, which perhaps reflects the complexity of the subject. For one thing, it is difficult to separate training from selection, a thorny topic in itself. What kind of people choose to become Prison Officers, and why? To much of the general public it is a superficially distasteful job, widely misunderstood and misrepresented, which springs into prominence now and again in moments of crisis, to attract the type of publicity we would rather avoid. What *is* appropriate training for a prison officer, a prison governor, or a specialist working in a penal institution? These are the three main categories we have to cater for.

One starts nowadays by defining the task, and this is the kernel of the problem, for the prison task is confused. If it were one of simple containment, then we might find an electronic solution, and train technicians. But since containment is required to be humane, then clearly there has to be a man behind the machine who is able to make moral judgements. If in addition there is superimposed on containment a positive requirement to reform and rehabilitate, then there needs to be some kind of god in the machine too.

In the old days (which were neither good nor bad, but different) no problem was seen. "The first thing is to get a good man for gaoler" wrote John Howard, implying that innate qualities of goodness were the ticket to ride; and indeed, the answer to the delinquency of pre-war youth was muscular Christianity, with bags of dedication and healthy exercise in the fresh air. The borstal housemaster was created in this image, and he inspired many of his staff and charges with his faith that there was "good in all", and that criminality could be combated and ultimately defeated on the playing-fields and round the camp fire. (It was a belief that retains some of its validity despite the heavy cynicism of the post-war years.) Later in their careers many of these men became prison governors, and some of their inspiration was carried over to the adult recidivist. What is more it seemed often to work.

This was a far cry from previous eras, when governors were appointed for their experience of "commanding men" (usually in the armed forces) and officers, one step removed from turnkeys, slotted naturally into the role of loyal N.C.O.'s. The cause of reform has suffered ever since from this unfortunate legacy of a militaristic model, appropriate to authoritarian control in a simple-objective situation, but so inadequate (not to say divisive) in one where the task is the reorientation of highly complex individual behaviour problems. The example of the borstal men went a long way towards the demolition of this earlier image, but in the end it survived, for the pyramidal form is the strongest of all structures; men cling to its simplicities. In times of doubt, failure and stress we all want to be children or good soldiers.

And stress there has been in the delinquent sphere—train-robbers, demonstrators, tower-blocks, inflation, new-style unemployment, the motor-car, the armed robber, P.R.O.P.—all have contributed to make us doubt, argue and fear. But so too, from another direction,

have the social scientist, the psychiatrist, the social worker. The god in the machine is no longer the self-evident, self-justifying One. A cobweb of penological pantheism enmeshes us, emphasising the divisions in an anxious and polluted society riven by unequal changes, polarised into extreme positions, needing at once scapegoats to punish and a sign of redemption.

What kind of training is needed for the man whose job it is to do something about the casualties from this battlefield? Prison officers, governors (and even psychologists) are human beings and inhabit the same society as their clients—albeit with a more secure stake in it. They have their prejudices and their beliefs. Prison officers, by and large, are not highly educated men, their ground-roots philosophy, based on "common-sense" and their interpretations of their own experience, has not usually been tied in to any conceptual framework, they reflect perhaps more emotionally than the specialists the swings in public mood and the moral judgements of the silent majority. At the same time, they come to know more of the realities. Dealing at first hand with the contradictions of human behaviour their need is for an interpreter, and this is the first function of training.

One answer to the problem would be, as in the United States, to split off the custodial and the treatment "bits", to have gun-packing guards and white-coated therapists. The British service has wisely resisted this temptation (though recent security expedients have pushed very strongly in that direction) for such a course would play into the hands, not only of our own punitive elements, but of the delinquent, so much of whose energy is devoted to proving, for his own self-justification, that the world is a black-and-white place, peopled with goodies and baddies who never meet within the same individual.

Another kind of split, equally tempting to a service under stress, would be to divide off the young offenders from the adults. Staff would resist such a move for a variety of reasons not all selfishly concerned with promotion and career prospects. Yet it has its logic—an open borstal has more in common with what used to be known as an approved school, or even with a probation hostel, than with Wandsworth or Gartree. Furthermore, if the Advisory Council's awaited report should, as anticipated, advocate a more unified service to youth, with greater emphasis on community links and semi-custodial sentences, some of the present distinctions between Prison Department and local authority undertakings would become arbitrary and anomalous. Politically, it almost seems that there is a conscious effort abroad to make new and positive achievements on the young offender wing, if only to counter-balance the pessimism currently afflicting so much of the prison scene.

The overall picture is so complex that the trainers might well be forgiven for their reluctance to make committed statements. A prison officer may nowadays be required to gain and exercise a variety of skills unheard of ten years ago, and to absorb an increasingly detailed mass of orders and regulations. It would be impossible and wasteful to attempt to equip every officer or every assistant governor for every kind of situation encompassed by his potential role. It is probably right that the initial (central) training should remain basic, and that it should be the responsibility of each establishment to equip its staff with the specialist skills needed to fulfil its particular task. But in order to achieve this governors must become more training minded, staff must drop the old defensive belief that "experience" is all that matters, and the Department must be prepared to invest more time and money in in-service training schemes. At the moment, governors who wish to see their staffs better trained find themselves frustrated at every turn. Under-manning, attendance systems which are based exclusively on control requirements, militate against continuity and staff development. Crisis we shall always have with us as long as we have "customers" and some of them are difficult, but crises and shortages of manpower, though real, should not be used as excuses to neglect the most vital of all investments. It is bad long-term economics to starve the family in order to pay the gas bill. And if it is necessary to convince the gentlemen in the Treasury that this is so, then someone must pursue that task relentlessly.

But below and beneath the electronic frills, the court work and the dog-handling, there remains the prison officer's basic face-to-face contact with the inmate, where the requisite skills lie firmly in the area of human relations. It is as essential as it ever was to get "good men", and then to develop them intellectually, mature them emotionally, increase their knowledge and awareness of themselves and the varieties of the human condition. If the modern prison officer is to fulfil the role that his representatives have claimed for him so ardently since 1963 he must raise his sights or, in the crudest terms, he will "miss out" and the specialists he distrusts and envies (not to mention the "do-gooders") will mop up the most satisfying and rewarding aspects of his job, for there is more to the business of understanding and treating criminality than is dreamt of by the man on the top of the Clapham omnibus. If the prison officer throws in his lot with the forces of reaction and repression he is doomed; if he seeks and demands proper opportunities to acquire some of the specialist skills himself to add to the first-hand knowledge he already possesses, he can confidently claim the right to be recognised as a professional.

Meantime the assistant governor, that ubiquitous animal, will continue to be recruited in numbers from outside the service, until and unless sufficient recruits of the right standard are available from the ranks. More can and should be done to develop potential in young officers early—department and governors both have a responsibility here. No one should assume that accelerated promotion is there for any nice chap with a G.C.E. in English language to reach out and pluck, but neither should anyone who is prepared to work and has the basic intelligence and motivation be discouraged by the constraints of his job from taking the necessary preliminary steps. If the ability and the ambition are there they should be heavily subsidised. Correspondence courses are one way in which the Home Office should be prepared to assist staff, since the conditioned hours of prison officers effectively cut them off from the opportunity of attending extra-mural evening classes in adult education.

As for the specialist, we need him too, and his special skills, but as a member of a team, not to take over nor to work away in isolation. Probation officers in particular need to adjust many of their attitudes towards institutional treatment. In his article, Gordon Robb offers some useful reflections on the relationships and reference points of institutional and non-institutional workers. As one of the trainers, Mike Milan discusses some of the problems involved in teaching social work in the custodial setting. Professor Jepson's contribution to the development of prison service training at Wakefield and elsewhere and his knowledge of the penal scene are unique in academic circles.

The Editorial Board is conscious that in this issue we have only taken a few bites at an enormous and controversial subject. We hope that these comments may spark off some further reactions which we can pursue with our readers in future editions.

Staff Training —Learning and Experience

NORMAN JEPSON

Norman Jepson was adviser on Studies and Research to the Staff College, 1963-70, and is now Professor of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies in the University of Leeds

A FEW months ago I was obliged to reflect upon the experiences of the several years I had spent at the Staff College as a seconded university extra-mural lecturer. In the process I tried to identify three or four ideas which, during that time, had influenced my thinking about the education and training of people of experience.

One concept that I had found particularly challenging was that of the Staff College as a half-way house between the field of experience and the field of learning, between the institutions of work and those of higher education. In this sense the College had a function not dissimilar to that of a University Adult Education Department which one writer defined as "an outlet for knowledge and skills, and an inlet for experience and criticism". Certainly, when the structure of the College in the 1960's was being planned and introduced we were, I think, very conscious of this objective. We tried to ensure that people from the prisons, whether they came to the College as members of the teaching staff or as members of courses, and people from higher education and other professions, were able most effectively to find common ground on which to examine critically and analytically their experience and ideas. I still believe it to be of first importance that one main function of a Staff College, within the total training organisation, should be to provide an *outlet* for the experience and thinking within the prison service not only for the benefit of the service itself but for other interested parties within society, as well as an *inlet* for ideas and experience from outside the service. The importance of this I shall return to later in the context of questioning whether continued, as distinct from initial, training even yet receives sufficient emphasis to allow for experience and ideas to interact significantly within the training situation.

This notion of the College as a half-way house is linked closely with the second concept which influenced me considerably. Thinking within the College about institutions was influenced very much in the mid-1960's by the appearance of Goffman's book on "Asylums" and by the concept of a total institution, which could have reference not only to prisoners but also to staff. It was and is significant for training in at least two ways. Firstly, in so far as the total institution implied a high degree of isolation which affected all members, though in differing degrees, the challenge to staff training was to help people more clearly to identify those aspects of isolation which stem from essential functions such as security and those that do not. Equally important was the recognition that the conservatism which springs from the isolation of prisons and which has been subject to many inroads in the post-war years, is affected by the very entry of new prison officials with a variety of experiences which need to be utilised to the full. One is reminded of Donald Schon's Reith lectures on "Dynamic Conservatism", when, having emphasised that the "strategies of dynamic conservatism . . . are central to the life and survival of organisations", he maintained that "given the dynamic conservatism of institutions, change then occurs in two ways: through insurgency and through invasion". Each intake of new prison officials is an invasion presenting potentialities for change, as well as problems of socialization into the existing system. Secondly, the concept of the total institution implies that work and other aspects of living are not compartmentalised, as is often the case in outside industrialised society. The division, therefore, between training which is concerned solely with the work situation, and education which may be concerned with the totality of individual experience, is under these circumstances much less clearly defined. Consequently the function of staff training is enlarged in relationship to the extended boundaries of relevant experience.

The third idea which is for me particularly significant in thinking about staff training is related to the question of its impact upon the relationship of different groups within the prison, whether these be differentiated on the basis of prisoner/prison staff, governor grade/prison officer grade, specialist/non specialist. Two interrelated concepts, that of "social distance" and that of "social progression" are particularly relevant. Of the former, a writer on adult education commented, "the greater the social space, the more room there was in it for illusions to flourish". Of the latter, a criminologist held that two opposite groups will tend to move

further apart because each group perceives itself to be more extreme in its views than is in fact the case.

Both are emphasising the importance of perception and misperception in determining the relationships and social distance between groups of people. The implications for training are that it should be concerned with involving staff in the rigorous examination of the divisions within prison society, the extent to which these are functional or dysfunctional, and how far they are based on misperceptions by prisoners and prison staff.

Finally is the fourth notion, which is very closely associated with the third in that it focuses attention upon the effect which the structure of the training organisation itself may have upon the divisions within prison society—reinforcing or reducing them. The conception of the interrelationship of structure and function is one which helps one to be aware of and analyse the degree to which, for example, the composition of course membership—whether it is based on status or job specialism—reflects or modifies the existing prison hierarchical structure.

The identification of these four concepts rather than others simply reflects my own personal experience and thinking—and the constraints of a short article. They do seem, however, to underline the main theme of this paper, namely the importance of staff training being concerned with *experience* and learning. They are, moreover, encompassed by the general idea of Thomas Mathiesen, that more emphasis should be placed (in his case in the research field) on the study of the prison and its environment. For Mathiesen the prison environment was to be seen in three layers, starting with the other people in prison and other prisons, through organisations functionally related to prison, to the final layer, the general public. These three layers provide the framework in which to pursue a little further the four ideas about staff training, supported where possible with the results of modest research projects carried out at the College.

I start with the first layer, the relationship of th individual prison to the larger prison organisation and the significance of the structure of the training organisation to this relationship.

Two of the important changes in the prison service over the 20 or 30 years following World War II have been its increasing size and the increasing diversity of the institutions embraced by the Prison Department. "People in Prison" referred to the fact that "there are now about 35,000 people in custody, compared with 20,000 in 1950... During the same period, the total number of staff employed in the prison service has increased from 5,500 to 15,000... The Prison Department is now responsible for 111 institutions compared with 57 in 1950". The closed prison still dominates the prison scene, claiming over 40 per cent of inmates and staff, but the range is enormous within this one category—between the small local with perhaps 200 inmates and the large local with 1,500. But the size of the population is only one dimension. Comparisons may be made in terms of open and closed conditions; or with reference to length of prison stay, implying high inmate mobility in the remand centres as compared with low mobility in the training prisons; or on the basis of age, differentiating the detention centre and borstal from the adult prison; or in terms of the different methods of security or the particular methods of diagnosis and treatment.

This increasing diversity of establishments gives rise to a sequence of questions relevant to staff training. Does this diversity imply that prison service personnel of similar status are performing dissimilar functions in the different institutions?—If they are, are they stationed in one type of institution sufficiently long to be regarded as becoming specialists in these functions? —Is it therefore still meaningful to speak of a general-purpose prison officer rather than, say, a specialist borstal officer or a specialist local prison officer?—Does/should the training organisation reflect primarily the specialism or the generality?

I am aware that most readers will be familiar—more familiar at first hand than I—with the tremendous complexity of the answers to these questions. I am equally aware that my subsequent assertions are based on limited evidence, and evidence which may be considered by some to be out of date in a changing prison service. I would, however, argue that the training organisation structure is such that on balance it reinforces the notion of one prison service rather than a diverse range of institutions, and clings to the notion of the general rather than the specialised official. Two aspects of the structure may be referred to. Firstly, whilst unquestionably there has been an increase in the amount of formal training at a local level, the overall status of training at that level is, I think, low as compared with that organised centrally. At a formal level, therefore, general training which can be more appropriately carried out centrally than locally, takes precedence over specialised. Secondly, this is reinforced by the fact that whilst some streamed and specialised training does take place at the Staff College and O.T.S., the main emphasis is still upon training which cuts across the special needs of different types of institution. Most courses still tend to be homogeneous in respect of rank and heterogeneous with respect to institutions, thus perpetuating the hierarchical structure and the notion of one prison service. For example, the initial training of officers is still dominated by the notion of the general prison officer, This may have much merit, particularly if it was genuinely "general", but I suspect that it means training most appropriate to the local prison officer who numerically dominates the scene.

It could well be that I am out of date. If so, I hope this will be demonstrated in a subsequent issue of this journal, for I am aware of the most painstaking survey of the contemporary initial training system carried out by the O.T.Ss. But certainly the evidence collected in the late sixties pointed in this direction. A sample of officers who have been in the prison service some two years were asked their opinions about the initial training. A significantly larger number of officers in local prisons (85 per cent) found the initial training helpful as compared with officers in other prisons (58 per cent) and youth establishments (62 per cent). In the light of this one may go back to the evidence about mobility and specialisation within the prison service. In the much more extensive survey carried out in the 1960's and covering over a thousand officers, the indications were that a discipline officer, once posted from the O.T.S., would be most likely to stay at that one institution for at least six years. 90 per cent of the sample had served in only one establishment after two years, and nearly two-thirds after six years. The amount of detached duty was at that time limited—less than one in five had been on detached duty in the first two years and half were without the experience after six years. The more recent evidence for the 1970's will suggest, I feel sure, that this aspect has changed radically. But, given a relatively low level of mobility, the examination of job descriptions among the discipline officers in different institutions reinforced the notion of the specialised officer. Perhaps the most revealing question asked was in respect of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, each officer being asked to select three in the case of the latter and five in the case of the former.

TABLE 1.

JOB WITH LEAST SATISFACTION

	2 Years Experience				6 Years+ Experience			
	Locals		Borstals		Locals		Borstals	
1.	Shop	(138)	Shop	(43)	Shop	(81)	Shop	(50)
2.	Searching	(64)	Searching	(26)	Searching	(36)	Searching	(30)
3.	Visits	(44)	Disc. Reports	(21)	Visits	(20)	Disc. Reports	(20)
N.		212		88		121		96

There is, as can be seen, agreement in both institutions about the shop and searching being jobs with least satisfaction. It is interesting and understandable that visits, on the other hand,were very low in job satisfaction in the locals and reasonably high in the borstals. But more significant is the list of jobs with most satisfaction:

TABLE 2.

JOB WITH MOST SATISFACTION

	2 Years Experience				6 Years+ Experience			
	Locals		Borstals		Locals		Borstals	
1.	Courts	(105)	House Board	(52)	Courts	(64)	Senior House Officer	(40)
2.	Reception	(99)	Landing/House Officer	(41)	Reception	(53)	Org. Sport	(36)
3.	Escort	(81)	Work Party	(38)	Escort	(40)	House Board	(36)
4.	Gate	(77)	Org. Sport	(37)	Gate	(36)	Landing/House Officer	(34)
5.	Landing/House Officer	(71)	Group Work	(28)	C. O. Clerk	(25)	Group Work	(29)
N.		212		88		121		96

These results can be interpreted in a variety of different ways. The high satisfaction in locals from Court and escort duties may be associated with monetary rewards or/and with getting out of the prison. One interpretation, however, may be that in locals job satisfaction in Court, reception, escort and to some extent gate duties is associated with a relationship between officer and prisoner, involving a large number of different people for limited periods of time but on what could be traumatic occasions for prisoners—sentencing, reception into prison, transfer to another prison. This is contrasted with the borstal group, where job satisfaction may be associated with a relationship involving a limited number of people for a relatively long period of time but in a variety of different contexts—a relationship which could be of prolonged significance.

I cannot within the confines of this article speculate on the security specialism as between the closed local and the open borstal, nor consider the essential differences in the nature of the prison community, as between the highly mobile local and the less transitory long-stay prison, with which the official would need to contend. Nor is it possible to consider the limited but relatively recently collected evidence about the more mobile assistant governor whose functions, however, in different institutions can be radically different. Sufficient, however, at a time when the training of both assistant governor and prison officer are under review, to have raised the question—again—as to whether these courses and the structure of training generally should and will reflect the specialised needs of a diversified service and ensure that learning and experience will be adequately related to the formal training system.

I turn now to the idea about staff training which was associated with the concept of social distance and which I want to link with the notion of the Staff College (and the O.T.S.) as a half-way house—with their ability to examine and understand the attitudes which a person brings into the prison service, and the effect of these upon their relationships with others. It may be illustrated through some research carried out at the Staff College into the relationship between prisoners and prison officers.

One of the most important contributions in this area has come from the American penologist, Stanton Wheeler, who, in an experiment conducted in American prisons, suggested that both prison staff and prisoners tended to perceive the distance between the two to be greater than in reality it was. The experiment was based upon what they considered to be appropriate responses to certain prison situations. Some of the situations were modified to suit the English system, and were then presented to officers from different types of prisons and with varying lengths of experience. One particular situation involved the question of approving or disapproving the refusal of a prisoner to give the name of a fellow-prisoner who had assaulted him. This was matched with another situation in which the officer had to respond—yes or no—to the governor's question as to whether a fellow-officer had used excessive force in restraining a prisoner, given that the officer believed that excessive force had in fact been used. The responses to the two situations, which were aimed at examining reactions to loyalty among inmates and loyalty among prison staff were fed back to the officers on the course and discussed. The evenly-divided response to the first situation, as compared with the almost unanimous response to the second, obviously led to considerable, and at times heated, discussion. The discussions highlighted a fairly widespread feeling that loyalty among prisoners—if such a term was appropriate—and group cohesion among prisoners, were the product of forces quite different from those affecting loyalty and group cohesion among prison staff. I think this reflected, although I realise that I am speculating, an understandable need on the part of the officers to emphasise the difference, or the distance, between themselves and the prisoner. An examination of the forces behind this need seemed to me to be a critical area of staff training. Because it had been argued that the need might in part stem from the uncertain status of the prison officer *vis-a-vis* prison society, and outside society, the problem was developed a stage further. A number of newly recruited officers were asked (in 1971) to list some thirty occupations in terms of their social standing within the community. A group of newly-joined assistant governors and a similar number of relatively new members of the probation service were asked to perform the same task. There was, as one would expect, a very high degree of agreement within the groups about the status order of the occupations. They were then asked to rate:

(1) their present occupation;

(2) their previous occupation;
(3) the occupation of prison officer, prison governor and probation/after-care officer; and
(4) finally, what they thought would be the general public's rating of the three last-mentioned occupations.

Comparing group responses, the upward mobility from previous to present occupation was markedly higher among prison officers (+6.5 places) than among probation officers (+3.5 places) and assistant governors (+3 places). At the same time the difference between the rating of their present occupations and their estimate of how the public would have rated them was highest among the prison officers, lowest among the probation officers, with assistant governors mid-way. More precisely:

TABLE 3.

	Rating of Own Occupation	Estimate of Public Opinion Rating	Difference
Probation Officer	6.5	7.5	+1
Assistant Governor	3.0	6.0	+3
Prison Officer	9.5	16.5	+7

(Ratings were between 1-30: the higher the number, the lower the status)

This limited study of just over 100 new-joined officers seems to indicate that they had at one and the same time a relatively high estimate of their new status, and yet a belief that the public held them in relatively low esteem. Whether the prison officers were correct in their estimate of public opinion is uncertain, but the assistant governors' and the probation officers' estimates of how the public would rate a prison officer were low as well. If officers do take this perception and this conflict into the prison service, it seems to me to be potentially important in affecting the relationship of the prison officer and the prisoner, and to merit serious attention in staff training.

This is but one aspect of the problem of perception and social distance and the last thing I would want to convey is the impression that it is a problem confined mainly to the officer. In general it is a problem which confronts all organisations, and groups within an organisation, though it may take on different forms and assume different dimensions. How one effectively deals with it in the training situation is a separate but related problem. A colleague of mine some three years ago carried out a study of the stereotypes held by trainee assistant governors about prisoners and prison officers. Part of the study was concerned with examining how different groups of assistant governors responded to evidence which conflicted with their stereotype. If the aim of training is to increase a person's capacity to modify his or her perception in the face of new evidence, the results were hardly encouraging. One central aim of training may be to explore the nature of relationships and the significance of perception upon social distance, but the means of achieving this aim may well be elusive. It is obviously, however, important to continue to pursue it.

I have left little space to develop the other ideas I outlined originally, or to consider the remaining layers in the Mathiesen model. As one moves into that aspect of the prison environment involving other participants in the field of criminal justice, one is aware that the years since the reorganisation of after-care, the Mountbatten Report and the introduction of parole have witnessed an increasingly close relationship between prison staff, probation, police and the magistracy. As such, considerable inroads have been made into the prison as a total institution. The question of the relationship of prison staff and colleagues in the field of criminal justice, particularly the "invaders" of prison, is consequently of increasing importance. The past few years have seen a remarkable development, especially in the relationship of the prison and probation personnel. The original problems, particularly concerning the role of the prison welfare officer, were brought out by the extensive survey in the 1960's in which prison officers were asked to indicate which of seven occupations—foreman, N.C.O., teacher, youth leader, probation officer, police officer, and nurse—most closely approximated to the future role of the prison officer. The officers experienced difficulty in identifying one particular occupation, but in all but one of the major categories of penal institution, they gave precedence to the probation officer. At the same time, though with more limited numbers, an attempt was made, by means of a questionnaire on crime and punishment, to compare probation officers, assistant governors and prison officers in terms of "social work" and "judicial" attitudes. The attitudes of prison officers ranged widely between the two polarities, but concentrated markedly upon the judicial attitude, this irrespective of length of experience and the type of institution in which they were serving. The assistant governors also had a wide spread of attitudes, but their average score concentrated clearly towards the social work polarity. The probation officers, meanwhile, had exactly the same average score as the assistant governors, but the range of attitudes as measured by standard deviation was very much more limited. The complexities, therefore, of this triangle of relationships was reflected to some extent in these scores. The prison officers and the probation officers may have shared similar vocational aspirations, but had very divergent attitudes. The assistant governors had attitudes and background experience much more akin to that of the probation officer, but their role was moving towards the managerial rather than the social work. How far the problems of these relationships have been resolved is difficult to say, but one aspect may prove to have been of crucial importance, namely the position of the prison welfare officer as a *seconded* officer. Within the context of prisons as total institutions, the significance of secondment has not, I think, received sufficient critical attention. To what extent can secondment involving links with organisations outside be a special antidote to isolation? How far can these links provide opportunities for the seconded person to communicate his experiences constructively to the outside world? What are the difficulties which the seconded person experiences in respect of these links? Perhaps, as an ex-seconded person, I exaggerate the significance of secondment, but for me the issue should be a central one in the training of personnel like the prison welfare officer, and those for whom they still constitute something of a threat.

Most of the issues which I have raised as being of particular importance in prison service staff training are ones which can best, and possibly only, be examined in terms of experience. Consequently I end where I began, with the importance of experience and learning being allowed to interact and this, most appropriately, as part of continued rather than initial training. It is perhaps significant that in outside society discussion is now taking place over the White Paper, "Education—A Framework for Expansion"—a paper based very much on the James Report, now renowned for its emphasis upon the importance of *continued* education and training.

"A Casework Borstal"

Adapting Casework Techniques to the custodial situation

GORDON ROBB

Gordon Robb took a Social Studies Course at Glasgow University, and probation training in London. He was appointed a Probation Officer in Manchester in 1950, served in Cheshire and Staffordshire, and since 1966 has been Principal Probation Officer for Worcestershire. He has been closely involved with Staff Training both inside and outside institutions.

IF you are ever taken on a conducted tour of the former stately home of the Earls of Plymouth, you may admire the statuary, the topiary, the architecture and the more or less ornamental lake. You may be escorted through the Great Hall, past the wall tapestries, to the sanctum of the man in charge, who, besides being Governor of Hewell Grange Borstal, is editor of this Journal, and he will tell you, as will other members of his staff: "This is a Casework Borstal". You will have to decide for yourself whether this is a boast. an apology or a simple assertion. The concept of a Casework Borstal has been discussed at length and at varying temperatures by the staffs of Hewell Grange and of the Probation and After-Care Service.

Years ago, Alan Roberton, when he was Governor at Hewell Grange, wrote a prophetic paper—*Casework in Borstal*—in which he discussed the possibility of adapting casework techniques to the borstal situation "I think it is inescapable", he said "that casework training and experience, the casework orientation, if you like, offers us an invaluable tool and an increasingly necessary one." He comments on the difficulty of adapting orthodox casework techniques to clients in conflict with authority, and points to the probation service as having an authority role as well as a helping one. There was a time in the probation service when even our best friends would not tell us what they thought of trying to be caseworkers in an authoritarian setting. Many of the techniques successfully developed by psychotherapists for helping neurotic and hysterical patients crippled by anxiety, overburdened with feelings of guilt and straightjacketed in inhibitions were transplanted into casework practice. Social workers learned to relieve their clients' burden of anxiety, to liberate them from dread feelings of guilt, to allow more feeling to be released into action and to increase their capacity for making and sustaining positive relationships. Our problem seemed to be that most of our clients did not feel guilty *enough;* they seemed to have too *few*, rather than too many inhibitions and there was often too *much* feeling being released into action. Their ability to postpone satisfaction of their needs was minimal; they tended to be self-centred, excessively demanding, and their childhood experience of relationships was usually unsatisfactory. Their need was for a casework relationship of a particular kind—a relationship with a caring, controlling authority which would provide support, guidance, material help, consistent care,frustration when necessary, and in the context of this continually adapting relationship the client would, hopefully, develop towards maturity. Problem behaviour was seen as fundamentally a problem of relationships. The tools of the trade were the relationships between social workers and clients: skill in casework was skill in the use of relationships. A knowledge of personality development was part of the social worker's stock-in-trade.

Where the needs meet

One aspect of this which is often ignored* but which was a factor in the probation service's insistence on remaining independent of the new local authority umbrella social services is that although clients of various social work agencies may have similar basic problems and similar life histories, there is a psychological photo-synthesis which brings client and agency worker together in a situation which offers possibilities for growth. The caseworker must be personally involved with the client in finding a solution to his problem and it is the agency which provides the container for it. There is an unconscious logic in the way in which a client arrives at a particular agency: he tends towards some light upon his problem. In the social worker's choice of career, there may be an element of projective identification—the casework relationship has deep intertwining roots. Although, as Alan Roberton maintained, borstal may learn from our knowledge and experience of casework theory and practice, the way in which the interaction between staff and inmates is used to help the latter must be peculiar to the setting.

There have been great changes in the probation service and in the borstal service in the last decade or so. In casework teaching there is no longer the same emphasis on the "one-to-one" relationship and students acquire skills in, for example, group work and community work, but when Biestek's *The Casework Relationship* was the social worker's bible, it was difficult to see how casework could have a place in the

penal institution. The seven principles which Biestek enunciated were based on seven basic needs of the client—his need to be treated as an individual; to express feelings; to get sympathetic response to problems; to be recognised as a person of worth; not to be judged or condemned; to make his own choices and decisions; to keep secrets about himself. In 1965 when the probation service was asked to staff prison welfare departments, the Biestek-reared probation officers, were, to say the least, a bit canny. In the prison department, however, officers were no longer on the mat if they indulged in conversation with inmates and in fact, courses were organised to help them do it more effectively. We began to discover common ground and to talk about "through-care" rather than after-care. The governors of borstals and principal probation officers are now sometimes described as joint directors of a through-care programme.

Taking the Mountain to Mahomet?

The object of treatment is to rehabilitate the young offender in the community using the resources of both services in a combined operation. It is admittedly difficult to involve the community to which the inmate belongs (and to which he will return) in the life of a comparatively isolated "stately home" borstal. Brave attempts are made to overcome these problems of distance and accessibility and a good deal of effort goes into making good contacts with the community around the borstal. This meets with some success and is very worthwhile, but a more realistic approach in my view would be to take Hewell Grange to the community, to have a policy of dispersal, at least towards the end of "training", into the communities from which the lads have originated. Small bits of Hewell Grange could be set up within reach of a lad's home. Child care agencies decided a long time ago that large institutions, however economical or administratively convenient, not only failed to meet the needs of children in care but were positively detrimental, and they embarked on a policy of using foster parents and family type homes. The borstal system is ready for some such development where borstal officers or "case officers" will be involved with probation officers in the lad's home area. Clients would be found jobs and after their eventual discharge would continue in the same employment. Similarly, one would expect that their leisure interests, membership of local youth clubs, football teams etc., would continue after discharge. So also might their contact with the borstal officer who would be part of the local community.

Martin Davies and Ian Sinclair published an article in the July 1971 issue of the *British Journal of Criminology* making use of data from Dr. Davies's study of male probationers aged 17 to 21 who were put on probation in 1964 in eight large cities, and Dr. Sinclair's study of male probation hostels dealing with approximately the same age group. Their conclusion that "for many offenders, the effectiveness of penal treatment might be increased by pursuing a policy of more direct intervention in the environment" seems to give support to these proposals. Certainly, it did not seem that probation officers had outstanding success with these probationers who were in roughly the same age group as Hewell Grange lads. Probation officers have experimented with other ways of dealing with clients in this age group who do not respond to the interview situation. Most Probation Areas seem to run summer camps for probationers where an attempt is made to substitute for the casework interview a dialogue of shared experience. One officer in Worcestershire has organised with the help of volunteers a motor vehicle group where joint activity and interest provide synapses for communication, and there are similiar projects in other areas. Borstal officers and civilian instructors have ample experience of this sort of thing, and new developments in probation—the growing use of volunteers, community service orders, day training centres and so on, are increasingly involving the community in treatment.

Joint Dependency as a Learning Situation.

In developing a theory of casework for the casework borstal, this kind of "dialogue" must have an important place. I have been conditioned, I suppose, into linking casework theory with a theory of personality development and it seems to me that probation students tend to pick up very quickly in learning about emotional development some parallel between the parent/child relationship and the caseworker/client relationship. Yet there is a stage of development in adolescence when the direct influence of parents seems to be minimal and the influence of the peer group to be predominant. The "helping" or "enabling" relationship between borstal officer and inmate is one in which both have a relationship with authority in the person of the governor and both are subject to his discipline and direction. The relationship between probation officers and principal probation officers is not quite the same. Borstal officers, I think, are comfortable in this relationship with authority and prefer to work in that setting. The use of their relationships with inmates to help them with authority problems is one of the strengths of the situation which should be examined and developed. Casework skills in a casework borstal should mean skill in the use of this dynamic kind of relationship, using shared experience and involvement to work out problems in relation to authority in a way which does not normally involve confrontation with authority but is rather a client's relationship with people in the setting who have developed healthy (occasionally ambivalent) attitudes to authority as represented by the governor. The special contribution of the casework borstal to developing new techniques should be somewhere along these lines. To some extent it is an acknowledgement of a process which is already taking place. It is thought to be inappropriate, for example, that borstal officers should wear uniform and, again, governors have said that some of the most productive points in training have been in joint interviews with inmates and their case officers.

* Footnote: Discussed in Noel Timms "*Social Casework Principles and Practice*" *Chapter I*

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Preparing Staff for a Rehabilitative Role

Relativity of Personal Relationships

M. D. MILAN

M. D. Milan is a Tutor in the Induction Department of the Prison Service Staff College at Wakefield. He joined the Prison Service in 1965 after graduating from Bristol University. His previous experience in the Prison Service has been as a Housemaster and later as Deputy Governor of Hewell Grange Borstal. In 1968-9 he was seconded to the London School of Economics to take a diploma in Applied Social Studies

LET me start by stating three assumptions that are made in this paper. First, that it is part of the task of a prison service to reduce the recidivism of those in its charge. Secondly, that any such reduction will occur chiefly through the impact of the personal relationships that develop within the institution; and thirdly, that of all staff the basic grade will have the most impact in their relationships with inmates. I do not want to comment further on the first two assumptions other than to say that staff /inmate relationships are not the only important ones. Inmate/inmate relationships may indeed have more potential for aiding survival on release. Here, however, I am talking about staff's influence upon inmates and to this end I would like to give some support for the third assumption. In an article published in this journal Robert Foren[1] points out that if the job of rehabilitation is to be done prison officers must be involved and indeed that they are the most appropriate members of the prison staff to do the work. He argues that "for most purposes it is the prison officer on the landing, the man who has most opportunity for continuous contact with the prisoner, who can, with help, be the most influential factor and the most able to assist the prisoner with his personal problems". This view is supported by evidence from research in the United States and in this country. A research project carried out by the United States Federal Bureau of Prisons[2] found that officers in many instances could be more effective models for, and could communicate more meaningfully with, inmates than professional specialists (psychologists, welfare officers etc.). Again, two other American studies[3](*a*),[3](*b*) both came to the conclusion that the impact of the non-professional was greater than that of the professional. Finally, in a report on the progress of the Midlands Experiment in Prison Social Work[4] it was said that "when interviewed by the research worker the prisoners were most likely to name a prison officer as the member of staff they knew and liked best and that it seems that as far as personality goes many prison officers could and to some extent do perform a welfare role". So there is little doubt that basic grade staff should be centrally involved in the work of rehabilitation. But the question remains as to how officers may be helped to undertake this task. In the following paragraphs I should like to look briefly at some of the difficulties that face any move in the direction of involving staff in rehabilitation and at the question of preparation and support for staff undertaking this work.

Time and Resources

It is very easy to come up with prescriptions for success (such as "make more use of basic grade staff") and to ignore the difficulties of implementing these prescriptions. But the difficulties can be quite considerable. To begin with it must be recognised that an extension of the role of staff means providing further resources, the main one of which will be that of staff time. Staff time will be needed for carrying out the new work and for preparation and support in it. But many institutions at the moment are particularly short of staff time. This is the case where the work load is high, for example with local prisons and remand centres which have heavy court duties. It is also the case where there is a shortage of staff or where severe overcrowding exists. Now this resource and others can often be freed, given ingenuity and open mindedness on the part of management.

But it is not easy to apply these qualities where the pay off for the activity concerned is uncertain and is not easily identifiable. Over the years we in the prison service have become good at keeping institutions secure and at maintaining the people in them well enough. We know we can do this and we can demonstrate to ourselves and others that we can do it. But we have not been successful at reducing recidivism for a variety of reasons, and we are perhaps not very confident of our ability to do so. This means that for many institutions management might have difficulty in persuading itself to free scarce resources to this end. A further factor which can inhibit management from freeing resources is the attitude of the staff whose role is to be extended. Although development of the rehabilitative role of staff in principle has been enthusiastically endorsed,[5] basic grade staff in individual institutions which seem hard pressed may, reasonably enough, require convincing that the case for increasing their work is justifiable and takes into account the demands that are already made of them. They may be reluctant to go ahead unless they can see the sense of doing so and unless they have confidence that management is committed to what it proposes and therefore will provide the support necessary.

Two implications at least derive from these considerations: that management must meet with staff and that resources must be made available. Management should meet with the staff affected by the developments involved in order to discuss what is intended, and to identify jointly the resources and structure which will be necessary. Not only does this provide an opportunity for examining reservations and proposals by both sides, but it also ensures that arrangements will take into account the conditions under which the staff are presently working. Further, such meetings pro-

vide a context in which solutions can be worked out to the problems which occur as a result of the competing claims of the different tasks of the establishment. There is bound to be conflict at times between the demands of security, the demands of maintaining the institution, and the demands of rehabilitation. It is not possible to work out detailed policy in advance to cover all circumstances, and regular and frequent meetings help to deal with the problems arising from this conflict as they occur. If these problems are not dealt with then a lot of ambiguity is created for staff, who will tend to feel confused about what is required of them, uncertain of management's support, and as a result may lose commitment to the new area of work.

It is as important that resources be made available—staff time, access to outside agencies where appropriate, accommodation, etc. If this cannot be done then it is probably better that this commitment should not be taken on at all. Where resources are available but are scarce it may be possible to introduce the activity into only a part of the institution i.e. a house or a wing. However, as Peter Timms[6] has pointed out one of the problems that can develop here is a feeling of resentment felt by those staff in other parts of the institution which are not involved. For it is likely that where the opportunity for involvement in rehabilitative work exists staff see it as being potentially the most important and rewarding part of the work of a prison officer.

Training for Rehabilitative Work

Granted that it is thought feasible to take on the task the question then remains as to how staff may be prepared for and supported in rehabilitative work. In considering this I would like to confine myself simply to the question of training staff for individual work with inmates. (There are of course other valid means of involvement in rehabilitation). It is perhaps useful here to examine experience in thinking outside the prison service in training people for individual work who, like staff, are not formally qualified for it. In a very useful chapter on preparation and training in "*The Voluntary Worker and the Social Services*"[7] it is suggested that in preparing anyone for work with individuals the following schedule of training requirements should be borne in mind. It will be seen that training requirements are grouped under three main tasks of training: the giving of information, the teaching of skills, and the giving of understanding. (Of the training requirements mentioned in the book I have included here only those relating to the training of staff, already in post, for new additional work.)

Information

1. Information as to where the (rehabilitative) work of the organisation (prison service) fits in with the work of other organisations in related fields.
2. Information regarding the characteristics and background of the people to be helped.
3. Information regarding the responsibilities which bear on the person as a result of taking on the rehabilitative duties.
4. Specific information required in order to carry out the duties: specific procedures, documents, sources of information etc.

Skills

1. Practical and organisational skills: report writing and planning treatment programmes, for example.
2. Human relations skills: relating to individuals effectively; working with groups, for example.

Understanding

1. Understanding the feelings of the client.
2. Understanding of own attitude by the worker.
3. Understanding the attitudes of the community to the client, and other pressures on him.

It is suggested that in preparing any programme of training these three tasks of training be remembered. They will be given different emphasis as the training needs vary but it is felt that there will be requirements to be met from within each of the three areas.

From Geraldine Aves' study and from others in the area of staff training four general points emerge. *First*, that untrained people have much experience of life and much natural ability in handling people. This should not be ignored but rather should be used as a basis from which to add further skills. *Secondly*, any form of training with untrained mature people must start with practice, not theory. We should underline the importance of a practical approach to training and relate it both to the work to be done and to the people who will be doing it".[8] "More harm than good can result from training in a vacuum—from content not *clearly* related to purpose" (D.V. Fornataro).[9] *Thirdly* that background information is normally provided by some sort of course or series of seminars. Understanding on the other hand is best arrived at in discussion sessions and/or using case studies. *Fourthly*, that skills are usually given on the job by supervision, with the possible assistance of such methods as role playing and case studies.

Training and Practice go Hand in Hand

What are the lessons for us from these studies, the relevance of which seems to be corroborated by experience from within the prison service?[10] The most important one, perhaps, is that many basic grade staff will have skills which they should be helped to recognise and develop. But it must be realised at the same time that anyone moving into a new and demanding area of activity will have some doubts about his competence. Officers will be anxious therefore and will require at least a good understanding of what their responsibilities are to be and clear, specific information about procedures, documentation etc. Because these procedures etc. provide some structure for the officer in approaching this new but unknown work they will act as a means of support for him initially. The information involved can be given on a short introductory course. However, after such a course all other training should be closely related to practice. Knowledge of the characteristics of those being helped and an understanding to inform that knowledge may be given on an ongoing basis in regular staff training sessions using the methods suggested above but these will only gain relevance if they take place within the context of practice. This means that members of staff involved should be given responsibility for working with clients at an early stage. The primary means of supporting staff and of developing their skills in helping should be through supervision, as is the case in training outside the prison service.

Supervision should mean at least a regular meeting with the officer in which his work with his caseload is examined. A regular meeting of this kind provides a structure in which the supervisor can make available resources as the officer requests them, and in which he can give information and guidance on procedures

etc. as it is required. But more importantly such a meeting gives an opportunity for dealing with stress. For work which involves relating closely to others, and thus really having to live with their feelings, necessarily involves stress. The supervisor needs to develop the ability to recognise stress in the officer he is supervising and to tolerate it himself. It is not a question of taking the problem away from the officer, but rather of helping him to cope with the stress so that he may deal with the problem himself. It is essential that this support should be available, and this does imply an ongoing regular contact between the supervisor and the supervised officer or officers. (Supervision can, of course, take place with more than one person at a time being supervised.) Finally, supervision gives a very appropriate context for the mature person to learn within. Adults seem to learn not through advice, but by reflection. By having an opportunity for discussing his work in detail, and by having a second, experienced person mirror back what he sees as happening, the officer is provided with an opportunity to reflect upon his work and thus learn more effectively from his experience. But if the officer is to learn in this way it does presuppose that the supervisor should have the skills that he is helping the officer acquire and that he should have skill at supervising. There can be concern that the blind may be leading the blind on the part of those who have to take on supervision (assistant governors, principal officers, and perhaps senior officers). However, it should not be ignored that skills do exist and again that much help in supervising can be given to each other by those who are supervising. Such help might be given in group meetings of supervisors. Further, as a service perhaps we should look more freely to agencies outside the prison service for help in developing supervision skills. In any event, supervision of some kind will be required by supervisors.

We have looked at some of the questions involved where it is intended to prepare officers for individual rehabilitative work with inmates, but there are of course many others. For instance where officers have a responsibility for this work there is likely to be conflict between their role and that of the welfare officer or the assistant governor. Again a clear responsibility for the work must imply that officers should be consulted on all important matters concerning their caseload. So a system of referral will need developing. But such a system, where it operates effectively, will mean that the officers as a group are likely to come to have a greater say in the management of the institution. For these and other reasons it will be seen that staff involvement in rehabilitation as described cannot be introduced simply. A preparedness on the part of the institution to change is required, as well as a great deal of thought and work. Which is of course not sufficient reason for not doing it.

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Someone to Talk To

D. M. JACKSON

Mr. Jackson is National Publicity Officer for the Samaritans—better known perhaps to thousands of TV viewers as "The Befrienders". Since this series was broadcast the number of people seeking the Samaritans' help has grown enormously

YOUR husband's just left you for a younger woman; you've lost all your wages on a horse and daren't tell your wife; you're suffering from a depressive illness and you wonder if you'll ever get better; you find it very difficult to make friends and you feel people don't like you; everything in your life has gone wrong and you think it might be better to end it all. What can you do? For more and more people every year the answer seems to be—"Ring the Samaritans". Nearly 90,000 people contacted The Samaritans in 1971.

If you have a problem it may take a good deal of courage to ring. You wonder what kind of reception you'll get. Will you be able to make the person at the other end of the line understand your problem? Will you get cold feet and ring off, or tell them about your mother-in-law instead of about your real problem? Will they mind if you burst into tears? Will they be shocked? Can they be trusted not to tell anyone else about you? Of course they can. If you've watched an episode or two of "The Befrienders" you may already have been reassured about the answers to some of these anxieties.

When you do ring, a voice at the other end says: "The Samaritans. Can I help you?" You remember the advert—"Friendship for the despairing and suicidal"—and perhaps you wonder for a moment whether your problem is sufficiently serious. It's serious to you, though, and for The Samaritans that's enough. Although their organisation was originally founded to help those who felt suicidal, over the years Samaritan friendship has helped many people who would never have committed suicide but who, in one way or another, have come to a point of desperation.

The voice at the other end of the line won't ask a lot of questions—Samaritans try to let you tell your story in your own way, without constantly interrupting you. They will probably ask whether you would like to come to their centre to talk to someone over a cup of tea (or coffee, if you prefer). They will try to encourage you to ring them again, but if you don't want to they won't try to contact you. Everything you tell them will be utterly confidential and you won't even have to tell them your name unless you want to. If you ring again, or come to the centre, they may

ask whether you would like to have one particular Samaritan as "befriender" to stand by you and try to help you until you feel you can face life again.

WHO ARE THE SAMARITANS?

What kind of people are The Samaritans? They are just ordinary people from many different walks of life, fat, thin, tall, short, old, young. A few of them have professional qualifications, but many don't. The Samaritans isn't an organisation of professionals; its voluteers are laymen (and women, of course) who offer something which no professional training alone can impart—friendship, the friendship of people like yourself, people who realise that your problem could easily be their problem, and who want to help you to bear it.

There is a very paradoxical attitude of mind in those who associate with people who have got on to the wrong side of the law. At one and the same time they feel that there is too much lenience and welfare and that there is good in everybody and it's a pity that it cannot be better fostered. How best may one try to describe the work of The Samaritans to a particular set of people, like the readers of this journal? It would certainly seem argumentative to say that we are a means by which people get themselves out of prison, but so many who come to us are truly in bondage—often unnecessarily—often of their own making—often invisible to their associates, like the "plate glass prison" which surrounds those who are afflicted with deafness.

But while the deaf often have a desperate need to communicate and to be noticed, so often the bondage created by our clients is due to shame, guilt, pride—all those feelings which prevent communication, when it is most needed.

With limited resources, we are trying to make our service well-known but there are still a great many people who don't know about us, or have wrong ideas about us. Nevertheless, many of those "in bondage", who have felt so long "if only I could discuss my problems in complete confidence with a complete stranger", do imagine that we might be of some use to them. When they come, they find that we are.

HOW DO WE REACT WHEN WE ARE CONTACTED?

What do they find, when they phone or call? Somebody who accepts them, whatever their problem, with no strings attached. Somebody who doesn't say "If I were you, I'd . . ." or "What you ought to do is . . .". Somebody who is prepared to listen and listen, while they talk and talk and talk.

We Samaritans maintain that those who come to us remain at all times in charge of their own destiny, even should we deprecate what they may tell us they have decided to do. We don't offer advice, although we can always provide counselling by experts, should the client wish. Many doctors, lawyers, financial experts and others with special qualifications act as our consultants. We don't offer material aid, although again we can often introduce clients to those who may help them.

We are of all religious denominations and none—of all races, colours and creeds—so we can't preach to (or at!) those who call on us.

Very often we don't hear the end of "the story". People need not tell us who they are, though they frequently do. But should they be identifiable and yet fail to turn up for a pre-arranged meeting, we don't try to contact them. Such action might prove to be a breach of confidence.

THE QUALITIES OF A SAMARITAN

Careful "screening" and preparation precede duty with The Samaritans. We don't consider ourselves experts in anything and most of the preparation consists of education in the art of befriending. Perhaps this could be described as "un-learning" a lot of popular misconceptions. For instance, when in the position to approach someone in distress, The Samaritan would not say to himself: "I wonder if that man would like me to talk to him". His thought would be: "I wonder if that man would like to talk to me". When I take the first of our series of preparation classes, there is one thing I always ask each member of the class to do during the week's interval before the next class. It is "Try to listen more". When chatting with friends and anxious to say something about the topic under discussion, it can be a most revealing experience to resist the urge to "butt in" and to go on listening—even, by asking questions, to prompt other people to go on talking while one goes on listening. This is an extremely difficult thing to do at first but anyone reading this who will try to do this for a few days will teach himself or herself more about The Samaritans than any article like this can do.

The Samaritans, as listeners, really do assist in this way. People who talk to us try to put themselves (to start with) in the best possible light and this causes them to look at themselves in a way which, despite their cursing of their bad luck; the way they have been tricked; their broken home; their never having had a chance; will perhaps—of course it is only perhaps—give them some little direction towards making the best of themselves.

The Samaritans know that they only fill a gap, but the demand for their service continues to grow. We appreciate that there are a great many people prepared to help the suicidal and despairing in a particular way but most of them haven't got the time to listen as much as they would like to. Although hard pressed to find enough Samaritan volunteers, we do provide the listening time that so many people need.

The Millbank Penitentiary and Bedlam

From the journal of a Hungarian traveller in Britain

F. PULZSKY, 1837

Translated by Miss C. M. Johns

Catherine Johns is a research worker in the British Museum Department of Pre-historic and Romano-British Antiquities.She is translating the journal of a Hungarian, Ferenc Pulszky, who travelled in Britain in 1835. This fascinating account of a visit to the Millbank Penitentiary and one to Bedlam will form a chapter in the book which Miss Johns hopes eventually to publish. The remarkably vivid and dispassionate observations of a system which dealt rather similarly with "the bad and the mad" not only reflects the spirit of the age, but contains a message which is not irrelevant to the present day

WHEN you travel up the right bank of the Thames towards Hammersmith Bridge, you will notice a large rectangular building, bounded by high walls which have no doors and windows except for a large, permanently-guarded entrance on one side. This is the penitentiary, the great prison and reformatory designed according to a modified version of Jeremy Bentham's principles. All thieves whose sentences are shorter than five years, and are therefore not liable for transportation to New Zealand, are imprisoned here. As soon as we had shown the card giving us permission to see the building, the chief officer came to meet us in a friendly manner, showed us the plans of the building, and familiarised us with the whole organisation.

In the centre of the 15 acres of land bounded by the outer rectangle stands the chapel, and around it, in a large two-storeyed hexagon, the quarters of the officers, chaplains and doctor; here too are the storerooms, kitchen, chemist, sickrooms and visiting room. Each side of this hexagon is at the same time one wing of one of the six pentagons which join up to form a larger hexagon. These contain small cells whose windows look out into the courtyards of the pentagons, each of which has a round tower in the centre. The overseer of the pentagon is stationed in the tower, and with a couple of glances he can see all the windows in his section, making communication by signs between the prisoners impossible. Each pentagon is subdivided above and below into two sections, each formed of two sides of the pentagon, and watched over by a warder stationed in the angle of the two sides, where he can see all the doors in both corridors. The courtyards, too, are divided in this way by two walls, so that every day the prisoners can spend an hour in the open air, walking round silently in a circle, and watched by the section warder. The whole building is like a complex of huge stone spiders' webs, in which the whole and each separate part can always be watched over.

When the prisoners receive their sentence and come here, they are given the uniform of the place, half yellow, half dark brown in the first year, then green and black. A prisoner has to learn to sew, and in addition to his work, he is given a Bible and Prayer Book, some other edifying volume, the laws and rules of the prison, and a little notebook in which the earnings from his work are entered weekly. An eighth of these earnings is set aside and saved for him, so that in the first period following his release, he will have a little money, and be less likely to be led into new crimes.

At five o'clock in the morning, the prisoners are let out of their cells one by one, and go and wash near the room of the section warder. Before eating, they spend an hour in the courtyard of their pentagon, walking round in a circle. Four times a week, their food consists of good strong soup, fresh vegetables, half a pound of meat and excellent wheaten bread, a measure of beer and boiled potatoes. On two days of the week, they are given no meat. and on Saturday, bread and cheese only, so that the vessels in which everything is cooked in steam can be thoroughly cleaned. On Sunday, each section warder takes his prisoners to the church. This building is divided in a fan-like formation, so that everybody can see the preacher and can at the same time be observed by the section warders, who have their backs to the preacher. The female prisoners sit above; apart from the fact that they have women warders and sew white linen articles, they are kept in the same way as the men. The general effect is that the penitentiary does not make the depressing impact on the imagination that most continental prisons do; one sees here no filthy dungeons, hears no rattling of chains.

One is almost tempted to think that a stay in the penitentiary is no punishment, and to wonder why the Irish do not come over in droves to England to steal and then as criminals be able to live in comfort and be given work to do. But this cheerful picture has its dark side—the eternal silence which makes the place a hell for every prisoner, and which, if he did not have work to distract him, could drive him to madness, as one sometimes sees in America. The prisoner may speak with members of his family only once in the year. He is taken to the visiting room, which is divided into three sections by two gratings. In the centre section stands a warder with an hour-glass, in the right is the prisoner, in the left, the person who wishes to speak to him. The conversation lasts 10 minutes. The moment the last grain of sand runs out, the chain of silence closes the criminal's mouth for another long year. He is allowed to speak only in order to answer the chief warder, should the latter address a remark to him during his daily round of the cells. To break the silence rule means punishment and rationing of the prisoner's food. A sign language has to be used, in which every hole in the grating of the cell door has its special significance. The prisoner has only to push the handle of his brush through one of the holes to make his needs known, to ask for more work, or to indicate that he is ill.

We went through some of the pentagons with the chief officer. The

HOWARD LEAGUE

Annual Report (July 71-June 72) 15p

The Howard League Annual Report provides an excellent brief review of the League's many activities and is a useful reference to topics of current interest—the 1972 Criminal Justice Bill, expunging previous convictions, bail and probation service pay and conditions. The League is critical of the Prison Department on a number of matters:

The lack of adequate work for prisoners

The remote location of new prisons

The practice of not giving prisoners reasons for decisions made about them e.g. refusal of parole, home leave etc. as well as a dearth of information about how prisoners may qualify for parole, open prison or removal from Category A.

A damaging criticism, if it is true, is that prisoners' relatives are not always told of transfer to another prison. Surely it is time we dealt with this problem!

cells were clean and provided with a table, chair, hammock and some books. The prisoners, mostly boys and youths, looked healthy and well-fed. The house is designed for 1,000 persons—four pentagons of 150 cells for men and two of 200 cells for women. The latter were empty except for 60 places, because courts tend to sentence women criminals to transportation, owing to the lack of women in Sydney. The female prisoners are mostly young and pretty, and seem to be more leniently treated than the men. At any rate, the chief woman officer exchanged a few words with each of them as we went past their cells, and nowhere does a human voice arouse more delight than it does here. Amongst others I saw an exceedingly pretty girl of about 13 with a good-natured and innocent face, who had come here as a child, having been trained to steal from an early age by her mother. The officer, who noticed our sympathy for her, assured us that she would probably be freed soon. Prisoners who distinguish themselves through good behaviour and hard work can be recommended for the King's mercy by the committee in charge of the establishment, and may then be released after three years.

New Bedlam, the famous asylum, made a far more depressing impression on me than the penitentiary. Its external appearance is that of a palace, but within, all the order and organisation which we admired so much in the prison was lacking. We visited first the women's part of the institution. Two live together in each small room, and in the dining-room, 20 or 30 inmates sat together without a single overseer in sight. A distraught old woman leapt up when she saw us, and started to plead with us to take her away, as she could not bear the terrible company she was in. This scene brought tears to the eyes even of our guide. In another corridor, a young girl ran up to us happily, and with a dreadful vivacity told us how lucky she was, as she was to be allowed to go out into the garden. "I was locked up, because I was raving", she said, "but now I am well again. For a little while", she added, with a sigh. Another woman, with long, disorderly hair and ecstatic eyes, asked us whether we were French. She said that she had once known a Frenchman, but only God lived in her heart now. We were told that an unhappy love affair with a foreigner, coupled with extreme religious fervour, had brought about her madness.

The men were all quieter; a kind of blunt apathy showed in their features. The holy fire seemed to have died in them, leaving them frozen. Only one raving Neapolitan filled the house with a hoarse howling from his barred cell. A young man, who appeared to have been gently brought up, related to us in French with a passion which finally mounted to fury, how his father had wrongfully caused him to be locked up here, and how he had no opportunity to inform his friends what had become of him. I was deeply shaken by this, though one must be prepared for this kind of scene when one visits a madhouse and the poor man's fixed and glassy stare showed that he was in fact insane. I had already experienced something of this kind when I visited Tasso's grave in Rome. As I crossed the Tiber and came past the asylum, a pale figure threw a letter to me from a barred window. In the letter, the prisoner related in the most moving terms that he was indeed a criminal, but did not deserve the dreadful punishment of constant contact with lunatics. Yet all this was in his own imagination; the night of madness had darkened his understanding!

Finally we were taken to the cells in which two men live who have to be regarded and treated as if they are mad, though they are not. One is Morton, the fanatic who, out of an insane zeal against the "anglican superstition" set fire to the beautiful minster at York. The other is Hatfield, who attempted to assassinate King George III about 35 years ago. In ancient Sparta, there was no law against patricide, since to admit the possibility of such a crime would drag human nature in the dirt; moved by the same spirit, the law declared these two men to be insane, for they held that nobody in their right mind could commit such crimes. Morton, of whom many declare he set fire to the cathedral only in order to steal church valuables worth about £50 (rather as Caesar and Mirabeau ruined empires to pay their own debts), bears his sentence in a way typical to his character. Surrounded by lunatics, he eagerly reads the Bible, and his proud words sound half crazy, half prophetic. The would-be regicide, on the other hand, spends his time taming birds. He talks to his parrots and writes solemn poems on the death of his favourite thrush. His spirit is broken, and he shies away from the sight of men.

Psychiatry and Prisoners II

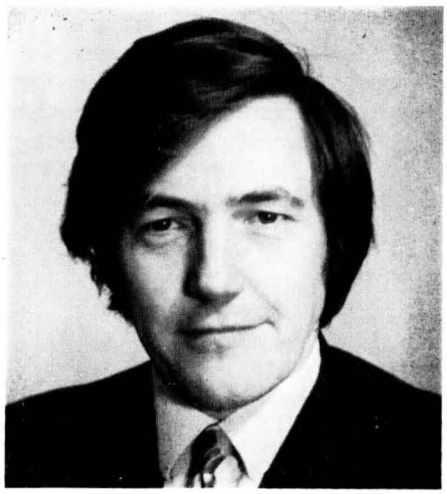
A retrospective look at Wormwood Scrubs Psychiatric Unit

JOHN GUNN

A PREVIOUS paper (Gunn 1972) described the broad outline of some statistical aspects of the work undertaken by Grendon prison since it opened 10 years ago. Prison psychiatry has a much longer history than Grendon, however, and the psychiatric units which have, since the war, been established in many of the large regional and allocation prisons inevitably do the majority of the psychiatric work undertaken by the prison system. For this reason we decided to compare the work of one well known and long established unit—that at Wormwood Scrubs—with Grendon prison over the same period of time.

The difficulties we have of defining a "psychiatric case" were all mentioned in the earlier paper; they are magnified when we come to examine the work at Wormwood Scrubs because the range of work undertaken is, as we shall see, wider. It is even difficult to be absolutely precise about the facilities provided. There are a number of "visiting psychotherapists" who undertake one or more sessions per week within the prison, there are one or two full-time medical officers who have a special interest in psychiatry and take on patients for specialised psychiatric treatment such as group psychotherapy, and there are a number of single rooms which can be set aside for the management of disturbed patients, and stripped of furniture if necessary. At Wormwood Scrubs there is a range of psychiatric treatment available with a particular accent currently on hormonal treatment of sexual deviants, supportive treatment of drug addicts, and individual psychotherapy of murderers. These treatments are especially accented because particular doctors at the prison have a special interest in them.

As with Grendon, the only consistent historical data available is the collection of case papers stored at the prison. These have been used for the analysis which follows but two difficulties should be mentioned; a proportion of the case-papers is missing, the functions of the specialist psychiatric clinic merge into those of an ordinary prison hospital. We were interested in those cases which were dealt with by virtue of the specialised clinic and we have had to make a fairly arbitrary definition of a "psychiatric case" as follows:



John Gunn is Senior Lecturer in Forensic Psychiatry, working with Professor Gibbens at the Institute of Psychiatry in London. For some six years has been concerned with research into the health of criminals and prisoners. Teaches psychiatry to doctors and probation officers and until recently helped run a course in criminology in London which is mainly aimed at prison officers and policemen. Other interests include helping with the management of a number of prisoner after-care projects such as hostels and a club. A consultant at the Maudsley Hospital and has a small outpatient clinic there for offenders

(a) all cases referred to Wormwood Scrubs (not Grendon) on Prison Department Form 1080;

(b) cases transferred from other prisons and borstals (other than (a)) for psychiatric assessment and management;

(c) cases referred within the prison to the visiting psychotherapists; and

(d) cases given other specialised psychiatric treatment, e.g. group psychotherapy and ECT.

In other words, the analysis omits deliberately, and it is hoped correctly, cases such as the foreign-body-swallower, the self-mutilator, the epileptic, the moderate depressive on tablet medication alone, remand cases where such cases do not fulfil the criteria (a) - (d), because it is thought that these cases would be dealt with by any competent prison hospital and not necessarily referred for specialist advice.

METHOD

To afford comparability with the Grendon data the same two years of operation have been taken for statistical analysis, 1963 and 1968. For 1963 we scrutinised 1,176 case papers mainly dealing with general medical and surprise problems, and found 119 which fitted our definition of a psychiatric case. Unfortunately, however, there were, from the total, 118 (or 10 per cent) cases missing. If we assume that this missing group contained a representative proportion of psychiatric cases, then approximately 12 cases would have been lost (making a theoretical total for the psychiatric cases of 131 or 11 per cent). For 1968 we scrutinised 1,236 case-papers, finding 207 psychiatric ones. The missing proportion was 11 per cent (139) giving an estimate for the missing number of psychiatric cases as 23, making a theoretical total of psychiatric cases for the year of 230 or 19 per cent. It was not thought this small proportion of missing cases would substantially affect our statistical analysis.

As with the Grendon study, the case-papers were searched for information relating to the following items: age, diagnosis, source of referral, pressure for referral, length of sentence, type of sentence, offence, number of previous convictions, length of stay at Grendon, reason for discharge, and prognosis.

Unfortunately the data were not recorded as thoroughly or as consistently in these notes as in the Grendon

notes—hence the higher proportion of missing information for most items.

RESULTS

TABLE 1

	1963	*1968*
Age structure	116	207
Range	17-67 years	16-65 years
Mean	30.3 years	28.1 years

There was a trend ($t=1.88$ $p<0.1$) for the 1968 sample to be younger, but this was entirely accounted for by a larger proportion of boys (under 21 years) in the later sample:

1963 .... 19 boys (16%)
1968 .... 50 boys (24%)

Diagnosis

Again we would stress the opinionative aspect of this kind of data, but for what it is worth. Table 2 shows that the doctors concerned described between one-tenth and one-quarter as suffering from severe mental illness, and about half of their patients as suffering from "personality disorder".

TABLE 2

	1963 *(n=114)*	*1968* *(n=195)*	
No psychiat. dis.	3 (3%)	0	
Psychosis	26 (23%)	18 (9%)	$p<0.001$
Personal dis.	52 (46%)	102 (52%)	
Ep. & organic brain	7 (6%)	6 (3%)	
Alcohol	9 (8%)	27 (14%)	
Drugs	5 (4%)	28 (14%)	$p<0.01$
Other organic	2 (2%)	5 (3%)	
Neurosis	34 (30%)	42 (22%)	
Sex dis.	39 (34%)	55 (28%)	
Gambling	2 (2%)	3 (2%)	
Other	4 (4%)	4 (2%)	

(14 cases were missing from the analysis)

It should be noted that the percentages do not add up to 100 per cent because some cases were given more than one diagnosis.

Points to note from this table are the decreasing proportion of psychotic cases dealt with, and the rise in the number of drug abusers. The drop in the number of psychotic cases is largely related to the adult population but almost the whole of the rise of the drug problem is related to the younger "boy" population.

Source of Referral

The majority of cases came from within Wormwood Scrubs itself (40 per cent in 1963, 58 per cent in 1968) but other prisons as far apart as Durham and Exeter did refer a few cases. The increasing proportion of cases referred from within the Scrubs itself undoubtedly reflects the increasing trend for other prisons up and down the country to use local psychiatric facilities provided by both the Prison Medical Department and the N.H.S.

Pressure for Referral

About three-quarters of the cases are referred by prison doctors but there is an increasing tendency (12 per cent 1963, 22 per cent 1968) for courts to make recommendations for psychiatric treatment during imprisonment.

Sentence Structure

The boys were mainly borstal lads, and only 2–3 per cent were lifers. Of the remainder of the treated sample the range was two months–18 years, with an average sentence of just under three years. There were no significant changes between 1963 and 1968.

Offences

These are best seen from Table 3.

TABLE 3

	1963 *(n=114)*	*1968* *(n=201)*	
Property	60 (53%)	97 (48%)	
Violence	13 (11%)	25 (12%)	
Homicide	3 (3%)	4 (2%)	
Sex	30 (26%)	42 (21%)	
Drugs	0	15 (7%)	$p<0.005$
Drink	1 (1%)	1 (½%)	
Rape	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	
Arson	2 (2%)	6 (3%)	
Other	4 (4%)	8 (4%)	

(8 cases are missing from this list)

As before, the increase in the number of drug cases taken on for treatment is evident.

Previous Convictions

Although Wormwood Scrubs traditionally takes only "star" prisoners, many of these men have, of course, many previous brushes with the law before landing up in gaol, and not only stars are sent from other prisons for treatment. In fact, the number of previous convictions in this sample varied between nought and 37 with an average just over six. There were no significant differences between 1963 and 1968.

Points of interest between the years are the decreasing trends for patients to be discharged from treatment because they are deemed to have completed their course, and for patients to be removed to outside hospitals under Section 72 of the Mental Health Act. The increasing trend for patients to be moved to other psychiatric clinics is again clearly related to the growth of such clinics elsewhere.

Within-Group Information

Amalgamating the adults for 1963 and 1968, we have a total of 254 cases. These were examined for relationships between the factors we studied.

Pressure for Referral

There were no relationships between pressure for referral and the length of sentence being served, the type of offence or the number of previous convictions.

There was, however, a tendency for the younger patients (i.e. under 30) to be self-referring for treatment more often than the older patients ($p<0.05$).

The diagnostic labels were, in general, unrelated to the source of referral pressure but it is noteworthy that no psychotics were self-referred (even though this is not statistically significant) and prison doctors were especially likely to refer the man with a sexual disorder ($p<0.02$).

Length of Stay in Treatment

There were no significant relationships between length of treatment and any diagnostic category or source of referral. Neither did any relationship appear between length of sentence and length of treatment; however, it is perhaps noteworthy that all the seven life imprisonment cases stayed for four months or less.

Length of Psychiatric Treatment

This was looked at in terms of treatment whether in-patient or out-patient. The commonest period was less than one month but the range went from a week or two to 57 months, the average including such long stay patients being four months. There were no significant differences between 1963 and 1968.

Reason for Termination of Treatment

Table 4 indicates that only one-third stopped treatment because their discharge date intervened, but almost one-fifth were not continued with because it was considered they were "unsuitable". As at Grendon we used this category when this word was explicitly used in the patient's notes.

TABLE 4

	1963 *(n=111)*	*1968* *(n=196)*	
Time exp.	36 (32%)	65 (33%)	
Treat. fin.	17 (15%)	15 (8%)	$p<0.05$
Moved elsewhere*	2 (2%)	34 (17%)	$p<0.005$
Disruptive	0	0	
Unsuitable	24 (22%)	34 (17%)	
Outside hosp.	12 (11%)	0	
Pts. request	13 (12%)	24 (12%)	
Other	7 (6%)	24 (12%)	

(16 cases were missing from this analysis)

REFERENCE

GUNN J. (1972). "Psychiatry and Prisoners—A Retrospective Look at Grendon Prison" *Prison Service Journal*, October 1973.

Comparing offence categories for length of treatment, it became clear that property offenders stayed a significantly shorter time than other offenders ($p < 0.0005$).

Reason for Discharge

This is unrelated to age, type of offence, number of previous convictions, or to the agency pressing for referral. However, it is related to diagnosis in that psychotic patients are less likely to be deemed unsuitable, or ask for their own discharge, than other patients, whereas patients with personality disorders are particularly likely to be regarded as unsuitable, and are unlikely to be transferred to a mental hospital by Section 72 of the Mental Health Act. "Neurotics" seem to have their treatment more frequently terminated as "finished" than others, and there is a trend for them to be deemed unsuitable for treatment less often than other groups; however, they also show a trend to more frequently request their own discharge. Other diagnostic categories either appeared too infrequently for analysis or were unrelated to the mode of discharge. Furthermore, it is interesting, though perhaps not surprising, that only psychotics were transferred to outside hospitals, and psychotics were never discharged from the psychiatric clinic at their own request.

When we examined the reason for discharge by sentence length we found, as expected, that the men with short sentences are more often discharged because their sentence is up. However, the longer sentence men are more often deemed unsuitable for Wormwood Scrubs.

DISCUSSION

Considering the differences between 1963 and 1968 in diagnostic terms it is perhaps surprising, in view of the establishment of an alcoholic unit, that there is no increase in the proportion of alcoholics treated. The alcoholic unit, since this research was undertaken, has been re-organised and it is soon proposed to run it along the lines of a self-contained therapeutic community.

The drop in the number of psychotic cases handled cannot be explained by reference to this data alone. Perhaps it reflects a change in court policy, or more probably, the growing number of "psychiatric units" within the Prison Service. If the same proportion of psychotic cases is being sent to prison in 1968 as in 1963 but more facilities are available, then this change at Wormwood Scrubs would be expected. Furthermore, if this interpretation is correct then the lack of change in other diagnostic categories (e.g. personality disorder) reflects an increasing concern on the part of the Prison Service with these problems. The drop in the number of cases removed under Section 72 of the Mental Health Act probably reflects the drop in the number of psychotics being dealt with in the clinic.

The increase in court referrals probably reflects, as with Grendon, an increasing tendency for courts to request psychiatric treatment at the time of sentence, or even a tendency to send people to prison for treatment.

To summarise, the "typical" Wormwood Scrubs psychiatric case has been found from within the prison itself, is diagnosed as having a personality disorder (often with a concomitant sexual problem), and is in the unit at the suggestion of a prison doctor. He is serving one year's imprisonment for a property (and/or sexual) offence, has four — seven previous convictions, stays in the unit something between one week and four months, and is usually discharged because his sentence has finished.

Examining the within-group analyses there are several noteworthy points—first, the older prisoner (over 30) is particularly unlikely to refer himself for treatment—perhaps he has given up hoping for a "cure", perhaps he has already tried "treatment" once and not found it to his liking, perhaps he is less aware than the younger man of the facilities available. None of the psychotics referred himself, and the prison doctors were particularly likely to refer these cases and men with sexual problems. This finding probably reflects a fairly realistic husbanding of medical resources by the prison doctors because psychosis and sexual disorders are the two difficulties where therapeutic endeavour is most often rewarded. Furthermore, one of the visiting psychiatrists has a special interest in sexual disorders. In this connection it is noteworthy that the property offender was particularly likely to stay a short time in the unit (less than one month)—as one doctor explained "there is no known treatment for stealing". This pragmatic medical viewpoint is also reflected in the relationships between the reasons for discharge and the various diagnoses. Psychotics were very unlikely to be discharged as "unsuitable" or at their own request; furthermore, these were the only patients who were sent to outside mental hospitals during the period of their imprisonment. Exactly reversed trends were found for the personality-disordered—they were particularly often regarded as "unsuitable" for treatment. "Neurosis", an ill-defined category which included in this survey non-psychotic depressive illnesses, anxiety states, and hysterical reactions, was more often related to an early finish of treatment than other diagnoses. There is a hint from the data that this was often an unsuccessful conclusion to treatment because neurotics also showed a trend towards unsuitability and to self-discharge. Not surprisingly, the men with shorter sentences left the clinic because their sentence was expired more often than did other patients, but there was also a tendency for the long sentence men to be deemed "unsuitable" for treatment —perhaps longer sentences and severe personality disorders are related.

Grendon Prison and Wormwood Scrubs Psychiatric Unit compared

The two facilities which have been examined here and in the earlier paper (Gunn 1972) probably represent between them most of the range of psychiatric facilities offered by the Prison Medical Service, although it must not be forgotten that the Wormwood Scrubs model is by far the commoner. Grendon Prison is as yet unique in Britain.

Comparing adults only between the two units we find that Grendon takes slightly older prisoners (mean 32.1 years as opposed to 30.1 years at Wormwood Scrubs), and keeps its clients for a much longer period (an average of 8.8 months as opposed to 4.8 months). In diagnostic terms the units are serving different needs. As a matter of policy Grendon deals with very few psychotics, these are mostly dealt with in the general psychiatric units such as Wormwood Scrubs. Three-quarters of the adults at Grendon are deemed to be suffering from "personality disorder" whereas this label is attached to only half of the Scrubs cases. Surprisingly, Grendon takes more alcohol problems (27 per cent) than the Scrubs (13 per cent), but as expected from the interest shown by one doctor working there, Wormwood Scrubs handles many more sexual disorders (36 per cent) than Grendon Prison (26%).

On the whole the patients are referred

by the same type of process—prison doctors 50–60 per cent, courts 20 per cent, self-referrals 10-15 per cent, other sources 10 per cent. Although the sentence lengths do not differ between the two populations (an average of 33–35 months), Grendon deals with more property offenders (59 per cent as opposed to 45 per cent at Scrubs), and fewer sexual offenders (15 per cent as opposed to 28 per cent). Wormwood Scrubs is a "star" prisoners' gaol so perhaps it is not surprising that in terms of previous convictions Grendon is dealing with the more criminal population (Grendon 8.3 cons. per man, Scrubs 6.9). Over half of the patients at Grendon were discharged by the legal process at the end of a fixed sentence, whereas this only happened in one-third of the cases at Scrubs; there, many more were terminated on account of "unsuitability", although the term "disruptive" was never used at Scrubs, a discharge reason in 12 per cent of the Grendon cases (presumably "disruptive" only applies when there is a therapeutic community to disrupt). Nobody was discharged directly from Grendon to a mental hospital on Section 72 of the Mental Health Act.

DISCUSSION

The two units are clearly providing different but complementary services. Most of the differences mentioned above can probably be best explained in terms of the different facilities provided. Wormwood Scrubs clinic is somewhat akin to a mental hospital (although the really serious cases are moved to actual mental hospitals) albeit mainly geared to an out-patient system. Physical treatments (drugs and ECT) are offered, but there is a special emphasis on individual psychotherapy. The only groups provided are for alcoholics and drug addicts.

Grendon deals with a much less "ill" population and a perhaps more psychopathic one where all the emphasis is on group treatment. Whilst physical treatments are available they are deliberately played down and the community life itself with meaningful relationships developing amongst inmates and between staff and inmates is considered of the utmost importance in the treatment process.

More detailed studies of the treatment processes at both units are currently being made by us in the hope that we can shed a little light on the effectiveness of some of the treatment methods used. In this study we will also, of course, be examining the implications of the whole process of psychiatric treatment within the penal system.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In this and the previous paper (Gunn 1972) the author is grateful to the Home Office Research Unit for financing the study, Dr. Gray at Grendon Prison and Dr. Wray at Wormwood Scrubs Prison for help and co-operation in the search for material, Professor Gibbens for directing the project, and Mr. Graham Robertson for assisting with the analysis.

The Seat of Learning

A recent recruit looks back on his basic training

W. A. WOOD

Tony Wood read English and Psychology at the Universities of Keele and York. He worked for a time with Securicor and joined the Prison Service in 1970. He was posted to Winchester where he is the Assistant Governor in charge of the Remand Centre, with responsibility for Staff training. He is 25 and married to a teacher.

Since this article, in which he reviews his training course as an Assistant Governor, was written, he has become aware of plans to re-shape the course which, as he says "makes some of my criticisms redundant". Nevertheless, his reactions will strike chords for many direct entrant Assistant Governors and we think they are valid and worth publishing Perhaps other Assistant Governors may wish to take up some of his points in future studies (Ed.)

THE Prison Service selects many of its managers via the open competition for assistant governors, from a diverse range of occupations, which theoretically brings into the service a variety of ideas. When assistant governors are first posted they take their virgin staff college concepts and attempt to fit theory and practicality into an acceptable pattern: they move from post to post, constantly applying their ideas in new establishments; changing systems, improving systems, creating systems and destroying systems. They become deputy governors, then governors, and move into a nebulous area of management and administration for which an understanding of the practical, managerial and humanitarian functioning of establishments is essential. Governors have to be peculiarly adaptable as managers, they need to be able to apply management principles to the establishment as a whole, and in particular to hospitals, works, stores, security, general administration, personnel matters, personal problems of both staff and inmates; a range which is delegated in other fields of administration to specialists in each separate field.

How effective is the staff college at Love Lane, in ensuring that assistant governors can develop the skills to deal with this panorama of affairs? In particular, does it fulfil a proper function with respect to assistant governors' initial training, bearing in mind the diverse nature of the posts which they fill when first posted? Does the course train them to deal with prisoners on a face-to-face basis in a meaningful way, or does it teach them to try to apply academic principles which are largely inappropriate, causing confusion to inmates and resulting in neuroses for them? Is it possible to teach a man *how* to make relationships? If the course fails to train men and women to be effective assistant governors, why is this, and could it be better designed to achieve its objectives?

The Staff Course which I endured

started with three weeks of general induction, explaining the philosophy, the aims and mechanics of the penal system. For direct entrants into the service this was an informative and necessary period. It was followed by three weeks on attachment; those who were direct entrants were sent to institutions as officers, and those who had been officers became working assistant governors. I spent three weeks at Winchester Prison as an officer, and found the time one of the most intensive learning periods of the course. I learned a great deal of a practical nature which it was essential to know. For those who went on attachment to a borstal, and were later posted to a prison or vice versa, this period was probably not as valuable as it might have been.

Social Work on the Landings

The academic content of the course was thorough, being largely concerned with man, his motivation, his environment, and why crime was committed by criminals. Discussing the problems of the inmate was put forward as a potential panacea—an assumption being that the average inmate was eager to discuss his delinquent behaviour and could be made to see the light. Such cases, at least in local prisons, are rare. A criminal who lives in a criminal environment outside the prison as well as inside, probably with the same friends, would have to make an incredible effort to resist the pressures of his peers to conform, not to mention the very atmosphere of that environment. (It can happen—I was conducting a Review Board the other day and a young prisoner asked that he might be allowed a transfer where he would not be under the pressures of his friends to conform with their general rowdyism, as he had decided that if he continued to be a criminal his existence would only be miserable at the best). Applying social work theory to borstal trainees may result in their non-return to custody: to the prison graduate, in all probability a recidivist, the attempted application of such theory can all too easily erect a barrier between prisoner and staff, because the prisoner would rather be treated as an individual, and certainly as a man, with the respect due to a man, than as a hospital patient or a psychological deformity. Social work in prisons operates primarily on the landings: a prisoner comes to know his landing officers far better than he will ever know the governor or the assistant governors, and it is the landing officer that will be asked to give the prisoner advice on how to deal with everything from evicting his mother-in-law to the chances of obtaining employment on release. Thus the onus of rehabilitative responsibility lies with the officer, everyone else in the system being there to advise both prisoner and officer. To quote the editorial of the April issue of the *Prison Service Journal* "We know that prisons fail because they try to cope with social need and preventive custody in the same place at the same time, and with divisive methods. Institutions which are dichotomous must fail."

Technical v Academic?

The technical content of the Assistant Governors Course was also essential for those who lacked experience of the Prison Service. It provided a general basis for the understanding of security—a basis which everyone should possess, for security is, in one form or another, half the job. It also, incidentally, provided a viewpoint of prison management. Even so—of those who were posted to a borstal, how many assistant governors know the difference between a Section 14(3) and a Section 26?

The criminology lectures deserve a special mention. They were generally purely academic, three parts incomprehensible, and it seemed that very little effort was made to relate them to the working environment. Ecology was discussed—the judicial system was not: nor was comparative penology to any depth.

Casework techniques were also discussed at length—does the fact that Mum is visited by an uncle every night pose problems for little Johnny, and if we send him to a hostel on release would things improve? If Dad is abroad in the forces, and Big David has belted his little sister's boyfriend, who happens to be the son of the R.S.M., how can we help him, bearing in mind that he is unstable and is known to have psychopathic tendencies? And how is this applicable to dealing with a sit-down in the exercise yard? Such problems have to be investigated in borstals, but bear little relation to the administration of a particular unit in most prisons.

The other attachments—once per week to the probation service, and on a management attachment to an establishment—were more interesting; the first because it gave one an insight into the daily tea consumption of a probation office, on which the Ceylonese economy must thrive; and the second because, for once on the course, the role of and the problems of the staff of the institution were investigated. In the prison where I was asked to perform both the social work attachment and the management attachment, the staff were extremely accommodating and played no small part in making these attachments a success This was not always the case. But what happened to the reports? Was their only function to provide two budding assistant governors with six weeks practice of social work and management in prisons from a theoretical point of view?

Playing at Management

Management formed an important section of the staff course for all—or should have done. But there are limits to what can be achieved in three weeks, some of which time was spent sorting numbered pages into sequence from a random heap (I know the theory, but it fails to take account of the particular variables which are applicable to the last few weeks of a staff course); principles, aims and methods of management from an administrative point of view were not examined: the function of Regional Offices was not explained from a managerial angle. And the quasi-play-acting in five minute scenes as "decisions" were "made" might have qualified some assistant governors for the best actor of the year award, but to indicate the individual's potential for decision-making. . . . My God, we were brilliant! we solved insoluble problems, knowing nothing about the institutions to which they related, or the characters we were supposed to represent; we conquered stage-fright, and we knew, after such a superlative dramatic performance, that any governor would be pleased to welcome us to his staff. Alas, it was not real, things were to be both better and worse than that. In fairness however, the period of time devoted to management was enjoyable, but the impetus it could have provided was lost because of its timing in the course, and its apparent unimportance in the syllabus—and most important of all, because most people were concentrating on their postings. Nevertheless, it didn't teach a great deal about how to deal with prisoners from a managerial point of view.

So was it a "good" course or a "bad" course? One hesitates to kick any seat, especially a hallowed seat of learning: but there is no doubt that it might have been better. I am not advocating the return of culture tours and examinations —and the fact that management is capable of an enlightened approach was indicated by the arrangement of the leave periods and the working timetable. But those who were responsible for organising the academic content of the course were administrators, not academics. It is a difficult problem—does one engage an academic with little

knowledge of the basic working of the penal system to organise a course, or does one engage a practical worker from the field, whose knowledge of several academic fields might be limited to a feeling that assistant governors ought to know something about them?

Is it not possible better to correlate the efforts of the Course Organiser and the Academic Adviser, so that every theoretical lecture relates to a demonstrable application of theory to fact? Perhaps the pre-Christmas part of the course could concentrate on the academic theory of sociology, psychology, criminology and casework. This period could also embrace the initial attachment, but the attachment to the probation service on one day every week would not take place. By the end of this period the supervisory staff should have been able to provide a sufficiently accurate assessment of the individual to decide whether he would be best suited to prison or borstal. Some idea of the numbers required throughout the service at different types of establishments should also be available from the planning and establishment divisions.

"STREAMED" INSTRUCTION?

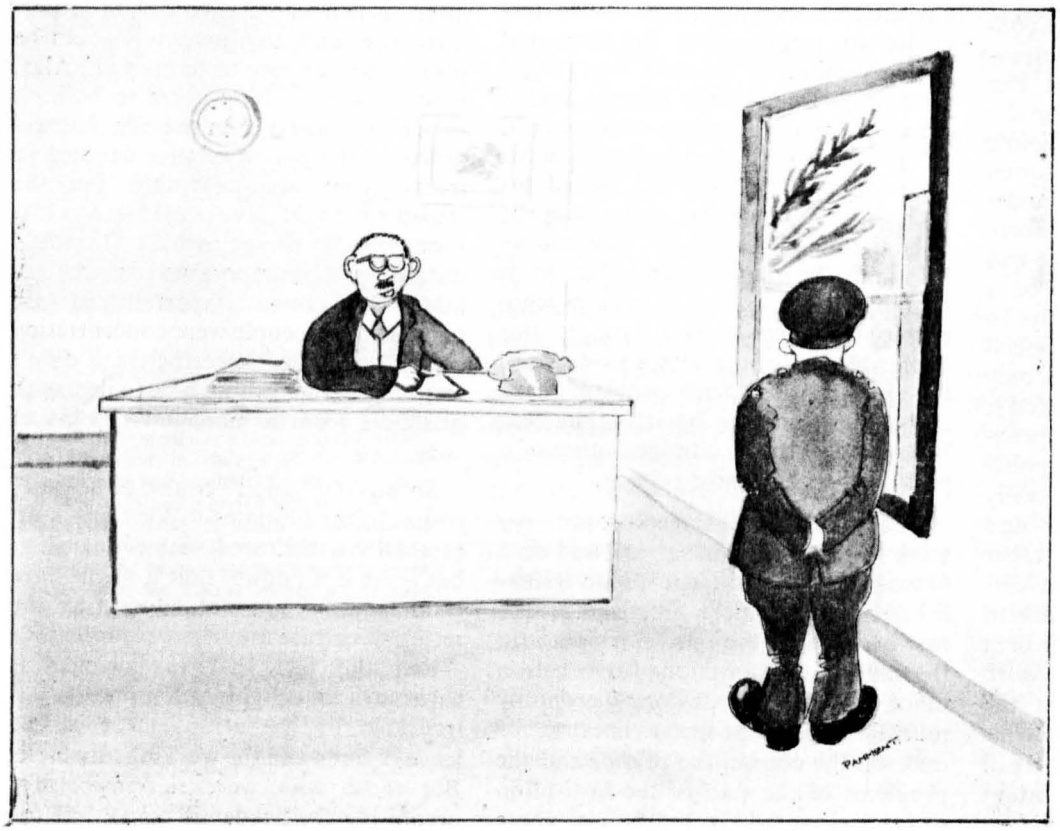
Subsequent parts of the course could be more specifically designed for those who were to go to particular types of establishment. During the pre-Easter period "Borstal" and "Prison" courses could be followed by the relevant individuals, the former perhaps concentrating on casework principles, and the latter more on management specifically relating to work in prisons. The latter would, to some extent, need to be subdivided into open and closed, or local and training. Towards the end of this period assistant governors could carry out a management or social work project at the type of establishment to which they would be posted, and at the beginning of the period after Easter these could be discussed. The rest of the course could relate to general management and casework for all members, with lectures on different parts of, and the functions of, various establishments, regional management, head office, and their relation to other agencies such as the police and probation services. At this time also the assistant governors could arrange special sessions with members of the teaching staff to supplement any gaps in their knowledge. When final postings are actually announced, governors of individual establishments could indicate any special areas of training they felt would be useful to assistant governors in respect of the functions they were to perform in their establishments.

Promotion Ceilings

Finally, if it is decided (in consultation, one would hope) that any individual would reach the ceiling of his performance at Assistant Governor I, or at any other level, he should be told within, say, five years, and saved the embarrassment of being repeatedly called to non-productive promotion boards. Career planning is an excellent and essential part of management, and it is immoral to fool even some of the people all of the time; the less pleasant function of those who decide our fates should be to say, "You have reached the limit of your abilities", and to leave the individual to choose how he will then plan his life and career, either within the Prison Service or outside it.

My 'Earliest Date of Release' is currently 2008A.D., and if I am to spend the next 35 years striving after a position I am incapable of filling, I would prefer to be told so, in order that I may direct what energy I have into the most rewarding channels available to me at the ceiling of my career, or so that I may attempt to find another occupation with equal or better prospects and rewards. Working in a prison, with prisoners and staff, poses practical problems which, as far as I can remember, were never discussed in the teaching syllabus of my staff course, and it is only by doing the work that one does learn. My suggestion is that the "Seat of Learning" has a rethink about its longest course, and concentrates more on the elements of the practical situation than on theory which is both academic and, bearing in mind the purpose for which it was designed, trivial in many respects. To conclude by once again quoting from that editorial:

Good organisation based on the needs of the undertaking is as vital to the effective running of an institution as is good theoretical training to caseworkers.



"Why do you think he'll be back, Chief—he's only just gone out?"
"He's only just nicked your car as well sir"

Book Reviews

ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST

KEN KESEY

Calder and Boyars, 1972. £2.50

THIS novel by Ken Kesey first appeared in 1962, and it provides a very pertinent comment on institutional life. It has had an enormous impact in the United States but has received little notice in this country. It has recently been republished in Britain and we are probably now ready for it.

It is essentially a tragedy with some extremely funny moments and witty observations. The story is set in a state mental hospital in Oregon which had recently incorporated some of the practices associated with Dr. Maxwell Jones, and it tells the story of a struggle for power between Big Nurse and R.P. McMurphy who has been transferred into the ward from a county gaol. Prior to McMurphy's arrival, life on the ward is orderly and everyone knows their place. Big Nurse has used the last 25 years to establish complete control over every aspect of the ward's daily life. The patients are divided into acutes and chronics and each remain on their own side of the room. Big Nurse is apt to point out to an acute who might be sulking that if he is unable to co-operate with staff policy, engineered for his care, he can expect to end up on the other side. There is a brass tablet hanging on the wall exactly in the middle of the room, between the chronics and acutes, with the inscription: "CONGRATULATIONS FOR GETTING ALONG WITH THE SMALLEST NUMBER OF PERSONNEL OF ANY WARD IN THE HOSPITAL". Big Nurse's "face is smooth, calculated and precision made, like an expensive baby doll, skin like flesh-coloured enamel, blend of white and cream and baby-blue eyes, small nose, pert little nostrils—everything working together except the colour of her lips and fingernails and the size of her bosom. A mistake was made somehow in manufacturing, putting those big womanly breasts on what would otherwise have been a perfect work, and you can see how bitter she is about it".

The story is told by an Indian, Chief Bromden, who has been on the ward longer than everybody except Big Nurse. Although he was placed with the chronics he was mobile and this, together with the assumption by staff and patients that he was deaf and dumb put him into a good position to follow the daily life of the ward. The arrival of McMurphy does not fit into usual routine. "I don't hear him slide scared along the wall, and when they tell him about the shower he don't submit with a meek little yes, he tells them right back with brassy voice that he's already plenty darn clean thank you . . . I hear him coming down the hall and he sound big in the way he walks, and he sure don't slide. . . .He shows up in the door and stops and hitches his thumbs in his pockets, boots wide apart and stands looking at us, rocking back in his boots, and he laughs and laughs. . . . "What a sorry looking outfit. You boys don't look so crazy to me".

There has never been a challenge of this magnitude to Big Nurse's power before. McMurphy expects to be able to laugh and sing, follow the baseball season, gamble, organise fishing expeditions and invite friends in for nocturnal parties. Big Nurse rightly suspects that life on the ward might never again be quite the same and the long drawn-out struggle commences, closely observed by patients and staff. McMurphy wins some of the early rounds and Big Nurse uses every weapon at her disposal. After failing with the more subtle methods of the group meeting she is forced back to more overt means. Eventually she has McMurphy moved up to the disturbed ward where E.C.T. is applied. He still failed to respond to her invitation to admit to the group meeting that he had been in the wrong. In the end Big Nurse has no option left except lobotomy and McMurphy is wheeled back into the ward. The patients at first are unable to accept that it is him, "but as the hours passed and the swelling began subsiding around the eyes, I saw more and more guys strolling over to look at the figure. . . . I watched and tried to figure out what he would have done. I was only sure of one thing, he wouldn't have left something like that sit there in the day room with his name tacked on it for 20 or 30 years so the Big Nurse could use it as an example of what can happen if you buck the system". So it was left to Chief Bromden, who McMurphy had never regarded as either crazy or deaf and dumb, o play the final card.

Much of the struggle for power takes place in the group meetings which at first puzzled McMurphy who had not come across a therapeutic community before. "He thinks he'll just wait a while to see what the story is in this new place before he makes any kind of play. That's a good rule for a smart gambler: look the game over awhile before you draw yourself a hand". Kesey's comments on the dynamics of the therapeutic group meetings are amongst his most penetrating. He describes one therapeutic group session which was opened by Big Nurse remarking: "Now. Who will start? Let's out those old secrets". And she'd put all the acutes in a trance by sitting there in silence for 20 minutes after the question, quiet as an electric alarm about to go off, waiting for somebody to start telling something about themselves. Her eyes swept back and forth over them as steady as a turning beacon. The day room was clamped silent for 20 long minutes, with all of the patients stunned where they sat. When 20 minutes had passed, she looked at her watch and said: "Am I to take it that there's not a man among you that has committed some act that he has never admitted?" She reached in the basket for the log book. "Must we go over past history?" That triggered something, some acoustic device in the walls, rigged to turn on at just the sound of those words coming from her mouth. The acutes stiffened. Their mouths opened in unison. Her sweeping eyes stopped on the first man along the wall. His mouth worked. "I robbed a cash register in a service station." She moved to the next man. "I tried to take my little sister to bed." Her eyes clicked to the next man; each one jumped like a shooting gallery target. "I—one time—wanted to take my brother to bed." "I killed my cat when I was six. Oh, God forgive me, I stoned her to death and said my neighbour did it." "I lied about trying. I did take my sister." "So did I! So did I! "And me! And me!" It was better than she'd dreamed. They were all shouting to outdo one another, going further and further, no way of stopping, telling things that wouldn't ever let them look one another in the eye again. The nurse nodding at each confession and saying yes, yes, yes.

Then old Pete was on his feet. "I'm tired!" was what he shouted, a strong, angry copper tone to his voice that no one had ever heard before. Everyone hushed. They were somehow ashamed. It was as if he had suddenly said something that was real and true and important and it had put all their childish hollering to shame. The Big Nurse was furious. She swivelled and glared at him, the smile dripping over her chin; she'd just had it going to good. "Somebody see to poor Mr. Bancini", she said.

In addition to his insight into the tendency for treatment methods to be displaced for control purposes and its double-blind significance, Kesey grasps also the massive ambivalence of the institutionalised inmate in relation to personal autonomy and dependence. The impact of McMurphy on the patients is explored as fully as it is in relation to staff. It is not difficult to see why this book struck an immediate chord with American youth when it appeared in the early 1960's and its relevance to the English penal scene could hardly be greater than it is today.

ANDREW RUTHERFORD,
Deputy Governor of Everthorpe Borstal.

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PUNISHMENT, PRISON AND THE PUBLIC

RUPERT CROSS

Stevens and Sons 1971. £1.15p (paperback)

THE book is an enlarged version of the lectures given by Professor Cross for the twenty-third Hamlyn Lecture. The four lectures were entitled - "Background and Dramatis Personae"; "Penal Reform, Punishment and Prison"; "The Reduction and Avoidance of Imprisonment and Punishment"; 'Recidivism and the Common Man".

I. Background and Dramatis Personae

A brief look at the development of the Prison Service from 1877 onwards. Concerned mainly with four outstanding commissioners, (Du-Cane, Ruggles-Brise, Paterson and Fox), it sketches the development of penal thinking. The chapter is a mixture of the well-known and the surprising and provides a useful introduction to recent penal history.

II. Penal Reform, Punishment and Prison

Obviously not all changes are classifiable as penal reform, which is defined as a change that is aimed directly or indirectly at the rehabilitation of the offender, or at the avoidance, suspension or reduction of punishment on humanitarian grounds. There is an interesting precis of Ewing's educative theory of punishment which is followed by an examination of the improvement in prison conditions and the conclusion is reached that the "twentieth century has witnessed the development of a more generous penal theory and the growth of prison conditions which, *however deplorable*

they remain, (my italics), are considerably less degrading than they were at the time of the Gladstone report." The lecture concludes: "From the theoretical point of view the correct analysis seems to be that people are sent to prison as a symbol of the community's disapproval of their conduct, in order that they and others may be deterred from crime, and for the protection of the public from their depredations while they are in prison. There is also the remote possibility that the catharsis of punishment will effect a reformation; *then there is the hope that reform will be brought about by prison discipline, but this is incidental to, not the object of imprisonment*". (My italics.)

III. The Reduction and Avoidance of Imprisonment and Punishment.

Professor Cross had earlier confessed to a profound scepticism about the extent to which prison can truly be said to be reformatory. Because of this scepticism he argues that any sentence of imprisonment should be no longer than that demanded by deterrence, denunciation, the protection of the public, or all three. He feels that the need for reform should not enter into the consideration of length of sentence, arguing forcibly that the belief that people can be reformed by being sent to prison has had a baneful influence on the length of prison sentences.

The author examines some alternatives to imprisonment which have all been discussed during the past 12 months. The lecture ends with a discussion of the treatment available for two special classes of offender—the young and the mentally abnormal.

IV. Recidivism and the Common Man

The final lecture opens with a review of twentieth century attempts to combat recidivism. Having stated that in this area "we have made no progress whatsoever" Professor Cross offers his answer which is to concentrate on the *first* (my italics) sentence, which should be short, with ample time for solitary reflection (a partial return to the separate system is advocated) and every opportunity taken to remind the prisoner that the sentence will be longer and even tougher next time.

The assessment of penal reform forms the meat of the final lecture. Successful penal reforms are listed as the abolition of capital and corporal punishment, the amelioration of prison conditions and the introduction of parole, probation and the suspended sentence. Failures have been preventive detention and corrective training. Borstals and detention centres are failures as rehabilitation but successes as alternatives to imprisonment.

In conclusion Professor Cross poses and answers three questions which are purportedly from the man on the Clapham omnibus—the mythical representative of the general public. The questions are: (a) Has there been too much penal reform? — No. (b) Is the present punishment for murder as severe as it should be?—Let us wait and see. (c) Is adequate consideration given to the victims of crime?—No—but it is not the concern of the criminal law. (d) Is the idea of personal responsibility declining?—Yes—but this is no bad thing.

It is often true that something designed for use in one medium fails when transposed to another. The opportunity to examine the spoken word in written form allows one to see inconsistencies and contradictions. Whilst there is much thought-provoking material here, there is also much that would not bear too close an examination. Professor Cross makes a number of assertions which, whilst challenging, are based on belief rather than on fact. Some are mutally inconsistent (which he freely acknowledges) and others are the product of ignoring the evidence that doesn't fit the pre-conceived plan. I have resisted the temptation to take issue with the author, leaving that to those who read the book. A book to borrow rather than buy.

C. D. SHERWOOD,

A. G. I. in charge of Thorp Arch Remand Centre.

Penal policy

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ORTHODOX CONSENSUS AND RADICAL ALTERNATIVE

A study in Sociological Theory

DICK ATKINSON

Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1971.

Price £3.75. (paperback £1.30.)

THE "orthodox consensus" of the title relates to that view of man which sees him as determined by forces—in this case social forces—wholly beyond his control. Society is not only quite independent of the people who comprise it, but those people are also entirely subject to *its* demands regarding their patterns of behaviour. Man is simply, in this view, a role player whose ability to shape the role prescribed for him is limited to the degree to which the socialisation process fails to impose the socially required attitudes.

Atkinson senses a widespread discontent among the new generation of sociologists who have not had to fight in the battle for academic respectability. His radical alternative is to disregard elaborate theory and return to the study of actual people living real lives; to ask what they want to achieve in given situations and how *they* see the situation which confronts them. By this means the researcher will seek to build a model of why and how various parties to any given situation act the way they do.

In this context, then, it is somewhat frustrating to find that the advocate of such a view is content to concentrate not upon the study of real people but instead to analyse what other sociologists say about more or less real people or alternatively a hypothetical Tom, Bill and Jean. There is very little reference to research findings to substantiate points made and this is a major weakness. But at the time same the book is stimulating and provocative, there is much to take issue with and this is its virtue.

Does it have practical relevance? Well, perhaps, in so far as it cautions against the increasingly common view that causes of behaviour lie *outside* the people involved. When prisoners are demonstrating, or when there are inter-departmental squabbles, Atkinson suggests that we look at the situation through the eyes of those involved and see their actions as attempts to control the situation in order to achieve their aims. Not a startling revelation to many of us, since it is basically good commonsense. It is also possibly a recipe for excellent journalism but whether it is a recipe for excellent sociology or not, I reserve judgment.

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THE SECURITY INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Papers presented to the Cropwood Round Table Conference, July 1971

Edited by

PAUL WILES and F. H. MCCLINTOCK

Cambridge 1972. £1.50

THE private security industry is big business. This book is a record of the proceedings of a conference convened to consider the swift growth of an industry employing over 40,000 people.

Major points of general concern raised were the relationships between police and security firms and the question of public accountability by private police forces operating in public and semi-public places. At present the Home Office is content that the security industry should be self-regulating but concern is expressed from time to time about the threat to privacy occasioned by inquiries into credit-worthiness and into the antecedents and private life of employees. Some may regard the use by airlines of a private security firm to guard illegal immigrants as being especially a matter for concern.

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SENTENCING IN A RATIONAL SOCIETY

NIGEL WALKER

Penguin 1972. 45p.

THE publication of a paperback edition, at the bargain price of 45p, of Nigel Walker's book is greatly to be welcomed: the original hardback edition of 1969 received considerable acclaim and it has now been brought up to date (to early 1972). Although the title suggests that the work is directed at those who have the task of sentencing offenders the book is valuable reading for all members of the Prison Service since some of the confusions of the Service might be reduced if there were a clearer understanding of what courts are up to. Our society pretends to be rational, individuals may genuinely want to move towards greater rationality but we still operate largely in a world of myth, superstition and unexamined assumptions. If the courts were able to operate with a greater degree of rationality this might enable prisons to have a clearer task. But whether society is prepared to leave retribution out of the account, so far as the penal system is concerned, may well be another matter.

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(1) SOCIAL INDICATORS AND SOCIAL POLICY

Edited by

ANDREW SHONFIELD

and

STELLA SHAW

Heinemann (for the Social Science Research Council) 1972. £2 50

(2) CENSUS OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED PATIENTS IN HOSPITAL IN ENGLAND AND WALES AT THE END OF 1970.

Department of Health and Social Security. H.M.S.O. 1972. 90p

YOU could, perhaps, compare the business of governing the country with driving a jugger-

naut through the local street-market. The driver might well ask how he was expected to control the thing, what sort of dials it had in the cabin. In terms of government, the existing dials—unemployment, productivity, illness, criminality, etc.—have their limitations; they aren't reliable and there are too many to take in. They are better for arguing about than for deciding by. So the question is whether we can't make a new set which will do a better job.

The first of these books reproduces papers given at an international conference about the question in Britain in 1971. The papers would only make sense to social scientists. The one on "Criminal Statistics",by Howard Avison, is the most obviously relevant.

The second book illustrates the same sort of question, but in one specialised operation. It highlights all the difficulties the first book notices—it is very technical, it classifies hospitals in ways the layman couldn't expect to follow, it presents lots of indigestible tables. None of it, of course, is directly relevant to the Prison Service, but it does encourage questions about how much we really know about the prison system in action, about how meaningful is the account which is given in the annual report. Is there any way of finding out, for instance, how frequently prisoners are visited, how much sick-reporting occurs among staff, how much damage is inflicted on buildings and facilities?

These two publications (and, one might add, Cohen and Taylor's "Psychological Survival") raise questions about the sorts of accounts which ought to be provided by those who are accountable for what the Service does. The questions may well be devilish difficult to answer and easy to shelve.

MARK BEESON,

Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Leeds.

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GIRL OFFENDERS AGED 17-20

JEAN DAVIES and NANCY GOODMAN

(Home Office Research Unit.) H.M.S.O. 1972

52½p

FEMALE deviance as a subject in its own right continues to make up a very small percentage of the vast output of criminological literature. Myths about the motivation and character of women who break the law still flourish. Sentences are frequently based upon assumptions which are little questioned. Jean Davies' and Nancy Goodman's publication of some basic information and pertinent comment on the female offender between 17-20 years is therefore to be welcomed. The pamphlet is not lengthy—some 50 pages—with additional appendices for those readers concerned with the exact details upon which the report is based. There are three distinct but complementary sections.

The *first* provides statistical information relating to girl offenders between 1960–70. Age, offence and sentence are compared with those of boys within the same age range and time period.

The *second* examines the reoffending of girls released from borstals and (the now defunct) detention centre and compares this group with an equivalent one placed on probation.

The *third* gives a detailed account of the problems of girls released from borstal based upon information obtained from their after-care agents during the two year period of licence.

It will probably come as no surprise to learn that only ten percent of the officially known offenders within the 17-20 age range are female. However, the rate for girls has doubled between 1960 and 1970 whilst that for boys has increased by under a half. A third of all the offences committed by girls are thefts, and half of these from stores and stalls. In fact in 1970 three and a half times as many charges of shoplifting were brought against girls as in 1960. The second largest group of offences is motoring offences. Additionally there has been a steady increase in offences relating to prostitution and two and a half times as many girls are charged with offences against the person or non-indictable assault. Whilst these figures are of interest they have only limited relevance without some explanation of detection procedures, the use of discretion in calling in the police and related questions which were beyond the scope of this report. We do not know for example whether more girls are shoplifting or rather whether the stores have improved their detection procedures or changed their policy regarding prosecution.

Probation appears to be a popular form of sentence for girls. As many as 57 per cent were so dealt with by the High Courts. The evidence suggests that magistrates may be using the suspended prison sentence for girls who would otherwise have received a non-custodial sentence and not as an immediate alternative to prison as had been intended. Only 2 per cent of girls who offend find themselves subject to custodial sentences. In the last 10 years, however, there has been a 10 per cent increase in such sentences at age 17 rising to a 50 per cent increase at age 20. This is disquieting. It is even more disquieting to learn that in 1970 over 1,000 unconvicted girls were received into custody and that two-thirds of these were either not found guilty or not returned to prison. A large number of these unconvicted remands were for medical reports. Additionally 747 convicted girls were remanded in custody for enquiries and, of these, three-quarters were not returned to prison. As Davies and Goodman remark, these facts raise serious questions about the cost and efficiency of the practice of remanding in custody for medical reports. One cannot help wondering whether accommodation problems may be one of the factors determining enquiries in custody for many convicted girls. The data provided here seem to demand some fairly speedy research into the reasons for such practices.

The writer was sorry to read that it was "generally agreed" that more girls than boys within penal institutions are psychiatrically disturbed. Their behaviour undoubtedly lends itself to such a label, but there is, I would suggest, a need to explore the differential effects upon girls and boys of institutional experience in relation to their whole socialisation process before such statements can be "generally agreed". It may be that girls are less well equipped to deal with institutional life in a single sex environment.

The reconviction rate for girls who have been to borstal or detention centres is depressingly high—42 per cent for borstal and 40 per cent for detention centres, though it is even higher for boys. Girls with previous institutional experience appear to have a higher reconviction rate than those for whom borstal and detention centre is the first sentence. If we exclude first offenders the fate of girls placed on probation is no less gloomy—a 41 per cent reconviction rate within the first year of the order, and a 15 per cent reconviction rate within the second year—a total of 56 per cent. It seems then that if a girl offends more than once there is a 50 per cent chance she will offend yet again! A girl known by the police to have offended is, however, much more likely to be apprehended for a subsequent offence than one who is not.

The section which explores the problems of girls on release from borstal might have been more stimulating if the authors had built into their research design some much more explicit exploration of the implications of the role perception of the after-care agents who supplied the basic information. Other groups of people might have perceived the problems of the girls differently.

Almost half of the girls in the sample were reconvicted or were recalled to borstal. Of these, all but a handful had accommodation problems, as did a quarter of those not reconvicted. Accommodation is a problem for many on conviction, and it remains or is exacerbated as a problem on release from custody. It is one still not being met. Many of the girls found difficulty in finding "honest" employment particularly those who were unsupported mothers, a factor in common with many other girls who have not offended. It is as well to remember that for most of the girls under discussion job opportunities were seriously limited, both financially and in terms of other satisfactions. It is hence not surprising to read that most of the girls were looking for a man who would be willing to support them and that in two years the 129 girls produced 90 children. Nor, given the problems of accommodation and finance, that problems of inadequate child-care were frequently reported.

It would appear that whatever the problems of girls sent to borstal, they are not solved by the girls' incarceration and their needs remain their own (and society's) responsibility to meet on release. Davies and Goodman suggest that the reasons why girls are committed for borstal training are more complex than for boys and "less frequently the result of obviously criminal activity and more often difficult social behaviour which is causing concern". Perhaps the writers can persuade the Home Office to finance a comprehensive research programme which could explore the whole process of detection, arrest, conviction and sentencing of female offenders taking into its terms of references societal response to deviations from a norm of feminine conduct which is changing rapidly in response to the challenge and demand of the complex society that girls are now growing up to live in.

Mrs Alison Still was a probation officer. She undertook research at Leeds University relating to the perception of the female offender and is now employed in an independent community agency in Deptford.

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HARRIS'S CRIMINAL LAW

IAN MCLEAN and PETER MORRISH

Sweet and Maxwell 1973.

Hardback £6.75. Paperback £4.80.

A new edition (including Criminal Justice Act 1972) of a standard reference book. Probably of only marginal interest to members of the Prison Service since it deals mainly with what happens before the client reaches us, but a remarkable tour de force by its authors (a stipendiary magistrate and a barrister).

THE CONTROLLED TRIAL IN INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH

Paradigm or pitfall for penal evaluators?

R. V. G. CLARKE and D. B. CORNISH

(Home Office Research Unit.) H.M.S.O. 1972. 29p.

IT is difficult to assess the effect on prisoners of what happens to them in prison—is the therapeutic community more effective than social casework?—and it is tempting to press for experiments based on a medical model. Doctors are able to organise controlled trials of new medicines by dividing a large number of patients into three groups: one group is given the new wonder drug (Criminal Justice Act 72?), one group gets a placebo, the third group gets nothing. All other factors are controlled and differences in outcome can be reasonably attributed to differences in treatment

This report, which deserves to be widely read, is a cautionary tale of what can go wrong when the medical model is used in attempting to evaluate residential treatment. The lessons are drawn from an experiment which was attempted at Kingswood Approved School. The school had three houses and the plan was to split the intake of boys into a small group thought unsuitable for the experiment, (such boys went to a "normal" house), and a larger group who were allocated randomly between a control house and an experimental house which had a permissive attitude to acting-out behaviour and made use of group discussion, as well as a depth of shared responsibility between staff and boys. There was, in fact, an attempt to initiate a therapeutic community in the experimental house. Various tests and records of observed behaviour were devised and it was thought that the main criterion of effectiveness should be post-release adjustment for a minimum period of two years.

It was realised that many factors (including the effects of individual members of staff) could scarely be controlled but it was hoped that the outcome in the two houses concerned would be so different that the differences could be readily attributed to the two regimes, the "traditional" and the "therapeutic community"

The experiment did not proceed smoothly. Among the difficulties encountered were problems over the ethics of random allocation (at one stage the supply of boys to the school diminished considerably because, it was presumed, of fears that boys would be used as guinea-pigs), there were considerable staff anxieties especially at the lower levels and there was some doubt as to whether the success criterion of reconviction was appropriate. It had been hoped that it would be possible to generalise widely from the results of the experiment but this proved to be impossible: the houses were unique (just what *is* a "therapeutic" community?) and the number of identified variables which might have accounted for differences in outcome was very great. Further, there was no way of allowing for a possible "Hawthorne effect", and it was not possible to maintain a constant regime in either of the two houses being compared. There were practical problems, too, of disruption and the necessity to make policy decisions about treatment before the experiment was completed .

The authors conclude that the controlled trial has a limited function in penal research. They note that science has advanced not by monolithic projects but by splitting big problems into a number of smaller ones which are tackled in turn, sometimes heuristically. Probably the best method to adopt is the retrospective one which draws data from a number of institutions and which can hold constant, by statistical techniques, the effect of input variables.

An important report which is written with great clarity and is a bargain at 29p.

K.B.M.

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THE PAINT HOUSE

Words from an East End gang

Edited by

SUSIE DANIEL and PETE MCGUIRE

Penguin Education 1972. 30p

"THE PAINT HOUSE" is described by the co-editors as a book by and about East End skinheads. The title derives from the building where the Collinwood gang find they can be themselves and which they decorate as they wish. Much of the book comprises the direct dialogue of the gang and is a lively, colourful and remarkably articulate account of their attitudes and opinions on such issues as schools, jobs, police and immigrants. There are brillant descriptions of the group's football fights and Paki-bashing.

Gang allegiance makes more sense to the educationally unsuccessful and alienated adolescent than the local youth club (which is seen as an extension of school). The Paint House allowed the gang the freedom to test out boundaries in a non-authoritarian setting and made a contribution to the development of the gang members as individuals.

The familiar features of skinhead behaviour —frustration over lack of opportunities, scapegoating and football violence—are present but the book is specifically about the gang's experience of life in the East End. It seems to carry on from where Christopher Searle's "Stepney Words" leaves off. By the end of the book the gang has become fragmented, and individuals begin to emerge where only the common, unattributed voice spoke earlier.

This is a well-written, thought-provoking, and extremely readable account of the process of growing up in stressful, changing circumstances.

Miss C. L. TURNER,
Assistant Governor at Holloway Prison.

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DEALING WITH DEVIANTS

STUART WHITELEY, DENNIE BRIGGS and MERFYN TURNER

Hogarth Press 1972. £3.25

THIS book is the third in a new Hogarth Press series dealing with the science of human behaviour.

The well-trodden grounds of badness and madness and their relation to deviancy are discussed. The present-day method of dealing with deviants is criticised largely on the grounds that secluding a deviant in hospital or prison only provides a temporary solution and that the resulting institutionalisation of such individuals creates more problems than it solves. The authors claim that the deviant with which the book is concerned does not fit into any recognised formal treatment pattern in terms of madness and badness, but is a person "who by his repeated deviant acts constantly comes into contact with the rest of society as if putting himself forward and making some demand on society for recognition and the fulfilment of his needs".

The functionalist and social conflict theories of deviancy are seen in terms of suppression and control or working towards change in a liberal and progressive manner.

The book looks closely at three groups of deviants: in prison (Chino, California), psychiatric hospital (Henderson) and in a hostel for ex-prisoners (Norman House). These are said to be fair representatives of the large deviant group who are not professional criminals or criminally insane.

Stuart Whiteley, a psychiatrist, describes the growth of the concept of psychopathic disorder and the emergence of sociological thought on the problem. He traces the development of the Henderson Hospital and the setting up of a therapeutic community there which consists of approximately 40-50 resident patients and 30 treatment staff. The Henderson therapeutic community is a concept which utilises the interpersonal reactions of the group as the medium through which treatment is realised. Great emphasis is placed on communication and the careful selection of participants. He states that the effects of psychotherapy are difficult to assess but, used as a crude yardstick, readmission to mental hospitals or reconviction were taken as indications of failure in social adjustment. During the year 1964-65 122 consecutive male discharges were followed up; 40 per cent had not been convicted or re-admitted to a mental hospital over the follow-up period of a minimum of two years. Predictors of success were scholastic achievement, job satisfaction and persistence. A criminal history was associated with a poor prognosis.

Dennie Briggs describes the background to developments at Chino, where a move towards rehabilitation arose from public concern at conditions in California state prisons in the 1940's. He points out that the introduction of clinically orientated people caused a new element of conflict in the daily running of prisons largely as a result of division of responsibility. The setting up of a therapeutic community at Chino and the difficulties inherent in this are described. One of the most impressive features to evolve from this scheme is the training and use of non-professionals and inmates in self-help schemes.

The criteria for selection of candidates were strict. All were volunteers and were favourably considered if they were under 25 years old, had a close relationship with some adult, showed evidence of internalised conflict, had motivation to change, the ability to differentiate social roles, sufficient ego strength and finally, had a capacity to change. Candidates were questionable if they were over 30 years of age, had a record of prolonged institutionalisation or if they had a record of long-term satisfactory military adjustment. Adults were ineligible if they had an I.Q. in the low average range, were ever diagnosed as psychotic, were serving a life sentence or were long-standing drug or alcohol addicts. Follow-up studies comparing them with a control group cannot be said to be impressive. A 43 per cent sample showed, over a two year parole period, no statistically significant differences compared with the control group. The control group gave a surprisingly high favourable outcome in the *one* year follow-up period.

Merfyn Turner describes the setting up and evolution of the Norman House Hostel for ex-prisoners, the selection of inmates and the difficulties encountered by staff. Norman House evolved as a small hostel for discharged recidivists, which provided a paternalistic type

of support. Of the 200 men who lived in the house in the first five years, about 25 per cent failed to fit in. This figure has now dropped with stricter selection procedures. Three categories of men who lived there are described:

(a) those needing permanent support.
(b) the psychologically disturbed (mentally ill)
(c) the inadequate passive recidivist.

It was the men in the latter group who benefitted most.

This book emphasises the difficulties encountered in the treatment of the deviant. There is no easy solution, and although these three attempts are most praiseworthy, intensive treatment at the Henderson and Chino gave results which can only be described as marginal. I wonder if the results are a reflection of the interest taken and the efforts put into the different approaches rather than the methods used.

These three approaches to the problem do point a way, however, by identifying those in need and breaking them down into small groups where positive influences can, in the first instance, overcome the effect of the deviant sub-culture. A change in deviant behaviour is essentially the outcome of a learning process, and the capacity to change largely rests in the individual and, to a lesser extent, on the influences brought to bear to cause this change. We need to know more about these individuals in terms of their learning ability, emotional responses, anxiety levels and their reaction to stress, and finally how best we can influence motivation. The group of deviants who are dangerous) and this includes many inadequates) is not discussed. Is it too much to ask in the future that the treatment of the persistent deviant, a term spanning a wide range of social problems, can be intergrated? Prison, hospital, hostel, probation and community resources should be working together in harmony, so providing a spectrum of interchangeable treatment situations, and married to an efficient and ongoing research programme which may give us some clue as to the correct approach to a problem which at the moment is a long, long way from being solved.

B. D. Cooper,

Medical officer at Parkhurst where he is involved in the management of "C" wing (described in Prison Service Journal *October* 1972).

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN THE PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

European Committee on Crime Problems Council of Europe, Strasbourg 1972. No price.

DO schools produce criminals? Can they prevent delinquency?

This report by a Council of Europe working party looks at the functions of schools, analyses socialisation processes, estimates the prospects for preventive action and ends with comments, conclusions and suggestions.

A school is seen to have three roles: to socialise through intellectual training, to prepare the pupil for future social demands and to help the pupil to express his needs, aspirations, potentialities and talents particularly through bette relat ionships with those around him. There is a summary of the characteristics not only of delinquents but also of the characteristics of schools which are likely to be maladjustment or delinquency factors. Some schools may exacerbate a pupil's shortcomings rather than compensate for them. "The less theoretically interested children find inconsistency between their interests and capacities and the school's demands. Also many intelligent children find the school inconsistent with their needs. . . . The incongruence is not the fault of the children but of the school.

But can the school *prevent* delinquency? The writers stress the important role the teacher should play, as part of a team, particularly in relation to the early detection of delinquency and they show how this might be done in a more precise and effective way. The school *can* play a positive role if it is assumed that "the school is not unconnected with the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency". Frequent truanting by delinquents does not of course help the school to be effective, however, and the writers stress the need to make children see that serious delinquent behaviour may cost the individual child dear.

This book helps to indicate some of the background causes of young offenders coming to our care: the concerned education officer (and governor and other members of staff) will want to see whether borstal or detention can be effective where perhaps the school may have failed.

POLICE POWER AND BLACK PEOPLE

Derek Humphry
(with a commentary by Gus John)
Panther 1972. Paperback 40p

DEREK HUMPHREY, who in an earlier book *Because They're Black* highlighted the problem of race relations in Britain, is here concerned with that cornerstone of British Justice—police/community relations. The vast majority who complacently believe that all is well in the best of all possible worlds will be rightly shaken by his disclosures in this book of racism,brutality and abuse of power by the British Bobby, and, more important, by its apparent condonation by the judiciary. Does this mean, as Gus John suggests in his commentary, that there is no place in British society for blacks and that in fact the police are merely carrying out the policy of the establishment by systematically harassing blacks into either accepting their role as second-class worker/citizens or "going back to where they belong"? Certainly Britain's tradition of aristocracy and its almost endemic xenophobia might suggest this; but, on the other hand, its tradition of welcoming the persecuted from other countries and the recent action of a Conservative Government in providing refuge to the Ugandan Asians at a time when the white supremacists were braying at their loudest is proof positive of the establishment's good will to all men!

What this book does is to throw into relief the difficulties that can arise when two groups of people with different cultural backgrounds and seemingly different aspirations are in direct confrontation. The police are largely representative of the British lower middle and working classes and see their role as upholders of law and order as defined in the Police Handbook. They tend to see individuals as stereotypes—for example, the West Indian is argumentative, rowdy, excitable and arrogant and it is the policeman's bounden duty to keep him calm and quiet whatever this entails. The black youth, especially those born in Britain, see the police as aggressive and arrogant and unable to distinguish potential criminal types among black people. The result is that the blacks accuse the police of indiscriminately stopping and searching them for drugs, offensive weapons, or stolen property in a way they would never do to whites. The police accuse the blacks of being non-cooperative and paranoid. At the very start of his introduction Mr. Humphry states: "I am critical of the police force in this book because I wish to respect it" and indeed he is very critical. More than half of the book is devoted to describing instances of police injustice to blacks in various parts of the country. The incidents seem well authenticated and together present a disturbing picture of racial discrimination by the police. Mr. Humphry is not, however, totally one-sided and in the later chapters of his book suggests reasons, if not excuses, for the police attitudes—their own isolation in the community and the hostility they have met from black people generally. He goes on to criticize the judiciary for injustices in the whole system before outlining his own proposals for better community relations—more training in community relations for the police, changes in the administration of justice and so on—to give a more constructive ending to the book. By contrast, Gus John's commentary seems to be totally pessimistic and may only succeed in antagonising the whites!

The truth, as always, lies somewhere between, and needs both goodwill and patience to discover. Most vital is the need on the part of the indigenous population to accept that the blacks are here to stay and that it is really a question of learning to live together or, failing this, dying together in bloody riots and racial strife. Those politicians who suggest that the solution lies in sending the blacks "home" are either naive, cynical or very short-sighted.

Although the evolutionary process may in time bring about harmony between races, it is equally possible that some malevolent power may precipitate a catastrophic racial conflict. Eternal vigilance is still the price of safety and Derek Humphry, by keeping his journalist's eyes on this potential source of conflict, is rendering sterling service to all of us. May his book be widely read.

George Ferguson.

Principal Officer at Pentonville and member of the Executive Committee of the Prison Officers' Association. He also teaches Community Relations to newly recruited prison officers at Wakefield O.T.S.

INTERVIEWING AND COUNSELLING

Robert Bessell
Batsford 1972. £2.50

BERT BESSELL is a good friend of the Prison Service. Ex-probation officer, teacher of social work, now cutting his teeth as director of one of the new social services departments, he is well qualified to write about the helping process as practised by social workers, prison staff, counsellors and others.

His book is a disappointment however. I looked in vain for some new shaft of light on this self-conscious and jargon-ridden field.

Thankfully we are spared the jargon. But the self-consciousness remains. Nearly all the illustrative material derives from role playing, which does not effectively answer the question "what do caseworkers actually do?" No sort of evaluation is attempted beyond the rather pessimistic conclusion that "in practice this ideal state (of joint consent to end interviews) is rarely attained, either because social worker and client do not agree, or the worker fails to realise the client's ability to be independent". And the book goes disjointedly from brief paragraphs on counter-transference to discussions about office furniture and the advisability of parking the car away from the client's front door.

Personally I found it a boring and confusing book, and I do not recommend it to the Prison Service. There is a real need for a book to clarify the woolly area in which terms such as interviewing, counselling, social casework and therapy are used variously by different people and professions. Such a book must contain case material in illustration and it must take cognisance of consumer research, to which this author makes only brief reference. Indeed *The Client Speaks* published last year, and the increasing resort by social workers to social action on behalf of their clients away from traditional casework, already date this book. Nowadays the complaint that social work is a form of social control merits a full chapter on its own.

My main commendation is for the emphasis laid on helping the individual not merely as an individual but as one of a family whose members affect each other—something which can be only too easily evaded when working with prisoners. My main criticism is that so little attention is paid to the effect that the client has upon the counsellor. Here there is no suggestion for prison staff about the nature of the effect on them of their interaction with prisoners, nor enlightenment for marriage counsellors about the changes in their own marriages initiated by their work with clients. Social workers are portrayed as clinical, detached and unaffected. I don't believe it.

N. J. TYNDALL,
Chief Officer, National Marriage Guidance Council

Treatments

A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRISON SYSTEM

MARILYN BROWN

M.A. Dissertation, University of Bradford 1972

"THE aim of this study" writes Marilyn Brown, "was to discover what those working within the prison system assume to be the official main functions of that system and to see if there is any difference in those assumptions which are connected with position in the hierarchy of the system". The hypothesis which she set out to test was that "all prison staff will have the same views on the main functions of the prison system", and that these would not be affected by factors like rank, age, length of service, experience in the armed services, attendance at courses, or previous social work experience.

After discussion with sympathetic colleagues, it was decided to concentrate on the staff of a large local prison. A questionnaire was administered to all governor and officer grades, except for certain specialists such as hospital staff and dog handlers. Considering the perennial constraints in such a situation, such as the tendency of local prison staff to evaporate early in the day, the questionnaire was thoughtfully administered, after as thorough a preparation as was possible.

The response to "postal" questionnaires is never very good, but considering the preparation, the fact that the subject matter was central to the recipients' interest, and that the loss of time in filling it up was only ten minutes, the response from senior basic grade officers was rather poor—38 percent, or 61 out of 159 approached. Such reluctance can only be attributable to hostility, to cynicism, or to a not very creditable laziness. If these non respondents had replied, is it reasonable to assume that the positive views often expressed by those who did would have been swamped in a welter of disapproval of service aims? Not that Mrs. Brown criticises the non responders. Her tone is refreshingly free of any judgement of other people's "defects". But the implications of such a large group of non responders on the overall picture could, perhaps, have been discussed more fully.

Two sets of facts emerged; the background of the respondents, and their perception of the aims of the prison system as they are *in fact*. And there is much interesting discussion about the relationships of these two sets of facts. It is impossible in a brief space, to do full justice to the findings. Some of these which confirm what might be reasonably predicted, are at least supported by evidence. Others are rather surprising, and demand careful study. What I would like to do is to single out some findings which were of especial interest to me. Such a small selection will, I hope, inspire interested people to read the entire study.

When I worked at the Staff College, the regularity and rapidity of refresher courses sometimes made us feel that we could have taught a Chicago slaughter house staff a few tricks. Yet, in spite of Wakefield's efforts, in-service training elsewhere, and training in other educational institutions, 35 per cent of all senior and basic grade officers reported that they had not attended a course since basic training. However, before such information is used as a lever for the expansion of training, another discovery should be pondered. It is that "those taking courses see the functions of the system somewhat cynically". They were rather more prone to "caustic comments", including jibes about "holiday camps", jobs for welfare workers and hopeless civil servants, and so on. This is one of the many statements which are made, which must excite new debates. Why do course attenders develop precisely those attitudes which training is supposed to modify and alter? Is it because courses raise expectations about changes in roles which are not fulfilled? Or because the people who are sympathetic to courses become impatient with the system's failure to "reform"? Or perhaps they are angered at the proverbial jeers to "forget all that rubbish"? Another challenge to accepted belief occurs in the revelation that the younger staff in terms of service, made the most "caustic remarks about the aims. Thus a credo is attacked which has kept many reformers buoyant—that when the old men go, the young Turks will be much more "progressive".

There are many claims and counter-claims made about ex-servicemen in the prison service. Once again Mrs. Brown presents us with hard fact, and more. She shows that no fewer than 45 per cent of staff over 40, 19 per cent of those aged between 30 and 39 and 13 per cent of those under 30 served *over* six years in the armed forces. Many others had served shorter periods. And here, for the first time, it is demonstrated that staff with little experience in the armed forces are more prone to emphasise the rehabilitative aims of the prison system.

There are two other interesting sections in her study which add to its value. One is a review of official literature which illustrates the concerted confusion which has, in the past, masqueraded as "policy", and she highlights the chronic proneness of policy makers to the writing of bold statements, all of which are impressive, but many of which are trivial, or even unintelligible. The other is the result of questions put to a newly joined Staff Course about their understanding of the aims of the prison system.

Marilyn Brown hopes that her research will inspire further systematic questioning. Her work is certainly replete with potential. One example is the fact that deterrence as a penal aim is consistently rated "almost the last". One could go on to ask if staff believe this, do they disapprove? And if they do, how is the resultant conflict resolved? It is to be hoped that this study will encourage more like it, since it is concerned with staff, and the facts. Both are rare in penological literature.

J. E. THOMAS

Dr. Thomas, formerly a member of the Prison Service, is a lecturer in the Department of Adult Education, University of Hull and is the author of "The English Prison Officer since 1850".

Penal policy

THE EVACUEE

RICHARD POOLEY

Anglo-American Publicity Services, 1972. 37½p.

RICHARD POOLEY has spent much of his adult life in the care of the Prison Department. His book, *The Evacuee* tells, however, of his early experiences as an evacuee and of the two years he spent at an approved school.

With two younger brothers, Mr. Pooley is taken from his parents (scarcely mentioned afterwards) in London to Torquay early in the second war. After a short stay in a hotel the boys are billeted with an elderly, childless and apparently uncaring couple. Adventures occur on the beach, at school and around the town. Mr. Pooley describes in a matter of fact way the many thefts which culminate in his removal to an approved school in Surrey. At the school he is bullied by older boys, badly treated by staff and he absconds after hearing of the sinking of the ship in which his elder brother sailed. He is returned to the school, his best friend is killed in another abscond attempt and a few months later Mr. Pooley leaves school.

What is one to say about this book? Mr. Pooley does not attempt to analyse his experiences but the publishers' blurb gives a clue to his motive in writing: "*The Evacuee* is a true and vivid account on one boy's war. We dare you to read it and not feel ashamed that this is your society".

Well, the account is vivid, but is it true? How clearly can any of us recall the events of 30 years ago and how selective might we (and Mr. Pooley) be in our recollection? Perhaps what matters is that Mr. Pooley believes what he says and, therefore, it is true *for him*. Maybe we should ask why he believes most adults to be sadists, why at the age of 14 he had no goals other than short term satisfaction, why he had virtually no contact with his parents. Whatever the truth of Mr. Pooley's early experiences

do feel ashamed of the way he feels he was treated. It's not much use looking for scapegoats —and to change the values of society is a long and hard task. I think that Mr. Pooley's book may help.

K. B. MOODY.

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BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION IN SOCIAL WORK

DEREK JEHU, PAULINE HARDIKER, MARGARET YELLOLY, MARTIN SHAW

John Wiley and Sons Ltd. 1972.

£3.75

IF one has an aversion to the use of phrases like "antecedent control procedures" and "positive counterconditioning", then an initial glance at this book is likely to discourage one. The technical language, however, is fairly easily mastered due to the clarity of the account and the use of illustrative case material. The book explores the application of behaviour modification techniques to social work practice, and relates the behavioural approach to other methods which are used to understand and treat problem behaviour.

This is an important and challenging book. It raises and discusses many of the important issues which currently concern those involved in handling people, and presents possibilities of new approaches to treatment. It does not prescribe commitment to *one* theory but examines various theoretical models and it attempts to review and evaluate both new and more traditional approaches to helping people. The book makes a valuable contribution to social work theory and is relevant to all who are involved in "people work". There are many important implications for practice in the Prison Service.

The first part of the book is written by Derek Jehu. In the introduction he outlines the behavioural approach (along with other viewpoints) and suggests that it involves an amendment of and extension to traditional methods and that it concerns only certain aspects of social work theory and practice. In "Explaining Problem Behaviour" he describes how such behaviour is determined and he goes on in a further chapter on "Behaviour Modification" to emphasise that the focus for treatment is on *contemporary* events rather than working through past experiences. The two treatment strategies are (i) to alter the client's responses without deliberately changing the environment and (ii) to change controlling factors in the environment. The various methods of modifying behaviour are then clearly defined and illustrated with interesting case material.

The relevance of these methods to practice in penal establishments is easy to recognise and it is helpful to see our present practice in the light of Jehu's ideas. We do attempt to train inmates in making decisions about their future and in taking responsibility for themselves and, on a less planned basis, we remove from circulation inmates whose behaviour is anti-social. Although we attempt, by such methods, to reinforce *desired* behaviour and to emphasise that undesirable behaviour may be costly there is a serious practical problem about just how we go about observing, recording and rewarding the behaviour that we want. Token economies are one way of doing this, but they have some limitations. In fact any interaction between staff and inmates can be viewed from the point of view of reinforcing or eliminating certain sorts of behaviour. What we may be afraid to see is that sometimes we may be eliminating the "good" and reinforcing the "bad".

Jehu stresses the importance of using "significant" people in work with those who have behaviour problems. It may be far more effective and economical for a parent rather than a social worker (or a prison officer rather than a welfare officer) to undertake the task of modifying behaviour, but, of course, it must be stressed that the social worker is advising and supporting the parent (or prison officer) in the enterprise.

It is clear that a client's behaviour is affected by interaction with other people, whose influence may be to reduce, reinforce or increase problem behaviour; reduction depends upon adequate assessment and treatment planning, and this is the subject which concludes the first part of the book.

The second part concerns "Emergent Issues" and contains contributions from the other co-authors. Pauline Hardiker notes that deviance may be seen to have different sorts of origin but, more importantly, that the defining of what constitutes problem behaviour may be done in different ways. If we agree that the labelling idea (i.e. using the word "criminal" to describe certain sorts of behaviour) is practised we may then be said to "create" criminals by labelling them. If we can do this we can as easily label them differently. There is an important difference between describing someone as an old person or describing them by their character and behaviour and mentioning that they are old.

The chapters on "Insight" and "The Helping Relationship" by Margaret Yelloly are especially valuable. The influence of psychoanalytic theory on social casework practice in the past has been considerable, and it is timely that this influence should be seen as one of many influences. The notion of the social worker as a pseudo-psychotherapist needs to be dispelled. Yelloly, using the findings of observational studies, identifies the central factors of the helping relationship as congruence, empathy, positive regard and concreteness. These factors are as necessary for the prison officer as for the social worker.

The behavioural approach highlights the ethical questions which face any person who is in a position to influence others. These questions are explored by Martin Shaw in the final chapter. He argues that social workers need to admit to themselves that they have control over clients and to accept responsibility for this. A major theme of the whole book is that behaviour is controlled by something or someone and the relevant questions therefore are by whom, by what means and to what ends.

In spite of the breadth of the subject, which neither the title nor the description on the cover really convey, and the number of contributors, there are common themes and a consistent style running through the book. The numerous references in the text indicate both the variety of source material and the fact that much of the content, at least in the first part, is a gathering together of available material on the subject. There are a number of irritating inconsistencies between the text references and those listed at the end but apart from that, and the technical language of some parts, the book is highly readable.

This book was not written primarily for workers in institutions and this may account for the absence of reference to notable institutional studies. However, that it has considerable application to penal establishments is certain and it therefore warrants careful study. In the Prison Service we are all involved in influencing people and we need to examine constantly how we do it and for what purpose. This book will help us to clarify these questions and to begin to find some of the answers.

ALAN MORRISON

Probation Adviser, Staff College

□ Social work

INSIDE THE UNDERWORLD

PETA FORDHAM

George Allen and Unwin

1972 £2.50.

MRS FORDHAM, as other reviewers have noted, is a surprising woman. She is decidedly middle class yet has astonishingly good contacts with criminals. She writes as a journalist unfettered by the jargon of criminology and describes ably the egocentricity, sentimentality and unreal optimism of the characters who form at least part of the criminal underworld. The characters were born in the underworld or have arrived there by drifting from, or rejecting, "our" world. In her last chapter Mrs Fordham criticises present penal policy. The book is kindly written and makes entertaining reading.

□

ADVISING SENTENCERS

PETER FORD

Oxford University Penal Research Unit

Published by Basil Blackwell

AS Dr. Nigel Walker observes in his foreword to Mr. Ford's study, one of the most important tasks performed by the probation officer is that of the preparation of reports on offenders for the benefit of sentences.

It is now just over a decade since the appearance of the Streatfeild and Morison Reports. Both the former (on the business of the Criminal Courts 1961) and the latter (on the probation service 1962) recognised the value of social enquiry reports as Morison termed them. Since then the number of reports prepared for this purpose was almost doubled.

Yet as the study underlines, in comparison with other major aspects of the probation officer's work it has received very little attention from researchers or from those engaged in the formal teaching of officers.

This paper therefore, comes as a timely carefully written work on a topical subject. It is readable if short in length—some 40 pages in all. Here to some extent are its limitations. This was initially a piece of research which formed the basis for a thesis written during Mr Ford's professional training for the probation service. Time limited the size of the samples and unfortunately the number of probation officers interviewed.

Mr. Ford confines his study not to the social enquiry report as such, but rather to the more controversial aspect of the use of recommendations which appear at the end of reports. The extent to which officers should be allowed to advise courts on sentencing, including alternatives other than probation, and what form this intervention in the sentencing process should take has been debated since well before Streatfeild. It was however this report which with Morison took the view that the expression of an opinion in a report about the likely

outcome of a period of probation was acceptable and that the making of a recommendation (with its implication of telling the court what to do) less so.

Mr. Ford carried out an original piece of research and emerges with some provocative conclusions. His samples, taken from two probation offices, Inner London sessions and Oxford over three separate years 1960, 1964, and 1968 total 450 social enquiry reports. He also conducted structured interviews with a dozen probation officers for their views.

He discovered that 80 per cent of the reports contained recommendations and that increasingly these were not confined to recommendations for probation. Moreover it was apparent that probation officers felt free to ask for the severest penalties to be imposed. In spite of this, about 80 per cent of all recommendations made by probation officers were accepted by the courts.

I particularly admired the lucid way in which he presents his statistics breaking these down into brief sections, subheaded by rhetorical questions and including apt comment from various sources as well as probation officers opinions.

He concludes that it is apparent from his study that probation officers have moved beyond their function as suggested by Streatfeild: "Not only do they give opinions but they make recommendations, some of which explicitly take into account the interests of society. Some recommendations suggest custodial treatment.. and increasingly probation officers do not even mention an offenders' suitability for probation. Many have assumed a general function of advice giving to sentencers although much uncertainty remains."

This confusion of attitudes appeared to come out in social enquiry reports studied. To quote him again:

"Are they (probation officers) humble servants of the courts respectfully giving their opinions when asked? dedicated social workers using their casework skills on paper to manipulate the court? or professional penologists telling a bunch of lay magistrates how to do their job." He found elements of all three views in reports. In this vein, I found his section on the phraseology used in reports enlightening.

Are probation officers equipped then for the role they have assumed? Mr. Ford finds the system wanting. He points to the need for clarity in teaching at all levels.

At an "official" level, Mr. Ford thinks that there has been a lack of definition of this function by the Home Office who for example have been content to infer desirability for courts to obtain social enquiry reports in certain categories of offender rather than legislate through powers given under the act.

Certainly with the introduction of new forms of treatment in recent legislation calling for the probation officer to be cast in an educating role in the courts, an official re-appraisal would seem desirable.

At the same time there is something of the traditionalist in me which is mildly affronted by Mr. Ford's suggestion that probation officers are unable because of the lack of clear directive to decide whether "their first duty is to the court, then they can strive for objectivity in their recommendations" or "if their primary obligation is to the offender, the demands of impartial sentencing may have to take second place." But this for me is the real value of the paper, in making one think or rethink one's role.

Earlier in his study Mr. Ford had suggested that probation officers might try to find out why their recommendations had been rejected by asking the sentencers themselves. There is generally too little feed-back and a dialogue between the two would be welcome. Might I suggest that a valuable starting point could be joint discussion of this paper.

L. A. FOWLER,
Senior Probation Officer, Birmingham

□

CASES AND STATUTES ON CRIMINAL LAW

JOHN C. N. SLATER
Sweet and Maxwell, 1973.
Hardback £2.25. Paperback £1.25

INTENDED for law students, this collection of cases and statutory material illustrates the different areas of the working of the criminal law.

□

CYRENIAN HANDBOOK

CHARLOTTE LEBON
The Cyrenians Ltd. 1972
Paperback 30p

A HANDBOOK (evidently based on practical experience) on how to set up and run a caring community. It is a salutary experience to read how to deal with the problems of skid row. The illustrations are a delight.

□

PRISONS UNDER SENTENCE

H. W. CHATFIELD
Chatfield Applied Research Laboratories Ltd. 1972 90p.

DR. CHATFIELD, a distinguished chemist, has been a prison visitor at Wormwood Scrubs for some years and has written his thoughts about prisons and prisoners. His own firm has published the book. This is a short account of the history and present state of our prisons as seen by a concerned layman. Dr. Chatfield's heart is in the right place but he oversimplifies the real complexities of the penal system. It is a great pity that the layout of the print is so poor —almost every sentence is treated as a separate paragraph—that the book becomes very tedious to read.

□

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF OFFENDER THERAPY AND COMPARATIVE CRIMINOLOGY VOL. 16. No. 3 1972

THIS issue is devoted to "Delinquency Work in England" and among the more important contributions are those on juvenile courts; the problems posed for social services departments by new legislation regarding juveniles; parole; and finding jobs for the unemployable and homes for "problem" people. There is also an account of work done with prisoners' families but perhaps the most important contribution so far as the prison service is concerned is the report by a working party under Professor Gordon Trasler which was convened to assess the adequacy of accommodation provided for homeless offenders in the south west region. Things have improved a bit since the report was written and the government is not ungenerous with subsidies once a hostel has been established, but it may be that some of the money spent by the Prison Department ought to be diverted to the provision of accommodation for homeless ex-offenders.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL SURVIVAL"

The Authors reply

TO THE EDITOR, *Prison Service Journal*,
Dear Sir,

We would be grateful for the opportunity to comment briefly on the reviews of our book *Psychological Survival* which appeared in your last issue. We are not in the habit of "replying" to reviews but–as you will agree–both Mr. Green's and Mr. Lewis's comments raise issues far beyond any immediate criticisms of the book.

First in regard to Mr. Green's sympathetic evaluation:

1. We fully accept his corrections about our factual errors in regard to the 1968 disturbances in the wing and we are pleased to have had the same corrections (and others) pointed out to us since publication by some of the prisoners. In mitigation we can only plead that our premature denial of access to all sources of information prevented us from checking such details.

2. The problems of imbalance and taking sides he raises are acute and very real issues in this sort of research. We agree fully that the book "loses something" by presenting only one side of the situation and not dealing seriously with the perspectives of the staff. At the same time we would continue justifying both our method and our resolution of the "taking sides" problem as the only possible ones of obtaining the sort of information we did. And as most commentators on our book have recognised the polemical parts are directed less against the prison staff than the overall policy on long-term imprisonment.

We find Mr. Lewis's comments more disturbing as they seem symptomatic of precisely the sort of attitudes which have blocked our attempts to do serious research in this area over the last five years. Specifically:

1. His evaluations of our method of collecting and interpreting the material simply miss the point. We can only draw his attention to at least ten years of research and theory in sociology and social psychology which question all the assumptions he makes about what constitutes "proper" methodology. And of course we were aware of our effect on the group; this is precisely why we avoided the traditional methodological tools.

2. His implications that it will be our fault if subsequent teachers or researchers find it difficult to get into prisons is unfair as well as ill-informed. It rests on the assumption that up to now all has been well in the relationships between outside researchers and the Home Office and that we have wilfully upset this smooth co-operation. We need hardly remind your readership that some 40 years had to elapse between Hobhause and Brockway's *English Prisons Today* (1922) and the Morris's *Pentonville* (1963) for outside enquiries on English prisons to be published. The precipitous publication of our book ten years later was at least partly due to the Home Office's denial to us of facilities to continue a genuine longitudinal study of the effects of long-term imprisonment.

Whatever our differences with your reviewer, though, we are gratified to note in your columns (particularly the editorial in your October 1972 issue) a serious recognition of the new problems faced by the move towards long-term imprisonment. This recognition is in marked contrast to the hysteria with which the subject is treated in the mass media.

Yours faithfully,

STAN COHEN.
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LAURIE TAYLOR.
Department of Sociology, University of York.

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