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No. 12
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# PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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*Contents*



*Our cover picture shows part of the cast of the operetta "Gypsy Baron", taken on stage. See p. 13*

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# PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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## *EDITORIAL*

When the penal history of this decade comes to be evaluated, the most significant feature to emerge may well be a sudden concern of the prison system for its staff. This is a more remarkable outturn than might at first sight appear, for it is a fact that all the chronicles of prison reform over the last century have a great deal to say (quite properly) about offenders, their causes and conditions, the moralities and practicalities and methods of deterring or rehabilitating them, etc., etc., and about the merits and demerits of prison buildings, but little or nothing about the men who really run the show (apart from the individual contributions of a handful of gold-dust governors), the conditions under which they work, how they see their task and its discharge, what they think and feel. Only one writer (J. E. Thomas) seems to have considered the *English Prison Officer* worthy of a book to himself—a book which will be found of increasing reference value to the "professionals" and the policy-makers as they face the need to design a prison system for the last quarter of the twentieth century—a need which has been lent some urgency by the recent direct attention-seeking of both prisoners and officers.

Yet many governors and administrators (and a very few "outsiders") have for long recognised that any system of dealing with the incarcerated, however inspired its philosophy or sophisticated its methodology, however sincerely meant and applied, must fall short of its aim unless subscribed to by the majority who have to implement it. For the dichotomy of prison exists not only between the seeming irreconcilables of custody and treatment, but in the self-cancelling (and for both inmates and basic staff the highly confusing and cynical) effect produced when fine phrases from on high are so patently denied by the day-to-day realities of their situation.

It is not a question in prison, any more than elsewhere in society, of taking a popular referendum about what should be done; it is the business of leaders to lead, and of staff to be guided. But it *is* a question of acknowledging, perhaps for the first time fully, that people required to perform a difficult, demanding, and often obscure task *matter*, that it is essential to attract and recruit sufficient of them of good quality, to look well to their pay and conditions of service, to consult, train and respect them. These things are not "union" matters, they are part and parcel of the whole involved pattern of penal reform. To neglect them is to guarantee that the prisons will remain as ineffectual in the constructive aspects of their task as their worst critics declare them to be.

# Workshops: Linking the Institution and the Urban Area

ANDREW RUTHERFORD

**Andrew Rutherford spent two years in America as a Harkness Fellow of the Commonwealth Fund of New York. He graduated at Durham and Cambridge universities and, after joining the Prison Service, was an assistant governor at Hewell Grange and Pollington. He became deputy governor at Everthorpe Borstal where, from 1970 until 1973, he developed the concept of "workshops" for young offenders. He resigned from the Prison Service earlier this year to take up an appointment in America. He is now a Fellow at the Academy for Contemporary Problems, Columbus, Ohio**

WORKSHOPS have been a part of Everthorpe since the latter part of 1970 and they have taken a variety of forms according to the task and the resources available. In essence the workshop is a tool for bringing about change both within the penal institution and within the urban community to which offenders will be returning. It is crucial that the workshop is viewed within an organisational rather than a treatment frame of reference. It is not a device for treating or training offenders but represents a stage in the process of developing new and more effective arrangements within the institution and the community within which offenders and staff might work. The shape of any particular workshop will be determined both by its defined task and the wishes of the participants. Workshops have varied in length from half a day to 10 days, and from six to 140 participants. The workshop is characterised by having a pre-defined task, although this is often stated in rather general terms, and shared decision-making by participants over such matters as the use of resources. Participants on the workshop are expected to assess what they have achieved and to focus on the issue of what the next stage might be. It is important that there should be continual adaptation and development and this dynamic quality is an inherent feature[1].

During the last year, workshops have increasingly focused on developing links between the borstal and the urban areas and on the task of attempting to bring about changes within these areas. It is probably fair to conclude that the workshop has been more successful in bringing about change in this respect than it has in terms of the actual borstal organisation itself. Amongst the implications for the borstal organisation are the stucture and style of management, the identification of resources within the institution, both staff and trainees, and the highly complex and much neglected area of links between the institution and regional office and headquarters. This includes the interrelationship of groups within the Prison Department including for example the rival claims for the time of trainees posed by borstal management and the Department of Industries and Supply. The focus of this article however is to describe the impact that workshops have had on the links with probation departments and other agencies within the urban areas. Implicit in the task of most workshops has been a challenge to two well established assumptions upon which much penal practice is based. These might be termed the assumptions of prescription and isolation. The first assumption is that there is something that can be done to or for the offender. The analogy here is a medical one. That there is something about the offender that is not a characteristic of non-offenders and which lends itself to diagnosis and a prescribed treatment. This prescriptive approach to the offender arises from viewing the offender as incapable of having much of an idea about what is best for him, and in need of the experience and expertise of others. The actual implementation of the prescriptive approach has of course varied enormously over the years and still takes a variety of forms today, ranging from degrees of physical chastisement to religion, education, vocational, psychological and psychiatric technologies. The technologies vary but the basic underlying assumption that other people know best remains. Despite the absence of successful results the era of the promise of treatment has persisted. The organisational implications of the prescriptive assumption are important for the agency whether it is a probation department or a borstal institution, and with the penal institution in mind the following should be mentioned:

(i) The prescriptive approach and the notion of treatment provides a modern sounding justification for the prison or the young offender institution. Instead of being seen as a place of punishment or mere confinement the institution becomes a place of training and opportunity. Indeed it may not be too cynical to conclude that many of the changes in penal practice over the years have been merely linguistic. This double-talk of course rarely has fooled offenders, and it is now becoming increasingly questioned by other groups. Consider these words of Professor David Ward, who conducted a large-scale survey of group counselling in Californian prisons. He came up with the finding that group counselling did not in any way reduce the reconviction rate. He pointed however to other functions of the treatment approach: "It has permitted Americans to pretend that the administration of criminal justice is just and that all those in prison deserve to be there because they are really different from the rest of us. In California and elsewhere, prison social workers and psychologists have stood by and watched as their concepts and programmes were applied as window dressing for the same old prison life in the same

old prisons. Even after recognising this they have stood by and silently permitted men to be sent to and kept in prison to participate in programmes that were a fraud. Even when their treatment concepts were applied in only token fashion, they defended the programmes; and when evaluations proved critical they devised a new set of secondary defences to justify continuing their existence. These treatment experts have failed to speak out against the misuse of their ideals and injustices that their programmes have come to produce. They join the ranks of those who in other times and other places have tolerated injustice in the name of compromise and good intentions"[2].

(ii) The prescriptive assumption has implications for the penal institution in terms of the clutter that it creates and leaves behind; that is to say, over the years, as the technologies change, the organisation is usually left with outdated forms of structure. As a result of this accumulated clutter, it becomes increasingly difficult for the organisation to respond effectively to new situations.

(iii) The prescriptive assumption has importance in terms of the caste division that exists within the organisation between the two major groups of people: staff and offenders. The penal institution is traditionally a caste society and the treatment technologies have in no way challenged this characteristic. Indeed, in many ways the gap between staff and offenders has become greater. The roles that people play within the institution have remained essentially unchanged. This helps us to understand why in organisational terms there has been so little change since the arrival of the treatment ideology within the penal institution.

## USE OF ROLE-PLAYING

Secondly there is the assumption of isolation. This assumption is that offenders should be separated from their urban and social environment—taken out into the country where they can breathe in fresh air and work on the farm, follow rural pursuits and develop rustic virtues. Sending people to the country in order that they might get better is still a strongly held assumption as the siting of many new penal institutions bears witness. The assumption of isolation does, of course, happen to dovetail rather neatly with the wish to banish offenders. Jeremy Bentham wrote in connection with the Australian penal colonies: "The ship that bears you away saves me from witnessing your sufferings: I shall burden myself no more with thoughts about you". Sentiments which are perhaps echoed in the final paragraph of many a probation officer's report to court! If this assumption of isolation is to be challenged it will, in the first instance, provoke the question as to how institutions can be most effectively linked up to the urban conurbations to which the young offenders will be returning.

Both these assumptions have certainly come under heavy challenge within the after-care workshops that have been held. The overall aim of the after-care workshop is to bring about changes in after-care practice and in the way that after-care is defined by both probation officers and offenders[3]. Each involves a particular probation and after-care department—with usually about between five and 10 officers attending. To the workshop also would be invited all trainees from that area, (probably about 25) all or nearly all of whom will in fact attend. Up to about five or so staff people will also take part and the workshop is generally co-ordinated by the deputy or an assistant governor. All those participating are seen as equal in terms of being in a contributory or learning role. There is no exclusive expertise in dealing with the task which is defined in advance: how to make after-care work? This task should lead the participants to look critically at current arrangements and at the exploration of possible alternatives. Both the role of probation officer and ex-trainee will have to be examined, perhaps through role playing or role reversal exercises, as well as a scrutiny of the one-to-one relationship and a consideration of the resources in the community that might be made more use of. The after-care workshop which lasts for two and a half days with an overnight stay by probation officers, should not be seen as an isolated event but as the initiator of further events and links. Some 30 after-care workshops have been held involving all but about three small rural probation departments in the north of England. The after-care workshop also serves the purpose of enabling borstal management to identify those probation departments most conducive to change and development, and within any particular department to identify those probation officers most responsive to looking afresh at their after-care work. In strategic terms a task of borstal management is to maximise links with those probation resources that offer the greatest potential. At the same time efforts are made to put pressure on the other departments to be more responsive to, for example, initiatives taken by trainees from that area.

One of the main direct results of the after-care workshop has been the setting up of after-care groups. Although some after-care groups have been established independently of an after-care workshop, the after-care workshop has been instrumental in creating the climate of innovation and change that has led to the recent increase in the number of after-care groups. There were, in May 1973, 24 such groups established within the borstal[4]. After-care groups have varied in size and structure, in their cohesive quality and in the sense of personal commitment to them by the probation officers involved. Depending upon the number of trainees from the area in question, some groups close quickly whilst others remain open for new membership for several months. The groups have consisted of between six and 10 trainees and one or two probation officers. It is hardly surprising that where there is agreement that the groups have closed quickly a more cohesive quality has been apparent. About half of the after-care groups formed within the borstal have continued functioning beyond the institution in a meaningful way. A number of common elements can be identified in relation to those groups that have functioned in the post-discharge situation:

(i) a very strong sense of commitment to the group by the probation officer;

(ii) strong support given to the probation officer by his probation department;

(iii) clarity by the probation officer about his role within the group;

(iv) a sense of cohesion and mutual commitment within the group by the trainee members.

## NON-DIRECTIVE INVOLVEMENT

Alan Whiffin has described, in relation to an after-care group based on Kirkby, near Liverpool, how his own sense of commitment to the group developed during the institution phase, and he noted that the group really seemed to take on after he had to demonstrate this commitment to the group during a crisis situation. This very heavy commitment to the group in terms of time and effort during the institutional phase (a 240-mile trip was involved for him once a fortnight) he writes: " . . . certainly affected my attitude towards work with the group on release. As well as gaining a strong commitment to the group I was also able to form strong relationships on an individual basis through intensive con-

tact during the six months pre-release period"[5]. For this to be possible, Whiffin received the full and unambiguous support of both his senior and principal probation officer. Barry Keane, who was involved with the first Teesside group has written: "I see myself as the main support of the group". The trainees have stated that without the presence of the probation officer the group would not survive. He sees his role in the group as catalyst and co-ordinator rather than that of prescriptive caseworker[6]. Other probation officers have agreed as to the nature of the probation officer's role in this situation. It is certainly not characterised by passivity and involves a balance between allowing for self-determination by group members and avoiding the danger of being non-directive to the degree that trainee members interpret this as lack of commitment and interest.

## AS OTHERS SEE US

Clearly the role of the probation officer cannot be discussed in isolation from that of other members of the group. Shared decision making has been a feature of the groups, ranging from location of and frequency of meetings to who should be allowed to join the group. There is likely to be a recognition by the trainee members that they have much to offer each other and perhaps the probation officer and his department as well. The first Hull after-care group sees itself as being a potential resource to both the Hull Probation Department and to Everthorpe Borstal and in fact it is now making a point of visiting the borstal once a month for meetings with other after-care groups in order to discuss with them post-discharge problems and opportunities. Alan Whiffin gives a clue to the nature of his changing role in relation to the Kirkby group. He writes: "When we made a review of group processes it was stated that the pressures that previously led to crime no longer existed. Now that the lads can buy clothes and entertainment, visit clubs and stay out late, they no longer feel the need to steal. Through a process of maturation their means of attainment have caught up with the goals they desire. This is perhaps a none too startling conclusion after 12 months' hard work. However it was important for me to learn this and for the group to see I had learned. In fact the group members have demanded part of my salary as they consider I have done nothing to help them modify their attitudes and behaviour. They see it very much as coming from themselves as a process of maturation. However, they are willing to admit I was able to retain a focus on this developmental process and this is perhaps the significance of the group"[7]. It would seem that there is much to learn from the successful after-care group about developing more effective working relationships between staff, whether within institutions or the community, and young offenders. Both staff and offenders can become trapped within a symbiotic and essentially crippling relationship. Examination of these symbiotic qualities can be a painful process. This was demonstrated in a discussion with a group of some 30 probation officers who, as part of a course at a nearby university, had attended a one-day workshop in after-care at the borstal. A trainee on the workshop had drawn a cartoon depicting an enormous skinhead in boots and studded belt standing next to a much smaller and timid looking figure. The caption indicated that the small figure was a trainee and the skinhead giant a probation officer. When I met later in the evening to review the workshop with the probation officer participants, there was a strong denial that a probation officer with all his training and personal dedication could be perceived in this way. Perhaps the cartoon caught some of the more subtle and generally unnoticed factors at work. David Matza, for example, has commented: "Being authorative is the most superficial feature of authority. Dressed that way, rehearsed or trained in its tone of voice, inculcated in its essential part in commanding respect, the agent of signification appears . . . in shocked discovery the subject now concretely understands that there are serious people who really go around building their lives around his activities—stopping him, correcting him, devoted to him. They keep a record on the course of his life, even develop theories about how he got to be that way. So confident are they of their unity with the rest of society, so secure of their essential legitimacy, that they can summon or command his presence, move him against his will, set terms on which he may continue living in civil society, do in short, almost anything of which only the mightiest of men are capable"[8].

## POLICE SUPPORT

Self-help groups have not been a prominent feature since the end of 1971 but they do have important implications for both the issue of working relations with offenders and for the development of links between institutions and the cities. During 1971 eight self-help groups were established within the borstal. Each of these was based around a particular urban area, for example: Mosside, Manchester or Liverpool 8. In each case, the group was formed by trainees and all major decisions were taken by trainee members. In each case one of the stated objectives of the groups was that it would continue the post-discharge situation and members would help to keep each other out of institutions. Whilst inside the borstal meetings and workshops were organised, and a wide range of people were invited to these from their home area. These ranged from youth workers, ex-offenders, police (usually C.I.D.) community workers and probation officers. It is interesting to note that the police were nearly always in demand and generally very ready to visit. The involvement of the police in such activities has led the police to question the nature of their relationships to the known young recidivist and there is a great deal of work to be done here in clarifying how such relationships might be usefully developed. The trainees have often showed considerable skill in organising and co-ordinating meetings. Management's attitude was supportive and its role that of facilitator and enabler and the self-help groups were able to hold meetings whenever requested. Such requests were never considered to be excessive. Staff's response to these groups was mixed but the expectation that the groups, if left unsupervised for long periods, would get into trouble was found to be misplaced. The self-help groups brought a much needed sense of reality and purpose into the borstal. In some cases the groups were met with quite hostile opposition by local probation departments, and the groups were more successful, during the institutional phase, in forming links with the local youth services. This was perhaps in part because they were in every case able to find a local youth worker who offered to the group his premises as a meeting place. By the end of 1971 trainee self-help groups at Everthorpe had almost entirely disappeared. One or two of the self-help groups gradually were transformed into after-care groups. During the next year staff initiatives were more pronounced than those of trainees, although it should be noted that recently there has been a resurrection of the Liverpool 8 group, following the return of a former member, and it has a particularly independent and resilient spirit. In terms of bringing an air of spontaneity and relevance to the institution these

groups were a success. They also did manage to establish some links with various agencies in the community with whom the borstal would not otherwise have had much contact. The groups also demonstrated the very considerable and generally untapped potential that exists within the inmate population. In terms of their post-discharge history the groups were a failure and this repeated pattern of collapse shortly after discharge despite the bold attempts of one or two ex-trainees led to a growth of cynicism about them amongst staff and trainees and this must have contributed to their virtual disappearance from the scene by the end of the year. The inability of these groups to survive in the urban setting points also to the need for structure and support that was given to the more successful after-care groups by the probation officer. What characterised 1971 was not an absence of trainee enthusiasm and commitment but an inability on the whole by professionals to respond in terms of viable working relationship with such groups.

## BREAKING THE RECIDIVIST PATTERN

These developing links between the institution and the urban areas have many implications:

(1) They have made life within the borstal more relevant, keeping trainees in touch with their own local situation and making staff more aware of it.

(2) The combination of these links and the comparatively short stay at Everthorpe have enabled the general orientation of both staff and trainees to be on issues beyond those of the institution.

(3) For staff they have offered the possibility of involvement in both workshops and after-care groups. This involvement has in some cases been of a highly committed kind. Two senior officers at Everthorpe who are members of the first Hull group, have continued to meet with that group in Hull on a fortnightly basis since the group's discharge in September 1972. This they have done in their own time and at their own expense and they are considered by the group to be integral members.

(4) For trainees the after-care groups in particular have offered both a method and a sense of hope. The group provides the framework within which they can do something for themselves and for others. It also, in such instances as the first Hull group, is a living and dramatic example of a break with the pattern of recidivism. The reconviction rate at Everthorpe has been so heavy and rapid and a general atmosphere of gloom and despondence about the future is difficult to overcome. Ex-offenders visiting the borstal to take part in after-care groups and other workshop activities do much to offset the pessimism that can easily grip both staff and trainees.

(5) An implication for management is the necessity to ensure that some of its management resources are especially focused on the development and facilitation of such activities and with the aim of protecting these activities from other conflicting goals. Within the borstal this has in the main been the province of the deputy governor and a senior assistant governor. Within some probation departments, and this has been particularly true of those with whom it has been possible to develop the most effective links, there has very often been an assistant principal probation officer who has been able to make a quick and positive response on behalf of his department.

(6) These activities, especially the after-care groups, have brought about changes in the environment of the ex-trainee. The after-care group is a new element in the environment of the ex-trainee. It was not there before and he is not therefore returning to the same situation that existed before. His membership of the after-care group alters, perhaps radically, the impact of the various pressures upon him.

## URBAN-BASED AFTER-CARE

Arising from the two central assumptions of penal practice that have been under challenge, those of prescription and isolation, there have been two main themes within this article. Firstly, there is the questioning of the way in which offenders are often viewed as targets of change. If we are able to stop using such words as training and treatment in relation to offenders we might then be able to view them not so much as the target of change, but as the agent of change. Within this new perspective more effective approaches to the problem of youthful recidivism might then be generated. Viewed as an agent of change, ways might then be found to utilise the experience, enthusiasm and skills of the young offender and to enlist his services. This perspective is beginning to find expression with numbers of ventures, such as the Bristol N.A.C.R.O. hostel, which is Home Office financed, and which has as its central task the training of young offenders for social work employment. The tools that are required are those that locate, generate and sustain a real sense of commitment amongst offenders and those who work with them. Workshops and after-care groups would appear to have had some success in relation to this key issue of commitment. It is part of the nature of the workshop that it should be dynamic and adaptive to new possibilities. The first community workshop involving five trainees, five probation officers and a borstal officer recently took place over a three-day period at the Liverpool Probation Silvester Street office. The trainees were paroled to their homes and attended the workshop during the day at which they met with police, Social Security and Department of Employment officials. There is much that can be done to extend this sort of urban based activity, especially when the institution is located within reach of many urban areas. There has to be far greater recognition given to the fact that crime is an urban phenomenon and has to be dealt with within that context. There are already some indications that probation officers involved in after-care groups are less likely to think in terms of custodial recommendations for group members because their own confidence to cope has been enhanced by the group experience. There is no reason to suppose that such groups have to have an institutional foundation, and it is to be hoped that probation departments will explore the adaptations of this approach to probation practice for offenders who might otherwise have received a custodial sentence. Courage and commitment will be required by both probation departments and the courts, and this should be matched with additional financial resources made available by shifting money which would otherwise have been used for building and maintaining new penal institutions.

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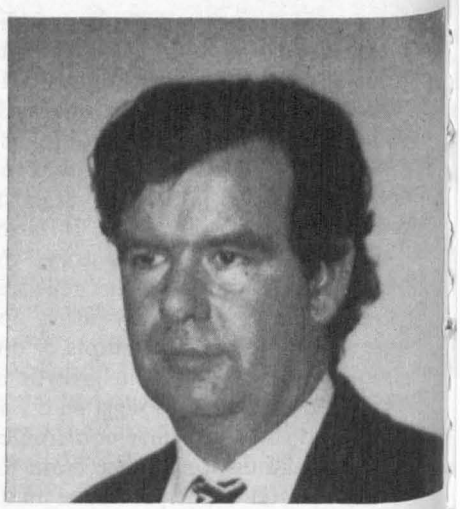
# Marital Deprivations of Prisoners and their Wives

J. HOWLETT



**J. Howlett has been a probation officer since 1965 and joined the prison welfare department at Chelmsford Prison in May 1972. He is interested in mobilising community resources to foster the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners, and has worked with Voluntary Associates and in group therapy ventures. He is married with three daughters**

*It is the practice for probation officers who have been seconded to prison welfare departments to be sent to the Prison Department Staff College at Wakefield about seven months after they first joined their welfare office. In the fortnight that they are at the college they explore their role in the prison system. In addition, time is given for research. This article is based on one of the research projects.*

*It is a conglomerate of the erudition of the quoted authors and the general knowledge and experience of the research group. N.B.—Mrs M. W. Starr and Mr. C. Ferguson made valuable contributions referring to women prisoners. In the interests of homogeneity these contributions have been excluded.*

*Sexual deprivation sorely affects the unmarried prisoner as well as the man who is married/cohabiting but this discussion has been deliberately confined to the effects of imprisonment on "married" men and their wives.*

*The following is a quotation from a report prepared by the Danish Prison Directorate for the International Penal and Penitentiary Foundation at their second international meeting, 26th–29th September 1967: "Confronted with the questions of which sexual problems are connected with imprisonment and how to solve or at least relieve them, one must admit that very little specific and systematised general knowledge is available as a basis for any sensible answers to these questions. There is, however, a large amount of largely unsystematised general knowledge and specific experience from which it should be possible to extract some ideas and suggestions for further study and research".*

*There appears to have been little change since 1967.*

THE English prison system makes it inevitable that a prisoner has no opportunity for heterosexual relationships except in the last nine months of an extensive sentence. Home leaves amounting to about nine days overall are allotted as a privilege. This deprivation is not designed as part of his punishment but is a result of it. It has wide-reaching effects and, unfortunately, hits hardest at family life. This seems to run counter to the central belief that the family is the basic unit of our society.

It is generally reported that either physical relationships have little bearing on marital life (reference Zemans and Cavan—*Marital Relationships of Prisoners*, page 54) or that imprisonment induces a reduction in sexual drive (reference Gresham Sykes—*Society of Captives*, page 70). Our experience and research has convinced us that such conclusions are wrong. Nevertheless, we believe that a lot of tensions and personality distortions suffered by prisoners and their wives can be alleviated without sweeping changes in the system.

## FRUSTRATIONS AND REACTIONS

The Prison Service has three aims: humane containment; control; and rehabilitation. Let it be clear that prisons are not separate autonomous institutions loosely attached to society. What a prison system can do or may do is very much tied to what society expects of it and allows it to do. The expectations of society often produce conflict within the aims of the Prison Service. The frustrations produced are reflected in behaviour throughout a prison; frustration results in apathy or violence. It is interesting to note that prison officers appear to be primarily concerned with protecting prisoners from each other rather than themselves.

In our opinion violence or apathy among prisoners can often be directly related to sexual/marital deprivations. The evidence for frustration arising from sexual deprivation is best assembled by Gresham Sykes in *Society of Captives* especially page 71 *et seq*. The anxieties of men about their masculinity when in an all-male environment are underlined. The presence of homosexuals and latent homosexuality adds to this anxiety which intensifies with the passing of time. Prisons are not places devoid of sexual stimuli and prisoners have to exert more and more control over primitive impulses as time passes. Self-control is not usually a strong point of their personalities to begin with and violence is not as counter-productive for a man in prison as society might think. It serves to release tensions and also restates a man's claim to masculinity in a community where strength and toughness have to do double duty in preserving the male image in the absence of heterosexual activity. In addition to the problems stemming from sexual frustration *per se*, prisoners have lost the opportunity to see themselves as a reflected part of a woman's viewpoint. Both sexes depend heavily on this aspect of sexual polarity to sustain a complete self-image. The deprivation is not, therefore, just of sexual intercourse but ". . . a hunger for the voice, the touch, the laughter, the tears of woman; a hunger for woman herself". This hunger affects the marriage partner just as much. The stronger the marital interdependence the greater the pains of imprisonment, for the innocent as well as the guilty, and whatever the public illusion may be that criminals' wives are "molls" in mini-skirts and mink coats, the vast majority of wives lead lonely lives, often coping with difficult children and community hostility.

A lot of the tensions can be lessened without sweeping changes in the prison system or massive additions to the resources. In part this depends on focusing attention onto the marriage at those times when it is most at risk during a sentence. This is where a pooling of experience and evaluation of that experience could produce a definitive approach. The following observations are offered as a starting point. Marriage partners tend to displace feelings of guilt and hostility onto each other; when prison is added to the mixture they often find themselves with additional reasons for destructive feelings. For instance, a man or woman who succumbs to abnormal sexual relations cannot share that knowledge with his or her partner. The prisoner who, seeing

his wife after a long absence, is overwhelmed by his sexual needs and wants to keep caressing her and touching her may suffer agonies of remorse when she has departed because he feels that he has degraded her and left her with the impression that he is a bestial rather than a caring, loving person. Wives are not immune to this storm of emotion arising from unsatisfied sexual arousal. Our culture is still influenced by deep-rooted puritan attitudes which leave us sin-ridden, and what is worse, silent. One result of this continuing stricture and the guilt feeling it leaves can be impotency or frigidity. This sometimes does not become apparent until the prisoner is released. At its worst such a response can send a man into a frenzy.

In order to determine the periods of maximum stress likely to be experienced by individual prisoners certain categories and divisions were defined; in addition, three points in time during the sentence were identified when tensions seem at their greatest. The divisions are arbitrarily precise:

A. Length of sentence.
B. Length of marriage.
C. Depth of relationship (in feeling and/or shared experience).
D. Times of special stress.

Each category is divided into:

A1. Short sentence—1 month to 2 years.
A2. Medium sentence—2 years to 5 years.
A3. Long sentence—over 5 years.
B1. Married/cohabited—1 month to 1 year.
B2. Married/cohabited—1 year to 8 years.
B3. Married/cohabited—Over 8 years.
C1. Superficial.
C2. Untested.
C3. Deep.
D1. At the beginning of the sentence.
D2. Every two years during the sentence.
D3. In the last four months of a sentence.

By simple permutations it is possible to assess every married prisoner and determine which of them needs the most help and when. Consider a marriage that is less than one year old when the man is imprisoned (B1). The short-term prisoner's (A1/B1) marriage suffers from a lack of trust and shared experience. The young man tends to transfer, in fantasy, his own burgeoning sexuality onto his wife and cannot believe that she can remain chaste. Jealousy makes the prisoner unreasonable in his demands and need for reassurance. Hopefully, there is evidence that in these cases there is a good response to counselling early on in the sentence. There is also less risk that the prisoner will succumb to homosexual practices. We can apply a code A1/B1/C2/D1 and hope thereby to use the right approach at the right time.

The medium sentence man is at risk in many ways. If the marriage remains stable, then he can preserve some emotional equilibrium, but our experience indicates that after two years' imprisonment the reality of the marriage fades for both partners. The prisoner holds an image frozen in time. The wife goes on "living" and finds it increasingly difficult to sustain the relationship as the husband sees it. They cannot communicate or find enough experiences that can be shared or remembered. The relationship becomes more and more brittle until minor upheavals can cause a sudden and serious break which is difficult to mend. If the marriage "goes bad" the prisoner tends to withdraw from the conflict outside but then becomes more vulnerable within the prison. He may preserve a masculine image but he will probably have to sacrifice those "feminine" traits in the male personality that help him to live in harmony in the community. If he succumbs to quasi-homosexual practices he will experience periods of self-disgust that can shatter his "cool" exterior. In the last few months of his sentence, if the marriage has survived, he will need reassurance that he can take up the role of husband again. It is interesting to note that many of the privilege jobs in prison are "domestic" in nature. One wonders if this is always in the best interests of the prisoner in terms of his own self-image.

The long-term prisoner, i.e. A3/B1/C2 presents the most depressing picture. The marriage is vulnerable in almost every way. It is difficult to see any way of improving the situation where there are years to go of exclusion from family life.

Predictably, the longer a marriage has been in existence the better the chance of its survival, though breakdown causes more pain. If one gives marriages a size and shape then the wide, well-filled ones are less liable to tip than those with less volume and ballast. Many men finally resolve the sexual deprivation by becoming what has been called "one of God's own eunuchs". We have only admiration for the perseverance of the wives who maintain contact year in, year out; however, it must be wondered how adjustments are made on release.

## CONCLUSIONS

Overall, we believe that the best method of alleviation would be a more generous use of home leaves. The pain of imprisonment would not necessarily be lessened because the prisoner would be reminded what his imprisonment means to his wife and children. What would be lessened is the damaging unreality of prison life. The needs are greatest for the long-term prisoner but society would be loath to relax controls over him. Eventually, we hope, for this small minority, the prison system will have, as a resource, suitable accommodation in a secure setting to which long-term prisoners and their wives can go for conjugal visits. We favour a purpose-built establishment where the demands for security and the need for a sympathetic environment can be more closely reconciled. Immediate alleviation would result from an increase in the number of visits allowed. Tensions increase in proportion to the time between visits. Even an increase in the number of letters allowed would help a great deal. All these concessions have no relevance to rehabilitation if there is no attempt to support and develop the prisoner's home. The Nottingham Research Project points the way to a comprehensive through-care programme. It follows that a more liberal attitude to financial help for families is needed in addition to community support.

There are opportunities for counselling with prisoners and partners, in prison. If there is any advantage to be gained for a marriage in the circumstances then it might be that the husband and wife can explore the tensions in their marriage and be less fearful that honesty will have unpleasant repercussions. However, counselling must be based on as comprehensive a knowledge of the prisoner and his family as possible. Collection and use of information must arise from an orderly approach. Limited resources make this necessary, if nothing else.

The changes suggested above will inevitably mean more work, and more money, for some sections of the prison system. We believe, however, that the lessening of tension will enable all staff to focus more time on rehabilitation where the most job satisfaction lies. At the core of it all is the belief best expressed by L. Verbogen in his *Imprisonment and Conjugal Life:* "We should very consciously include the 'marriage' both in the preparation for freedom and later as a special basis for protection against relapse to crime. There is no better parole help than a happy or simply satisfactory marriage".

# Concerning . .

## the week-end which I, Jill, an approved voluntary helper, spent in taking Jane and her five-month old baby to the Isle of Wight to see her husband, Bill, in Parkhurst Prison

I HAVE to begin before the actual week-end, in the preparations, and these were rather frustrating. For example, I had to go round on several occasions to make sure that Jane had got everything. I had intended writing out a list for her but having spoken to her about food and clothes, I took her word for it when she said that she had got everything ready. Two days before the journey I went round to Jane's with a pushchair which the probation officer had obtained for me—the ordinary pram would have been absolutely impossible in London on the tubes. Having humped it all the way there, I found that Jane had bought a second-hand pushchair for £5, twice the size, much heavier and very bulky. Of course, because Jane had bought this one herself, she wanted to take it and so I agreed.

On the last evening, I again went round to make sure that all the last minute arrangements were okay and they seemed to be, so I told Jane I would come round for her in the morning. In fact, I overslept and only just got there in time to stop Jane crying, thinking that I had forgotten about it. The station officials helped us down the steps with the pushchair and put it on to the train and I bought the tickets with a voucher. We managed to catch the train all right. On the train, I was able to sit down and relax and talk to her. I asked her casually how much money she had got with her and she hadn't got a penny. I wasn't really surprised and it was rather amusing. I asked her how she expected to spend the week-end without any money and she hadn't got an answer for that. Fortunately, at the last minute I had decided to take my cheque book with me, so we had enough to cover the week-end. She had taken sandwiches, so we both had lunch.

Arriving in London at Kings Cross at about 11.30 we had an hour and a half to cross London and then the fun began. We had to hump Jane's great big suitcase and the pushchair and the baby and my own things (which I had kept to a minimum in a carrier bag). We had to fold up the pushchair at every barrier and escalator and so on and as I was folding up the pushchair, I realised that she had indeed brought enough to keep the baby warm. There were about six big blankets and they kept falling out because the pushchair did not fold up properly with them in—they had to be carried as well as the case and baby, etc. Poor Jane stood there looking rather helpless and I was having to move her around almost physically and she was really looking hot and tired by the time we arrived at Waterloo. Anyway, we had time to change the baby and then catch the train and everything went well—just sitting there until we arrived at Portsmouth. This was quite straightforward. We got on to the boat and then on the train the other side of the Isle of Wight. Jane was really surprised that the cost of the bus fare from Ryde to Newport was 14p. She had absolutely no idea what the week-end was going to cost. We arrived at the overnight stay centre and the probation officer there was really hospitable. She made us really very comfortable. The room had curtained cubicles, about six I think and a couple of cots for the baby, wall to wall carpets and was centrally heated. There was a television, armchair and we were the only ones there for the week-end so we had the whole place to ourselves and free access to the kitchen and plenty of food. We settled in and decided to cook ourselves a meal. I had asked Jane to make sure she brought enough food for the week-end as we had to find evening tea on Friday, lunch and tea on Saturday. Cooking facilities were provided and so I set about doing mine and asked Jane what she had got. She had brought one egg and one chop and expected that to last three meals. We were provided with two eggs each and two rashers of bacon, baked beans and as much as we wanted of bread, butter

jam and milk. Rather than buy anything which she would have to pay me back for, I said it would be a good idea if we could stretch this out over the different meals and so this is what happened. After supper, when we had cleared up, she washed the baby and, of course, he was quite wet and hungry and all the rest of it. She changed him and she was going to just put all these wet clothes back into her suitcase when I suggested that she should wash them out because otherwise they would get smelly. She had absolutely no clue about this sort of thing. We washed them out and I think I was quite a helpful lady really. There was a convection heater in the room so we were able to dry them out over the week-end and then put the baby to bed. He was really a very good child. We could not complain about him. He went to sleep when he was told and even though he was hungry and got jogged up and down to keep him quiet, he did not complain much. We had an evening drink and watched television and then went to bed. Actually, I was doing a lot of reading over the week-end because of a seminar I had to prepare for Monday but Jane was quite happy watching television and we decided to have a lie-in on Saturday morning because the journey had been rather tiring to say the least.

On Saturday morning we managed to get up at about 9 a.m. and Jane got the baby ready and I got the breakfast ready. Then we went to the prison. We had a lift out from one of the probation officers actually. At the prison we were told that visiting time was over but under these exceptional circumstances, Jane was given half an hour. I did not go up with her but the prison officers gave me a cup of coffee and I waited for Jane. She came down as pleased as punch and saying that Bill was growing a moustache and she did not like it and he would have to take it off before he came home. Of course, she was also talking about the baby and told me that he had cried all the way through the visit. We went back to Newport for lunch and then out again in the afternoon by bus because we were allowed two hours in the afternoon. I went up with Jane and I was really surprised because I did not know much about Bill. I was surprised to see that he was quite a bit older than Jane was and although probably not much more intelligent, he seemed to have a bit more common sense. His attitude towards things was a bit more down to earth too. He realised that there are ways of saving money and that it is possible to go a bit more carefully on buying baby things and so save up for furniture and other things for the house they are hoping to get. (The visit lasted the full two hours. All the officers were really friendly and we were able to have a cup of tea. The atmosphere was quite relaxed.) Jane was talking about the baby most of the time and I was talking to Bill about the house. I bought Bill some cigarettes because Jane had no money with her and neither had he. The time went quite quickly. The prison set-up wasn't much different from what I expected except that it is a very big, red-brick building, very rambling and the continual clinking of the keys round the officers' waists was rather off-putting in some ways. We left at about 4 p.m. and went back to Newport and then got tea. The baby that evening was quite noisy. He took a long time to settle down and about 12 p.m. to 1 a.m. he was still chuntering away. He had a very bad cough—in fact, I thought that Jane ought to go and see the doctor about it. I think Jane actually said it was probably teething but I have my doubts about that—it sounded far more chesty. We only had a few matches for the gas stove and this is just one example of Jane knowing nothing whatsoever about thrift. There were about five matches and she was going to use a match for every ring that we lit instead of lighting one from the other when preparing tea. Also, when it came to the washing up, there was a funny incident when she put the hot water in the bowl which was already in the sink. The electric water heating unit was over the draining board. Jane put the bowl on to the draining board and she put a little of the very hot water into the bowl and then instead of moving the bowl down into the sink to put some cold water in, she added cold water into the bowl by means of a saucepan. I found it quite incredible really. I had no idea that this was really the way someone could think.

I decided to make the sandwiches for Sunday's journey on Saturday night. It was fortunate that I did because, although I had intended to get up at 7 a.m. the following morning, the baby cried until about 7.30 a.m. and I did not wake up till 8.30 a.m. Of course, Jane did not wake up either. I got up and told her that we had exactly an hour before we had to leave the hostel and catch the bus. In fact, we had got about an hour and a quarter but I did not want to say that. I got up, washed and dressed and got breakfast and about 9 a.m. I packed everything up and was ready. I rushed through my breakfast and about 9.15 a.m. Jane came down for hers. When we had finished we washed up and then I turned round—and there was Jane with her baby's bottle and the box of baby food and she was opening it. She said she was just getting a bottle for the baby as we had not had time to feed it yet. I said: "No you're not", and closed the box and pushed her upstairs. I think she was a bit afraid of me at times, actually—I didn't want to give this impression but she just wasn't used to being hurried or made to do things in a logical way. We said goodbye to the probation officer and left the hostel by 9.45 a.m. and caught the bus just in time because it was a bit late leaving. We had a long time to wait in Ryde station but we thought it better to have a long time to wait than to miss the train. We got on the boat and I think that initially Jane was a bit disappointed because it hadn't been a choppy ride as she wanted to feel that she was at sea. The journey only took a quarter of an hour across the water and then we got out at Portsmouth station. While we were on the train, Jane went to the restaurant car to make up the bottle for the baby and that was the only one it had all day—Jane had absolutely no idea of time and how often she changed him. I think she managed pretty well considering the train lavatories were so small. Anyway, we arrived in Waterloo with an hour and a quarter to get across London and so we decided to go straight across to Kings Cross. This is where the fun began. For some reason or another, things did not work out quite the same as before—looking after the pushchair and so on. Where there were two lots of escalators one each side—one up and one down with stairs in the middle—I asked Jane which she would prefer: to carry the baby down and fold the pushchair up, or whether to carry both the baby and pushchair down. Jane decided that she would like to try carrying him in the pushchair—so this is what we did. It wasn't too bad going down but when it came to coming up stairs, I took the bottom half and Jane got the pushchair handle and I assumed that she would be looking at the baby and making sure he was all right. Anyway, she must have been letting him down gradually as he was going lower and lower and when I got to the top, there he was, the poor little mite, hanging out of the pushchair with one arm off and one leg curled round looking very sorry for himself. But he didn't complain at all and she just shoved him back in on top of the massive great pillow and pile of blankets. Getting on and off the tube was reasonably easy but, of course, Jane had

no idea where we were going and if she wanted to go again, I doubt very much whether she would be able to, on her own anyway. Going up a few steps, I think it was only about five or six, I put the bags down at the top of the steps and turned round to help her with the rest of the luggage, the pushchair and so on and I don't really know how it happened but I turned round and there she was, looking absolutely helpless with the baby in one hand caught by his anorak and the pushchair in the other hand with things falling all around her and she had no idea what to do. If I hadn't been in such a hurry, I would just have creased up laughing—poor Jane. Finally, we got on to the train at Kings Cross in plenty of time. Most times on the various train journeys, we managed to put the pushchair in the guard's van or somewhere out of the way but this invariably meant running the whole length of the train or on the platform. On the last lap, Jane jogged the baby around and then laid him down on the seat telling him to "hush up". The journey from there was really rather uneventful. I worked out the cost of the week-end and explained to Jane what exactly her contribution would have to be but whether she understood or not, I didn't know; she said she did.

I asked her if she would like to go again some time. If Bill does not get parole it will be another year or so before she sees him again and I asked her who she would go with and she said a friend would go with her and I told her exactly how much it would cost and said the friend would not be paid for. Jane said that she would go halves with the cost. I asked her if she could remember how we got across London, which route we had taken and so on. She didn't have a clue about the underground at all—even as regards the train on the Isle of Wight. She had forgotten entirely that we had got on the train from the boat before catching a bus and when we were sitting in Ryde station, she was expecting to get on the boat—she wondered what we were doing catching a train. She had completely forgotten about it. Anyway, when we got home the first thing that she said to her landlord and landlady was "never again". I said it was quite a strenuous week-end for her, she was just not used to rushing around and doing things quickly and in some sort of organised manner.

Although I've said I wasn't really surprised by anything at the week-end, the thing that impressed me most was the fact that Jane had no idea of what to take. I had explained to her what she would want but she had taken two great big boxes of baby food. She had taken a massive packet of disposable nappies which were very bulky and a dozen would have sufficed. She hadn't taken any washing kit although I had reminded her of this. Later she said it was because of the soap provided at the hostel that the baby's face had got a bit dry looking. She hadn't taken any money and she had no idea of finance at all. She just spends out on the baby and she doesn't allow herself enough for food and clothes.

I am really most grateful to the probation office for giving me the opportunity to go down to the Isle of Wight. I would do it again if it were not for university commitments and other things but I really enjoyed it. I found it a most valuable experience and I only hope that Jane benefited from it too.

*This voluntary helper was a university student attached to the Leeds Probation Service. "Jane" and her husband are now rehoused, he having successfully completed his parole*

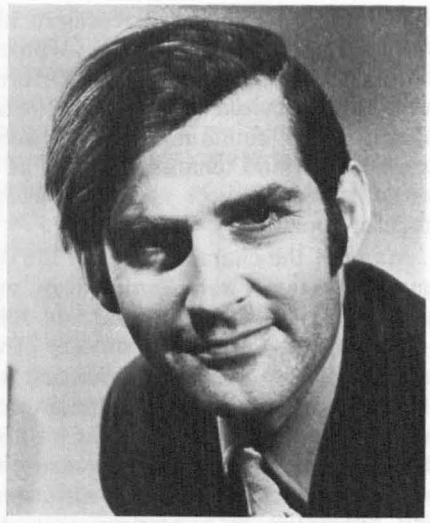

**"There are probably a thousand and one psychological reasons for you wanting to strike me. . . . Let's sit down and work out a couple of reasons why you shouldn't !"**

# Quarters Questions

## Need for a New Policy

BRENDAN O'FRIEL

*The views expressed in this article are the author's and are not in any way meant to represent the views of either the Prison Department or the governors' branch of The Society of Civil Servants*



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ON THE 6th June 1972 the Prison Department was embarrassed. Lord Colville, Minister of State, arrived at the Verne Prison to open new accommodation for prisoners. He was met by protesting staff wives. The protest was recorded by television cameras and headlines such as "No prison comforts for staff" appeared in the national Press on the 7th June.

The wives' protest at the Verne was not an isolated incident. At least three other wives' groups had received Press publicity in the preceding 12 months. On 26th May 1971, the *Daily Telegraph* and other papers carried reports of a petition to the Home Office by staff wives at Portland Borstal. As with the protest at the Verne the complaints concerned quarters, with unfavourable comparisons being drawn between staff accommodation and inmate accommodation. On 13th June 1971, the *Sunday Telegraph* reported that staff wives at Albany Prison on the Isle of Wight had protested to the Home Office about the provision of cookers in quarters. On 20th February 1972, the *Sunday Express* reported protests and complaints from staff wives at Camp Hill Prison about housing. Again the comparison was drawn between prisoners' conditions and prison staff conditions.

Two questions arise from these activities. The first is whether staff wives had justifiable complaints; the second why the complaints took the form they did. The second question raises the whole issue of the position of residents on a quarters estate. What are the rights of resident adults not employed by the Prison Department? What channels of communication are there between the management of a Prison Department housing estate and the residents thereon? The Prison Department's view is that the officer occupant has adequate facilities by way of the local committee of the Prison Officers' Association, and his governor, to make his views known and press his interest over quarters and associated amenities. The Prison Department believe that the officers' interests can also be taken to cover those members of his family who live with him in the home he enjoys by virtue of his office.

### DISENFRANCHISED

This leaves adult residents, particularly wives, in a strange position. Their immediate environment—house, garden, footpaths, roads, play areas, bus shelters, etc., are often on Prison Department property. If they have problems in any of these areas, their only official means of influencing management is via their husbands' staff association or his own approach to management. Wives can write to the governor of the establishment, but their treatment is a matter of grace and favour. They can of course vote for their local authority representative but he has no control over Prison Department land or any real right to take up a grievance on a quarters estate. So wives are disenfranchised and left without means, except through their husbands, of influencing their immediate habitat. Yet wives spend far more time in prison quarters than anyone else. Officers of all grades work long hours and often spend little time at home except for eating and sleeping. As Roger Beard reported in the *Guardian*[1] recently: "Modern prisons have all been built in isolated areas . . . where the prison officer's family can be just as incarcerated as the prisoners".

The problem of communication between landlord and tenant exists in many other areas. In April 1971, the Council Housing (Tenants Representation) Bill was given a first reading in the Commons. The Bill was intended to set up a housing advisory committee, at least half of whose members would be council tenants, to deal with such matters as repairs, colour schemes, layout of open spaces and children's play areas. Council tenants have the means to influence their housing authority through elected representatives, a facility not available to prison staff wives.

Another suggestion for improving the involvement of tenants is contained in the report "How do you want to live"[2] published by H.M.S.O. in January 1972. On page 56 it states: "One new development, virtually untried in Britain, is the co-operative management of housing estates. Numerous public housing authorities in the United States hand over the running of the estates to elected tenants' associations or co-operatives who look after common services, provide social facilities, take responsibility for the upkeep of the estate, draw up their own rules and regulations and even levy their own service charges. Not only is the housing authority relieved of the burden of maintaining and running the estate, but there is no doubt the residents themselves take a far greater interest in its appearance and well-being than is otherwise the case. We feel studies should be undertaken at once into the application of the co-operative principle to local authority housing in Britain".

### INADEQUATE MACHINERY

It is clear from the drastic action taken by wives' groups that our traditional authoritarian, paternalistic and male orientated system of running quarters estates is in need of change. To

argue that the officer can represent his wife and family is to argue that women should not have the vote. Structures need to be devised to provide at least a channel of communication between management and tenants; the idea of a residents' association seems the most hopeful approach.

Many of the characteristics of life on quarters estates were outlined in my article "Living With the Job"[3] in July 1970 PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL. The unusual pattern of life bears hardest on the wives, especially those who do not work. One of the advantages of the development of residents' associations would be to channel their frustrations and difficulties in a positive way. At present the only consultations on quarters take place with the staff associations of employees. The Prison Department cannot consult wives if it wanted to because there is no consultative machinery. Resident associations would provide machinery for the Prison Department and residents together to examine the design and structure of new estates and the organisation of existing ones.

The residents' association could act as a consumer group. If Lord Colville had been scheduled to meet the representatives of a residents' association, the Prison Department would probably have been spared the embarrassing scenes at the Verne. As it was, the wives took the obvious course for a disenfranchised group. The structure of the present estates can only lead to similar incidents in the future.

## HOUSES "TAGGED ON"

If the Prison Department were to look at the structure of consultation on Prison Department estates, it might be prepared to venture further. The Prison Department is a major landlord. Major landlords need to have housing policies, and these policies need to be periodically reviewed. Yet the Prison Department appears to have simply inherited the old Prison Commission policy of providing staff with tied housing. Whether tied housing for prison staff is necessary in the latter part of the twentieth century is a question the Prison Department has not seriously considered. Thus, when a large prison building programme was instituted some years ago, a large building programme of tied housing was simply tagged on without question.

At present the Prison Department owns between 9,000 and 10,000 houses (c.f. "People in Prison", page 78[4]). The planned increase of quarters is set out in the White Paper "Public Expenditure to 1976–7"[5]. On page 63 it states "the forecast expenditure includes provision of some 5,200 quarters for prison officers including those built with new establishments, to cover the needs of new recruitment, to provide a limited number of replacements and to reduce the current backlog". Capital expenditure for prisons in 1973–74 is estimated at £29,300,000 rising to £38,000,000 in 1976–77.

This programme of expansion must be seen against the background of national housing policy. Both of the large political parties in this country have been committed to the extension of home ownership. The effect of this has been dramatic over the last 50 years. In England and Wales in 1914 about nine-tenths of the 8,000,000 homes were rented from private landlords. Today about half of all homes are owned by their occupiers and most rented houses or flats are local authority owned. The growth of owner occupation has been accompanied by a reduction in the numbers of tied houses in many sectors. The private sector, after a short post-war burst of activity, is now concerned with reducing its stock of tied housing. In the public sector, the police have moved dramatically in a decade to a position where over half the force are owner occupiers. Police houses have been sold, sometimes to sitting tenants, sometimes back to the local authority. This idea of selling to sitting tenants is now common among local authorities themselves.

With the possible exception of the armed services, no other public or private body is expanding its stock of tied housing. Yet the Prison Service is embarking on a large house-building programme.

By 1980 the Prison Service will have increased its tied housing by half. If the average cost of a new house is estimated at £6,000, £30,000,000 is scheduled to be invested in new tied housing. In fact the average cost per house is likely to exceed £6,000 and the total cost proportionately increased.

If the Prison Service was to radically review its housing policy and decide on the encouragement of greater owner occupation, there would be substantial gains for both staff and for the Department.

## PLANS IN RUINS

Prison staff have long faced housing problems on retirement. As Roger Beard's article commented "a considerable number of officers of all grades reach retirement as homeless as the inmates they are employed to guard". The recent rise in house prices has turned an indifferent situation into a serious problem: many staff have recently seen the destruction of their plans to house themselves on retirement.

So one major advantage of encouraging owner occupation is that it means staff are housed on retirement. But much more important is the value of the investment in housing which is the basis of owner occupation. With tax relief and the proved record of capital appreciation, owner occupation through purchasing one's own house by a mortgage is acknowledged to be the best form of investment generally available. At present this opportunity is denied the generality of prison staff.

The third advantage for the staff is that the individual has some control and choice over his environment. This can have important consequences for family amenities, children's education and the like.

The fourth advantage is that the officer is freed from the constraints of living in quarters. These include restriction on who may live in the house and very many restrictions on what may be done to the house. If an owner occupier desires central heating, the constraints on installing it are financial. The occupier of a quarter, even if he could afford it, is unlikely to be allowed to instal it.

Another advantage for staff of owner occupation would be that it would remove them from the environment of the establishment and from being surrounded by other prison staff. Some of the problems of quarters estates are set out in the article "Living With the Job". Many staff would be glad to be away from those problems.

From the viewpoint of the Prison Service, a change to substantial owner-occupation would have the following advantages:

1. It would mean a substantial reduction in capital expenditure on new establishments and the purchase of quarters at existing establishments.

2. The sale of quarters to occupants would provide new revenue perhaps to stimulate the prison building programme.

3. The maintenance of quarters running currently at up to £1,000,000 a year in materials alone would be substantially reduced. The main saving would be in the time of Works staff and prisoners which is not currently costed.

4. There would be a general saving of administrative time on quarters both at headquarters and in establishments.

Against this, of course, would have to be set the cost of whatever allowances were paid to staff in lieu of free housing. But to pay 5,000 staff an average

allowance of £400 a year would amount to about £2,000,000 on current account. The savings on capital expenditure would be enormous for a number of years and the savings on maintenance and administration would reduce the amount required on current account. Much would depend of course on the willingness of the Treasury to balance saved capital expenditure against raised current account costs, and also a willingness to deploy the proceeds of prison house sales into the Prison Department budget.

Any change in the Prison Department's housing policy would likely be one of emphasis. If the emphasis was taken off tied housing and placed on owner occupation, change would not necessarily occur too obviously or dramatically. The change would be the reduction, probably drastic, of the quarters building programme and a much more liberal approach to granting permission to staff to draw rent allowances and make their own housing arrangements. Market forces and social pressures would then have to have time to operate to give the Prison Department a realistic idea of what sort of percentage of quarters occupation staff would arrive at.

## POLICE EXPERIENCE

Many staff would wish to retain quarters for a period and the existence of quarters would remain an attraction to some new recruits. However, as quarters fell empty, a programme of sale could be instituted; a preference being given to existing tenants and where necessary by sale to local authorities or on the open market. The experience of the police authorities in the rundown of police tied housing would be a helpful guide to the Prison Department.

A considerable number of quarters would probably remain for the foreseeable future. Thus the problem of disposing of tied housing in unpopular locations next to prisons should not arise for some time to come.

The need for a radical review of the present housing policy is becoming urgent. The urgency derives from the coincidence of two entirely conflicting trends. On the one hand there is the huge commitment from the Prison Department to build more tied housing; on the other hand, there is a rising movement among staff to follow the national trend towards owner occupation. Thus in many establishments in low and medium cost housing areas, staff are moving out of quarters without permission and without rent allowances, in the certain knowledge that they will be far better off through the increasing value of a house they own. Moreover, the frustrations of living in quarters both in terms of environment and also of standards are beginning to tell. Others are remaining in quarters but buying their own houses as a hedge against inflation; the second home is no longer a rarity among prison governors.

The great danger is that the Prison Department fails to recognise what is happening. If the tied housing expansion programme goes through, there will be difficulty filling the new accommodation. The trend of staff to become owner occupiers regardless cuts directly across the building programme. As surely as Lord Colville was embarrassed by the wives at the Verne, so will the Prison Department be embarrassed by questions about empty housing if housing policy is not reviewed. The danger of no review taking place is that housing presents no crisis aspect. The Prison Department is beset by crises—dispersal policy, overcrowding, and the like. But action to review housing policy now could pay dividends in two important ways. First, staff will appreciate change, if properly effected. Secondly the expense of new tied housing will be saved. If these resources could be channelled into much needed new prison building, the building programme would get greater forward impetus and some of the intractable long term problems of the Prison Service such as overcrowding would be nearer solution.

Housing policy is not, and has not been, a service priority. Tied housing and quarter estates have, like so much in the Prison Service and like Topsy, "just growed". With 10,000 houses now and 15,000 in prospect the Prison Department is a major landlord. It must have a housing policy and it must periodically review it. Such a review and a restatement of policy is long overdue.

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# Opera in Prison

ANTHONY COLEMAN

*Anthony Coleman joined the Prison Service at Oxford in 1969, trained at Leyhill O.T.S. and then served at Bedford and transferred to Grendon psychiatric prison in December 1970*

ABOUT a year ago, over a dish of dried peas in the kitchen of a certain prison, a suggestion was made as to the possibility of forming an opera group. The suggestion was received by the Education Department with enthusiasm, and this is where I came in. A group of this kind requires a liaison officer and I was only too pleased to help. The next step was to obtain a producer and a musician. The latter posed no real problem, as the prison had a music appreciation teacher one evening a week anyway; the former we found in a nearby town. Then came the question of the cast, and after some asking around we found several girls, all of whom were married, who would be interested in helping us form our group.

## MISGIVINGS

We were all set to start the group for an experimental period of one show, the remainder of the prison staff

having many mixed feelings as to what might happen, bearing in mind that we had 12 very attractive young ladies amongst thieves, rapists, offenders against children and others convicted of such other offences as usually warrant therapeutic treatment.

The whole group consisted of one doctor, myself as liaison officer, two teachers, my wife and 11 other ladies and 16 lads. The doctor was only in the group because of his interest in opera and not in a professional capacity, although we did find many benefits from his presence.

It was decided to run the group as normally as possible in the prison setting. I only became the officer when required, which was rarely.

## SELF-HELP

The first show was the "Pirates of Penzance", a relatively easy operetta to put on and within the scope of the group. To the producer, the group was a completely unknown quantity. Rehearsing one night a week at the beginning and two nights during the last month from 6 till 8 p.m. meant very hard work for all concerned. A few dropped by the wayside, not being able to stand up to the pressure, but the majority stayed the course and found that it was worth it as time went on and the show took shape. Props and costumes had to be borrowed or made, a job which is difficult in the confines of a prison, and where the making falls to the outside members of the cast. The security angle also came in where costumes were involved.

Performance night arrived and with enormous co-operation from all the staff we were able to put on two good performances, one for the inmate population and one for staff and their guests. After the success of this production we were allowed to continue and the Opera Group was no longer an experiment but a fixed class.

The second production was "Gypsy Baron" by Strauss, a light-hearted operetta with a lot of dialogue. We were lucky to keep enough of the last group for our principal characters with the exception of one who was given 12 months parole halfway through. The only person left who could cover the part was the producer. The chorus however was a very different matter. During the first three months the chorus changed completely due to discharges, transfers and people who could not stand the pace. However, with a lot of hard work we ended up again with a first-rate production which any amateur group would have been proud to present. We ran for three nights this time and this made the whole show very worthwhile, increasing the goodwill between the prison staff and the opera group.

## BUILDING CONFIDENCE

The benefits are considerable to all concerned: the inmates find themselves in a normal situation with women present and all the group are on first-name terms during the time they are together; the doctor (who is very much a sir or doctor within the prison), the staff and anyone else in the group. A large number of people in prison lack confidence in themselves and such a group builds confidence. Many also lack self-discipline, which is developed in this situation. Pressure is hard to take, the tension at rehearsals being quite great, but, because of the situation and the ladies present, control must be exercised. There are individual problems; like the man who would not believe in himself although *we* thought he could take a principal part in the Pirates, would only keep quietly in the background, and, like one or two others, if he found himself singing on his own would dry up. During the performance he found that he was leading the chorus and doing well at it. For "Gypsy Baron" he was given a principal part, and due to his own determination to overcome his problem plus a very great respect for the producer and a lot of faith shown in him, he made it and for three nights played a good performance. It was interesting that the girl playing opposite him was also shy and in trying to give him strength she managed to project her own personality as well. Another lad was petrified of women. He couldn't even talk to them let alone curl up next to one on stage as is required in "Gypsy Baron". When the group first started, his problem had not been completely overcome but great strides have since been noticed. In a third case a man used to fight his shyness by verbal crudity. This was overcome as his own character emerged, the distance between warnings increasing each time.

The girls are a great asset to the therapeutic side of the group. Besides making the group "normal" they listen to all the lads' problems and give them a woman's view. These lads have probably grown up inside and things that they don't like approaching their officers about they will discuss with the girls—from what to get their wives for a birthday present to contraception and family planning.

Here are some comments from people directly involved in the project:

### The Producer

There is always an element of uncertainty which accompanies the start of a new musical production, even within a well established amateur operatic group. Can the principals be relied on not to move house, or fall ill, will the chorus respond quickly, will the stage manager cope with the stage requirements and so on?

On the first occasion that I faced the newly formed Prison Operatic group as their producer, all these normal doubts were supplemented by the thought that I was in what was to me a totally alien situation. Paradoxically I felt as if I was the one being tested in a new part. I was concerned with the group's immediate impression of me and with my ability to project sufficient personality to carry the group with me. I imagined far more difficulties with the inmates than in fact ever developed.

Twelve months and two productions have passed since the group's inception. That it has been a success in all that was expected of it is very largely due to the relaxed, informal atmosphere in which rehearsals are conducted. Problems do develop. Members of the cast, both inmates and visitors, can become over-involved with each other. But these instances are rare and we have only experienced it once. I have now come to regard the group in the same light as all other groups with which I have been associated—they are just people interested in making music.

### The Deputy Governor

Music and drama must always have been connected with healing as well as with war. It is arguable that the stone age men who painted on cave walls felt better after doing so. I write as one who experiences personally the healing power of music (it "soothes the savage breast"). Witch doctors have for long tried to cast out spells with dancing and chanting; modern doctors use chat. Mothers must always have used lullaby to help frantic children calm down and then sleep. No wonder that rocking has come to mean something that both helps babies sleep and something that helped "cats" "dig" in the 1950s.

### Education Officer

As an education officer, I believe that activities under the heading of drama and/or opera have considerable value under the following headings:

(a) The activity is essentially a team effort, requiring complete co-operation and considerable acceptance of discipline.

(b) It is a useful educational activity, in that participants are required to

improve and develop their spoken English abilities, while at the same time committing their lines to memory. All learning processes are dependent ultimately upon the student's ability to "remember", be it dialogue or "facts and figures".

(c) Both drama and opera contain strong elements of culture frequently little known to the prisoner, and this is sometimes supplemented by sociological factors, as in the case of Shaw, or in the more modern idiom of Pinter and Brecht.

(d) Performers in prison are utilising a "permissible fantasy area" while in rehearsal and on stage. This is a useful exercise for men whose lives are contained in a strictly "non-fantasy" area, or environment.

(e) Audience reaction, especially where appreciative, can produce added self-confidence in performers who are basically inadequate "under-achievers", and who perhaps for the first time become "noticed" without having to resort to crime to achieve notice.

(f) Drama and opera are recognised leisure activities outside prison, and it is always hoped that men who have found an interest while in prison, will continue to develop their interest upon release.

I further believe that music is of itself therapeutic, and from observation and discussion I conclude that opera, and indeed any "music-making" activity, is of especial value. A singing activity is easier to provide, in that the provision of instruments and their maintenance creates many problems.

PARTICIPATING INMATE

Lack of self confidence is, I consider, the most common factor amongst criminals. Lack of confidence in themselves to form relationships, lack of confidence in their abilities and lack of confidence to be themselves. This lack of confidence is compensated for in many ways—by the need to be liked by everyone, by pretending to be better at work than you are, to exaggerate one's abilities and to enter a world of fantasy where one lie leads to another.

What on earth has this got to do with a prison opera group? I can only relate what it has done, together with other factors, for me.

I was educated at a minor public school, paid for by parents who had to go without a great deal in order to pay for my education. I was not a brilliant scholar and at times was a figure of ridicule. Many of the boys at school came from wealthy families and I tried to live up with them by creating a world of fantasy. It was during this period I believe that barriers of communication were put up between myself and my parents. I felt unable to live up to their expectations and felt I was letting them down. To counter this I exaggerated my achievements to them just so that I could see the pleasure on their faces. When faced with the reality of a bad report to them from school I ran away causing more worry. This has been the pattern of my life to date—fantasy, reality, run away, crime.

What has the opera group given me? Confidence, real confidence, not the false confidence I exuded when I came here—not the false confidence I showed in my shallow relationships with other people, including my parents. Confidence to be myself and relax in the company of others knowing that I can be accepted for being myself.

It amuses me now to look back on my first abortive efforts on the stage. I wonder how indeed I went on the stage—to look out at a critical audience knowing that all my defences were down—false confidence is no good at a time like this. I always sought the best parts—the juicy tenor parts which were beyond my range, so that by the time of the production I'd be a mass of nerves, but would let it build up inside me so that I'd be irritable during the run up to the production, snapping at anyone who upset me at work. And of course on stage I could not give of my best.

Recently I took part in another production. Again I had a large part, but on this occasion I did not push for the tenor lead but instead asked for a lesser baritone part, a part that was within my vocal range and one that I could cope with and acquit myself creditably. At last I had accepted my limitations and consequently I felt so relaxed on the nights of production I was able to help others relax, felt no pressures at all, enjoyed myself and performed creditably.

In my relationships with female members of the cast, I am myself—no fantasies are created and the relief at not living a lie is indescribable.

To gain full rehabilitative values from this on my release I should ideally join a local amateur operatic society. I am however returning to a small rural township where everyone is aware of the grave crimes which I have committed, so the reality is that in all probability until I have proved through time that I can now be trusted, I will not be too welcome socially. But at least I am able to accept my limitations not only on the stage but in life, I am also aware of course of my abilities. I am able to accept myself as myself and know that those who matter accept me for it. I will find ways of using my leisure time. I now realise how important it is, and in time perhaps I may be able to join my local operatic society—but I will not be seeking the tenor lead!

I am not suggesting that the opera group has been my sole vehicle for sorting myself out, but I believe that any activity which can promote confidence has its place in a modern penal system. It would not work in all prisons. It is fortunate that I am in a prison where one is encouraged to talk about feelings and it was the fact that I have been able to discuss my feelings and failings with the inmates and staff that brought me to the conclusions which have produced my present state of mind.

AN OUTSIDE OPERA CRITIC

At the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, high up in the gallery are a number of desks fitted with shaded reading lamps to enable students to read the musical score during a performance, and had this Prison Opera House been so fitted, I, reading the "Gypsy Baron" on Friday, March 2, might have got a surprise or two. But I was not reading the score and I found that the producer, Ron H. and the musical director (Anon according to the programme though surely he must have been that excellent accompanist, Jim F.) together with around 40 others, presented us with three acts and nearly three hours of ingenious, colourful, lyrical and amusing entertainment. This is saying a lot, but the present writer feels he knows something of the difficulties that would be met and were certainly overcome by the first performance and thinks a lot should be said.

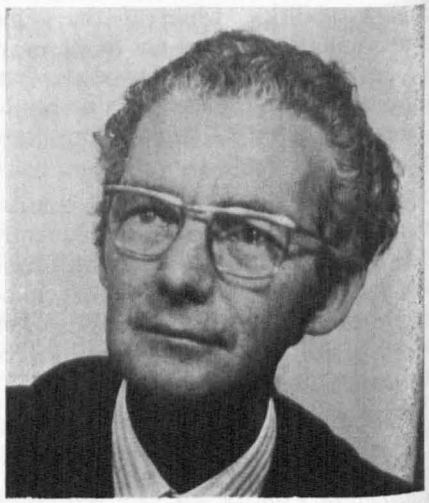
What about the recruiting of 40 or so people? What about disciplining them into a united company? What about the learning of lines, of moves, of music? And all this goes for little or nothing unless brought to a successful conclusion; on this all concerned are to be heartily congratulated. Their performance was amateur in the true meaning of that word for they loved what they were doing (or conveyed that impression which is the same thing) and did it extremely well.

After all the hard work, a performance or two may seem little reward, but the Opera Group will surely remember the pleasure they gained themselves and gave others, and be thinking now of the next production. My dictionary informs me that Johann S. composed 16 operettas. . . .

# Borstal Reassessed

## A plea for direct action at local level

LES WILBY



**Les Wilby joined the Service in 1949 after serving in the Royal Navy. He was an officer at Lewes, Gaynes Hall, Portsmouth Recall Centre, and principal officer at Aylesbury Y.P. Centre before being posted to the Staff College in 1967. He was seconded for one year to Leicester University to qualify in residential child care and later was accepted for the staff course as an assistant governor. He has since served at Rochester Borstal and Lincoln Prison. He is married with two daughters**

BEFORE the 1939 war, borstal enjoyed a measure of success that has never been equalled since.

The policy in those pre-war days had a basic simplicity that seemed to clarify objectives in a way that could be easily understood and implemented. There was a link between the training and the conditions that trainees could expect to face after release. Today, those objectives have been lost and both staff and trainees seem to be genuinely confused about the task and its link with a modern-day society. We seem to have arrived at a situation where trainees cannot put a value on the service we provide, and I suspect that most trainees see training as unrelated to their needs and divorced from the reality of life outside the walls of the establishment.

### A QUIET LIFE?

Since the war we seem to have over-concentrated on looking at the causative factors of criminality and in doing so have lost our direction and purpose. Seen in the right perspective, to know the causative factors of criminality can be extremely helpful. If one can predict that certain conditions are highly conducive to a breakdown of social values then one can take preventive measures and by doing so prevent rather than cure. We are in business to cure rather than to prevent and our confusion seems to stem from this insistence on examining the past to a greater extent than looking to the future. When confusion dominates the scene we search for alternatives in order to justify our existence; a quiet, well-run establishment is, I suggest, the alternative we have found. If we are honest we will admit that the majority of the staff's time is devoted to this purpose. The result is that most trainees see training in negative terms and aimed at satisfying staff needs to a greater extent than providing them with something they can value. Some staff have become so disillusioned with the system that they openly say that their job is one of containment and control. One can hardly blame them for adopting this attitude. For many years they have asked to play a more positive role and at managerial level we have failed to provide objectives that would make this possible. *There is an urgent need to restate our objectives and training will not be seen as having any value until this is done.*

In looking at the objectives of pre-war borstal, I feel that those same objectives hold good today; that although one may need to change the system to meet the changing needs of a post-war society, the basic principles on which the foundation of borstal was built do not need changing.

Pre-war borstal policy stressed the need for wholesome food combined with discipline and hard work. It was felt that trainees should not be allowed to become idle or indolent and that physical health was an important factor in training. Within this basic framework, governors enjoyed a measure of freedom to plan according to the needs of the establishment. Governors were less restricted by Head Office policy. We all know that training becomes more meaningful when it takes account of local conditions and develops at a pace that both staff and trainees can cope with at any given time. When that happens, the staff feel that they can influence policy and the establishment is able to develop a character of its own. Nowadays, most establishments seem to have lost this individual identity and staff feel that they have become part of an impersonal machine. No one can be blamed for this loss of identity that imposed policy tends to encourage. The marked increase in the number of establishments under a single authority automatically lends itself to an increase in controls, both political and financial. Regionalisation is intended to break down this impersonal control, but it will be many years before regional offices establish effective personal links with their establishments. Young offender policy has so far been largely omitted from regional planning.

One must ask why an identity and simple objectives proved fairly successful in pre-war borstal.

I believe the answer is that when an establishment is able to develop a character of its own, staff have a greater sense of belonging and loyalty to the management. In such an environment a "caring" attitude is more likely to develop.

### THEN AND NOW

The objectives in pre-war borstal took account of the conditions that existed in society. Receptions were often poorly-clad, undernourished and in poor physical condition. Many came from the families of unskilled workers, dole queues and malnutrition being a common experience in the family situation. For those reasons, the system had much to commend it, because it undoubtedly raised the standard of living for the majority. It increased self-awareness and self-confidence by providing experiences designed to improve health and practical ability. In leisure and work activities a trainee was able to use his latent skills and develop his potential in a way that was not possible in his life prior to borstal.

One can see that having come from a background where a hole in the shoe and an empty belly were common to the majority, a trainee had every reason to value his training because it raised his material standards.

The increase in health made possible a hard day's work and a realisation that he was capable of earning a living—an important factor when one considers that this for most trainees was a new experience. At a feeling level these improvements in health, food and clothing must have proved pleasurable when compared with the alternatives of hunger, cold and unemployment. The points I wish to stress are—

(1) Trainees experienced an improvement in their standard of living.

(2) Concept of "self" underwent a positive change as they gradually became aware of their ability and possible potential that had been suppressed by experiences and conditions prior to sentence.

(3) Work was clearly recognised as a necessity and the first step to becoming a law-abiding citizen.

It is said that man's first necessity is to fill his belly, he is then in a position to achieve materialistic goals, and when both are reasonably satisfied his concern is to develop relationships that will enhance his reputation and provide his family with status and the respect of his neighbours. Pre-war borstal provided the basic necessities that are conducive to the establishing of positive relationships. By offering the basic essentials, it satisfied materialistic needs and left the trainee free to concentrate on developing his skills and relationships.

Those basic needs were assessed according to the conditions prevailing in the society of that period and went beyond the expectations of the trainees themselves with the result that they were less likely to feel like second-class citizens and could place a value on the service they were receiving.

In the post-war years there has been a rapid increase in the materialistic requirements of the average family. The man who does not meet these needs is at risk in a society that recognises materialistic standards as the status symbols of respectability and equality. It is probably true to say that industrial unrest is not so much a question of excessive greed but more a question of maintaining standards that ensure our passports to respectability. The status symbols have a profound effect on our attitude towards our neighbours—there is no doubt that second-class citizenship is measured in materialistic terms.

If one wants a trainee to become a responsible and respected member of society one must provide the means to achieve the necessary materialistic goals because this is his passport to success.

It is often said by staff that trainees are anti-authority, greedy and ungrateful for what is done for them. The truth is that we do things to them and for them and make it impossible for them to achieve things for themselves. If we were placed in the same position we also would feel frustrated and possibly, anti-conditions rather than anti-authrity.

## BUILDING SELF-RESPECT

Many trainees are not physically fit and many are lazy because they rarely do a hard day's work. We fail to provide the incentives in terms of money and materialistic needs compatible with the incentives readily available in society.

Our trainees are shabbily dressed and can never experience the feeling of paying their way or of even achieving equality. For the trainee who comes from a respectable family background this is seen as an assault on his personality and he feels keenly the degradation. In some cases his contempt for staff shows through a thin veneer of politeness. He cannot understand why those in authority subscribe to a lowering of standards. At the same time he has often experienced better standards at home without ever having to work for them. I feel that it is important to say to this trainee—by your own efforts at work you can achieve those materialistic standards that have been provided for you in your own home. The denial of the opportunity lends itself to the response "why work, it makes no difference". So an important experience is lost—that of being self-supporting at a level recognised in terms of self-respect.

Another contrast is the trainee who comes from the "problem" family who has never experienced "normative" standards, and until he enjoys such an experience, cannot hope to make a decision influenced by the attractive alternatives available. He must be in the position of contrasting the deprivation and the materialistic standards he can achieve before his judgment can be valid. So often these trainees leave borstal still feeling that they cannot achieve those standards and their future is bleak and without hope. No trainee can ever hope to establish a friendly relationship with staff when he starts from such a disadvantageous position. He needs to be able to dress decently, offer the staff members a comfortable chair that he has earned by his work effort. If he can also share the price of a cup of tea, then the basis is there for mutual respect and a positive relationship. Helping him to achieve this is an important staff function.

I am convinced that one cannot exert a positive influence or create an atmosphere of work paying dividends, whilst we insist on paying pocket money only and supplying bare basic needs for health. Yet work is and will always be, the means to an end—the acquisition of materialistic standards associated with success and respectability. Such an experience is often alien to a trainee in his past experiences and until he has had that experience he is not in a position to assess its true value.

Discipline is another essential that is particularly important in the adolescent growth period. At a time when a trainee is questioning his concept of "self-identity" he is asking himself questions about manhood, sexuality and his position and ability to succeed. So far in life he has failed, and self-doubt and failure does produce excessive anxiety about the future. There is in these circumstances a very real need for the stability that a well ordered community can provide. Rules provide a degree of security and act in some cases as a protective barrier between the trainee and his impulsive reactions in times of stress. This type of behaviour so often wrecks his chances of finding happiness or success. Failing to provide that discipline encourages trainees to establish their own code of discipline, often ruthlessly implemented and in favour of those who possess the physical strength to impose their will on others. This puts the weak trainee at risk and allows the ruthless character to take unfair advantage, sometimes reinforcing the viewpoint that crime pays.

Trainees require an environment reasonably free from anxiety and full of incentives and opportunity to succeed. When trainees feel that they can succeed before they are released, we will be providing a service that gives the public value for money.

## CENTRAL CONTROL THE VILLAIN OF THE PIECE?

The basic objectives of wholesome food, hard work and achievement that can be seen to enhance the chance of success are still applicable in society today. It is the policy that requires

change rather than the original objectives.

Central control of policy can be seen to be restrictive in practice because it reduces the chances of an establishment developing its own character, and staff cannot feel that they can influence policy and become disillusioned. One would ideally like to see borstal as part of a wider concept of community-care and in order to achieve this, local people should be invited to accept more responsibility for the trainees that will one day return to them.

An establishment could take trainees from one catchment area. Members of a board under the chairmanship of the governor could be invited to help determine policy. A senior member of the social services, a member of the Probation Service, a councillor and others who have a responsibility for community-care with young people, could be board members. This would prevent the establishment from becoming inward-looking and failing to take into account the situations that trainees are going to face when they are released. Headquarters, through regions, could still retain their authority but planning would be based on local needs to a greater extent than on national or political needs.

A trainee's programme could be planned and take into account family situation and work. Whenever possible, after an initial period of work services for the establishment, the trainee could take up employment in outside industry often with a view to continuing this employment after release. Full wages and the possibility of being fully self-supporting should be the aim for the majority rather than the few. The materialistic gains in terms of personal clothing and room furnishings are the recognised symbols of success and every trainee should be encouraged in this respect. When through his own efforts he reaches this stage of development where his material needs are reasonably satisfied he has living proof that honesty and work can provide the things that in the past he may have resorted to crime to achieve. He is then in a position to develop friendships on a basis of equality and no longer has a need for charity.

The provision of facilities to entertain visitors or staff and the possibility of taking an active part in community-care alongside other teenagers in the local area are all developmental aspects of an establishment that ceases to be inward-looking.

We should stop treating trainees as oddities or sick people and avoid labelling them as inadequates by providing the same opportunities we would afford other teenagers. Instead of holding them back, let's start pushing them in the right direction.

There will always be the exceptions to the rule. The special cases that require psychiatric services or special education can be catered for by specialist establishments whilst the majority of staff endeavour to develop the potential inherent in most trainees.

If we don't start soon it is going to be too late to reverse our image of ineptitude and failure.

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**With such widely dispersed antecedents as the Pacific Islands and the headquarters, of the Prison Department, Bob Waghorn has the uncertain distinction of being the youngest assistant governor ever appointed. Before coming to Aylesbury Prison, he worked at Rochester Borstal**

# Revolting!

## The idealist and the Establishment

BOB WAGHORN

*"The trouble with you is you are a John the Baptist. You think you always know best. It's time you learnt, your job is to do as I tell you".*

Fortunately not all contact between those considered to represent "the establishment" and "the idealist" is so destructive—destructively crushing rather than forming someone with more ideas than experience; destructively revealing the insecurity—and therefore inflexibility—of the manager who, *ipso facto*, is a scion of the establishment; and destructively denying the organisation its most positive means of development by pressure from within, rather than lobbying from without.

Our Service, involved in the management of "total institutions", is currently particularly susceptible to this eternal and universal conflict, which, if not temporarily suppressed, is the mainstay of development. Additionally, the martial structure re-enforces the establishment: instead of a concept it is virtually a reality, until authority is almost visible. As the ethos of society rapidly changes, such notions are increasingly challenged; and as a non-judgmental approach in social work gathers momentum, so the traditional positions of the Prison Service become increasingly untenable, and anxieties at the prospects of inevitable change produce reaction, which compounds the problems.

Having suggested why the Prison Service is likely to experience a greater degree of conflict in what is a universal friction, I want to trace a dynamic which helps to explain the rise and

deflation of the individual, and his possible sell-out to establishment conservation. Adolescence is marked by a great upsurge, both physical and emotional—and one of the latter is the awakening of feeling beyond the confines of the family group; awareness, sensitivity, sometimes empathy, sometimes a sense of affinity, certainly a concern for others and their causes, and what is the meaning of them. The teenager is a great champion of lost causes, and totalitarianism recognises this, invariably lavishly sponsoring official youth movements. Over the passage of years, the youth redefines and limits what he deeply cares about by the painful process of elimination, by seeing things he feels strongly about shattered, injured, or perverted, and finding himself unable to prevent this happening. So as a defence he ceases to care—or stops admitting that he cares—until usually concern is again limited to the family group, and cynicism is born. The majority of people have only deep feelings towards their immediate family because it is too painful to care for anything more. Comments such as "it's a terrible world we live in" and "I don't know what is the matter with society to-day" demonstrate a recognition of failure to feel about events outside the immediate group through fear that emotional involvement would give pain and anxiety.

Distinctively, "the young and idealistic" are those who still admit to feelings outside the family group and who, because they "feel" rather than just "respond", are unable to compromise their expressions of feeling, because the expression is at a deeper level than mere response to a situation. However, the few individuals who continue to feel and resist the pressure to encapsulate their emotions, yet learn to control their expression without compromise, greatly increase their effectiveness. Accepting that part of everybody's development is an upsurge of feeling, it is a fair assumption that there is a sense of guilt, pain, even threat in an encapsulated individual when encountering a feeling person, who is as he once was.

A sense of envy that they have retained their earlier, ingenuous self; a sense of guilt at failure to do the same rather than capitulate to the pressures. To defend against such painful feelings, aggression is aroused and rationalisations of "idealist, impractical, immature," are made. At this juncture, the establishment is being supported in a reactionary fashion against the inroad of ideas.

To appreciate fully the dead weight of the establishment, one must consider beyond the individual's commitment to maintain the *status quo*. The sheer inertia of the organisational process adds to any individual insensitivity, lack of empathy, or reaction. The sheer problem involved in getting large groups of people to make decisions, or even move in the same direction, let alone have a corporative sensitivity, is enormous and has a huge inertia reaction to every move. By their very size and nature organisations are unfeeling, making the establishment a dead weight. In discussing his time with "the public sector" Lord Robens recently said (*Sunday Telegraph*, 15th April 1973) "You are endlessly entangled with the dead hand of the bureaucracy which, in my time at the Coal Board, never did anything positive, never provided a single good idea—they just bashed your ideas on the head one by one . . . they had nobody who could vet things properly, but you still had to go through the Whitehall tribal dance, the charade—and all the time it was delay, delay, delay. . . . You were quite free to decide the day-to-day stuff which doesn't affect the course of events—like painting the pithead green or yellow or changing the notepaper—but when it comes to the big stuff, forget it".

## TRIBAL RITUALS?

Having looked at this traditional cause of conflict in human, developmental and inter-personal terms, and considered the special susceptibility of the Prison Service, and the inherent problems of organisations—what positive reaction can an individual make to help overcome the problem? First and foremost an understanding and appreciation of the difficulty, which in turn leads to a sympathetic approach. So easily can two groups emerge; the larger and more powerful who think the others are impractical, impossible and probably Bolshy to boot; and the smaller, who think they are reactionary, misguided and probably slightly mad. If nothing else, I hope this article will produce a recognition of this conflict-situation for it's a very wasteful dynamic of the energy available for the development of the organisation being dissipated in interpersonal conflict. Having appreciated the problem, there are some managerial steps that can be taken to lessen its effect—besides individual responsibility to modify one's own behaviour and responses.

## PARTNERSHIP OF IDEAS AND EXPERIENCE

Who works with who, and in what relation, is an obvious one; and the combination of principal officer and assistant governor II in our Service has always stuck out as combining practical capacity with fresh ideas to produce a sound progressive attitude. In recent years there have been status problems among assistant governors brought about in many cases by a refusal to recognise what they had to offer—with the resultant reaction to try and draw management structures equating assistant governors II with chiefs—or even above them! This has only done harm by increasing the hostility and the gap between the establishment and the newcomers, since quite obviously ideas are no substitute for practical experience, and preventing a close progressive working relation between colleagues of different backgrounds, who on their own were wanting, but together were complementary, and further train each other.

With the introduction of a two-year in-service sandwich training for assistant governors in the near future, the problem of intelligent supervision is going to become critical. All too often new assistant governors—or any other fresh recruits to the Prison Service—are made to feel they have nothing to offer to the establishment, and having successfully castrated them only the most minimal supervision is necessary. In an atmosphere where the newcomer is allowed to express, test-out, and receive feed-back on his ideas—seriously rather than as an indulgence—learning will take place and the spin-off will be an influx of new ideas into the establishment. Such an environment needs time; communication is a time-consuming process, and so often talking is not seen as work and supervision gets supplanted by other more "important" things. Admittedly there are pressures, deadlines, etc., but these are to meet short-term ends; good supervision meets long-term needs.

All systems change—or are changed. The evidence is that the Prison Service is engaged in a rearguard action to change itself before it is changed. Fortunately the only thing these outside forces share in common is an ignorance of the institutional process and a surfeit of emotion. It would be a great shame if we used our energy in angry internal dynamics which suppress ideas, rather than managing our own metamorphosis.

# The Concept of Residential Care

R. le HERISSIER

*R. le Herissier graduated in Political Studies in the University of Leeds and later took a Ph.D. in Politics and Government at the University of Kent. He joined the Prison Service as an assistant governor in 1968 and served at Huntercombe Borstal as a housemaster. In 1971, he left to take up an appointment as lecturer in Organisation Theory and Public Administration in the Department of Social Administration, new University of Ulster*

THERE has been scant publicity within the Prison Service of the discussion document entitled, "Training for Residential Work", which was published in February of this year by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work. The work of prisons was specifically excluded from the terms of reference of the working party for, "in defining the range of centres where residential work is practised, we decided to include only those centres where clients were resident and where social work appeared to form a primary component of their work" (p. 5).

In itself, this is not unusual, as the Prison Service has never been centrally involved in developments in residential work. The question arises of whether it should be, and indeed whether it can afford to remain formally cut off from what is likely to be in the foreseeable future, both in terms of staff numbers and professional development, a very expanding service.

The document was occasioned by the urgent need to develop a policy on training for residential work. At present, a hotch-potch of courses exist, only a small number of residential workers are qualified and in terms of factors such as salary and career structure, residential workers have lost out severely to social workers in the field or community but, despite the wide range of problems and institutions to which the document refers, it is, in my view, relevant to the Prison Service.

In a nutshell, the document is proposing that the distinction in terms of training and operations, between residential work and field social work should be broken down. In its place, two functions can be distinguished—the social work and the welfare function. Different modes of training would be devised for each major function, geared as far as possible to the specialist needs of individuals. While these detailed proposals may remain only of distant interest to the Prison Service, the assumptions on which they are based merit serious consideration. First, there is an emphasis upon the totality of residential care. The document breaks down residential work into six functions:

(a) Social work.

(b) The provision of personal services.

(c) Personnel management.

(d) Administration and forward planning.

(e) Student training.

(f) Other functions.

At the same time stress is laid on the fact that, "While these functions are separated for the purpose of analysis, in actual practise they are 'inextricably interrelated' " (p. 16).

Second, there is an assumption that, by concentrating on the total needs of an individual, the residential worker will develop skills which are "generally applicable and transferable from one setting to another". Of course, this does not mean that staff for an old people's home and for a prison can be trained in the same manner. Rather, there are certain central skills which apply to both settings—e.g. skill in interpersonal relationships, skill in administration. Third, there should be constant emphasis on the needs of the individual. This is, of course, the projection of a major social work value into the residential setting. Fourth, residential work is essentially team work. In this respect, there is a need for flexible staff structures and for a blurring of formal roles. Fifth, the breaking down of the barriers between residential and field social work is based on the assumption that the community has many untapped resources to offer, that for too long residential institutions have been isolated and that, in any case, the type of treatment envisaged in residential work entails the maintenance of e.g., close family links with the client in the residential centre. Hence, the role of probation officers in our prisons.

These assumptions are, of course, based in large part on the values and theories of social work. The current approach is promoted of integrated and generic training. In some respects, the objectives of this proposed pattern of training are very akin to those proclaimed for the Prison Service's own staff course. In my view, the emphasis is different.

Probably as a consequence of operating in a hierarchial service, more emphasis is placed within the Prison Service on management training, *per se*. The current vogue for management training in the public service has led to the assumption that methods of management which have worked successfully in the private sector can operate with equal success, and under the completely different conditions of the public sector (even assuming that, for training purposes, the public sector can be viewed as a monolith). Sir Paul Chambers (quoted in PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, No. 9, January 1973) drew attention to this fallacy when he stressed that, "because a man is good at managing one thing it doesn't mean that he's good at managing another" (p. 4). The essence and strength of the approach in the discussion document is its emphasis upon the view that management training cannot be viewed in isolation, and that by emphasising the context and values of residential work it places management training in its appropriate perspective. The need for the application of such thinking to the problems of the Prison Service was argued persuasively by Alister Papps, PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, No. 8, October 1972) where he called for a new interpretation of the term "control" within the maximum security setting.

Another way in which Prison Service training could draw from new thinking in residential care is by emphasising the use of community resources. It is also a mistake to assume that this approach can be applied only to open establishments or to those dealing with the less risky class of offender.

Of course, these views are not new to members of the Prison Service. There is a re-examination of staff training programmes going on at this moment, there is no longer the uncritical acceptance of classical management principles and some institutions are promoting new and more flexible methods of management divorced, as far as possible, from the strict hierarchial model while others are very conscious of the potential that exists within the community and have broken away extensively from the notion of a self-contained institution (for example, see PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, No. 9, January 1973, "New Wines into Old Bottles", A. Arnold, pp. 12–15).

Why then, are these points worth reiterating? First, the Prison Service is too detached from the main stream of thinking on residential care. There is increasing emphasis being laid, at one and the same time, on identifying and developing residential skills and also integrating field and residential care. The Prison Service can both contribute to, and derive benefit from, this discussion.

Second, the Prison Service too rarely stands back and analyses its work. There is little public discussion of its role—perhaps one inhibiting factor is the undue caution fostered by the Official Secrets Act. Dr. Thomas's recent book on the changing role of the English prison officer was an excellent example of the type of fundamental thinking that is needed ("*The English Prison Officer Since 1850*", J. E. Thomas. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972). One area where staff could contribute is that of devising appropriate management systems—this is an ideal field for a research and evaluation study based on the teamwork of staff and outside consultants.

Third, it is an oft quoted criticism of the Prison Service that it is too insular—here is a way of breaking down that insularity.

# After all, They're Human

D. C. R. STEWARD

THE providing of voluntary helpers to assist at the holiday organised by the Suffolk Branch of the Multiple Sclerosis Society, held at Gunton Hall, Lowestoft, is not a new project to penal establishments; indeed, selected inmates of H.M. Prison Blundeston were involved for a few years. However, the idea for borstal trainees from Hollesley Bay Colony to participate was new and stemmed from the discharge unit, Wilforde House. The society requested six helpers. Five trainees accompanied by an officer were chosen. After preliminary enquiries, the governor gave his consent and encouragement.

After initial meetings and a helpers' briefing held in Ipswich, the group understood what to expect when eventually they got to Gunton Hall. They were also given the opportunity to decline. Many of the patients would be in wheelchairs and needing complete assistance in the fullest sense of the word, i.e. washing, dressing, toileting, feeding, and some were catheterised which would necessitate the emptying of urine bags. Therefore they would be called upon to perform some very unpleasant tasks, whilst at the same time preserving the dignity of their patients. It was stressed at the time of briefing that no trainee would be criticised for dropping out. However, nobody did, so that in itself was a worthwhile exercise.

On arrival at Gunton Hall we were set to work getting the place transformed and ready for our multiple sclerosis patients. Rubber sheets were to be put on beds, commodes to be placed in chalets and wooden ramps to be positioned near awkward steps. These chores had to done quickly. It was difficult to visualise that this pleasant holiday camp would not be getting bikini-clad girls and excited children this week, nor healthy couples strolling by the banks of its exclusive lake. No, the campers this week would be somewhat different, as although they had as much enthusiasm and appetite for enjoyment as healthy holiday-makers, most of them would be in wheelchairs.

It would take a great deal of space to relate all the occurrences worthy of note which I observed at Gunton Hall, so I hope the following brief pictures of what the borstal trainees were doing will give the reader some idea of the value of the project.

*Tony*, aged 20 years, helping a paralysed patient who was constipated.

*Ken*, aged 19 years, talking to the nurse who had come to remind him to bring his patient to the medical room for his daily injection of insulin (the patient was not only multiple sclerosis but also diabetic); this discussion taking place in the dining-hall just prior to a meal with which Ken would have to spoon-feed his patient while negotiating his own meal.

*Reg*, aged 20 years, toileting, washing and undressing a heavily handicapped patient, before lifting him into bed and making sure of a comfortable position for a night's sleep. This was done with all the care and consideration of an experienced nurse.

*Len*, aged 19 years, pushing a wheelchair on the dance floor in time to a waltz melody. The boys were surprised to learn that wheelchair dancing is enjoyed by people affected in this way.

**D. C. R. Steward is 38, married with two children. He joined the Prison Service in 1961 at Norwich then served at Chelmsford and Blundeston. He is currently senior officer at Hollesley Bay Colony and chairman of the Prison Officers' Association branch committee**

These are but a few examples of the tasks which the lads had to face, and they did so with a great deal of cheerfulness and eagerness. They are, of course, not particularly sophisticated criminals, therefore we would perhaps expect them to respond far better than the "old lag". Nevertheless, it was encouraging on the return journey, to listen to conversations about people instead of fast cars, birds and bucks. To this end, it did have some effect.

To any sceptics, I would simply say: "Ask the lads if it was worthwhile. Ask the patients they assisted if it was worthwhile. Then challenge it". The 400 patients had nothing but praise for their borstal boy helpers, who received, in return for their hard work, a subtle lesson in forming relationships, developing courage, and social acceptance. Whether any of this will stay with them in their future lives I cannot tell, but there is no doubt in my mind that this was a worthwhile use of borstal training.

# Readers Write . . .

To The Editor,

*Prison Service Journal.*

Dear Sir,

I feel that I must disagree with the article by Mr. Peter Shapland "Thoughts on Disturbances in Prison". The feeling given by Mr. Shapland is that, on the whole, staff are to blame for disturbances: "a coercive control structure" alienates inmates; control tends to be a "negative idea associated with undesirable behaviour". This, unfortunately, is always the easy way out. I have been associated with all but one of the demonstrations, and with the ultimate riot, at Gartree, and in each case the stock official summing up was that "had the staff not done this, this would not have occurred", regardless of previous warnings submitted in writing by staff.

Too often are the staff made the whipping boy. Has no one ever considered the other side? Inmates who have threatened and promised quite openly of the damage they intend doing and the disruption they intend causing at any and every prison to which they are sent, smash up one prison, are transferred to another to repeat the process, and so *ad infinitum*, yet staff are still blamed for the unrest. Surely what is to blame is, in fact, the code by which these trouble-makers live outside where the strongest and toughest live well and the rest merely survive, a code which they attempt to bring into prison with them. Mr. Shapland names three precipitating factors which lead to disturbances. He could have included a fourth—the desire to be "top-dog" and the willingness to spread terror and to cause damage to person and property to achieve that ambition.

With the present-day tendency to view even the most violent and dangerous prisoner as a wayward boy and the hard-dying Victorian tradition of the "screw" as hard, brutal and totally devoid of human feeling, it is far too easy to pass off demonstrations as expressions of frustration over unsuitable staff and repressive regimes, but with Mr. Shapland's apparently varied experience, he must surely appreciate that there are other sides to the question.

G. E. Phillips,
*Prison Officer, Gartree.*

To The Editor,

*Prison Service Journal.*

Dear Sir,

On reading the article by Joyce Williams, J.P. in the July issue of the journal I was very pleased and interested to read the remarks made by Lord Kilbrandon regarding prison officers. He said: "They were not mere custodians, mere disciplinarians and still less wielders of punishment. The quality of entrants, the conditions of service and their standing in the community, were important in a social service becoming more and more significant. The prison officer must have a job which is attractive not only to himself but also to his neighbours".

I thank Lord Kilbrandon for stating these facts but can only say that his remarks will, no doubt, fall on stoney ground as so many before have.

Myself, as a prison officer, want better job satisfaction; require better conditions of social standing and also wish to shake off the old cloak of being a mere custodian and classed as a non-thinker within our penal establishments.

I for one now hope that the Prison Service is advancing into a more modern thinking era, and that prison officers' views and conditions are to be considered as important within the system as any other sections.

I would further add that the people with the power to give us a better deal, should now be listening and starting to take a constructive look at the conditions of prison officers, before many more good and valuable staff resign with disgust and anger from the Prison Service.

J. Chamberlain,
*Long Lartin.*

To The Editor,

*Prison Service Journal.*

Dear Sir,

Review of "Prisons Under Sentence"

As author of the above title for which you were kind enough to include a review in your April issue, I would like to make a few points, with your permission.

The review states that I was a prison visitor at Wormwood Scrubs for many years. This is not so because I have always been associated with Wandsworth.

The review also states that I have over-simplified the real complexities of the penal system. I am surprised that the subject matter has given this impression because I understand the complexities only too well and thought I had made this plain.

The running of a prison filled mostly with unwilling guests is one of the most difficult tasks imaginable. One object of my book was to reduce the complexities by placing more emphasis on rehabilitation and treating convicted men, wherever possible, outside prison. Recidivism itself, in most cases, is proof of the failure of prisons in their rehabilitative role.

Finally, a substantial part of my book was concerned with helping the prisoner to adjust for his release, his after-care, and community responsibility for all wrong-doers.

Yours sincerely,
H. W. Chatfield (Dr.)

# Book Reviews

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## HOSPITAL ORGANIZATION

RALPH ROWBOTTOM and others

Heinemann (for the Brunel Institute of Organization and Social Studies) 1973. £5.25

WERE this a racehorse, its parentage might be described as by "Patience out of Glacier". The authors have, at first—or at second-hand, been associated with the Glacier project (see W. Brown, 1960, *Exploration in Management*) and they have used and developed the models and concepts devised in that project for this examination of the organisation of hospitals. The research described was sponsored by the Ministry of Health (now DHSS) and later by the North-west Metropolitan Regional Hospital Board: it was undertaken by the staff of the Health Services Organisation Research Unit at Brunel University.

The purpose of the research was to gain an understanding of how hospitals *actually* work, to help staff to identify areas where change seemed requisite and to facilitate such change. The researchers collaborated closely with hospital staff but tried to avoid giving management consultant-type "answers" to problems. The research was restricted to examining the roles played by individuals and groups and to assessing how far the roles inter-linked effectively and enabled the work of the hospital as a whole to be carried out. Deliberately the patient was ignored since the research team saw their work to be "about how hospital staff can be helped to organise themselves in ways which are more effective *according to their own definitions of appropriate functions** subject to the ultimate sanction of higher authorities". (This may be an appropriate starting point for research—provided that someone, somewhere remembers that hospitals exist for patients.)

This book is of great relevance and value to those in the Prison Service who are concerned to understand and improve the structure. We are all familiar with the organisational stresses which result from lack of agreement about role relationships. What is the relationship between senior officer and basic grade and principal officers? In what ways is the catering officer accountable to the administration officer? How ought a difference between an assistant governor and a chief officer be resolved? How can a governor be held accountable for the work of subordinates over whose transfer to his prison he has no effective control? Rowbottom suggests that there are a number of different relationships to be found within a hospital organisation (e.g. managerial, treatment-prescribing, supervisory, co-ordinating, monitoring, collateral and service-giving). This list may need redefinition and expansion. In prisons we have attempted no definitions as sophisticated as these although the need to describe roles for purposes of job appraisal is beginning to sharpen our interest. But there are problems. First, Rowbottom's method was to aim at consensus on the part of a role holder and those filling adjacent roles about what is "requisite" in specifying a role. This allows that the understanding by each individual of what is requisite may change as role-holders change. What is seen as requisite today may not be seen as requisite tomorrow. Seeking consensus needs to be an ongoing process. Secondly, Rowbottom's method may be appropriate in a unique organisation but how does it fit into a national organisation like the Prison Service? The relationship between chief officer and training officer may be requisitely different in different establishments, yet it is part of our culture that headquarters may (shall?) specify that the relationship between chief and training officers in *every* establishment shall be such and such.

The work of the Third Stage Management Review team (who are examining the organisation of individual establishments) is likely soon to bear fruit. This book will help staff at headquarters and regions, as well as those in establishments, to understand and to improve our organisation.

K. B. MOODY,
*Deputy Governor, Wormwood Scrubs.*

* Italics in original.

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## LEGAL PROBLEMS AND THE CITIZEN

BRIAN ABEL-SMITH, MICHAEL ZANDER, and ROSALIND BROOKE

Heineman Educational Books. £3.50

"LAWS grind the poor, and rich men rule the law", wrote Oliver Goldsmith. Mr. Justice Darling is said to have observed that the law courts of England were open to all men—like the doors of the Ritz Hotel. Equality of access to the law has never been a marked feature of our democracy. This soberly instructive book confirms that, in this respect, some are still less equal than others. It clearly states the need of ordinary people for legal advice, and assesses and finds deficient the resources available to them. The authors' modest claim that, at date of completion, "it is still the first study of its kind on either side of the Atlantic" understates the seminal effects of their work in progress upon subsequent research and action projects.

This book includes the findings of two surveys. The first covered the advisory services of three Central London boroughs with a combined population in excess of 700,000. The boroughs were deliberately selected as likely to have a high proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. They are densely populated, with wide areas of housing stress and marked educational deprivation.

The survey team identified and researched the advisory services available to the public in these boroughs. The list is long: Citizens' Advice Bureaux, Solicitors, Legal Advice Centres, Local Authority Departments, Members of Parliament, the Probation Service, Police, Courts, Hospitals, DHSS, Trade Unions, Newspapers and a miscellany of other agencies. A staggering 15,500 visits were made to them in one 12-week period: a rate that over a year means one visit for each 10 people living in the three boroughs.

Almost half of all visits were made to citizens' advice bureaux ("the general practitioners of the advisory system"), and half of these led to referrals elsewhere. A major task, in fact, of the main agencies studied was to identify the service best able to help and effect an appropriate introduction. It is not surprising, in the context of Central London, that over a quarter of the calls made were about housing problems. It is no less significant that as many as 12 per cent were in connection with matrimonial difficulties. Disquieting was the variation in service provided between agencies and even within the same group of agencies and, as might be expected, the lower social classes made a proportionately greater use of them than the middle and upper classes.

The second survey involved interviewing 1,651 residents of the boroughs from a random sample of the electoral register. The purpose was to find out what the need was for advisory services, so that this could be compared with the results of the first survey. The respondents were therfore to be asked what problems they had had during the past seven years that presented risk of substantial loss or disadvantage without legal advice.

This kind of research presents a minefield of conceptual difficulty. Problems of definition explode all around. What constitutes need? What is a legal problem? What is meant by advisory services? The authors dealt pragmatically with these difficulties and the considerable methodological problems that ensued. The questionnaire went through 23 drafts. Eventually, it sought to establish whether or not respondents had been in any of 17 specific and common situations involving "legal problems".

Responses disclosed substantial unmet need. Everyone took advice on some things; buying a house, after an accident, facing court action or eviction. But in most of the other situations tested, taking advice from any source was less common and the source approached less likely to possess any special competence to help. "Solicitors were used less by women than men, and less by the poorer, the aged, the less educated, and those of lower social class. Only a minority of people were represented by lawyers in court or tribunal hearings". Where advice could be tested it seemed that people had benefited from it, particularly in the case of those who had suffered personal injuries. Losses due to lack of advice were often substantial, and people who took advice were on the whole satisfied with it.

A lawyer is still the most common ultimate source of advice on traditional legal problems. But an increasing variety of agencies filter, select, refer and sometimes deflect the citizen's problems en route to this time-honoured harbour. The problem is that the lawyer is not common enough. The population survey indicated that not much more than one-quarter of problems requiring an independent lawyer's attention actually got it. There are restrictions on the availability of legal services to the ordinary citizen; and the image of the legal profession does not encourage potential users of the legal advice and assistance scheme, even in its recently extended form.

The pity of it is that wider use of legal advisory services could influence social behaviour—and attitudes towards social responsibility—in a positive and unifying way. The bonding effect of the law is in social terms a powerful argument for its easy availability. Meanwhile, *de minimis non curat lex* continues to mistranslate aptly as "the law doesn't care about little people".

W. B. UTTING,
*Director of Social Services, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea.*

## NEW DIRECTIONS IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

PAUL FILMER, MICHAEL PHILLIPSON, DAVID SILVERMAN, DAVID WALSH

Collier-Macmillan 1972. Paperback £1

READING this difficult and demanding book was rather like a journey through a jungle without guide, map or compass, which might not have been so frustrating had there been anything of value at journey's end. Funnily enough, in the introduction, David Silverman says that this frustration is what the authors aim to avoid. He points to the "opaque character" of previous books on ethnomethodology and says how this book is intended to be more easily understood: which leaves me wondering how these previous authors managed to be even more incomprehensible than the present ones! True, not all are equally bad; Silverman comes close to being lucid in his contributions but Phillipson leaves me struggling in a morass of verbiage.

Silverman also puts his finger unwittingly on the other failing of the book when he says that there has been "far too much talk about theory and far too little theorising" in sociology. Well certainly, this book does nothing to redress the balance since all we are offered is the same argument repeated *ad nauseam* by each author in turn. The argument can be reduced to this: in the past there were sociologists who were prepared to make one set of assumptions about society and we will call them positivists: now, we do not like these assumptions since they are clearly wrong and so we have proposed an alternative set of assumptions, and this obviously *proves* (*sic*) that positivists are wrong: we have also set up an alternative idea of validity which again *proves* (*sic*) that positivists are wrong again: therefore it is clear that any sane man will throw away positivism and follow us.

Far be it from me to become embroiled in this argument, since it does not seem to matter very much except to academic sociologists. The only worthwhile thing to emerge from this argument is to show that traditional sociology was not as scientific as it claimed to be—but is that significant? Only, I would suggest, to the purist. No, rather than all this talk about theory, what would be significant is some actual empirical research which in fact says something about human action. If anything, this book is likely to put one off ethnomethodology which would be sad since what little research the authors quote does appear to have much to offer.

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## SOCIALISATION

KURT DANZIGER

Penguin 1971. 45p

IN this work, which is apparently intended as "first reading", the author examines the rapidly increasing body of theoretical and practical knowledge of this broad and complex subject. Initially, he traces the conceptual development of the subject from its beginnings as the recognition of a social symptom, to its present-day role in which it represents an important field of study into the causative aspects of psychosocial phenomena.

Later chapters, such as Learner and Model, the Parent-Child System, Personality Formation in the Family, Moral Development and Social Attachment and Separation, are concerned with the effect upon social development of the parent-child relationship, and the intra-familial environment. In this area, Danziger discusses how phases of social participatory behaviour are formed, modified and replaced.

In concluding chapters, the subject is considered in the broader context of the extra-familial environment in terms of the influence of peer groups, mass media, the system of formal education, and social class and generation differences.

Kurt Danziger, who is Professor of Psychology at York University, Toronto, has successfully condensed a surprising amount of information into this quite slim volume. He thoughtfully challenges some long standing theories in a style which is both concise and interesting.

B. COWARD,
*Assistant Governor, Albany Prison.*

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## A GLASGOW GANG OBSERVED

JAMES PATRICK

Eyre Methuen 1973. Hardback £3.95
Paperback £1.75

THIS will be a familiar title to fellow readers of the *Observer Review*, following the publication of extracts on the front page for two successive Sundays early this year. A then approved-school teacher, now lecturer in educational psychology, joined a teenage gang in Glasgow on some 15 occasions. The opportunity to become a "member" of this peer group was provided by a pupil at the school who offered an introduction into his gang. One feels that it was only afterwards that Patrick decided to use this experience as an anchor point for a comparative study of the literature on the subject of the problem of teenage gangs in general.

Initially, I felt that Patrick had colluded with the characters in the group, particularly Tim who had provided his means of entry to the gang. However, the fascinating case study of Tim and his environment which forms the sub-plot of the book is written in such a sensitive way that retrospectively I was convinced the author was aware of the dangers of collusion and avoided them remarkably well.

I found the first part of the book the most interesting and would recommend it to anyone who hates text books but enjoys accounts, and who at the same time wants to learn factually from what they read. A random quotation will serve to illustrate this point and give a taste of the style of the book. "Every so often as we stood 'dossin', a thin jet of saliva would hit the pavement. The boys had their own 'gallous' way of spitting; they kept their lips and teeth motionless and squirted the spittle out with their tongues. . . . 'Jist dossin aw day' was the gang's ideal. School, employment, reading, all took up valuable time that could be better spent in doing nothing. Many people in a word association test would answer to the stimulus 'Glasgow Gang' by some such word as 'violence'. The reply 'dossin' would be nearer the truth, and would sum up more these boys' lives than any reference to isolated violent incidents".

This quotation also indicates the large amount of Glaswegian used in the book, for which a full "glossary" is provided.

The first 140 pages of the book consist of an account of Patrick's day to day experiences with the gang, gradually giving way to a general discussion which draws heavily on these experiences. His sudden departure from the gang is only sketched in, but it is clear that to remain he would have had to align himself by acts of violent and delinquent behaviour.

The following 70 pages are devoted to an analysis of the current research on the problem of gangs—sub-divided into the Glasgow gang, British research and American research. In Glasgow the problem appears to stem from tradition: ". . . evidence in newspaper files that Glasgow gangs were in existence . . . as far back as 1880", and from the housing and poverty problem: "What has to be remembered is that if every third house in Glasgow in 1966 was sub-standard, there was a time in the '30s when one-third of the adult working population was unemployed". "It is from this interlocking network of inequalities that the subculture of gangs in Glasgow has grown." Patrick convincingly argues that there is no English equivalent to the Glasgow gang. The lack of literature in this field does not reflect a lack of interest, but rather a lack of subject matter. The section concentrating on American research is closely argued, with constant references to the Glasgow experience and, I felt, has much relevance to the peer groups manifest in prisons. Briefly, what is built up is a distinction between a gang which can potentially be motivated positively, and the "violent gang" which revolves around the glorification of violence, and is necessarily destructive.

Finally, Patrick turns his attention to suggesting answers: ". . . if my diagnosis is correct, if the violent gang is . . . 'a pathological entity requiring elimination' action in the short term at least is clear". Here the role of the Prison Service is made evident—to hold the core members of the violent gang, often seriously disturbed personalities, while work goes on in the community with the fringe members. This holding is not negative for while "the primary object in treatment is the security of society", "the criminal becomes a collaborator in his own treatment . . . and is brutally frank about his own and his neighbours' deviance . . . ". The book ends with 12 steps which should be taken to curb the Glasgow gang, notable for their educational bias which the author recognises, and aimed at the fringe gang members.

With ever increasing numbers of "Angels", and others caught up in gang violence who are sentenced for G.B.H., wounding, affray, etc., I would recommend this book particularly to all staff working in a closed training institution for under 21s. The actual environment of the field work may be foreign to most of us, but the discussions of the status, leadership, roles and values in a subculture of violence are not, and Patrick points a direction for the custodial services to follow.

R. WAGHORN,
*Assistant Governor, H.M. Prison, Aylesbury.*

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## YOUNG OUTSIDERS—A Study of Alternative Communities

RICHARD MILLS

Routledge and Kegan Paul 1973. £3.00

THE past few months have been rich in books dealing with deviant sub-groups. Most recent is Richard Mills' account of hippie life-styles published under the auspices of the Institute of Community Studies.

The work is a development of an interest acquired by Mills during his involvement in Wilmott and Youngs study of family, work and leisure in the London Metropolitan Region. The field work was undertaken in the summer of 1970. This was just the right time, perhaps, since by the following November, the end of the hippie-yippie era was to be announced by Richard Neville writing in *Oz*. Flowers had long since wilted and commerce had discovered that peace and love could be turned to profit. Peace and love themselves became cliches to be regarded as equal in value to beads, acid and heavy music—the peripheral attendants of a philosophy once soundly based upon a rejection of capitalist demands. The collapse was gaining its sad martyrs—Brian Jones, later Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin. Timothy Leary, the movement's arch-priest lay in gaol having announced that acceptance and gentleness could encompass the murder of policemen. The summer of the study was possibly the high point of the alternative dream, before that dream soured.

The book's introductory chapter includes a discussion of what it is that stimulates dropping out. The notion widely expressed amongst the groups concerned is that the constraints of time and traditionally identified work might inhibit their attempts to realise their human potential. Use of leisure in straight society was scorned too, since leisure was seen in relation to time. One was required to opt in actively to conventional leisure activities. Mills indicates that the hippie sub-culture is not particularly a product of any generation gap. The opinions of his general sample of young people in the London survey hinted that in many respects "the broad majority of young people are as different from the hippies as are the majority of the older generation". Little in the sense of a scientific contrast could be made between the number in Mills' sample and the two groups of hippies chosen for investigation. No satisfactory method could be devised to select samples among the latter itinerant, loosely-defined groups. Accordingly the author employs the "participant perception of self" approached quite liberally. Tape recordings of interviews are reproduced throughout and Mills acts as a link man and interpreter. The two hippie groups he chooses to examine are the flat/commune dwellers of Ladbroke Grove and the West End hippies who tended to congregate in the area of Piccadilly. Mills proposes that the transformation to hippie life bears parallels to the religious conversion. It is a transformation encouraged by some aspect of intensified experience: "John's . . . was marked by a quite sudden feeling of being exposed to himself, and Nick's by a particular piece of art which he sensed was opening him up" though "for many hippies, however, the loss of their former selves and the discovery of their new identity involved a long, deliberate and intense search". Interesting distinctions are illustrated between the life-styles of the two groups. They share the apparent badge of drop-outism—but the Ladbroke Grove hippies seem to work rather harder at it. Their transformation in one sense is consciously undertaken, and their links with the straight society remain but are sublimated. The Piccadilly hippies, on the other hand, are more alienated and their life often carries traits of more conventional deviance. (See, too, Harris: *New Society* 6.4.72.)

The writer involves us in an examination of the paramount importance of music and drugs in the hippie life. The musician and the dope dealer are both ministers of "the sacraments of renewal". It is perhaps in these two areas that the hippie mimics the rejected and rejecting majority. The provision of both music and dope necessitates some degree of organisation and quasi-business dealings. But then as one informant states: "It is not a fact of totally not working, it's a question of doing it when you feel like it, how you feel like it and to what extent you feel like it".

Richard Mills discusses the impermanence of the hippie state. Maslow has suggested that the search for "peak experiences" is symptomatic of confused identity. Mills' hippies are eventually faced with the problem of surviving in one way of life once having "found themselves". Mills reports that not many of his informants could sustain the pattern for long and that "paradoxically, they recognised this themselves". He concludes, however, that this in no way implies that the values and perceptions they expressed are invalid. Those who emerged from the experience, in general, did not regret it.

The book concludes with an examination of hippies in relation to society at large and of their place in societal change.

*Young Outsiders* is a book of contrasts. The author does not maintain a consistent style and the resulting imbalance is demonstrated in the following examples. In a succinct yet thorough way, Mills examines the motivations of the dope dealer. Here he is the intelligent, amoral and directionless young man who has achieved a kind of acceptance and status through his entrepreneurial role. But the ambivalence of his attitudes presents him with a greater degree of inner conflict than any other informant quoted. In his own terms he is a success and yet: "Here's me, 23 years old and with not much experience at anything, except a lot of office work and I can't really carry on dealing because that's no way to live". He is a character who recognises the futility of his occupation and yet remains incapable of altering it. But there are times when the reader feels a sympathetic embarrassment at the naivety of Mills' approach. When the author describes his initiation to the hippie scene, long passages are devoted to describing the lurid atmosphere of a Ladbroke Grove commune: barred door, "a smell of fetid damp and insettling marihuana", swooning occupants, the dazed drummer—then came the ultimate realisation—the teapot was produced. "There could be no doubt about it, they had come to tea." From this, one appreciates that the writer tries to illustrate the place of ritual in the gathering, but the bathos weakens the effect of his attempt.

One would have liked to see a more complete discussion on the "sacraments of renewal". The hippie was given reassurance in his mode of life not only from the periodic events described but also from many continuing sources. The underground Press receives only passing reference. The movement had its music but it also had its literature. The cult poets are not mentioned, nor is the flood of poetry finding its way into print in countless underground anthologies. The influence of the various underground radio stations is not considered. These provided not only music, but also a platform for the kind of philosophy not generally expressed in the media. These, and other, very important factors in the sustaining of the life style are neglected.

The weakness in Mills' style of approach is one shared with other studies using a similar methodology. The reader is left to wonder quite how much of relevance has been omitted. Selected quotations may support a point of view rather than assist towards one. However Mills acknowledges the lack of sophisticated scientific technique, and since the book is one of a series "which will interest the layman as well as the specialist" it has much value. The layman, however, may be inclined to wait until the book appears in paperback.

P. M. QUINN,
*Assistant Governor, H.M.Borstal, Hollesley Bay.*

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## SOCIETY AND THE POLICEMAN'S ROLE

MAUREEN E. CAIN

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973. £4.95

THE sociology of the police is a subject pioneered mainly in the U.S.A. In view of the many differences—both in police organisation and in general social structure—between America and Britain, this makes much of the relevant literature problematic in its application to our own police situation. Consequently a very warm welcome must be given to this book, which is only the third to deal sociologically with the British police (the others being Professor Banton's *Policeman in the Community* and John Lambert's *Crime, Police and Race Relations*).

The book is a report on empirical research carried out 10 years ago in one of our big city forces and in a rural area. The study was conceived and carried out in terms of a particular theoretical perspective (role theory) which subsequent writing on the police has to some extent gone beyond; but Dr. Cain is at pains to make this clear, and to update her work in the context of this later writing.

Her role-analysis looks at the interdependence of the basic grade policeman with four groups: the general community, the policeman's family, senior officers in the force, and junior police colleagues. In each case, both city and county force is analysed, and some fascinating differences between the two emerge. For example, the isolated rural policemen were found to be heavily dependent on the local community for carrying out many of their essential tasks, and correspondingly less dependent on junior police colleagues: this situation was reversed in the city. These and other differences have important results—for example, the definition of "good police work" in the county becomes the general one of "peace-keeping", while in the city it is "thief-taking". Because of this much narrower definition of "work", the city men much more than the county men indulged in and legitimised to themselves so-called "illicit easing behaviour" (i.e. non-prescribed behaviour on the part of an employee designed to make work or conditions more congenial in the face of disapproval from senior members of the organisation). This concept of "easing" (which can be licit, i.e. tolerated by senior members—as well as illicit) is a particularly interesting innovative concept used in the study, and reflects the fact that the author did not simply deliver questionnaires to obtain her data, but spent many hours on beat duty with the men.

This, then, is a careful and sophisticated sociological look at an important public service. For readers of this Journal, the obvious question will arise as to how far Cain's analysis can be applied to the role of the prison officer. The answer to this is very complex, though obviously a study of uniformed staff at a large city local prison and a rural open prison could yield some very interesting role comparisons. Nevertheless, even posing the question reminds us that, though we now have three sociological

books about the English policeman, the only book so far published about the English prison officer (by J. E. Thomas) is not written by a sociologist.

A. E. BOTTOMS,
*Senior Lecturer in Criminology, University of Sheffield.*

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## PEOPLE IN PRISON

HUGH J. KLARE

Pitman Publishing 1973. £2.00

PEOPLE IN PRISON is published in Pitman's "Eye on Society Series", a series which sets out to take a close look at some present-day social problems, to analyse them carefully and where possible to point to solutions. Bearing the same title as that of the White Paper issued in 1969, this book is perhaps more aptly named for it deals more specifically with the human problem leading to and created by imprisonment at a depth not possible in an official descriptive account of the work of the Prison Service.

Hugh Klare examines the nature of prison and prisoners: their backgrounds, their offences and the links they retain with the outside world. He describes the special culture of prison life with its routine and hierarchies, the role and function of prisoners, discipline, work and leisure, the problem of long sentences and many other aspects of prison life. He explains the complex web of feeling between prisoners and staff and examines the interaction between individuals and groups in prison. Because prison life tends to undermine the prisoner's sense of identity, Mr. Klare stresses how role and function influence self-awareness. If a prisoner is to act acceptably then he must feel himself to be accepted.

To this end certain reforms are suggested. For prisoners, he proposes more group work and therapy to foster self-knowledge and responsibility. Communications in prison should be more open and more careful selection and training of staff should be undertaken. A new administration structure, it is suggested, would be the basis for a more rational penal policy with a move away from direct control by the Home Office to a system very similar to the old Prison Commission. It is argued that with increasing emphasis being placed upon a governor's role as an administrator, institutions will tend to become less treatment orientated and that the objectives of a neat administration may well produce quite arid conditions for the cultivation of flexible treatment situations. Alternatives to imprisonment should be developed and after-care in the field of social and technical skills improved.

Hugh Klare's underlying philosophy is that individuals who feel alienated will not act in a socially acceptable fashion. A person can generally best help himself by helping others. Examples of how this is being done are given from case studies in this country, the United States and Europe

A modest book in all but price, liberally illustrated and useful in that many different aspects of criminology and penology have been condensed into a form digestible enough for the general reader and certainly of value as recommended introductory reading at the Prison Officers' Training School. Mr. Klare has examined many of the assumptions at present held with regard to the "treatment" of offenders in custody and replaced them with his own.

JOHN WILKINSON,
*Deputy Principal, Officers' Training School, Leyhill.*

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## FIREARMS CONTROL

**A study of armed crime and firearms control in England and Wales**

COLIN GREENWOOD

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972. £3.50

FIREARMS not only induce strong attitudes of approval or disapproval in the public but also have an intrinsic fascination for many. It is an exceptional man or boy who will not turn aside to look at a pistol, feel the weight of it in his hand, sight along it and speculate about its capabilities. The fascination leads on to a desire to possess by those who "like guns" as well as by those who shoot for sport or competition.

Chief Inspector (now Superintendent) Colin Greenwood has performed a useful public service by devoting a Cropwood Fellowship at the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge to an exploration of the laws by which we control the possession of firearms in this country.

He recounts the history of the legislation from the Pistols Act of 1903 onwards, seeking out the reasons, real and imaginary, for each more stringent law that followed. The central section of the book contains an analysis of the illegal use of firearms in detail which shows the real scale of serious crimes involving the use of firearms; information which has, as far as I know, not been available before. In the third part of the book, Mr. Greenwood gives a useful resumé of the present legislation and practice for the registration of firearms and shotguns. Certificate holders, criminologists, policemen and legislators will find the contents both interesting and useful.

But it is also a controversial book. This is because Mr. Greenwood's detailed analysis of the statistics about firearms leads him to the conclusion that much of the law to control them is of little value in containing the criminal use of these deadly weapons; that the process of control consumes police manpower to little effect and bears harshly on the legitimate holders of firearms certificates. He develops this well-researched attack on one of the cornerstones of our preventive legislation without heat or polemics and his view is therefore a persuasive one. For my part, however, I am not entirely convinced because it seems to me that without restrictive legislation, firearms would have become as common as motor-cars in this well-to-do society—which prompts the thought that if we controlled the possession and use of motor-cars as closely as firearms, our roads would be much safer places. (We should never get anywhere of course!)

In an appendix the author traces a relationship between the changes in the law about hanging and the increasing use of weapons —including firearms—in cases of robbery. I suspect that Mr. Greenwood will find more people ready to endorse this conclusion than to agree with his conclusions about the control of firearms.

The book is well produced but at £3.50 it is one for the professional, the enthusiast and the library shelf.

R. M. STOBART,
*Assistant Chief Constable, Hampshire.*

## REPORT ON THE REVIEW OF PROCEDURES FOR THE DISCHARGE AND SUPERVISION OF PSYCHIATRIC PATIENTS SUBJECT TO SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS

SIR CARL AARVOLD *et al*

H.M.S.O. 1973. 18½p.

GRAHAM YOUNG was discharged from Broadmoor in February 1971 and in June 1972 was convicted of murder and other grave offences committed by poisoning. The Home Secretary introduced some immediate changes in the supervision of restricted patients and, as a long term measure, set up the Butler Committee which will examine in wide-ranging terms the question of the abnormal offender. In the interim, Judge Aarvold and a small committee were asked to advise whether there should be changes within the existing law. This is their report. The committee's task was to look only at patients subject to restriction orders. About 400 such patients a year are admitted to hospitals, one-half of them going to special hospitals; about a quarter of the 400 are persons transferred from prisons to special hospitals under sections 72–74 of the Mental Health Act. At any one time there are almost 2,000 patients in hospital subject to restrictions, 1,200 of these patients being in special hospitals.

The Aarvold Committee recommends that certain "difficult" cases should be noted as requiring special assessment, that a second opinion should be sought before such cases are transferred from a secure hospital or discharged and that the opinion of non-medical professional staff should support a recommendation for transfer or discharge. It is recommended that an advisory board be established and that the Home Secretary should seek its views regarding the discharge of patients needing special assessment, that discharge from a special hospital be a gradual process via a hostel or N.H.S. hospital, that there should be guidance to all those involved in post-discharge supervision, that the patient should be asked before discharge for his written consent to the disclosure of relevant information about him and that clear guidance be given regarding responsibility for recall.

K.B.M.

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## BILLY RAGS

TED LEWIS

Michael Joseph 1973. £2.00

TED LEWIS' third novel is the story of a violent professional criminal, Billy Cracken, who was nicknamed Billy Rags at school. In a number of flashbacks in the first part of the book Billy recounts incidents in his early life which may be intended as parallels to later experience. The major part of the book concerns Billy's life in prison, his relationships with staff and other prisoners, a riot, an escape and his subsequent involvement in crime. Billy is portrayed as a man of intelligence whose understanding of his own motivation is limited —or the motivation indicated seems greatly

over-simplified. Mr. Lewis has succeeded in telling a tale which moves along at a cracking pace and which has the ring of authenticity.

K.B.M.

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## MISFITS

PAUL and PATRICIA DE BERKER

Pitman Publishing, 1973. £2.25

## FOLK DEVILS AND MORAL PANIC

STANLEY COHEN

MacGibbon and Kee, 1972. £2.95

## KEEP THE FAITH BABY

KENNETH LEECH

S.P.C.K., 1973. £1.90

THESE three books are about marginal people and events and yet portray in most vivid terms these people—delinquents, drug addicts, hippies, mods and rockers, revolting students—as the symptoms of a sick, ignorant and compartmentalised society.

I found *Misfits* to be an excellent introduction for those wishing to gain a comprehensive understanding of a society which has yet to discover how to come to terms with itself and with the individual, the loner, the misunderstood. The book is well documented with a good bibliography. The de Berker's main thesis is that the "depression of the nineteenth century" has been "exchanged (for) the schizophrenia of the twentieth". In other words, we have so compartmentalised human activity in our society that we can no longer co-ordinate our lives and make sense of them. "We are divided", they write, "both individually and as a society. The results of our actions are often the opposite of what we had expected, and in our fantasy life we dwell on chaos and destruction".

*Misfits* explores psychological as well as sociological theories of deviance, and though the book, which is well written and readable, gives a balanced view of the theories and reasons for people and groups becoming misfits, there is clearly more sympathy for psychological factors being the main causal agents. The book concerns itself not only with a review of the thoughts and behaviour of people (there is an emphasis on young people) who defy conventional law and morality but also in the final chapter asks: "What are the misfits saying?". The problems posed by the loners, the delinquent, are for society to solve: a society which is seen as uncaring or obtuse or unadaptable. Technology will have to be humanised, and the turned-off generation will need to accept that freedom and responsibility go hand in hand. I would recommend this book as an introductory reader on all courses concerned with man in society.

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*Folk Devils and Moral Panic* (sub-title "The Creation of the Mods and Rockers") is an altogether different book. It is the outcome of a piece of research conducted by Dr. Cohen. The book seeks to explain the development of the phenomenon known as the Mods and Rockers in the 1960s through the reaction of society's agents of control (e.g. the media, police, courts, etc.) to the initial problem posed by the first seaside events. Using the model of deviancy amplification, Dr. Cohen argues that the stereotyped views and attitudes about mods and rockers were created much by the initial reaction of the Press and television, the members of the public who gathered to watch "the events" and the behaviour of the police and the courts. The book does not concentrate on the mods and rockers themselves but upon the interaction of the institutions and forces within society upon the mods and rockers and the feedback mechanisms at work which presented society and the young people concerned with stereotyped roles to perform.

The book is pessimistic about society's ability to prevent moral panics and the creation of folk devils. Dr. Cohen makes the points that the constraints should be placed upon the media in their initial reporting; that certain forms of deviant behaviour are best left alone, for it is cheaper; and that many of the punishments which were inflicted upon the young people should be condemned as harsh and unjust. Dr. Cohen does not say that phenomena such as the mods and rockers are not problems for society, but that the initial labelling of the problem is wrong. He calls for a far greater degree of informed knowledge and understanding on the part of the media, the police, the courts and the public. I would readily accept this view but would suggest that informed knowledge must be presented in an understandable way. If this cannot be done a situation is created whereby sociologists feed sociologists with their own ideas and jargon, and the rest of us remain ignorant of the knowledge they are building up.

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*Keep the Faith Baby* is not an academic book, but a highly personal and Christian view of the drug scene in Soho in the late 60s by an Anglican priest whose ministry was based in Soho. I found it immensely readable. Kenneth Leech demonstrates a deep sympathy for the people caught up in the nightmare world of drugs and accepts them as young people searching for a new morality and not as "labelled" junkies, hippies and deviants. The book also presents a vivid picture of government alarm and muddle as to how to deal with the use and abuse of drugs. The author does well to dispose of some well-established myths such as cannabis being addictive; cannabis leading to heroin; and teenagers being the largest group of addicts. But personal views and events crowd upon each other so quickly that I put down the book feeling exhausted and a little perplexed. Maybe this was how Kenneth Leech felt in Soho.

The book has some harsh things to say about the Christian Church's attitude to society's outcasts and a few tips for the clergyman on how to perform a detached role. These comments should, I think, be read by all priests, including prison chaplains, for if the book does nothing else it does point to the need for an effective Christian concern. This would imply joint action by those working within institutions such as prisons, parishes and in specialised ministries like that of Kenneth Leech in Soho.

In conclusion, I would recommend these three books to all working in the Prison Service and to those who are recipients of the Service. The problems posed by these books are for society as a whole to tackle but in particular it is for those amongst us who seek to protect the norms of society that they are most directly applicable.

GRAHAM RICHES,

*Warden, Liverpool University Settlement.*

## A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO THE DRUG SCENE

KENNETH LEECH

S.P.C.K. 1973. 75p

## ADDICTS: DRUGS AND ALCOHOL RE-EXAMINED

JAMES WILLIS

Pitman 1973. £2.25

THESE two fairly slim books are similar. Sadly, though, the similarity is most apparent in their deficiencies. Leech's book is the better. His title suggests a simple, middle-of-the-road outline of the phenomenon and, to a certain extent, this is what he achieves. The first part deals with the substances involved in the scene and gives a brief history of their use in Britain. The outline of the chemistry and the medicinal basis of the drugs falls within his title, but it is not deep enough to interest anyone involved in the field and of no more than passing interest to the layman. As a person of the right age to have been on the sidelines of some of the episodes described, I found the historical aspects fascinating, but I do not think the book could be justified on that ground. As a priest, Leech perhaps has some excuse for the inadequacy of his earlier sections and he makes up for this later, briefly, in an excellent exposition of his own speciality. Willis, on the other hand, is a psychiatrist. He also deals with the drug substances and their physiological effects early in his copiously illustrated book. Again, the treatment is too shallow to be of great value. What is more, Willis does not come across as someone who knows and understands junkies as Leech seems to.

On balance, I would say that there are better books about the drug scene, but if you must turn to either of these, Leech's has the advantage that his style is easy and unpedantic and his book has a small gem at the end for the patient reader.

The telling failure of both of these books is that they do not cover what people in our roles really want to read. Here am I, trying to do something to relieve the junkie's addiction and being woefully inadequate to help. When we turn to books, it is in the secret hope that we will find the magic recipe for success. When we do not find it, perhaps we project our own guilt on to the writer because of our own impotence. Nevertheless, I was amazed that both these authors avoided the questions "Why?" and "What can be done about it now?" Perhaps they, too, find the issue painful.

To be fair, Willis does have a chapter on "Causes of Drug-dependence and Alcoholism: Some Personal Factors". The reader looks forward to something meaty, some real *re-examination*. But after plodding unsuspectingly through the heavy swell of the doctor's prose and into a light surf of familiar things and then into a brief calm of postulates which have long since lost their credibility, the reader, having hoisted all intellectual sail, finds the chapter over.

The unfortunate fact about these books is that they say nothing even up-to-date, let alone new, about the aspects of the problem in which our interest really lies. For example, Dr. Willis has a later chapter on "The Treatment of Alcoholism and Drug-dependence", but by that stage of the book, you know what it will say. It will offer some recipes for drug-maintenance programmes and a cosy note that in some cases there are personality problems which will require psychotherapy. With singular unoriginality, that is what it does say.

The second part of Leech's book is on "Pastoral Care in the Drug Scene", and much of it covers the same well-trodden and basically sterile ground which Willis has trampled. However, the gem is contained in one brief passage dealing with the theology of drug-taking. As a non-religious person, this is one of the aspects of the subject I had never considered. Personally, I do not find it relevant or helpful, depending as it does on matters of faith, but Leech's approach really comes to life. His easy style blossoms, the clarity and logic of his thinking blossoms and the result is fascinating. If you want a clear, thoughtful and thoroughly readable introduction to this issue, you need look no further. The attraction is hard to explain, unless it be the novelty of the angle. If the same logic and clarity of expression could be applied outside the emotive framework of religion, then a genuinely new contribution might be in prospect. The whole subject could do with a liberal injection of both clarity and logic.

Both authors are, no doubt, erudite and educated, with real concern for the welfare and happiness of their less fortunate brothers. The cover notes of both books show that both authors have done much for the junkie. The pity is that both have spent so much time and effort in producing books which contribute so little to the alleviation of the problem which moves them.

There are better sources for the basic factual information these books offer. For his historical and theological treatments, Leech's book is worth borrowing, but neither offer important views on the problem as a social phenomenon nor do they provide incisive ideas about causes or cures. While there are people like Jock Young (*The Drugtakers*, MacGibbon and Kee, 1971) thinking and writing, Leech and Willis might be better advised to stick to their own trades.

S. J. TWINN,
*Assistant Governor, H.M. Borstal, Feltham.*

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## ARCHBOLD:

### Pleading, Evidence and Practice in Criminal Cases. 38th Edition

T. R. FITZWALTER BUTLER and STEPHEN MITCHELL

Sweet and Maxwell 1973. £15.50
(Circuit edition £19.00)

I HOPE that there is a reference section in heaven where Mrs. Beeton, Roget, Crockford and Whitaker enjoy immortality. And, surely, Archbold would be there too, thumbing through the 1,663 pages of the new edition of the book which keeps alive his memory.

The broad division of *Archbold* into two major sections dealing respectively with the general and the particular has been retained, the second section having been substantially revised to take account of changes in the law. Regrettably, the 1972 Criminal Justice Act is not included but is available as a supplement.

One cannot but applaud the work done by the authors in compiling this new edition of an invaluable reference book. The price of the book is high but most PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL readers will be using borrowed copies. . . .

## THE SILVERLAKE EXPERIMENT:

### Testing Delinquency Theory and Community Intervention

LAMAR T. EMPEY and STEVEN G. LUBECK

Aldine, Chicago 1971. £5.70

THIS is an important book from a number of standpoints. It provides a well documented account of action research, rigorously puts some sociological theory to the test, focuses on the actual process of a programme for offenders and it offers a series of suggestive leads for further enquiry and exploration. Silverlake is a hostel, administered by Boys Republic, a private foundation which also runs a rather traditional institution for young offenders in a rural setting. Silverlake is a separate facility, receiving boys in their late teens directly from the courts. It is situated in an upper middle-class area of Hollywood and the sprawling one-storey building houses up to 20 young offenders at any one time, usually for a period of a year. A condition of residence for the boys is that they attend the local high school. From the standpoint of the courts, Silverlake is an alternative to placement in an institution.

As a piece of action research the Silverlake study represents an example of close collaboration between research workers and the host agency. This probably was a result of the attention given in the early stages to drawing up a "contract of agreement" between the parties involved which was a statement of understanding about the kind of organisation needed to conduct the experiment, its basic objectives and the methods by which it would be financed and operated. The authors suggest that they should have provided the field workers with more feedback during the operational phase but with that one shortcoming the level of collaboration was generally of a mutually productive level. The theoretical assumptions behind the intervention strategies are made very explicit. This is unusual in correctional enterprises and Empey and Lubeck emphasise the point that Silverlake should be seen as a strategy of search rather than yet another strategy of action. By the end of the research period the sociological theory did require considerable modification as did the intervention strategies and the authors concluded that a pilot study could have provided a stronger empirical base for theory building. The close attention to theory throughout the book is much in contrast to most writing in this field which is characterised by unstated assumptions and intuitive hunches.

Whilst there is consideration of the characteristics of the young offenders in the programme (and the control group at Boys Republic) as well as a very full analysis of follow-up material the most important aspect of the evaluative research is that which focuses upon process. The authors themselves write that "without careful study of programme operation, correctional organisations remain mysterious black boxes about which amazingly little is known". A number of techniques were used to discover what actually went on within the "black box" including regular surveys of staff and offender attitudes, an analysis of "critical incidents" and close study of runaways and those who otherwise failed the programme. These methods brought forward some useful findings, although sometimes of a disappointing nature. A central intervention strategy, for example, was to enhance the capacity for mutual help amongst the offenders, but despite the efforts made the questionnaire results led the authors to conclude that, "while the data suggest that experimentals were less willing than controls to foster an inmate sub-system it is not clear that they were substantially more willing to perform strongly in a reformation role". The "critical incidents" technique proved to be very useful and it is one that might well be further developed in other settings. By focusing on crisis points and the reactions of staff and offenders it pointed to the changing levels of tolerance of both groups for deviant behaviour as the programme developed. With greater research resources more process evaluation could have been conducted. Diaries by residents would have thrown additional light on the perceptions of those involved, and there should have been some empirical testing of the model that the authors designed which outlines a series of stages through which a hostel community such as Silverlake evolves. The model is made very explicit and one hopes that it might be tested in another setting. There is close attention also to the links that were established between Silverlake and its immediate environment and it has to be concluded that from the point of view of the offenders these were not very satisfactory. The authors comment that there was probably little value in the programme being residential.

The evaluation of the data on reconvictions does not demonstrate that Silverlake was more successful than the control group in the institution. It can be shown that the Silverlake programme was less expensive and possibly less damaging to the youngsters involved. In this sense it is a timely warning to those who see "community based" programmes as a panacea for the crime and delinquency in major metropolitan areas. That would be to repeat the mistake made by those well meaning individuals who invented the penitentiary. The pursuit of a panacea will be disappointing and self-defeating. What is needed, and the Silverlake programme is a good example, are general strategies which allow for learning and development. Within that general strategy there would be a whole range of particular programmes and projects within the community which together represent a very positive alternative to the strategy of institutionalising offenders which we should by now be ready to totally reject.

A. F. RUTHERFORD,
*Formerly Deputy Governor of Everthorpe Borstal. Now Fellow of the Academy for Contemporary Problems, Columbus, Ohio.*

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## WRONGFUL IMPRISONMENT

RUTH BRANDON and CHRISTIE DAVIES

Allen and Unwin, 1973. £4.50

THE imprisonment of an innocent individual, following his mistaken conviction, is something which we have been accustomed to regarding as rare in the English system of criminal justice. This book provides disturbing evidence that such breakdowns of the system are by no means so rare, and that the safeguards for the innocent are not so strong nor the procedure for redress so effective as we would like to think. In this book the authors examine police, trial and review procedure, highlight those points at which the present system seems weakest, and consider possible alternatives and remedies. They base their arguments on their analysis of 70 officially recognised pieces of wrongful imprisonment, on cases of wrongful imprisonment which they have gleaned from the Press and books, and on some additional cases in which the prisoner was granted special remission because of doubts about his guilt.

From their study of these cases Brandon and Davies claim that the two most common causes of wrongful imprisomnent are, first, mistaken identification and, secondly, confessions and statements allegedly made by the accused. They point out the inadequate safeguards for the accused in identification procedure and evidence, and the possibilities of incorrectly held identification parades. They indicate that the victims of wrongful imprisonment were usually people who had a record of previous convictions for the same events. Such people are most likely to be brought in for identification parades and therefore have a statistically greater chance of being picked out. Brandon and Davies show that there is considerable scope for improving identification accuracy and they urge that identification evidence should be corroborated and that Home Office instructions regarding the conduct of parades should be made mandatory.

With regard to alleged confessions and statements they point to the pressures which operate on eye witnesses in court not to show doubt or contradict themselves. They feel that the Judges' Rules afford insufficient protection for children, people of low intelligence (who are particularly prone to wrongful imprisonment) and the psychologically unstable. There is some interesting discussion concerning why people make false confessions and false pleas of guilty, as well as a horrific account of how a man was induced to plead guilty and was consequently deprived of any chance of appeal.

Because 50 per cent of their cases had been tried by jury, Brandon and Davies suggest that there should be greater use of special juries composed of experts in the appropriate fields for complex cases and that educational qualifications for jurors should be introduced. In themselves these proposals are not unreasonable but the authors give no indication of the educational standard they had in mind, simply making the extraordinary sweeping and unsupported generalisation that "the educated person is less rigid and dogmatic in his thinking". We should perhaps be wary that too high an educational standard might overweigh juries with middle-class members who are less likely to empathise with the cultural background and life style of the working-class defendant.

When they discuss the procedure for appeal against conviction Brandon and Davies pay tribute to the assistance which prison staff have often given to appellants. But they feel that the prisoners' enforced reliance on amateur advisers is scarcely just and urge that free legal advice should be extended to appellant prisoners. Similarly, they recommend that prisoners struggling to acquire a pardon should be legally aided in petitioning the Home Office. The odds against the prisoner at this stage make most disturbing reading: the prisoner must *prove* his innocence, not merely raise a reasonable doubt about his guilt. The authors recommend the creation of a Home Office unit to investigate prisoners' petitions in the field. Alarming in its implications is the finding that "in most of the cases which we have come across eventual exoneration has been neither due to the efforts of the defendants nor those of the authorities. It has been due to chance in one way or another".

There are some harrowing accounts of the consequences suffered by the wrongfully imprisoned: total loss of trust, friends and career; and the experience of recurring nightmares. Compensation at present is derisory and the authors make the admirable recommendation that the State should accept absolute liability for such mistakes and set up a commission to assess the damages more generously.

Overall, this is a worthwhile and readable book with a text which is enlivened by absorbing personal accounts from victims and by sections of trial transcript. Though the cost (£4.50) of this slender volume is prohibitive, I hope people will borrow and read it for it gives thoughtful consideration to an important and somewhat neglected subject.

SYLVIA KING,

*Sylvia King has a degree in Law and is presently studying criminology.*

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## RESIDENTIAL WORK WITH CHILDREN

RICHARD BALBERNIE

Human Context Books, 1973. £1.50

IN this book Richard Balbernie describes the problems he faced when attempting to transform a traditionally-run approved school into a therapeutic community for maladjusted and delinquent boys. The approved school had modelled itself on public school life and adopted a middle-class value system. This is in contrast with the desired aims and values of a therapeutic community based on achieving the freest possible expression of feelings by both boys and staff. In his analysis of the difficulties that he met, Richard Balbernie shows a welcome depth of knowledge of management concepts and also gives a very useful survey of the relevant literature in social psychology.

The boys in the study had been received from agencies which had given up hope of effecting any modification of their severely disturbed and damaged personalities, and formed what the author terms "a residual population". Their reaction on arriving in the new therapeutic community was to grasp the opportunity for disruptive and outrageous behaviour which presented itself. For, gone were the formal controls of their earlier custodial experiences which had previously inhibited their behaviour to some extent. They had been rejected by society outside and by those who had tried to help them. What more could happen to them? Borstal and prison seemed their likely future.

For the staff, the protection normally afforded in this situation had been removed. There were no "lock-up" periods during which they could take a deep breath before facing their charges again. Nor were they able to hide behind the formal role that they held in the traditional institutional community. The definitions of their tasks were so hazy that there was no guide as to where the line should be drawn between what was acceptable and what was unacceptable behaviour. Further, in a community where by definition responsibility for treatment was not confined to the trained professional staff but was the concern also of other community members, the status of staff was threatened.

The anxiety and loss of morale among staff that resulted led Balbernie to look at the function of leadership to see how staff could be helped to tolerate the pressures of the community. He argued that the main function of leadership was to define the primary task of the organisation. It was only within an appropriate framework of management that there could be therapy.

To establish what the primary task was he studied the needs of the individuals in the care of the organisation. He found many whose needs would have been met better in the outside community and found that the process of separating them from their families was a positively harmful one. Others had needs which could be met appropriately within a residential setting, but the institution as it stood lacked the resources to meet them. However, only when these needs were assessed could there be an attempt to establish what kind of organisation was appropriate and what resources were needed. Balbernie suggests that institutions which fail to do this but accept cases for which they have no resources, just because of the continual pressure to take more, tend to establish criteria for success which can be manifestly achieved but which are of little real meaning. Thus, in the case of disturbed children, educational attainment may be taken as a measure of success although it has little to do with a child's disturbance (and in prison, conformity can lead to parole recommendation—though the prisoner may be unable to maintain himself outside upon discharge). But by "pretending" to be successful in this way institutions collude with society in allowing it to offload its problems onto them—for they do not make society acknowledge that the possibilities of *real* success are minimal unless resources are forthcoming.

The loss of integrity that such a pretence involves and the weak leadership and confused organisation that are implied must lead to staff anxiety and demoralisation. Further, the institution may well become the scapegoat of society and be blamed for the failure to achieve the unrealistic objectives it has accepted. In the event tactics are developing to escape having to deal with the problems which would demonstrate the failure to achieve the primary task. The inmate whose behaviour becomes intolerable is not presented with the reality of his behaviour, but is "ghosted" away without explanation. But, to quote the author of this stimulating book, "morale cannot for long be sustained on collusive social and personal relationships, it must be real: that is, based on mutual professional respect in relation to actual task performance and completion". Leadership, he suggests, is the key. For it is the job of leadership to keep the organisation on a solid, limited, possible and realistic footing.

J. W. STAPLES,

*A.G.I. at Wormwood Scrubs Prison.*

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## A LIFE APART

E. J. MILLER and G. W. GWYNNE

Tavistock Publications 1972. £3.00

PERHAPS one reason why nearly all the research done in the Prison Service, both by its own internal researchers and external agencies, seems to have no practical pay-off is that the research is initiated by the wrong people. It is to do something for, or to, or with inmates that institutions exist. Inmates of residential institutions have a 24-hour a day familiarity with the institutional system which even the most concerned others cannot have. A significant feature of the pieces of research written up in *A Life Apart* is that they were initiated by some inmates in one of these institutions.

Inmates in a home for the severely disabled (Le Court Cheshire Home) begged for this research-consultancy to be undertaken. From Le Court the research was carried into a number of similar residential institutions. Every day, if only we could listen to what they were saying, inmates in our prisons are pressing in one way or another, for practical research to—

be done within the prison system in the areas in which they have identified as problem areas. However, *not* listening to what inmates are *really* saying seems to be typical of most institutions, not least of the Prison Service. I do not suppose that Miller and Gwynne normally get their commissions from consumers, and in the event it took them three and a half years of ambivalent hesitation and the hope, perhaps, that inmates at Le Court would stop applying pressure before they took the first practical steps to set up a research consultancy. There was a certain degree of shock that *inmates* had asked for the research-consultancy. One of the fascinating things about organisations is that the further one is away from immediate contact with the primary processes of the organisation, the higher one's status and the higher the rewards are. It was difficult for Miller and Gwynne to believe that cripples in a home had asked for a research consultancy. Their expectation was that such a request must inevitably come from management sound in wind and limb.

Those inmates of Le Court who had kept pressing for a research consultancy were wise to seek this help from the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. Wise, or, perhaps just lucky for a number of reasons. T.I.H.R. are committed to *action research*. They are concerned with "advancing the social sciences for the service of practical affairs of man". Tavistock research is not for filing away and taking out every decade for a dusting. The list of research projects undertaken within the Prison Service is awesome, but one has to search far indeed for any project which has given any practical pay-off to the organisation. One major reason for this is that few, if any, of the researchers or consultants have any coherent theory of organisation to help them to understand and analyse what they are researching into or providing a consultancy for. Miller and Gwynne, continuing and developing the work inspired by the late A. K. Rice, brought to their task a carefully constructed and tested analytical theory about the nature of organisations. They brought with them not only a strict intellectual discipline but also a profound understanding of the logic of emotions, their own emotions as well as those of others. That effective and creative compassion may be more a matter of such understanding and of reason than of feeling itself may seem to be a contradiction in terms, but Miller and Gwynne demonstrate through their work in the book that mature understanding and reason are patently more creatively supportive in the area of human relationships than undisciplined emotion.

Organisations exist within an environment with which to remain alive they must, like a biological organism, engage in a two way inter-change. They import things and people from the environment, they use resources to convert the import by a process of change into an export, which is returned to the environment. Within the organisation there are processes and systems of activity with boundaries between them as there is a boundary between the organisation and its environment. There is a dynamic relationship between the organisation's import, its primary task, its resources, its systems of activity, its control of boundaries, the nature of change in the conversion process, and the export or product of the organisation. Understanding of the nature of this dynamic process is essential for the understanding of any organisation, be it a motor-car factory, a school, a hospital, a prison or a Cheshire home. The models which Miller and Gwynne use are more fully described in *The Enterprise and its Environment* by A. K. Rice and *Systems of Organisation* by E. J. Miller and A. K. Rice, both Tavistock publications which this writer recommends people to read.

Miller and Gwynne have described the research-consultancy which is the subject of *A Life Apart* as a pilot study, which it is, and an extremely valuable one. They recommend the need for more research in this area but not, they warn, as the next step. The next step must be the testing out in practice of the validity of their tentative concept of the nature of residential care. Not further papers at this stage, but action. "The research task is the systematic examination of the experiences of changes in a variety of settings, and the dissemination of the lessons learned." This would involve in institutions a difficult and often painful process of change and appraisal of the change achieved.

It may be that the Prison Service as a large bureaucracy, as a politically directed organisation, and as a symbolic institution drawing out the most powerful ambivalent feelings both in the institution itself and in its environment, can never dare to expose itself to rational analysis and so to effectual change. Should it however do so, it would do well to emulate the inmates of the court and to call for the sort of research described here. If the Department of Health and Social Security can support this kind of practical research, why not the Home Office? It is not the volume of research which matters (however impressive page after page of research projects may be): it is the quality of the research and the practicability of its findings which are important.

A. A. FYFE,

*Andrew Fyfe is Governor of Drake Hall Open Prison. He was earlier the head of the Management Studies Department of Wakefield Staff College.*

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## MAKING IT IN PRISON

### The square, the cool and the life

ESTHER HEFFERNAN

Wiley-Interscience 1972. £4.25

STUDIES like Miss Heffernan's sociological analysis of the attitudes and orientations of 400 female inmates of the Occoquan Reformatory are all too rare. Her thorough research, detailed references and objective, unsensational presentation make this book well worth reading, even if it were not for the additional factor that there is so little female orientated research in this field. Although the book was inspired predominantly by the Attica tragedy and the chronic ignorance revealed by that event, such a study would nevertheless be invaluable in this country: particularly in view of the enormous capital investment in women's prisons.

Miss Heffernan's professed aim was to discover what women in prison really think, feel and want. From her analysis of extensive informal interviews with all the inmates in Occoquan there emerge three sub-cultural groups which represent distinct patterns of adaptation to prison life and serving time. In short, three different ways of "making it"—the square, the cool and the life of the title. Although this finding will confuse those who endow prison populations with a homogeneity they do not possess, it will give a sense of relief for those of us who occasionally feel swamped by the sheer mass of individuality we are faced with. Miss Heffernan's analysis, intuitively at least, makes sense out of a fair amount of prison behaviour. The author avoids the well-worn theme of the respective merits of various treatments, the authority conflict and inmate behaviour as seen from staff's viewpoint, and instead simply tries to understand inmate responses to prison, friendship groups, work—all aspects of life in a total institution. Her analysis of so-called lesbian relationships and complex pseudo-family/friendship groups is particularly interesting.

Although the book is at times rather too academic and technical for the general reader, I did find myself carried along by the intrinsic interest of the material. Its relevance lies in reminding us that we see only that part of inmate behaviour which is presented: the tip of the iceberg. Hardly a revelation, but the shift in emphasis is provocative and stimulating.

Miss C. L. TURNER,

*Assistant Governor at Holloway Prison.*

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## LABELLING DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR: ITS SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

EDWIN M. SCHUR

Harper and Row Monograph Series in Sociology. 1971. £1.40

IN RECENT years sociologists have shown an increasing interest in the processes surrounding deviant behaviour. As a result an ever growing number of writers have exhibited a shift in focus from the deviant himself to the process of response and counter-response through which behaviour takes on social meaning. The social audience, it is claimed, is as important as the actor (deviant/criminal) and as worthy of study if we are to understand better deviant behaviour and the social control mechanisms that develop around it: for as Lippman suggests: "We do not first see, then define, we define first and then see . . . . . "[1].

One of Schur's main tasks in this book is to attempt to clarify what has been said and what has not been said by those adopting the "labelling approach"—the word label having been given particular significance by Howard Becker: "The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label".[2] Schur addresses himself to this task in his second chapter ("A Critical Overview") with some success, though the ground covered is formidable. There is an "Aunt Sally" feeling about the way he presents criticisms of the labelling approach only to knock them down with due aplomb. But this is a minor drawback. One of his most emphatic charges is that much of the "confusion and controversy" surrounding labelling arises from a failure to provide clear cut definitions of deviance that can be made operational to enable researchers to test the validity of the approach. Andrew Rutherford referred to this difficulty in testing similar views in his review of D. Matza, *Becoming Deviant* and E. Rubington and M. Weinberg, *Deviance: The Interactionist Perspective* in an earlier edition of this Journal.[3] Schur's own working definition of deviance is full enough but difficult to act upon: "Human behavior is deviant to the extent that it comes to be viewed as involving a personally discreditable departure from a group's normative expectations, and it elicits interpersonal or collective reactions that serve to 'isolate', 'treat', 'correct' or 'punish' individuals engaged in such behavior". Is that helpful to researchers?

Having reviewed the labelling approach generally, the author turns to a consideration of the consequences of adopting a labelling approach in three important areas:

(1) Interpersonal relations.

(2) Organisational processing.

(3) Collective rule making.

Schur's style is more engaging in this middle section of the book and the chapter on interpersonal relations is particularly interesting, examining as it does some familiar notions with a sense of freshness. There are sections on stereotyping, retrospective interpretation (the way in which deviators come to be seen "in a totally new light" and their previous behaviour scrutinised for evidence of their deviant tendencies); the role of negotiation (plea bargaining is a good example); and the acceptance of a deviant identity. Schur is especially severe in the section dealing with organisational processing. He opens bluntly with the statement that "organisations produce deviants". For those working in the Prison Service this may be a bitter pill to swallow. Unquestionably, adherents of the labelling viewpoint have rightly concentrated more attention upon the role of the law detecting and law enforcing agencies but it would be naive to pretend that his assertion is not threatening. In essence, Schur gives a view of the implications of the labelling approach and in the middle chapters his lucidity and enthusiasm is impressive. Before concluding the book he attempts to show the links between labelling theorists and people representing other more established sociological traditions: a task better undertaken by Edwin Lemert earlier.[4] He has mixed success here and his claims for consistent themes between other approaches and the labelling approach is a little far fetched.

In total, Schur has written an interesting book and has managed a difficult task with some conviction. He is in an admirable position to review the labelling approach in view of his earlier works, particularly *Narcotic Addiction in Great Britain and America*, *Crimes without Victims* and *Our Criminal Society*. His review of the position is thorough but he could have devoted more time to the challenge of the labelling viewpoint: for there is a sense of challenge in an approach that emphasises a process rather than a starting point leading towards an ending, and a continuum rather than a set of labels. The labelling approach offers a challenge to our value system in numerous ways. The deviant role takes on new meaning and emphasis: the challenge inherent in the presentation of the deviant's viewpoint is well illustrated by the following quotation from James Bryan's work. A prostitute (how many labels are there for that role!) states baldly: "I could say that a prostitute has held more marriages together as part of their profession than any divorce counselor".[5] When a prostitute presents her usefulness in coping with the problems of those labelled "normal" this is clearly a challenge to our established way of viewing deviancy. The final chapter of the book, "Morals and Public Policy", offers some insights in this area but could have been usefully expanded to cover more ground.

The usefulness of the labelling approach as a reminder of the effect of our actions in the institutions in which we work is probably beyond dispute, but there are difficulties in seeing how we are to act upon the knowledge this viewpoint gives us. Even if we can fully accept the responsibility which goes with realizing that organisational reactions are among the contingencies that shape an individual's course of action, does the labelling approach offer more than insightful cautions to be considered before we act? Schur tries to prove that it should. In the process he has written an erudite book which may need reading more than once for a realisation of all its implications. He stresses that the labelling approach is a means to help us view deviance and control in a realistic, comprehensive and sociologically meaningful light. He asks that it should "continue to deserve our serious attention". This book helps us to give it that.

J. F. PERRISS,
*Deputy Governor, Ashford Remand Centre.*

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## CRIMINALS COMING OF AGE

A. E. BOTTOMS and F. H. MCCLINTOCK

Cambridge Studies in Criminology, XXXII
The Heinemann Library of Criminology and Penal Reform 1973. £6.50

THIS latest of the Cambridge Studies in Criminology has recently been published and will be of special interest to members of the Prison Service. Its subject is the research carried out at Dover Borstal into the modification of borstal training towards greater emphasis on individualisation of training plans.

As a piece of participant research it necessarily involved many staff in its development and execution. Originally conceived in 1962 and with much of the work in the field going on six to nine years ago it has taken more than 10 years from conception to final publication. Many staff now spread around the Prison Service will remember being associated with it and will want to read this full and detailed report now that it is available. Much of the information will be the basis of debate for some time to come, and will have general implications for other training regimes.

A full review will appear in the next issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL.

# "The Cage"

C. W. HILLS

*This brief but absorbing account, by the Governor of Polmont Borstal, of a highly controversial piece of "raw drama" presented to the trainees in his institution recently, seemed to us to provide a stimulating note with which to conclude this issue of the Journal. It is in striking contrast to the altogether gentler and more seemly dramatic venture described by Anthony Coleman at Grendon (p.13 and cover picture). Yet both are concerned with rehabilitation, and may be said to spring from the same basic motivation. Perhaps the Scots, after all, are greater realists?*—Editor.

AT POLMONT on Wednesday, 8th August the San Quentin Drama Workshop presented "The Cage" by Rick Cluchey. The play demonstrates the depravity and destructiveness of confinement in a prison cell. The players portray an ex-prize fighter, a crippled homosexual, a religious maniac and a newcomer, a young medical student charged with murdering his girl-friend. Rick Cluchey, R. S. Bailey and Larry Feld have themselves served prison sentences. Marcel Steiner who played the religious maniac has not.

Obviously some thought needed to be given to allowing such a play to be presented to an audience of borstal trainees in the first place. I was warned that the violence, sexual depravity and foul, abusive language would endanger the moral and social attitudes of trainees. I had to balance this against the feeling that effective social training can only be accomplished by facing the realities, however harsh, unpalatable and inhuman they might be. If the play attempted to subvert the morale and discipline of the institution, I needed to be sure that trainees and staff had the resources to cope with the situation. There was also the prospect that if I did not accept this opportunity the play might not be shown at all in any Scottish establishments, although

it had been shown extensively in the U.S.A. and Canada and had recently been to Germany and Holland. In my mind, therefore, the decision for the play to go on must rest with the governor for it is not only a matter of the content of the play, but of the effects on the institution itself. I think I took the right decision in allowing it to be shown at Polmont. It was not surprising, however, that after the play most people agreed that I had shown some courage in accepting the challenge whilst some folk doubted the wisdom of doing so.

I will not attempt to describe in detail the action of the play, but there were four themes around which it was built. The first was the knife-edge world of the madman and how blurred the edge became between sanity and insanity, particularly in the war scene. The second theme was the confession of the guilty and portrayed the breakdown of the man unable to face his guilt, and condemned when he confesses it. The third was the "slagging match", and explored the bitter hatred that takes over when any concern for another has been completely lost. The final theme was the trial, which to me had the most meaning because it was the trial of justice itself, and not just the trial of the accused newcomer.

Certainly the play was violent, and there were scenes which offended the senses and showed humans at their most inhuman. Certainly trainees, egged on by these scenes, cheered and applauded, when the invited guests were silent and somewhat shocked by the crudities. I don't think that was very surprising. But nor was it surprising to me that in conversation with trainees afterwards, part of the impact of the violent and homosexual scenes was the fear they engendered that they themselves could turn or be turned into people like that.

It should also be remembered that it was a piece of drama. It wasn't meant to be 90 minutes in the life of a San Quentin prisoner several years ago, or a documentary of a prisoner in a Scottish prison today, but it is naive to think that such incidents could never take place, or that there aren't such prisoners. Although it was dramatic licence to put those particular four prisoners together and imply that they were surrounded by stone-deaf and blind prison staff, it does not take away from the impact of the play and the realities it was demonstrating.

It was essential that to gain the most from the drama, and balance this with the realities, the four players should have every opportunity of speaking to trainees and staff, both before the performance and after. The players attended the community meetings therefore, and after the play had discussions with the staff on their own. This, and the dialogue that takes place between the players and the audience, is vital to the whole project in the institution. Staff were quick to recognise those occasions when the players were supporting the trainees against the staff. They were also quick to recognise the credibility of Rick Cluchey and, therefore, when he challenged the trainees themselves, they recognised the authority from which he spoke.

What about the messages that the play leaves behind? I can really only speak for myself, but I was offered a quotation by Miss Ligertwood, who takes an English class in the institution. It is from Alan Paton's book *Too late the Phalarope* and is spoken by the Chief of Police. He says: "If a man takes unto himself God's right to punish, then he must also take upon himself God's promise to restore".

While "The Cage" did not answer its own questions by presenting an alternative to imprisonment, it gave everybody the opportunity to question the present system.

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