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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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Contents

Editorial 1

Parole. Where next? 2
Lord Hunt

From the "Other Side"—a serving prisoner's view 5
Q.T.

. . . and you will go to prison for three years 7
Freddie Pentney

Anomalies of Prison 10
Bromley Davenport

Readers Write 11

Book Reviews 14

Our cover picture was taken at a meeting of the Parole Board at the Home Office in February 1971

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EDITORIAL

The theme of this issue is one of optimism. It is concerned with "Bridging the Gap" between total institution and (almost) total freedom. The qualification reminds us that since the introduction of parole, many men now leave prison on licence—a condition which previously applied only to "lifers" and juveniles.

Prisoners are highly critical of the parole system. Many believe that the selection criteria are applied with too great caution, and that the dice are loaded against certain types of offence and against minority groups. One would comment that in the early days of parole, when it was essential to win public confidence, caution was certainly the order of the day; however, during 1972 nearly 40 per cent of men eligible did in fact obtain parole—a very substantial saving of man-days for prisoner and taxpayer alike from the costly wastage of non-productive custody.

In this issue Lord Hunt, who retires as chairman of the Parole Board this month, gives the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL the benefit of his unique experience. In the same number, one of the unlucky "customers" writes movingly of what it feels like to be on the receiving end of the selection process and of the hopes and fears that surround the almost mystical word "release".

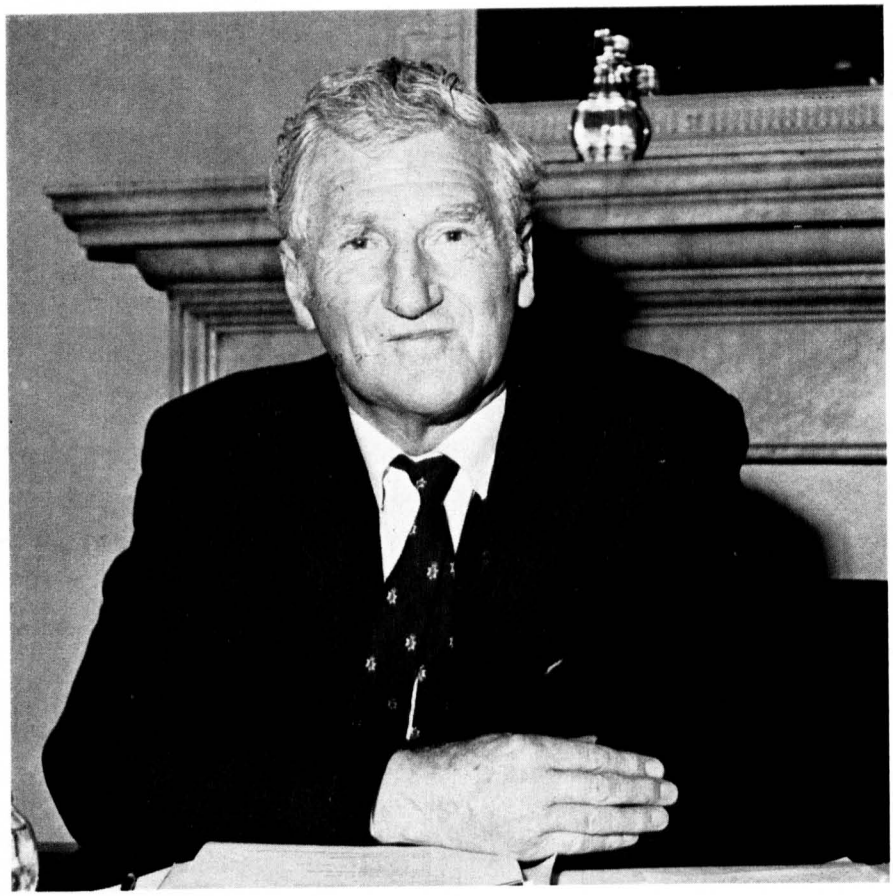
A number of worthy organisations, and countless individuals (some ex-offenders amongst them) are constantly working to develop new bridges to carry men over the chasm of total rejection which imprisonment implies. N.A.C.R.O. (S.A.C.R.O. in Scotland) and A.P.E.X. are prominent amongst these. Activity in this field is growing fast, and only the current paper shortage prevents us from offering a broader platform for their activities.

Parallel with all this effort to reduce waste and repair the fabric of lives torn by separation, there is developing today a new drive to find *alternatives* to prison, for all but those who need to be banished for their own or others' protection.

Many signs now suggest that we may be entering in this country upon a radically new phase in the history of penal reform. The main factors at work are the unexpected and unexplained decline in the prison population, which has thrown all the forecasts out of gear and made unnecessary a vast new prison building programme; the pressures on prison staff compelling management to look afresh at essential tasks; and the cumulative effect of various pressure groups, some highly respected and others less so, making an even more convincing case on economic as well as humanitarian grounds for the development of other ways of dealing with crime and social deviance—less cumbersome, less retributive and more constructive. Prisons remain necessary and can be a positive force for good if rightly used, but as a last resort. The pattern for what is left of the '70s might well be a new range of non-custodial penalties to tackle offending earlier and nearer the source, coupled with a smaller, more professional and specialised, better trained and remunerated Prison Service.

Parole. Where next?

LORD HUNT
C.B.E., D.S.O., Chairman of the Parole Board



John Hunt was born in 1910 and educated at Marlborough College and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, passing in and out top of his year and becoming Senior Under Officer.

He was commissioned into the Kings Royal Rifle Corps and served initially in India and Burma. His war service included appointments in the Middle East, Italy and Greece where he commanded a brigade of the 4th Indian Division. He subsequently served in staff appointments at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe and with the British Army in Germany; his last military post was assistant commandant of the Army Staff College. During the course of his military career he was awarded the C.B.E. and D.S.O. and the Indian Police Medal for services on secondment to the police in Bengal between 1934–5 and 1937–40.

In 1956 he was invited by Prince Philip to be the first director of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, a post which he held until the end of 1966. Lord Hunt remained a trustee of the scheme until the end of 1969.

He was a member of the Youth Service Development Council 1960–7 and was chairman of the Government Committee on Young Immigrants and the Youth Service.

He was created a life peer (Lord Hunt of Llanvair Waterdine) in 1966 for his services to youth.

He has received honorary degrees from the universities of Durham, Aberdeen and London and was rector of Aberdeen University from 1963–6.

He headed relief missions to Nigeria in 1968 and 1970; appointed chairman of the Parole Board in November 1967; chairman of the Advisory Committee on Police in Northern Ireland in 1969.

He is perhaps best known as leader of the successful British expedition to Mount Everest in 1953. His many other expeditions have taken him to Europe, the Middle East, Himalayas, Caucasus, Greenland, Russia, Greece and the Yukon. He is a past president of the British Mountaineering Council, of the Alpine Club and the Climbers' Club and is currently president of the National Ski Federation.

Lord Hunt's other interests include languages, ornithology and ski-ing.

In 1936 he married Joy Mowbray-Green, and they have four daughters. Lady Hunt has taken part in many of her husband's expeditions and plays tennis for her county.

I HESITATED before accepting the editor's invitation to contribute an article on the parole system, in this number of the Journal. The moment of departure from the Board is not an ideal one for producing reflections upon a massive experience, both general and personal, which has had and will continue to have, important consequences for our society. What is more, it would not be proper for me, nor might it be helpful to the future of parole, if I were to expose at this moment the opinions about the future which have been shaping in my mind during more than six years. It is fortunate, from every point of view, that editorial space contrives to render my remarks relatively innocuous!

I propose, however, to recall some facts which may be significant for the way ahead, and to raise a few questions from which ideas are likely to stem. Historically, it is interesting to review the debates in Parliament during 1967, when our parole system was fashioned and made law; some of the points during these debates are undoubtedly relevant to any review of progress for the future.

There was, for instance, the general welcome to the proposal to experiment with conditional early release from prison on a much wider basis than had hitherto been attempted by young prisoners and extended sentence licences. The support given to a Labour Government for this proposition, and the collaboration across party lines in working out the system, provided a strong assurance of the political will to develop this measure.

Secondly, there was the relatively limited application of parole envisaged by the (then) Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, who forecast in the House of Commons a release rate of about 20 per cent.* For some years now the releases on parole have doubled that original forecast.

Thirdly, and of particular importance, there was the Home Secretary's acceptance of representations by the Parole Board, that he should refer to us all cases which had been favourably recommended by the prison local review committees, rather than only those cases which, in the judgement of Home Office officials, the Secretary of State would be ready to accept. By this momentous step, reinforced by a subsequent proposal from the Home Secretary himself to refer a number of other cases which were unfavourably recommended by L.R.C.s, the Board was placed in the position of advising him, not only on the basis of risk but also in regard to the nature and gravity of certain offences about which he would be likely to have reservations. It is reasonable to assume that most, or all, of such cases would have been refused by officials or by the Secretary of State himself, without reference to the Board. Matters such as general deterrence in regard to certain heinous types of offence, and public attitudes about particular crimes, with the political consequences implicit in a decision to parole, brought the Board more into the cock-pit of controversy than we might otherwise have been.

Fourthly, there are certain constitutional features of the scheme devised by Parliament, which should be highlighted; they, too, will be focal points for attack or defence, in any proposed reform. There is the interesting character of an advisory board which has, at the same time, a strong negative (and a smaller positive) mandatory role. The Home Secretary has no power to release prisoners who have not been recommended by either the Board or the L.R.C.s. There is the predictable impact of this position on prisoners' and the public's perception of the responsibility for the system. There is also the power of the Board, less obvious because it is seldom invoked by either party, to release a person who has been recalled by the Home Office without prior reference to the Board. Undoubtedly the Board would be more popular in the eyes of some of those who have been recalled, if we felt able to do this more frequently!

The Board is vested with a hybrid task, which is no less intriguing and satisfactory to its members for the difficulties which it presents.

Then there are the problems posed by a system which operates through a number of different agencies, the focal point of which is the Home Office. The Prison Service, the Parole Board and the Probation and After-care Services are linked by a radial system of communications, rather than through a purpose-built or hierachial chain of command. There are certain advantages in this arrangement, the most important one of which—at any rate in the eyes of the Board—is the independent role which this enables us to maintain. But there are weighty disadvantages in regard to the volume and speed of communication and the consequent perception of the system, in its constituent parts, by prisoners, prison officers and probation officers, to say nothing of Board members themselves.

Another constitutional feature to which I should draw attention, is the discretionary nature of release on parole, which introduced an indeterminate element into determinate sentences, in marked contrast to the pre-existing Y.P. and E.S. licences; the latter, due to the way in which remission has been operated, placed the starting date for release on licence firmly in the hands of prisoners themselves. Among the questions to be considered in future is the effect of this uncertain factor on training for release and on the attitudes and state of mind of prisoners.

Among other constitutional points, I would also single out the choice of 12 months or one-third of the sentence, being the earliest date at which parole could be considered. It could, of course, have been fixed earlier, but there are some cogent arguments for not doing so. However, in a number of countries, conditional release is normally author rised as a general practice in the final third of a sentence. This practice could not be made generally applicable in this country because of the long-standing practice—albeit discretionary—of remitting the final third of a sentence without conditions. By thus making all prisoners eligible for release after serving a relatively short part of a substantial sentence, the question has loomed large as to whether it should become general practice to release almost all prisoners by administrative decision, at a point markedly different from the sentence imposed by the court.

(* House of Commons Debates, vol. 738 cols. 70 and 194–5, 12th December 1966 and vol. 745 col. 1647, 26th April 1967. Mr. Jenkins estimated "that the Board's work would take up roughly five working days a month and that the number of cases it would review . . . would be about 750, perhaps rising to 1,000 a year".)

Finally, I would point to the fact that, when a fresh offence has occurred during parole, responsibility for recall to prison is shared between the Home Secretary and the higher courts. Action may be taken judicially, or by administrative discretion, without any clear understanding as to where the primary responsibility for the decision should lie. It is interesting to note that administrative action to recall has greatly exceeded judicial action, but I have no firm evidence as to the reasons for this. It may well be that the courts are still not sufficiently aware of their powers in this regard. In 1972, the courts only recalled 16 parolees at the time of sentence, out of 100 fresh convictions during the currency of the licence, which resulted in recalls; the balance were recalled on the orders of the Home Secretary.

So much for historical background and some talking points arising from this. What are the results so far? For obvious reasons, I will not give detailed up-to-date statistics, since these will be published in the forthcoming annual report of the Parole Board. In general terms, however, here are some indicative figures. About 14,000 prisoners have been paroled since the first release in 1968, being 28 per cent of the total who have become eligible since that time. It will be remembered that a very cautious start was given to this scheme, when only 8.5 per cent of those who were eligible in the backlog situation, were released on 1st April 1968. The graph of releases rose steeply in 1969 and reached a plateau in 1970 of about 30 per cent parole releases in each calendar year, and this rate has been maintained to date. Opting out by prisoners has remained fairly low, with a national figure in 1972 of about 7 per cent and a maximum of 17 per cent (Parkhurst) with fairly high figures from Albany (14.2 per cent) and Blundeston (14.4 per cent) in that year. These figures compare favourably with the far higher rates of self-refusals recorded in Scotland.

It is interesting to compare these figures with the percentages of paroles from the same prisons: 12 per cent (Parkhurst); 22 per cent (Albany) and 14 per cent (Blundeston) in 1972. To state the obvious, the low general rate of parole from certain establishments has not appeared to extinguish the individual expectations of inmates in those prisons.

The indeterminate effect of parole on the fixed sentence has been clearly reflected in the length of time for which prisoners have been released before their normal release dates. This has averaged about eight months. It is generally true to say that whereas the majority of those whose sentences have allowed for only one normal review have been paroled for all, or most of the middle third of the sentence, most prisoners who are eligible for more than one review have not been paroled at their earliest parole date. Obviously the overall average period embraces some very brief paroles of a matter of weeks, and a few very long ones of up to five years. Undoubtedly the question of increasing the period of parole for long sentence prisoners is a matter for further consideration in future.

The area of agreement between the L.R.C.s (both for and against parole) and the Board is currently in the order of 75 per cent. In general, the Board has agreed with L.R.C. proposals for parole to the tune of 70 per cent, but has decided to parole 25 per cent of those cases unfavourably recommended by L.R.C.s, which have been referred to the Board. The overall effect of this trend is an area of agreement and disagreement which tends to be favourable to prisoners and is, I believe, a healthy feature of the scheme. Incidentally, following the provisions of the 1972 Criminal Justice Act (section 35) a number of L.R.C. recommendations for parole have been accepted by the Home Office without reference to the Board. By the same token, the Board has been in a position to consider some hundreds of additional cases which were not recommended locally, and has recommended a substantial proportion of these. I regard this as an important index of progress and a portent of further advance within the present framework of the scheme.

The recall rate has remained within a ceiling which seems to be tolerable to Parliament and public opinion. Since 1968 it has averaged 7 per cent amounting to 975 prisoners of the 14,000 who have been paroled. It is an interesting question as to the point at which the scheme might be challenged by this yardstick. From experience so far, I would venture to say that the greatest danger to parole is not a relatively high percentage of recalls to prison, so much as the emotional impact on the public mind of particularly spectacular offences, or even of lesser offences by especially notorious offenders. I would certainly hope that any prospective rise in the "failure" rate would not deter the Board in future, from pressing on with the policy of helping many of the socially inadequate people in the community, where they may continue to be a public nuisance outside prison walls, but who are merely kept in a state of negative suspense while inside. I also hope it may be acceptable to grant more long-term prisoners some parole before their normal release dates.

Our parole system, for all its virtues, has certainly some drawbacks. Solutions to some of the many questions to which experience so far has given rise are likely to be found only by referring back to certain constitutional features of the scheme, to which I have drawn attention. I would certainly give it as my view that the biggest single weakness lies in the domain of communications. In an ideal situation it would undoubtedly be desirable to furnish reasons for all negative parole decisions to prison governors and their staffs, the L.R.C.s and to prisoners. Moreover, a feedback of information on the progress and problems of parolees would also be a desirable and educative improvement if it were possible to increase the flow in a reverse direction.

There is also the question of whether the prisoner might be involved and helped more positively in the process of considering his case for parole and in the matter of recall than is the case at present.

Undoubtedly a more general use of the parole system would help to get over many of the difficulties under which the present scheme suffers. It would, for instance, bring into sharp focus the need for parole preparation in the course of prison training; it would reduce the problem of giving explanations for parole refusals and, in making the prospect of parole more assured, it would reduce the anxiety under which many prisoners labour at present. But any informed and objective student of criminology would have to admit that the realisation of such basic changes must be weighed carefully against the equally fundamental tenets on which the present statutes rest, about whose merits I remain convinced: the thoroughness, fairness, objectivity and caring by which decisions are finally reached, in each individual case, by an independent Board; the primary concern for the public interest and the determination that parole shall progress, albeit within the bounds and at the pace set by public acceptability. And before any fundamental reforms can be seriously considered the question must again be posed and answered: who should be accountable to the public for the operation of parole?

From the "Other Side" —

A serving prisoner's view

Q. T.

The author comes from a middle-class family, was educated at a London public school. After leaving at the age of 18 *he engaged in a number of jobs, interspersed at intervals with studentship in mining engineering, silversmithing and fine art. This pattern of gadflying culminated in three years spent working for a city booksellers, which employment ended when he became involved with drugs to an extent which precluded regular work. A minor offence of possession of cannabis and amphetamines then brought a fine; soon after he suffered a near-fatal attack of hepatitis. The following year he pleaded guilty to an indictment for possession of L.S.D. and other drugs. The sentence was seven years. At the time of writing (January* 1974), *he has served about three and a half years, with some* 15 *months of the sentence remaining. He has been refused parole on two occasions, and this aspect of the penal system is no longer a real consideration to him. He is now* 30 *years of age*

THE initial impact of arrest, trial and sentencing to a long term of imprisonment is, to the man who finds himself in this situation for the first time, traumatic to say the least. He has been living in a world of dreams—dreams of financial security, of owning and controlling his destiny. Suddenly the dreams are shattered; and whatever he may think of the morality of his offence, he may be sure that his family and friends will be shocked or horrified. So, for the first few months in prison, the first offender is extremely vulnerable; he clutches at straws that promise to salvage the dream.

During this period of mental turmoil, the least encouragement is seized upon and fashioned into a lifebelt; the least criticism is taken directly to heart. The tone of voice in which an extra visit is refused, the force with which his cell door is closed for those 14 long hours at night—these seemingly trivial matters can give rise to strong emotions of frustration and despair; destructive emotions, since they cannot be resolved but are repressed.

So, in a desperate attempt to ward off the reality of seven years in a nightmare of clanging gates, indifferent food, and Kafkaesque manipulation, he clutches at straws: appeal (first the single judge, then the full court), parole first time, parole second time. He invests each straw with concrete reality, only to see it shimmer and disappear at the moment of truth.

From all this painful and dangerous psychological flux, the prisoner will emerge in one of two directions. Either he will become completely cynical about authority and to a large extent his fellow prisoners; or he will come to realise that the prison situation is only an exaggeration of the outside world—that everywhere men are ill-used by bureaucracy, that he is not uniquely deprived and unhappy, that all men are imprisoned in one way or another, wherever they may be. In my opinion, neither of these processes, of growing cynicism or gradual enlightenment, is reversible. It is important to realise this point, and its implications; the prisoner who becomes quite sceptical of good motive in those who have power over him does so early in his sentence, and the damage cannot be undone; similarly, his fellow who gains some insight into the real nature of his situation is unlikely to lose this perspective and become completely cynical at a later stage.

It has been necessary to make these brief observations on the sentence and the serving of it, to illustrate the point that the prisoner nearing the end of a long period inside is usually for or against a "normal" life outside, and this viewpoint is largely fixed: at this late stage, no amount of half-baked counselling, of paternal lecturing at pre-release course sessions, can or will make any real difference. So for all the lip-service and outward appearance accorded to "rehabilitation", the truth is that the die is long since cast.

Having said that, I now define my own position, and go on to deal with the problems, fears and anxieties that I am experiencing as I enter the last year or so of my sentence. I find the "system" from which I am emerging to be full of absurd contradictions; its "say one thing and do another" policies are to me laughable, its administrative incompetence regrettable. I feel, though, that this is but the world in microcosm: the darker side of this life may be allowed to drop away as insignificant. I was not hung at Tyburn, I have not been tortured, I am alive and well and living in the world. I am for a "normal" life. Can I achieve it, and if so, how?

ENDING AND RELEASE

There is little to say about the final stages of the sentence itself beyond the obvious point that the prisoner again becomes psychologically vulnerable: he is beginning to deal with matters that have for some time had no part in his life, in any true sense: money, sex, police, earning a living, family, friends. The order in which those items were written—and came to mind—may give pause for thought. As the outside world comes nearer, the prison environment acquires an aura of unreality; this creates tensions which build up to the first moment of test—home leave. I have not myself been on home leave yet, but from conversations with those who have, and from observing them on their return, certain deductions can be made. Home leave is often a bitter anti-climax; the built-up tensions and anticipations are suddenly resolved in an orgy of social interaction and sensual gratification that leaves the man empty and depressed. This is not a good start; however, the second home leave is usually approached in a more realistic way and is thus more valuable. This constitutes, in my opinion, an incontestably good case for more home leaves for long-term prisoners: ideally at intervals throughout the sentence, or perhaps at three-monthly intervals during the final year. The latter suggestion would involve no sweeping changes in the existing system and could be implemented tomorrow.

So much for the last few months inside; what are my thoughts on the prob-

lems of release and its aftermath? As I see it, I will be vulnerable in three main areas: employment may be difficult to obtain or, once obtained, to keep; my prison record may render my very liberty precarious; my relationship with my (common-law) wife, lacking as it does a basis of long-shared experience, is now hedged about with uncertainties and doubts. The first two considerations here, employment and prison record, are of course related. I will deal with the three main areas of vulnerability in turn and, as I see them, in ascending order of importance.

1. Employment

The first point to note is that it is not realistic to expect a man who has been in prison for any length of time to act on, or even think seriously about, any long-term plans. It is difficult enough to visualise the first week outside, let alone the first year. I have often been asked how I see my "career", at parole interviews and the like; but the question is pointless. The time to make long-term decisions is *after* release, when some of the other difficulties have been resolved. If a man can obtain a reasonable job and hold it for six months, that is sufficient; he should not be encouraged to build castles in the air, to plan for a life long ahead, when his only information is memories of days past, and second-hand accounts.

I am fortunate in having the offer of a job to go to on my release, although I am uncertain as to whether the latest refusal of parole may have jeopardised this. My main worry, however, is whether my criminal record will endanger the job and perhaps other employment later on, once I am out. This brings us to the second head.

2. Prison Record

I have twice been convicted of drug offences. Suppose that I go to a party or other social occasion where, unbeknown to me, drugs are being used or at least present, and the premises are raided while I am there; will I be believed when I say "I did not know"? I think the answer to that question is self-evident. It might be thought that such an occurrence was unlikely—but not so: users of cannabis are now numbered in hundreds of thousands in this country—indeed, informed sources have recently been reported in the newspapers as having estimated the number at around four million. In view of this, some such situation as that mooted above is entirely possible. This is my strongest definable fear on leaving prison, and I believe that men with other than drug records are beset by equivalent fears. Will they be allowed to go straight? Will their records allow them to hold their jobs and retain their liberty?

3. Personal Life

I met my wife while on bail; the ensuing nine months before I was sentenced were strange and difficult, full of unnatural tension, every moment clouded by a looming spectre of uncertainty. Since then, we have both matured. Have we grown together, or apart? When the only contact is a couple of hours conversation in a crowded room every few weeks, and letters rendered useless for truly private communication by being read—in my view quite gratuitously—by strangers, is it possible to know whether we have grown together or apart?

CONCLUSION

In this short article, I have not touched on many of the problems relating to discharge after a lengthy prison term; for example, the question of how to deal with former associations that promise to enmesh the ex-prisoner once again in a past best forgotten; or how to cope with fear and hostility on the part of people who cannot or will not understand that ex-prisoners are just people, too. These and other aspects of the future are not amenable to definition or analysis in advance; they must be dealt with as they arise.

In particular I have not mentioned the problems posed by drugs themselves; I feel that private thoughts on so personal a matter can have little general relevance. In passing, however, it is perhaps worth making the point that the use of any drug, be it heroin, alcohol, amphetamines, or cannabis, forms only part of a whole matrix of social phenomena, and neither can be nor should be considered in isolation; one should beware of labelling a chemical "addictive" or "habit-forming" and thus unconsciously transfering to an inanimate substance the "blame" for what is in reality a function of the human mind and society. The world is cruel and heartless because we make it so.

. . . . .

Long ago I decided that life is suffering, for all men. Some are caught in infringing human rules, and overtly punished; some are not; but all suffer, including the punishers. I now feel that it is unskilful to break the rules, however one may disagree with them; I will live my life accordingly. I, and all others who have come to this conclusion—there are many of us, ask only that our decision be recognised and respected, that we are not visited with our pasts when we leave prison. We offer our futures, and ask only that the offer be accepted. The kindness of many will take care of the immediate problems; if their kindness is annulled by the fear and uncharity of a few, it will be a pity.

. . . and you will go to prison for three years

FREDDIE PENTNEY

THE concept of punishment for an offence is as old as time. In some civilisations punishment branded the man as an offender and reduced the chances of his offending again—such as chopping off a hand for the offence of theft. In other civilisations there were three main punishments—capital punishment, transportation (or banishment) and imprisonment. This has been the pattern in England until comparatively recent years. However, transportation ended with the arrival of the Hougoumont, with 279 men aboard, at Fremantle, Australia on 9th January 1868, whilst capital punishment ended with the hanging of Peter Allen and Gwynne Evans on 13th August 1964. Thus imprisonment is the last of those punishments still in use today. In recent years a widening range of non-custodial penalties have been available to our courts and currently many questions are being asked about the value of imprisonment.

A sentence of imprisonment raises certain expectations in most of us. The expectation will vary from person to person. Some would suggest that the man is being punished; that he will be locked in a dank, windowless cell for three years—a cell similar to that occupied by the Count of Monte Cristo. Others would tell us that society will be protected from the man during his imprisonment. A number would say that imprisonment will reform the offender and a few are sure that he will get "treatment" in prison—this latter group usually being judges and magistrates. How valid, if at all, are these expectations?

The punishment of the offender is the most widely held of these expectations. The picture in the mind's eye of many is of prisoners garbed in grey, with broad arrows on their clothing, spending their days breaking rocks whilst overseen by whip-carrying prison officers—a picture possibly gained from fiction. However, hard work is not available, whilst physical punishment is not permitted in our prisons. Despite the Victorian conditions of many of our city prisons imprisonment in these and in the newer and open prisons is not always a punishment in itself. The loss of liberty is a considerable punishment for some men but for others, such as the socially inadequate, it is no hardship for it is a protection from the cruel world outside. Thus, in reality, one man's punishment may be another man's refuge. An increasing number of men are being allocated to open conditions in former service camps. Many of us, knowing such camps from service days find that the conditions now are much better than those faced by very many thousands of national servicemen in the post-war years. There are many former national servicemen who would look on the present regime in these prisons as being more like a holiday camp than a service unit or prison. I suspect that few prison officers are looked upon with such awe or fear as were the regimental sergeant major and the platoon sergeant. Twelve hours' hard training followed by an evening of blancoing and preparation for the next day, with a loss of privileges for minor infringements of orders, was the norm. The hardships, discipline and training considered the normal lot of every young citizen up to less than 15 years ago would not be tolerated in prisons today.

Freddie Pentney, who is married with two children and is aged 49, served in the Army with the Rifle Brigade until 1965 where he was latterly Chief Clerk of his Regiment. On retiring to pension he joined the Civil Service as an Executive Officer and for two years was Employment Supervisor and Benefit Supervisor at Brixton Employment Exchange. It was during these years that he became interested in the employment problems of the disadvantaged and it was perhaps natural that when the Directorship of A.P.E.X. became vacant in 1967 that he should apply. He regularly visits H.M. Prisons, Leyhill, Spring Hill, Eastchurch and Ford, as well as the London prisons, during the course of his work with the Trust

However, we should be careful when comparing the expectations of life of the late 1950s with those of the present day. Conditions in the service camps in those years relative to those in civilian life were not so different as they would seem to a young man of today. At that time the desire and the ability to obtain the trappings of affluence were not as great as they are now and thus relative deprivation may be higher in the present more humane conditions than would at first appear. Colour television, stereo equipment, central heating and the bar in the corner of the lounge are now seen as the right of every citizen but would be looked on by their grandparents as the absolute in luxury. Standards of deprivation and relative deprivation are not constant—they change from decade to decade. However, what has remained constant is that imprisonment punishes the wife and family of the offender more than the offender himself. They are left without a husband and a father whilst their income stops with his imprisonment. It is they who have to cope with inadequate finance possibly obtained from the D.H.S.S. with some difficulty; it is they who have to cope with unpaid bills, with the hostility of neighbours and who have the unenviable task of visiting the man regardless of their problems, the weather and the difficulties of the journey. Thus are the sins of the man visited on his family.

The protection of society is a valid argument and this must always be in the mind of the judiciary sentencing a dangerous or persistent offender. It is said that there are no more than 350 really dangerous men in our prisons. There are also several thousand persistent offenders whose activities are a real nuisance to the community and whom we at present feel need to be isolated for the benefit of society. Yet this protection is for a limited period. The "lifer" may well be back in the community within 10 years whilst the man serving a three-year sentence could, with parole, be free after one year. However, we are beginning to recognise that the great proportion of prisoners are either in open prisons or,

if in closed prisons, are no danger to society.

The use of imprisonment as a reforming agent is a concept which was rejected more than a century ago. In 1857, in words which sound strangely contemporary, Alex Thompson in *Punishment and Prevention* wrote: "It is absurd to go on from year to year spending large sums of money in vain attempts to deter by punishment or to reform by prison discipline if we can be persuaded that we can prevent, by early care, with much less trouble and much less cost" (page 421).

Finally, one not infrequently reads the remarks of a judge or a magistrate: "I am sending you to prison where you will get treatment . . . ". Nobody can be sentenced directly to prison for treatment and we know that the likelihood of an individual reaching the therapeutic community of our one psychiatric prison at Grendon is small.

For the great majority of prisoners imprisonment is a period of time when the man is separated from his family and from society; where he has no responsibilities or duties; where his needs (if not his wants) are catered for and where, in consequence, he becomes mentally and physically flabby. Thus, with each passing day, he is less able to return to his former employment and responsibilities. If he does his "bird" the easy way—one day at a time with no thought for the morrow, this deterioration is speeded up. Every prisoner, in a period which may be measured in months or in years, becomes so institutionalised that he ceases to be an asset and becomes a burden on society.

Imprisonment is necessary for certain men and society will not as yet accept the treatment in the community of the great majority of men at present imprisoned. What then should be done to stop the deterioration of prisoners and to enable them to take their place in society when their sentence ends? Perhaps at this point it would be useful to discuss briefly the work of A.P.E.X. Charitable Trust to show where it fits into the pattern of after-care. The trust was set up by Neville Vincent in 1965 and in the first annual report he wrote: "The philosophy of the A.P.E.X. Trust was conceived in 1965; it is based on the principle that the State accepts that it has an obligation to rehabilitate and train the handicapped—those who are physically and mentally sick. Legislation by means of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944, implemented the idea that it was in the interests of society and the disabled that they could and should work. As a result, a number of training establishments have been set up and are working successfully. The concept behind A.P.E.X. is that this principle should be extended to the socially sick; men and women who are socially and emotionally handicapped as a result of having served prison sentences".

During the years 1966 to 1969, the trust completed a research and placing project in H.M. prisons, Wormwood Scrubs and Pentonville to test the hypothesis that the finding of suitable employment materially reduced the reconviction rate (Project I). During these years, the A.P.E.X. service of obtaining suitable employment with the employer being aware of the man's background was offered to 439 men selected at random from the discharge diaries; 229 of these men accepted the service. A control group of 324 men were selected by the same random method. Suitable employment interviews were obtained prior to release, or within a few days of release, for virtually all the men who accepted the service. The result of the interview and the length of stay in the A.P.E.X. job were recorded. The Home Office Research Unit then produced reconviction data for each man of the treatment group and the control group when they had had the chance of being at liberty for 12 months. There was virtually no difference in the reconviction rate. Thus it can be said that the offer of an employment service in isolation seems to have no effect on the reconviction rate for the vast majority of men.[1] Whilst the trust was waiting for the reconviction data a further project (Project II) was set up to obtain suitable employment for the "white-collar" offender and the sexual offender. It had been found, during Project I, that these groups of men had considerable difficulty in obtaining suitable employment on discharge and that the offer of an employment service had been of some benefit to them, at least in obtaining suitable employment. This project is still in operation and since January 1970 one in four of the men and women referred to the project have been placed into suitable employment and of these more than 35 per cent have stayed in the A.P.E.X. job for 12 months or longer. This project has not been the subject of research to ascertain the reconviction rate but, to our knowledge, very few of those placed by A.P.E.X. have offended again.[2]

In 1972, as a result of the consideration of certain factors of the men of Project I who had stayed at the A.P.E.X. job for three months or longer, a further project (Project III) was set up. This is the validation of a prediction measure designed to predict which ex-prisoners may benefit from the offer of an employment service. Stage I has been completed and Stage II was commenced early in 1974. It is as yet too early to say more than that the results to date are very promising.

During the eight years of its existence, A.P.E.X. has concentrated on obtaining suitable employment for men about to be released or those recently released from prison. We have obtained employment for each man, taking into account his qualifications and experience, his problems and his requirements *at the time* he is interviewed by us. We have not attempted, except in a few isolated cases, to intervene to increase these qualifications or to solve the problems of the man. However, the man is a totally different placing proposition at that stage than he was before his conviction. It would seem that intervention at this stage can do little to solve four main problems. The first of these is the inability of the man to return to his former occupation because of the conviction, having been struck off his professional register, bankruptcy, disqualification from driving or a number of other events. For such men a totally new occupation may have to be sought. The second problem is the change in thought and practice in many jobs during the man's imprisonment. In the accountancy profession and in the world of the computer for example, these changes are constant as indeed are traffic conditions and regulations which affect all those who drive. Where the imprisonment is of some years' duration the cutting off of the man from these changes may result in his being unemployable in his former work. Possibly the best example of this was the introduction some years ago of the H.G.V. licence under conditions which made it impossible for the prisoner to qualify. The third problem is the lack of professional or trade qualifications in a world where the demand for unskilled men is lessening. Finally there is the problem of the physique and mental fitness of the man. Imprisonment, even of comparatively short duration can make a man mentally and physically soft whilst the uncertainty of the future can cause psychological problems.

It is becoming increasingly clear to us that he needs more than a helping hand to enable him to obtain suitable employment. What is needed is a

bridge—a bridge from the conviction to his re-establishment in the community. The action taken by A.P.E.X. must be actively interventionist if it is to have maximum effect. We need to assess the problems and deficiencies of the man; to prepare a plan at an early stage of his sentence and use all available resources in the community to increase his potential professionally and educationally and to keep his brain alert. Only in this way can we enable the man to be at least as effective as a man and as an employee, and hopefully more effective, than he was on his committal to prison.

In the autumn of 1973, A.P.E.X. forwarded proposals for such a service to the Home Office for consideration but perhaps at that time I had not fully formulated in my mind how the man and the resources in the community could be linked. In October 1973 I was lucky enough to be able to visit approximately 30 Canadian penal and after-care organisations and there discovered how the Temporary Absence Programme (T.A.P.) of the Canadian Correctional Services provided the framework for such a link.

A prisoner in a Canadian correctional institution is permitted temporary absence: ". . . for the purpose of continuing his employment, furthering his education or visiting his family. Thus the adjustment from institutional life to the life of the community need no longer be a sharp, sudden change but a gradual and planned transition".[3]

There are three types of absence. The first is for periods of up to 15 days which can be granted on humanitarian grounds—weddings, funerals, family crises, etc. The second is for the purpose of obtaining medical attention which is not normally available in the majority of correctional institutions. The third type is the one which had most interest for me. This permits the man a series of daily absences to go into the community during the day to take academic or vocational training or to work at gainful employment, returning to the correctional institution at night and remaining there at weekends. Of course, such temporary absence is not available to every prisoner. Those who have committed a crime involving brutality, violence or arson; have habitually used or trafficked in controlled drugs; have a long history of alcoholism; have committed a serious sexual offence or have previously escaped or attemped to escape from custody will not normally be considered. Equally the temporary absence can be revoked if the man's conduct reflects adversely on himself or the programme; if he does not abide by the terms and conditions governing his absence; if his training, employment or education is terminated or if he requests termination. A number of examples of the programme in action are contained in the Provincial Government booklet (3), two of which are—"A father of eight children was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for malicious damage. Despite his crime he had proved to be a reliable employee in the past. His former employer had a job opening and contacted the Superintendent to inquire about temporary absence. He was employed as a computer programmer and supported his family while serving his sentence. Because of his progress and performance in the temporary absence programme he was granted several week-end leaves to visit his wife and family". "A youth of 19 leaves a training centre each weekday morning by bus after breakfast for the local high school where he takes classes in business and commerce. He reports back to the centre at 4.00 p.m. His evenings are usually spent studying or relaxing."

In the province of Ontario alone, during the period August 1969 to December 1972, 20,418 T.A.P. applications were received of which 12,103 were granted; 223 (or less than 2 per cent of the successful applications) had to be revoked. During January 1973 something like 700 persons were proceeding into the community on T.A.P. each day.

It is here, I suggest, that the link that I require is to be found. Throughout the country there are universities, polytechnics, business schools and Government training centres which can provide the training, retraining and courses required. In most areas there are jobs available and in some areas services are seriously curtailed because of staff shortages. In the voluntary field there are many organisations who would benefit from the ready availability of professional, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Such training and employment would reduce the mental and physical decay which results from imprisonment without the pressures and disciplines of work. And there is another point which should not be overlooked. This is that the man in employment has the dignity of earning money and is thus able to support his family during the period of his imprisonment. If for no other reason, temporary absence has much to commend it.

It is through such a programme that we could avoid many of the problems which imprisonment can bring. We should be getting the best of both worlds. The man would be imprisoned but the community would still have his services. Equally the imprisonment would not stop him from supporting his family at possibly a higher standard than they could attain through the social services. The man himself would keep in touch with current thought and practice in his trade or profession and would not become unemployable through physical and mental decay. Undoubtedly some changes in procedures within the prisons will be required but the Prison Service has, in the past, shown great adaptability to changes in correctional practises. Certain open prisons might well become more like hostels than prisons as we know them at the moment. Those men who could not be permitted a temporary absence would be aided. Special programmes, using community volunteers, could be prepared for them which are at present impossible through pressures on space.

I suggested earlier that prisoners need a bridge to carry them from the conviction to rehabilitation in the community. This, I suggest, is a bridge which would be helpful to a large number of men in our prison population. It doesn't solve all the problems which imprisonment brings but, as a single programme, it helps in several directions. I would not go as far as Alex Thompson in suggesting that we can prevent crime by such a course of action. It is possible we might but I suspect that the causes of crime are much more deep rooted than can be eradicated by any single programme. Plainly, imprisonment doesn't deter or reform and it is time that we tried something else which, even if it doesn't cure, does less damage to the patient. I believe that a programme of temporary absence has much to commend it.

REFERENCES

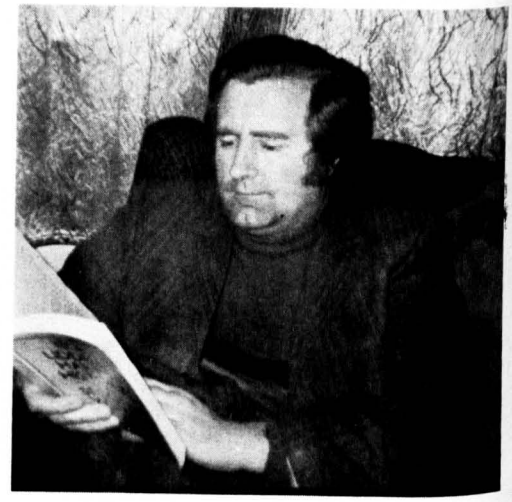
1. For further details see A.P.E.X. Annual Reports 1966/67 to 1970/71 and *The Prisoner's Release* by Dr. K. L. Soothill (Allen and Unwin).
2. See *Employment for the Ex-Offender, Report of the work of the "White-collar" Offender and Sexual Offender Project during* 1971, *The Employment Future of the Ex-Offender* and *The Placing of the White-collar Offender and Sexual Offender during* 1973, being the reports of this project for the years 1970, 1971, 1972 and 1973 respectively.
3. The Temporary Absence Programme of the Ontario Department of Correctional Services.

Anomalies of Prison

BROMLEY DAVENPORT

Bromley Davenport qualified in social work at Queen's University, Belfast. After a period of generic social work in Northern Ireland, he was for five years a Prison Welfare Officer (Winchester and Wakefield)

Later he was a Probation and After-care Officer in the West Riding before joining The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders as Regional Organiser in North-east England. Whilst in Yorkshire he was for some years a local authority councillor in the Labour interest and is now Director of the Scottish Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders



IN 1962 I attended a meeting in Manchester which was concerned to find more progressive penal treatment measures and there was some discussion about parole. One of the north of England governors present urged us to have nothing to do with it. He gave a list of what he considered good reasons to support his view and concluded by referring to the advice of an American friend of his who felt that we were so sensible in Britain not to have introduced this measure which in his experience had proved to be one of the worst areas for bribery and corruption in the United States of America, where it had nevertheless existed for some decades.

Since then, despite scorn from some prison staff and coolness on the part of the Probation and After-care Service, who said they were already over-worked, we have seen the successful introduction of parole here and in the opinion of many, it is still, after probation, the most progressive penal measure of the century.

Within the last 10 years I recall that staff more experienced than myself held the view that for prisoners to know that there was a possibility of corporal punishment, had a definite relationship to the level of violence against officers. We know that in practise corporal punishment was rarely used and then finally scrapped without any serious effect upon prison discipline and control.

Because of my acquiescence with the system, I always felt morally smaller than a man sitting down to a meal of bread and water in a punishment cell. At last though, dietary punishment has been brought to an end and another trace of medievalism is wiped out. The point I am trying to make is that even the most moderate of us ought to be appalled by the glacial pace of events within the penal system and particularly in the prisons. A resistance to change is usually consistent with our comfort and change can make us feel less than fully secure, and as Shakespeare reminded us in Macbeth "security is mortal's chiefest enemy". There can be no doubt that prison security has improved out of all recognition from what it was 10 years ago, and one can only feel sad that we cannot apply to rehabilitation a fraction of the ingenuity and means which have been applied to improving security methods.

During the last 10 years serious consideration has been given to the whole question of alternatives to imprisonment and today few would disagree that we still lock up far too many of our offenders. This article is a plea that we keep up the momentum for alternative forms of treatment and continue the search for new non-custodial methods whilst calling at the same time for a more speedy expansion of the existing schemes.

It will be argued that time is required to evaluate the new methods of treatment—that we should not rush precipitously into untested areas. There is something in this but I do wish we could build a new day training centre with the same confidence we build a new prison. Prisons may be a well tried method of treatment but they are not a well proven method.

There are, of course, grounds for optimism but not complacency. The secretary of the Magistrates' Association has recently pointed out that in England and Wales the annual volume of indictable crimes known to the police almost doubled in 10 years, from 896,000 in 1962 to 1,690,000 in 1972. In magistrates' courts the conviction rate more than doubled. One might, therefore, have expected the different forms of treatment to have doubled between these years.

In fact, for every 100 offenders fined in 1962, there were 215 in 1972; for every 100 offenders granted an absolute or conditional discharge in 1962, there were 188 so dealt with in 1972; for every 100 offenders put on probation in 1962, there were 157 in 1973; and for every 100 sentenced to imprisonment in 1962, there were 75 so sentenced in 1972. This is a welcome trend but it is of more than passing interest that during the last 10 years there has been the biggest prison building programme in our history.

Most people would agree that it will always be necessary to hold some offenders in secure conditions if only to protect society but the total number would not need to be very large—perhaps less than half the present figure. It is perhaps a sign of the times that current economic pressure has led the Government to restrict its prison building programme whilst not severely curtailing expenditure on the community treatment of offenders.

There appears to be no immediate plan to demolish old prison buildings and one wonders if we shall not be embarrassed by a surfeit of prison property within the next 20 years.

Having witnessed the treatment of offenders over several years both in prison and out, I have no doubt that Sir Alexander Paterson was right with his oft quoted phrase that it is impossible to train a man for freedom in a condition of captivity. We might just as well try to teach people how to swim without water.

Remove a man from alcohol, women, loneliness and the general responsibility that goes with freedom and you place him in a very artificial and unhelpful situation. With all the attempts of prison staff to train an offender I believe that little success can be claimed beyond, perhaps, the educational programmes and especially the remedial

classes; there seems to be a relationship between illiteracy and criminality and a recent survey has shown that the best place for an adult to learn to read and write is in prison. Vocational training is obviously valuable but too often fails to relate to an ex-prisoner's employment prospects on release. These observations are about the prison system and not about the people who operate it, for few would question their sincerity of purpose.

Table to Show Proportion of Offenders in Prison in Ten Western European Countries

Country	*Population*	*Number of Inmates*	*Proportion per* 100,000
Netherlands	13,119,000	2,540	19.6
Norway	3,866,468	1,432	37.1
France	51,004,000	29,553	59.9
Belgium	9,660,151	5,815	60.2
Sweden	8,092,693	4,977	61.4
Luxemburg	343,300	218	64.1
Denmark	4,800,000	3,350	69.8
England and Wales	55,534,000	40,178	72.4
Germany	61,194,600	51,175	83.6
Scotland	5,300,000	5,000	94.3

The above European league table correct to mid-1973 gives a depressing result for progressive minded penal reformers in Scotland. It is true that the alcohol factor is infinitely more serious in Scotland than in the rest of Britain, and violence is also proportionately more serious. Corporal punishment, it must also be admitted, is an integral part of the education system in Scotland. In Scotland too, however, the prison population has fallen encouragingly during 1973, but this is thought to reflect a fall in the crime rate rather than a tendency for courts to be less prison-minded.

Why should the frequently referred to Dutch situation be so good? We are told that Holland is the most densely populated country in the E.E.C. and it has had the usual immigration problems. Why then does it need to lock up so few of its offenders? One is mindful of Churchill's statement about the treatment of crime and criminals being the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country.

The question of bail or custody is the subject of current research in Scotland and all those concerned to reduce the prison population will await with interest the report of the Home Office working party on this subject which will soon be available. The abuses and inconsistencies in this area of our system have long needed close investigation. Why should the number of defendants remanded in custody fall proportionately in December each year? Because, we are told that the courts or the police are more charitable and generous in the pre-Christmas period, and are prepared to let more people go free! Why cannot the same criteria apply throughout the year? Think of the effect this would have. Why does the legally represented defendant have a much greater chance of getting bail than one who has no lawyer? Why should a delay with hearings mean that so many unhappy defendants spend months in confinement, some to be finally acquitted and many to be given a non-custodial sentence? There can be no doubt that too many persons are remanded in custody, and not only do they take up much unnecessary space, but also a disproportionate amount of staff time in processing and escort duties. We can only hope that major changes will soon be effected in this field.

In Scotland some of us look with envy at the measures introduced in England and Wales by the Criminal Justice Acts of 1967 and 1972. We too should like to press ahead with community service orders and day training centres as alternatives to imprisonment, and we believe that the climate is now right to promote such progressive measures here.

Readers Write

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

The trend towards a greater consideration for Prison Service families which appears to have prompted Mr. B. O'Friel's article (October issue) is to be welcomed. A means of direct representation for wives, with a greater degree of control over their immediate environment would help to ease the strain and frustration which many people obviously feel.

The opportunity to become an owner-occupier, and to live out of quarters would be accepted, by those who could afford it, as a step forward. As Mr. O'Friel suggests: ". . . this can have important consequences for family amenities, children's education and the like." But there are further implications to be considered—problems already existing which will be aggravated by living in a chosen local community, as opposed to a transitory existence on a Prison Service estate.

As an owner-occupier and, therefore, a ratepayer, one will certainly have greater recourse to action and influence in local amenities, educational facilities, and the community as a whole. Surely for most families this will also entail a greater commitment to, and involvement in that community. But the freedom to choose one's environment and, by virtue of that choice, to have some say in the children's education, the wife's employment and the family's social life will be the more valuable if it is coupled with the choice to remain in that area while it serves a particular need. Otherwise it is a frustrated choice, little better than the present situation.

Frequent moves at inconvenient times can cause as much anxiety and strain in the family as housing problems. I hope this will be given consideration too.

Yours sincerely,
MARION A. PERRISS.

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TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

I read *Criminals Coming of Age* (reviewed in the last issue of the Journal) with great interest. As a member of the staff of Dover Borstal for all but the latter part of the period of the research, I would like to make some comments of my own on the book.

Despite the considerable time that has elapsed between the end of the research and the publication of the book—reading it—especially the chapters 5 and 8 which most evoke memories —did instantly arouse something of the feelings which were being experienced at the time. These were feelings of tension, conflict, excitement, but most of all, of involvement in something that was exceptional in terms of institutional experience and development, even though part of me can now write off many of the ideas as dated, pretty unlikely to meet with success, being perhaps inappropriate in an institutional setting, anyway. The cause of this involvement was not due primarily to the presence of the research team—definitely not the Hawthorne effect. But the ideas that were perceived as originating from the governor seemed to escalate to touch

the life of every member of the institution. It was impossible to opt out; and if you were committed, whatever else you felt, it could never be boredom. If the book does not quite capture the sheer, emotional impact of the novelty of the ideas, it often pinpoints with great accuracy the effects of the changes, particularly the changes in structure. If you want to understand the complex changes in the patterns of feelings, when you introduce a review board, the lessons are here.

Yet in this area of description of change, I take fundamental issue with the authors. The word "traditional" is perhaps emotional enough in our work to be imbued with many meanings. But the description of the regime, when it was alleged to be "traditional" is far from my impression of what was going on. It may fit the kind of borstal which had been in existence long enough to digest and distort the original Patersonian principles. It may fit the kind of institution where the statement "well, it's always been done like that" was sufficient justification for any practice. But it has not much to do with Dover, which had only been in existence as a borstal for about three to four years prior to this account. Before training plans were introduced, there was always pressure to place concern for the individual prior to concern for the institution. If, on a discharge board, the housemaster could not present a very detailed account of the background of a boy and some diagnosis of the problems, then he was in trouble. Many house officers were also familiar with boys' histories and personal problems. That period was perhaps a necessary prelude to the evolution of the training plan, but certainly was not a situation which needed the corrective influence of the training plan to overcome the apparent priority given to the goals of custody, discipline and administration.

Paradoxically, although there is comment that new regimes need "the deliberate dismantling of the administration structure of the present system" if they are to be effective, we were in fact, guilty of perpetuating some of the practices which could be ascribed to traditional regimes. In addition to working through his individual training plan, each boy was also required to satisfy the stipulations of a general training plan in order to earn his discharge. These stipulations included such aspects as good conduct, satisfactory attendance in the gym, cleanliness and satisfactory work record. Arguments about qualification for discharge in some cases centred more around these areas than around progress on the individual training plan. It is difficult to interpret our need to counter-balance the formalisation of individual diagnosis and treatment aims with another document embodying that which was not seen as important to training. Was it a control tool? Was it a recognition that the training plan was more talk than activity, and that behaviour had to be heeded in some way? Anyhow we never married the two very satisfactorily.

Writing about housemasters, the competitiveness of negotiation on the labour boards under the traditional regime is mentioned. Later on the authors comment that the competitiveness of housemasters was mitigated under the training plan regime, and they felt themselves as being more part of a joint venture. I think the competition was still there in the guise of who was thought to be the most efficient in the production and implementation of training plans. Nevertheless, I would agree that housemasters were attempting to establish, in a fairly mild sort of way, a special identity for themselves and their houses. Some of this process, however, was lost in the cause of subordinating themselves and their houses to the central venture. It was not a time when a housemaster could develop his own belief system, or experiment a little with his own ideas at not too demanding a pace. It was not a time when he could contribute much to the thinking of the institution. But it was a time when he could learn to join together with his staff in a common imposed aim. It was a time when he could measure himself and receive direct feed-back from others on how he was achieving that aim. Thus, an ideological development had a very practical pay-off.

At the end of the book the governor, in his personal contribution, offers an apology for asking staff to tolerate boys whose behaviour more than merited removal from the institution. To what extent was the institution over-taxed in this and other ways, and asked to achieve a task without the necessary resources? In this day and age we are saying we should not specify tasks to be performed, unless we have adequate resources. But perhaps if the governor had adopted or been required to adopt that view, the staff would have lost a rare opportunity to learn.

J. W. T. CAPE,

Deputy Governor of Leyhill Prison and a former Housemaster of Dover Borstal.

TO THE EDITOR,

Prison Service Journal.

Dear Editor,

I would be grateful if you could print the following letter in an attempt to reveal many of the Prison Department's untapped resources.

It has been suggested by a senior colleague that the only people who are interested enough to look at new ideas for the Prison Service are those people outside it. It is left to groups like the Howard League, I.S.T.D., N.A.P.O., N.A.C.R.O, and perhaps even P.R.O.P. to express views about what ought or ought not to be done in prisons in England and Wales. When one questions the reasons behind this, one is told that "we're the professionals who live with prisons every day, so let the do-gooders talk about it in the evenings".

Perhaps it is time that we—the "professionals"—began to question our aims and objectives, and perhaps begin to tap hidden resources within the Service. Surely, we are not afraid to look closely at what we are doing and why we do it in that particular way.

Who are the innovators within the Prison Service? I feel sure that headquarters does little to encourage bold and forward thinking on a national scale, although to be fair there are individuals struggling to try out new ideas in their own establishments.

I feel that there is a need within this Service to do more to make everyone aware of other peoples' ideas and problems within the Service in order that they can begin to develop a style of thinking that does not resemble the many outdated prisons in this country.

Perhaps one of the ways in which this could be done is to have a series of lecture discussion evenings attended on a voluntary basis throughout the winter months. These meetings could then become a "penal platform" for those with new ideas and perhaps as a result, we may well begin to apply pressure for change ourselves, instead of *reacting* to the many outside bodies concerned with penal reform and prisoners' well-being. Inevitably these would need to be centred on London but with sufficient support and enthusiasm they could perhaps be regionalised.

If you consider yourself at all to be concerned with matters of penal policy perhaps you would try and disprove the colleague quoted earlier by writing to me and indicating either interesting topics for discussion and/or whether you would be prepared to attend meet-

ings of this type either in London or your own region.

We must seek the untapped resources in an attempt to improve on what we have now.

Yours faithfully,

M. R. WHITLAM,
Assistant Governor II,
H.M. Prison, Brixton.

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TO THE EDITOR,

Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

Grendon: Further Comment

I would like to clarify Mark Williams' reference to Robert George's paper ("Grendon Still Under Disputation", P.S.J., July 1973). Mr. Williams dismisses as "invalid" the main conclusion of the paper—that the longer an inmate stays at Grendon the better.

Mr. George was investigating 264 adult inmates discharged in 1967 and 1968. The result in question is given below.

Time at Grendon (months)	*Successes*	*Failures*
1–12	67 (35%)	125
Over 12	43 (60%)	29

It would appear that the long-stay subjects have a higher success rate than the short-stay subjects (60 per cent as against 35 per cent). Mr. George pointed out, however, that there is a bias, although non-significant, in favour of the long-stay subjects. In a private communication to this department Mr. Williams made the point that the two groups are not matched and that the differences cannot simply be ignored. The long-stay group contains an over-representation of "good" attributes, which makes them a better risk to begin with. (A "good" attribute is one which is associated with success.) The attributes he cites are offence, age, number of previous convictions and marital status.

The original data was reviewed in the light of Mr. Williams' criticism. Granted that the samples were not matched to begin with, matched pairs were drawn from the two samples. Subjects were selected from the short-stay group to match the long-stay subjects on the variables concerned. Of the 72 long-stay subjects matches were found for 62. Ten subjects were therefore discarded from this comparison. The tables below are a summary of the matching procedure.

OFFENCE. Sex offenders had a higher success rate than non-sex offenders.

Time at Grendon (months)	*Sex*	*Not Sex*	*Total*
1–12	12	50	62
Over 12	11	51	62

This was the closest match that could be made. The very slight bias is in favour of the short-stay group.

AGE ON CONVICTION. Subjects aged over 30 have a higher success rate than younger subjects.

Time at Grendon (months)	*Under 30*	*30+*	*Total*	*Mean*
1–12	36	26	62	29.06
Over 12	39	23	62	30.56

Again the bias is in favour of the short-stay group.

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS. Subjects with less than six previous convictions have a higher success rate than subjects with more.

Time at Grendon (months)	*0–5*	*6+*	*Total*	*Mean*
1–12	26	36	62	7.34
Over 12	24	38	62	7.76

Again we have a slight bias favouring the short-stay subjects.

MARITAL STATUS. Subjects who are married have a higher success rate than those who are not married.

Time at Grendon (months)	*Married*	*Not Married*	*Total*
1–12	21	41	62
Over 12	21	41	62

Here the samples are perfectly matched.

AGE ON FIRST CONVICTION. Subjects who were first convicted before they were 18 years old have a lower success rate than the rest.

Time at Grendon (months)	*Under 18*	*18+*	*Total*	*Mean*
1–12	30	32	62	20.02
Over 12	31	31	62	19.50

Again there is a slight bias in favour of the short-stay subjects.

The success rate of the 62 long-stay subjects was compared with that of the matched short-stay group. The result is given below.

Time at Grendon (months)	*Successes*	*Failures*
1–12	22 (35%)	40
Over 12	38 (61%)	24

It is clear that the result is essentially the same even when we match the samples, i.e. the long-stay subjects do better.

In his original communication with this department Mr. Williams concluded: "I do not think there can be much doubt about the reality of the association described in Mr. George's paper".

It comes as no small surprise, therefore, that 12 months later he describes the result as "invalid".

PHILIP HICKEY,
Psychology Department,
Grendon.

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TO THE EDITOR,

Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

Grendon: Further Comment

The surprise is easily resolved:

(1) the *fact* that a small group (27 per cent of the total) stay at Grendon longer than a year and also do better than average on release, that fact is not in dispute;

(2) the *inference* that they do better *because* of the longer stay is invalid.

The fact is true, the inference is false. No amount of post hoc juggling with the figures can ever give that inference scientific or statistical validity. The two samples (short-stay and long-stay) are *selected*, and the criteria for selection are many, varied and undefined. Mr. George himself mentioned a very salient feature:

> In 1967 and 1968 the percentage of men transferred from Grendon increased from 28.9 per cent (in 1964–6) to 38.1 per cent (1967–8). The men are transferred back to other prisons to complete their sentence because either they persistently request transfer or they are assessed as being unresponsive or unsuitable for treatment.

MARK WILLIAMS,
Psychology Department,
Wormwood Scrubs.

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TO THE EDITOR,

Prison Service Journal.

Dear Editor,

Non-Custodial Measures and the Criminal Justice Act, 1972

I write to draw your readers' attention to the fact that the sub-title of this article was omitted. This should have read (A Turning Point in Penal Treatment?). Without the sub-title the significance of my final paragraph is, of course, lost. Perhaps you would be kind enough to draw your readers' attention to this omission. With many thanks.

Yours sincerely,

HERSCHEL A. PRINS,
University of Leicester.

Book Reviews

EQUALITY CHALLENGED

THE INEQUALITY OF MAN

H. J. EYSENCK

Temple Smith 1973. £3.00

THIS latest book by Professor H. J. Eysenck perhaps gives a clue as to why his ideas have been met with anger and even violence. Basically Professor Eysenck's book is an attempt to demonstrate the inequality of men: "The differences between people, with respect to intelligence, personality, predisposition to mental disorder, crime, and to psychopathic behaviour", which he argues are largely inherited. Although Eysenck does point out that "equality before the law and equality of opportunity . . . are human rights, of universal validity, which are independent of biological and other scientific findings", the message that may be picked up by the popular media is that people are inherently unequal and should be treated as such *a la Brave New World* Some of the anger is aroused because it is said that scientists should be aware of the political consequences of their work, and should not publish their findings in a way which makes it possible for erroneous messages to be transmitted by the media to large numbers of people.

However, it is not sufficient to comment on Professor Eysenck's work at this level. Are his arguments supported by evidence? Are many of our abilities largely determined by our genes? Among the qualities of Professor Eysenck's writings are their elegance and clarity of expression. He is known for explaining psychological concepts in terms intelligible to the layman, and this book is no exception. It is precisely the plausibility of Eysenck's arguments which often makes it difficult for the ordinary reader to find any flaws which may lie in his arguments.

Eysenck discusses the issue of IQ tests and attempts to prove that IQ tests are really tests of intellectual ability. He deals with the problems of measuring intelligence, which rest on the difficulty of defining it, and gives evidence for the general overall factor of mental ability, or "g". However, as Professor Eysenck says: "There is an almost perfect agreement between the social prestige of an occupation and the mean IQ of those in that occupation". IQ scores to some extent do seem to be culturally determined; and tests which have been designed and standardised mainly for white, middle-class, populations are not necessarily relevant for other populations.

Professor Eysenck goes on to discuss intelligence and heredity. He says that intelligence is approximately 80 per cent determined by heredity, and 20 per cent by environmental factors, such as education and parental care. However, this does not seem to be altogether accepted. There is still much controversy on this issue. A research team at Harvard led by Christopher Jencks interpreted similar data and concluded that intelligence is 45 per cent (not 80 per cent) influenced by heredity. (*Inequality*—Christopher Jencks, 1973.)

Professor Eysenck does discuss the influence of early deprivation in the life of the child. He says that there are "well demonstrated effects on learning behaviour in animals of early sensory or social deprivation . . . but it is very doubtful if they are in any way relevant to the problems of human intelligence". He does not mention some of the most famous deprivation studies by Goldfarb and Spitz or a more recent one by Skeels, all of which found differences in IQ of around 25 to 30 points between the children in their studies who were severely deprived and those who were not. In the case of the last study, he showed a gain in IQ of around 30 per cent in two years in children he collected from slums and orphanages at the age of one and placed in a richer environment.

Eysenck goes on to discuss intelligence and social class. As he says, it is often assumed that "like begets like . . . Thus if there were marked differences in IQ between working class and middle class parents, say, then these inequalities would be perpetuated *ad infinitum*, and a hereditary sort of serfdom would be inevitable". Eysenck invalidates this rather devastating argument by the statistical argument of "regression towards the mean". This means the gradual levelling out of high or low parental IQ ratings in successive generations, owing to the reshuffling of genes in the process of reproduction. However, there is an opposed argument which used by Herrnstein in a recent book (*IQ in the Meritocracy*, 1973). Herrnstein predicts a future which reinforces social class because of "assortive mating", that is that high IQ people tend to marry high IQ partners and low IQ people tend to marry low IQ partners. Eysenck does not discuss this argument.

In the discussion on criminality, I do not suppose that many people would quarrel with Eysenck's conclusion that "Crime cannot be understood in terms of heredity alone". He presents his theory of criminality, which he has expounded in more detail in his book *Crime and Personality*. Basically, this says that socialisation is achieved through a process of conditioning. Extroverts tend to condition poorly. Neuroticism acts like a drive, reinforcing extroverted and introverted tendencies favouring or disfavouring anti-social conduct. Therefore anti-social conduct, particularly crime, would be found more in individuals whose personality placed them high on extroversion and neuroticism. Eysenck assumes an inherited basis for these personality characteristics. In his book Eysenck discusses another major personality dimension, psychoticism, or "P". It has been found that prisoners score highly on "P". His explanation for this are not altogether convincing; the evidence does not seem to be conclusive.

Eysenck's theories of criminality are important in the criminological field, but they certainly do not explain all criminal behaviour. As Dr. Donald West points out "The extroverted slap-happy personality with a careless disregard for social rules, represents a well recognised type among criminals, but not by any means the only type". (*The Young Offender*).

In his last chapter "Social consequences", Eysenck discusses some interesting ways of dealing with delinquents. He mentions "token economies" and says "It is interesting to speculate why no similar work is proceeding in this country, and why the results of experiments done in the United States of America are not being applied here". He also mentions the techniques of "modelling", which is simply watching a model complete some task and then attempting to copy him. This makes use of learning by imitation. Here we might do well to consider in more detail some of the solutions with which Eysenck presents us.

In conclusion, *The Inequality of Man* presents a challenging hypothesis rather than a watertight case. It is not so much the evidence quoted, as much as that which is not, which should make us cautious about accepting Professor Eysenck's arguments.

DELIA HAYES,
Senior Psychologist, Coldingley Prison.

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THE SOLUTION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS: FIVE PERSPECTIVES

ed. MARTIN S. WEINBERG and EARL RUBINGTON

Oxford University Press 1973. £1.80 (paperback only)

WHAT YOU want from me is a quick hint whether to go near this book in the first place and how to get the best out of it. All right:

(1) Do buy it or take it out of the library. It only costs £1.80 and if you follow my other hints you have a bonus: you will be laughing at the mugs who have not read this review.

(2) Trust your instinct. It is not possible for all the pieces in the book to be equally good, and in fact some are terrible. Pluck out and read what interests you and strictly ignore the rest. Further hints below.

(3) Whatever you do, pay no attention to the editors in their editorial capacity. Disregard *everything* that comes from their joint typewriter, and you will stay happy. When I say everything, I mean everything.

Too many staccato instructions? Too much

like home? Could I amplify or at least give reasons? Very well.

(1) Come now, admit it. You have heard of future shock, you have heard of Alvin Toffler, but do you know what the one says about the other? Synanon. . . . That fellow at the conference was talking about it, but you were half asleep. R. D. Laing? Well: psychiatrist, expert on schizophrenia, wasn't there a book called *The Bird of Paradise*, doesn't he advocate violence, or does he? . . . Mmmm, it doesn't add up. . . .

I have made my point. Few people are as ignorant as I am, but most of us would like to be better informed than we are. Weinberg and Rubington's book (Wein and Rube to their friends) will do the trick if we keep our heads. It is a collection of "readings" (mixed passages from books and papers from professional or academic journals). The connection between the pieces is tenuous. There are 20 of them, each of about half a dozen to 20 pages, four items apiece under each of the five headings: Social Pathology, Social Disorganisation, Value Conflict, Deviant Behaviour and Labelling; plus a variety of introductions and comments by the editors, which I forbear describing.

(2) What will interest you most? If we see the book as a Christmas stocking miscellany, the presents are good, bad, or indifferent. I illustrate by a group of four papers under the heading *Deviant Behaviour:* in fact they are reasonably clear-cut since they all concern prevention or cure, and the term "deviant behaviour" only confuses the issue.

They contain perhaps the most interesting paper in the whole collection, Johnson and Cressey's "Drug Addiction and Synanon", describing the organisation consisting at any one time of two to three dozen ex-addicts (of drink or drugs) living together in one building as a therapeutic community run solely by the residents. The regime is extremely strict and fierce, and it is vividly described and analysed by the authors with excellent use of racy quotations and taped discussion sessions. (The word "synanon" came from an addict who was trying to say "seminar". There is a further discussion of synanon in Yablonsky's Pelican book *The Violent Gang*). Johnson and Cressey's paper is an object lesson to us all. It is modest, informative, and full of useful ideas; it is positive and hopeful rather than sour and nasty; it is clear and simply written; it shows the origin of hypotheses, states the hypotheses, and uses the practical project to test them. By this standard I judge the rest.

Of the other three papers in this section, one is badly written and uncritical in approach: Knight on "The Marshall Program of Delinquency Rehabilitation". Reading it is like fighting your way through a jungle of molasses —more's the pity since it contains some useful ideas on a therapeutic community for boys. Another, by Rubington on "Rehabilitating the Chronic Drunkenness Offender" is too diffusely written but in fact enlightening, and describes an approach flatly the opposite of Cressey's: how to turn the "repeater", the fact of dependence, the revolving door to advantage. And fourthly a paper by Cloward of *Delinquency and Opportunity* fame, on "The Prevention of Delinquent Subcultures". This is written in heavy sociologese and contains a thesis that will be of interest to many people in this country, say in Glasgow: "Criminal and conflict subcultures do not arise in the same types of urban neighbourhood" (page 194). (Do I harp rather much on the standard of writing? Yes, I mean to: see comment (3) below).

Other pieces in the "good" category are R. D. Laing on schizophrenia (excellent) and Desmond Morris on intimate behaviour (wise, humane, well-written and enlightening).

A few of the pieces are frankly bad—these I do not name. Most, while having real defects, are genuinely interesting and informative, and deal with topics we may long have felt curious about, or describe practical projects or experiments which can give us ideas for our own practice. To indicate the variety, there is Schur on abortion reform (treatment one-sided, writing a bit muddy, but thought-provoking); Stokely Carmichael on Black-Power (rather loosely written, but sound especially on the need for parent's influence on the education their children get); Gordon on too much overlapping local authority government (that one strikes home); Slater with a general polemic called—though I never discovered why—"The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point" (quite lively, but hardly in the great American tradition of polemics by men like Philip Wylie, James Agee or Edmund Wilson); and in fact something on almost any woe you can think of.

Many of the problems are grievous and painful problems indeed—madness, violence, pollution of the land. One could not blame the writers if they spoke in extreme terms. Most do not. Quite the most terrifying piece in the book is the paper on Women's Liberation by Ellen Cantarow and five other ladies. It is the ultimate in paranoid logic, a piece of super-Marxian analysis much more marxist than Marx himself. Did Wein and Rube choose it only to discredit Women's Lib? After reading it I at once sent in my subscription to the Men's Organisation to Uplift and Support Each other. At least the Mouse Men can smile at themselves—which is more than the Lib Ladies can.

(3) If I recommend Wein and Rube's miscellany, why be so rude about their analysis and assorted comments? At first, I jotted down critical notes and promised myself a holocaust in which I should deal out death and destruction to them on all sides. But it would only be breaking the butterfly on the wheel. It isn't worth the effort. I restrict myself to two general remarks.

First, analysis. Wein and Rube start by distinguishing two phases, the *act of defining* and the *act of solving*. They will analyse each phase in terms of the *situation, values, people,* and *action* involved. This already gives us eight pigeon-holes; but that is only the beginning. Next we have the five *perspectives*, each one of which is associated with a *formula for solution*. Almost everything so far is puzzling and open to criticism, but press on. Each of the five perspectives is now discussed in terms of the *place, attitude and content* involved in it, and each formula in terms of the associated *vocabulary, beliefs or doctrine*, and *recipe*: and there is added a *history* of each perspective (these are Wein and Rube's most readable sections) and the *summary and conclusion* for each. That is to say, even if one accepted the basis and details of this analysis—and I, for one, am far from accepting it—each of these six notions of *place, attitude* and so on, is discussed no fewer than six separate times (in the introductory chapter 1 and again for each of the five perspectives in chapters 2 to 6), after which the perspectives are again reviewed briefly three further times in chapter 7. You are confused? Well, I did warn you. If you want to drive yourself out of your mind, that is your business. To make confusion worse confounded, the perspectives themselves make very little sense and most of the passages could be assigned just as easily to one perspective as another.

My second complaint against Wein and Rube is their language. There was an era during which ordinary people suffered especially from the vile technical approach and language of psychologists. We have not struggled out of that era yet, but it has been overwhelmed by the epoch of the still more vile language of sociologists—the dead, flat, metallic thump of long abstract words, drained of all emotion and vividness, lying motionless where they are thrown, having no organic connection with their fellow words; so that it is well-nigh impossible to understand and sympathise with the writer's intention and meaning, if he he has any.

Wein and Rube's book is a true citizen of this epoch. It illustrates as well the paradox of the American language: the contrast between the immensely vivid, effective, powerful colloquial speech of Americans, full of short, punchy words and inventive concrete phrases and this dead Germanic heaviness, like a clumping metal robot in an old science fiction film, which American academics impose on the public. Read the virile, slangy, everyday speech of Johnson and Cressey's Synanon members (pages 225 to 239) or the quiet educated English of Desmond Morris or R. D. Laing: this is how to do it, this is how to put across your thoughts. Read most of the other contributors, especially the sociologists —say Weinberg and Williams, or Knight, Cloward, or Wein and Rube—and you begin to despair.

Why must we put up with this kind of nonsense from sociologists? In my opinion, there is no reason at all. And if the ordinary man wishes to start his revolt by refusing to buy Wein and Rube's book, they have only themselves to blame.

D. WEBSTER,

Department of Sociology,
University of Salford.

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN BRITAIN

R. V. BAILEY and J. YOUNG

Saxon House 1973. £3.00

THIS is one of a small but growing number of books by British authors which provide an introduction to recent developments in the sociology of deviance. This book provides nine original essays by members of the National Deviancy Symposium, covering a wide range of issues. The editors give a single page introduction, setting out the distinguishing characteristics of the approach. This introduction is simply insufficient. The reader requires a much more extended statement of the arguments which the selection has been chosen to illustrate, together with a commentary which relates the essays to the arguments.

There are four main principles which the

editors have applied in selecting their material:

(a) "Social problems are not regarded as pathological aberrations, indicative of disturbed personalities, but as meaningful attempts to solve problems faced by individuals in specific parts of the social structure" (p. xiii). This involves the sociologist in examining social problems largely from the "inside", endeavouring to unravel the deviant's view and trying to see how he got where he is in terms of his past culture and biography. The deviant, like the rest of us, is to be seen as partly free and creative and partly constrained by conditions and opportunities beyond his control. This approach serves to emphasise the similarities between the deviant and others and to restore his humanity. Several of the articles illustrate the application of this perspective, particularly Young's "Student Drug Use and Middle-Class Delinquency". Auld's contribution, and that by Featherstone and Hepworth, which deal with the drug-user confronted by the law and with people who "go missing", complicate the issue by acknowledging that deviants provide accounts which are tailored to their audiences.

Given that the editors stress the similarities between deviants and the rest of us, what is the distinctiveness of deviance? This introduces the second principle:

(b) Deviance is that which is publicly labelled as such. Most behaviour has been seen as deviant somewhere, sometime and could be seen as such in the future. The cardinal thing which different deviant behaviours have in common is that they are regarded as deviant. Despite the tautological nature of this proposition, it has led to some of the most important work within this school of thought. The importance lies in focusing attention on the agents of control and what they believe. These beliefs may be seen as the outcome of conflicts of interest in society and depend on where the balance of power lies at any given time.

While these issues are not mentioned explicitly in the introduction, they are illustrated in a number of the essays. Pearce and Roberts apply the arguments in the case of the "Social Regulation of Sexual Behaviour", noticing the imposition of bourgeois values on the working class so as to produce sober and reliable workers who were resistant to chartist propoganda. Auld, discussing drug-takers, suggests that they help to sustain the dominant view of the drug problem by negotiating with the courts to provide acceptable negative accounts of the experience of taking drugs. Rather than standing up and defending themselves in positive terms, they trade for lighter sentences. Manson and Palmer look at the ways Liberals and Conservatives justify their perspectives on pornography. Archard examines alternative views of the skid-row alcoholic and notices that the growing popularity of the "medical" approach threatens the old-style "missionary" line. On a grander scale, explanations of deviance in terms of individual pathology distract attention from any possible roots of the problem in the structure of society and the need for large scale social reform.

The new perspective has led to considerable interest in how, when and why labels come to be applied. The ambiguity of situations is a factor here and Plummer, writing about homosexuality, points out that the younger participant may elude the label by arguing that his behaviour is the outcome of a mere passing phase. But there is little in the book to cast light on the negotiation process which is involved.

The third principle on which the editors have worked is:

(c) It is necessary to examine the interaction between the deviant and the agencies of social control. Surprisingly, the book contains little on the consequences of being processed and labelled as a deviant. This has been a major interest of recent deviancy theory, which has focused on the way the social control and welfare agencies may often reinforce or exacerbate the original problem.

The fourth of the editor's principles is:

(d) It is necessary to penetrate beyond the immediate circumstances surrounding any particular situation and relate this to what is happening in the total society. For all the writers represented, this clearly involves interpreting society as involving conflicts of interest and power. For most of the contributors, this means adopting a Marxist framework, but it is only Pearce and Roberts who spell out their ideological basis.

Many of the essays in this collection are well worth reading in their own right. As a whole, the book fails to weld these contributions together as well as it might have. Equally, the book, as a whole, lacks a critical stance by which the particular perspective may be set against others. That the perspective has provided a major advance in our understanding of deviance is beyond doubt. It is not clear, however, how far the approach may be taken, what its limits are and whether it effectively supplants alternatives. At some stage, serious thought will have to be given to subjecting the approach to empirical testing.

Finally, what relevance has all this got to the Prison Service? If the new perspectives lead those concerned with the service to look at it in a somewhat new light, this might lead to some creative innovations. (Some deviancy theorists would clearly hope that it would lead to revolutionary developments.) No doubt some social conflict is the outcome of irreducible conflicts of interest—and maybe this is inevitably true of prisons—but some conflict arises from, or is exacerbated by, people's inability to understand the points of view of others. Each is imprisoned in their own interpretation and is unable to see things from the position of anyone else. This is especially likely where the two sides are separated by a wide social distance, as in prisons. The recent deviancy literature might be used to help staff enter the world of the deviant and particularly that of the prisoner. This could be intensified by the use of sociodrama and role-playing, in which trainee staff are cast in the role of prisoners in typical prison situations and are asked to develop the plot spontaneously. The experience could then be used as a basis for discussion of the meaning of imprisonment, with possible changes in attitude and practices.

Taking account of the body of ideas in labelling theory, it should be possible to go further, not merely in countering the negative effects of prisons, but in encouraging positive effects. Community service, as an alternative to prison, may well provide the wrong-doer with a chance to construct a positive and socially acceptable self-image which others may accept and reinforce. Within prisons, the same argument might be used to support the case for meaningful full-time work, with a full wage from which prisoners could support their families. Men might be further encouraged to take externally recognised qualifications, to spend week-ends or longer with their wives, to form their own "trade-union" as in Scandinavia and so on.

TIM ROBINSON,

Department of Sociology,

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AN INTRODUCTION TO GROUP WORK SKILL

FRED MILSON

Routledge and Kegan Paul 1973. Hardback £3. Paperback £1.50

EXPLORATIONS IN GROUP WORK

FURTHER EXPLORATIONS IN GROUP WORK

Edited by SAUL BERNSTEIN

Bookstall Publications 1972. £1.50 and £1.75 respectively

THE blurb on the cover says Milson's book is particularly "for those who are interested in group work but find the existing literature on its techniques too difficult and too academic". In an area where books and training courses have tended to preserve the fogs of description and mysticism, this is a recommendation in itself. Towards this end, Fred Milson draws on his extensive experiences as a youth worker and as a group work trainer. The book is fairly successful in what it achieves although, to deal with the range of groups covered by social workers, it is necessarily generalised. Indeed, the book could well have carried the title given to the first chapter, "Group Work for Everybody".

The two introductory chapters take us painlessly into the province of group work. The concepts of leadership, roles, group goals, group identity, and others are described with clear examples, and there is an interesting look at some illustrative novels and films. On the other hand, nowhere is there mention of any underlying theory or rationale for group work. In an early description of group psychotherapy (a method extended for use with "disturbed and delinquent youngsters and also in the rehabilitation of prisoners", p. 4) we are told that "patients could be encouraged to talk through their problems" and "bring repressions into the open"; later, reference is made to young adults' emotional maturation (p.119). Beyond this and the demonstration that we are all members of various human groups, there is no clear line on why we should engage in group work nor how it actually "works". Certainly, this lack of rationale is not confined to Milson's book, but it must mean that this introductory text will be limited to readers whose interest is already caught or who are already "converted" to group work.

Milson considers there are three skills required by a group worker and these are *observation* (sizing up the situation and

understanding what is going on); *interpretation* (attempting to explain the observed behaviours); *action* (how the leader might further the aims of the group and its members). Although he explains that these are inseparable in practice, a chapter is devoted to each one of these skills in turn.

The chapters on *observation* and *interpretation* are a difficult mixture of goodies taken from "theory" and "practice". At times we wade quite deeply through classifications, references and methodologies (such as those for recording and analysing interactions). At other times we are reassured by examples and observations that can only come from group work practice. The danger of falling between two stools is obvious. Intent on playing down undue "psychologising" for example, Milson presents the skill of *interpretation* as a fairly straightforward process, if not an "everyday" one. Its inherent problems and the role of the interpreter's implicit theory can therefore be only slightly touched on in the text. Nor is there adequate coverage of how selective we are in the aspects and events we choose to observe and interpret.

The section on *action* is worth reaching. Milson himself says at the start of the chapter: "This book is chiefly about action. All that has gone before is intended to contribute to the moment when the group worker has to do something". The theory of the previous chapters is used as a basis to discuss the group worker's strategies, his decision to intervene or stay back, and the furtherance of long and short-term group goals. The various uses of recorded interactions are described and there are some valuable guide-lines for using role-playing as a method in group work. In particular, different types of group work are set out cogently, together with their goals and main features. If, as a group worker in the Prison Service, one could determine adequately which classes of group work were relevant, these directives would be well worth reading.

The final chapter on *leadership* is meant to pull together these skills and hammer out some practical consequences. At first, the message gets lost in a lengthy debate on whether leaders create situations or situations create leaders, and the only lesson that seems to emerge concerns getting the "boss chimp" on your side if you want to train the rest of the troupe. However, this does not do justice to the rest of the chapter which contains a useful exposition of democratic leadership, the realities of trying to maintain a "non-judgmental attitude", and the importance of group leaders coming to terms with themselves and their motives. The chapter concludes with "ten guidelines for group leaders" which are far more valuable than one might expect fron a list of "do's and don'ts".

The cover of Milson's book mentions "a number of useful do-it-yourself exercises designed to impove the skill of group workers in different contexts". These are not immediately obvious, numerous or in any way remarkable. Any reader who was interested in applying aspects of the book would probably relate them to his roles, groups and experiences without any textual prompting. Overall though, this is a book which emphasises application and practice. If those who are embarked on or about to start group work are prepared to plough through the early chapters, they will find it a useful and readable book.

The same cannot be said so easily of the two volumes edited by Saul Bernstein. To be fair these are for the seasoned social worker who can place them in the context of current social group work thought and practice. Out of the recognised need for theory in group work and social work generally, a Group Work Theory Committee was established in 1959 in the Boston University School of Social Work. These books are the products of that body. Although they profess twin themes, it is the theory building and testing which acquires ascendancy over the application to group working in practice, despite the involvement of practitioners, instructors and students on the committee.

Since the books were originally published during 1965 and 1970 in the United States of America, many people will have come across the articles and ideas but will still welcome their publication in this country. Of particular interest is an article in the first book entitled "A Model for Stages of Development in Social Work Groups" in which Garland, Jones and Kolodny elaborate a theory of "emotional closeness". Although not doing justice to the detail and implication of their work, it might be worth noting here the five stages of group development. In the first stage, *pre-affiliation* refers to the expression by group members and leaders of ambivalence between the attractions and demands of belonging to the group. When an investment has been made, *power and control* are explored and established: this second stage is useful in explaining many group dynamics. By the third stage, *intimacy* enables the loves and hates of relationships to be played out. A stage of *differentiation* is reached in which such relationships and the events can be evaluated more realistically, before the final stage of *separation* when purposes have been achieved. Garland, Jones and Kolodny describe some possible reactions to termination and place their theory in the context of other literature on group development. A paper in the second volume, "Application of Stages of Group Development to Groups in Psychiatric Settings", helps validate the theory. These two articles are good examples of the interchange that can be achieved between theory and practice.

The first volume also contains "Decision-making and Group Work" by Lowy. Even at the time of its original publication, this article must have seemed isolated from other work being published on decision-making. The fields of group risk-taking and corporate decision-making are now large enough to completely overshadow Lowy's article. By contrast, the same volume contains "Exploration and Working Agreement in Two Social Work Methods", in which Louise Frey and Marguerite Meyer discuss issues which are still relevant to social work today. The authors explore the similarities and differences between casework and group work. Their emphasis is on the contribution casework methods can make to group work techniques, but it is an article which will interest group workers and caseworkers alike.

The second volume holds articles concerning group composition, scapegoating, the integration of a handicapped child into a group, and the formulation of goals in social work with groups. Each of these four papers describes the range of problems involved, without extending much direct advice to the group worker. However, the issues are fully explored by each author, and the reader may find applicability to his own group work experiences.

Professor Bernstein contributes one paper to each volume. In the first, he examines "Conflict and Group Work". Conflict—both within and between individuals and groups of people—is viewed as a dimension and group dynamic in its own right, the intensification of open conflict being at times an index of health and an opportunity for growth. In the second paper, "Values and Group Work", Bernstein examines the compatibility of values and methods in social group work. Although other work has been published since Bernstein's, these articles are worth reading by group workers.

RICK EVANS,

Psychologist, Staff College Wakefield.

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A WALK WITH ALAN

TOM HART

Quartet Books 1973. Hardback £2.50

Midway £1.25

TOM HART, in his book *A Walk with Alan*, has attempted to show the inadequacies of the residential child care services in this country. To do this not only has he used the case of Alan, who was a product of society's inability to cope with the needs of individuals within an institutional setting; but he has also written a critical autobiography of his own experiences of residential children's homes. In this way he illustrates the frustrations of trying to help children grow and mature in an environment which is not conducive to providing the love and affection necessary for them to become stable and well adjusted adults.

Indeed, Mr. Hart is so critical of his own ability and of that of the section of society he represents, that I got the feeling on reading the book that it was a guilty epitaph to a boy who, throughout his life, had been let down miserably by society.

Alan's death in the loneliness of a cell in Wandsworth Prison, is the ultimate in institutional failure. In fact, many of the examples of harshness and selfishness quoted in the book are unfortunately prevalent in my own institutional experiences.

The book, however, poses deep questions as to why people whose vocation it is to work in institutions, make and abide by certain rules and standards of morality. Do these rules bear any relation to the needs of the inmates? Or do they only reflect the needs of the staff?

We who work within the penal system, which is perhaps the ultimate in total institutions, are in a unique position. Our daily task is not intruded upon by outside influences or questioned by other social work agencies. We must, therefore, be forever on our guard against our own institutionalisation and we must regularly examine our own behaviour. Tom Hart's book, which is written with a great deal of insight and feeling, made me take an introspective look at myself, the way I work, the standards that I accept and the way I discharge my own responsibilities. I firmly believe that this book will have the same effect on all its readers and I urge everyone to read it.

KEVIN P. ROGERS,

Senior Officer, H.M. Borstal, Feltham,

COMMON HUMAN NEEDS

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

Allen and Unwin 1973. Hardback £3.15

Paperback £1.65

RESIDENTIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

The Evolving of Caring Systems

ed. JOAN HUNTER and FRANK AINSWORTH

University of Dundee 1973. 50p

CHILDREN *STILL* IN TROUBLE

SHIRLEY BECKE *et al*

I.S.T.D. 1973. 30p

JUVENILE JUSTICE

The demands of treatment

J. C. SPENCER

I.S.T.D. 1973. 15p

COMMON HUMAN NEEDS was first published in America in 1945 for social security workers—to assist them in their approach to individuals and families in times of stress (mainly financial). Charlotte Towle wrote directly for a group of workers untrained in social work but for whom social work knowledge would have value in reducing anxiety while they dealt with problems. This succinct book has been widely used by people beginning social work or operating on its borders; it now reappears in an anglicised version. Charlotte Towle discusses refreshingly some of the normal processes of engaging with people of different ages and capacities as they face stress and need help in regaining equilibrium. She covers the normal stages and crises of man's life, his defences and his need for hope and new constructive ideas when disabled by circumstances; she deals also with dependency and regression. The book offers a neat progression of ideas and is itself hopeful. It makes the point firmly that an individual in need in society has a right to service and the worker's role is to use his agency constructively to the benefit of the individual. As the person uses help he regains his independence, he contributes to the benefit of his family and so to society. The social security agency exists for the individual primarily and for society in due course. The last section of the book considers staff supervision and training with a similar natural progression—it is surprising how much ground this slim book covers. Books of this understanding, humanity, warmth and wisdom do last and speak to several generations—but the paperback price is less frightening than that of the hardback edition!

While Charlotte Towle had public welfare workers as her focus, her ideas have a universality for all those who work in helping professions—in the community and in institutions. The needs of her clients were not, though, complicated by institutions or by the threat posed to social control. There have been a number of papers presented in the last year in which the authors examine from different points of view how help can be given to "children in trouble". Those studied here originate in this country and reflect on current work with children—following the Children's and Young Persons Act, 1969, and the generalised expansion of local authority social services in England and Scotland. Charlotte Towle discusses the danger of caring services becoming institutionalised and argues that service always needs the breath of life that comes from a warm understanding of people's needs. The Dundee papers develop this theme.

Richard Balbernie and Mrs. Dockar-Drysdale discuss the vast needs of "maladjusted" boys and ask how staff can work out their commitment to therapy in order to enhance the personal growth of boys with little, if any, personal integration. They call for support for staff as they are tested and for protection from outside interference, however well-meaning or otherwise.

Their experience at the Cotswold Community, shared in their papers, applies in greater detail the ideas and principles of *Common Human Needs* to boys whose range of disturbance goes far beyond normal adolescent bounds. The life, dynamic and stress are all there. (I just wish that Balbernie could communicate with Towle's clarity!) Anthea Hey wrestles with the difficulties of a multi-disciplinary approach and advocates clarity of communication and role in the total care situation in order that each staff member may contribute constructively to the client's welfare. Ben Morris defines education as the discovery of what it means to be human and speaks of the need to care, share and nurture so that the next generation may grapple constructively with the knowledge of good and evil. "The Evolving of Caring Systems" is again concerned primarily with the needs of those receiving help.

A similar focus is taken by J. L. Burns in his paper in *Children* Still *in Trouble*. He discusses the needs of both maladjusted boys and those with an anti-social adjustment in the light of the changes in "community homes". The other writers in this pamphlet survey the care and control of difficult, deprived, delinquent children, now that local authorities have assumed greater responsibilities than the courts. Public anxiety, especially as expressed by magistrates, has been high (is this an anxiety transferred from the prison department, now that our ability to control has withstood testing?) Does helping the children help society? How is the mutual protection of society and its destructive children to be achieved—constructively and without progressive isolation, alienation and denial? Public anxiety could be constructive if developments were not complicated by reorganisations of social service departments, local authorities and the N.H.S. A real examination of real problems.

John Spencer provokes considerable thinking in the same area as he compares English and Scottish attempts to secure "justice for the child". His paper—*Juvenile Justice—the demands of treatment*—was designed to highlight for seminar discussion the many facets of this engrossing but amorphous area. He sees value in communication between child, parents, social workers and the courts, and suggests criteria for judging systems of juvenile justice. With so little evaluated, he offers also the conundrum that a bad treatment system might do more harm than a court system. We are still searching for an effective way of coping with juvenile delinquents.

Charlotte Towle considers widely helping people of all ages with largely normal stresses; her ideas need restating for they underpin so much of our helping work and cannot be taken for granted. More particular problems arise—how to offer "just" care and control for difficult youngsters is a current example—and these show up the difficulties of applying such dynamic ideas and not just paying them lip-service. John Conrad wrote recently:

> We are so thoroughly committed to the use of the criminal process for the control of social deviance that alternatives are difficult to design with confidence, notwithstanding our knowledge that the criminal justice system is demonstrably ineffective for many kinds of social control.*

We are trying alternatives with children but just and constructive alternatives take time, pain and hard work to develop. Our services need the breath of life these articles offer.

M. D. JENKINS,

Governor, Oxford Prison.

*JOHN P. CONRAD. "Corrections and Simple Justice"; *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 1973, vol. 64, No. 2, p. 213.

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GUILTY BUT INSANE

PETER CLYNE

Nelson 1973. £2.95

PETER CLYNE is an Australian-trained barrister who has developed a special interest in forensic psychiatry. In the introduction to the book, he defines his purpose as examining Anglo-American attitudes to insanity and criminal guilt and says that he hopes to assist the reader in defining and supporting his own position within the spectrum of possible answers.

Most readers of this Journal will be familiar with the M'Naughton "rules" and how they influenced the courts. An illuminating account of the law lords' original questions and answers is given, and accounts of the cross-examination of psychiatrists in celebrated murder cases make for entertaining if uncomfortable reading. The author points out that the much more recent Homicide Act of 1957 has allowed pleas of diminished responsibility when the defendant has not been suffering from mental illness but from a disorder of personality characterised by the accentuation of traits which are widely found in the general population in some degree. As he himself admits, this makes detailed discussion of the M'Naughton rules somewhat superfluous now. He demonstrates persuasively how the legal and psychiatric "jousting" may result in *technical* victories in court by one or other party, but how juries persist in using their own logic whatever magnificent edifice of logical constructs or abstruse reasoning may have been placed before them.

Mr. Clyne writes in an engaging way—one feels that reading him is a bit like attending a lecture by an entertaining extravert. I think this is no mean achievement in a field where books are often dry and unreadable. His own personal antipathy to Utopian legal stysems which remove the issue of guilt, reparation and punishment is clearly stated.

He particularly emphasises how a person of abnormal mentality might be consigned to hospital and lose his freedom for a very long period solely because a very minor offence had drawn attention to him. I believe he has seriously underestimated the safeguards that are already built into our own Mental Health Act of 1959. Readers may know that only offenders whose potential for anti-social behaviour is recognised by the court are detained in special hospitals—others are admitted to ordinary psychiatric hospitals where, apart from those subjected to restriction orders imposed by the court, they are in a very similar situation to other patients who are detained for treatment. In some respect, the

circumstances surrounding their enforced admission to hospital are more likely to ensure that their opinions are heard and their rights noted than if they were non-offenders compulsorily admitted to hospital.

Though various philosophical and other approaches are discussed, Mr. Clyne omits reference to the social and political factors which have the most immediate and telling influence on the fate of those who appear before the court and are dealt with by means of a "medical disposal". One contemporary reality is the limited accommodation which exists in hospitals for those who require and may benefit from psychiatric treatment but who at the same time need special facilities to contain their anti-social behaviour. The alternative of flexible prison use and the provision of expensive staffing for treatment is also limited. The most regrettable distortion of medical evidence presented to the court may perhaps result from situations where a doctor unconsciously minimises the defendant's mental illness or disorder of personality because he is unable to recommend treatment under the Mental Health Act since none is available. This in turn might have the result, even though the decisions should not follow in this order, of obliging him to give evidence about the issue of responsibility in such a way as to be consistent with his conclusions about the disposal of the case.

In this country, the Mental Health Act of 1959, with its acceptance of the concept of mental illness and of the protective and sometimes custodial responsibility of society towards the disordered, is a fact of everyday life. Of course, we can still be stimulated and entertained by Professor Szasz and his "Myth of Mental Illness", but we have urgent decisions to make now. One virtue of the mental illness concept is that modern psychiatry has achieved some success in training doctors to use some generally agreed principles of classification, treatment and nomenclature. Mr. Clyne would have us return to metaphysical issues that could result in lengthy debates about "truth" but be of little help in areas where some problems are already identified.

This book is enjoyable to read. It is not hard work and the author draws on many sources to illustrate his various arguments and questions. Discussing legal issues that are dead in our country is not a useful exercise. However, I am grateful for his help for providing me with the opportunity to clarify my own position and to identify what is of value in recent legislation in this area.

J. A. C. MacKeith,

Dr. James MacKeith is presently Medical Officer at Brixton Prison, and is shortly taking up a position as Consultant Psychiatrist at Broadmoor Hospital.

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SKILLS WITH PEOPLE—A guide for Managers

ELIZABETH SIDNEY, MARGARET BROWN and MICHAEL ARGYLE

Hutchinson 1973. Hardback £2.50

Paperback £1.00

ONE of the frequently heard complaints from managers is that all books on management seem written only for consumption by other writers on management. In their book, *Skills with People*, the three authors have, however, produced something that is not only about management but also eminently readable by management. Its virtue does not stop there, moreover, but continues into action since at the end of every chapter the authors include a checklist or action plan which not only summarises the meat of that chapter but also invites the reader to consider the points made as they affect his own particular management style.

No one will find much in this book which is new, and by that token, untried, for the prescriptive comments are drawn from concrete examples and working experiences. Even the last few chapters which include more "theory" than the foregoing ones do so on a basis of experience. But these points are part of the strength of the book since every reader will be able to recognise his own situation somewhere in the treatment of the subject. Recognition, like patriotism, however, is not enough; it is not sufficient to mumble, "my boss should be reading this book not me!" We are all managers in the Prison Service, from the newest joined officer to the longest serving governor, and our actions in our work are consequently managerial ones. This being the case we all have an obligation to scrutinise our own actions and try to see where they need improvement. *Skills with People* not only helps with the scrutiny but also with suggestions for future action. As an example I include a section from the "Checklist for the Manager" from the chapter on "Communication".

1. How can I ensure that people are adequately informed? In what circumstances do rumours flourish?

   (a) Do staff currently have a great need for the facts?
   Why?

   (b) If they do, are all the relevant facts readily available? Are they unambiguous?

   (c) If the facts are not available, what steps can I take to ensure that the relevant facts are conveyed clearly?

2. Is any of the relevant information distasteful or frightening? If so, what special steps can I take to ensure that this information is still accepted?

Can it be presented—

   (a) gradually,

   (b) together with help on how to mitigate its effects?

Though not world-shaking in their depth these questions are often the sort of ones that are shirked by us all for a multitude of apparently perfectly good reasons—usually to the detriment of our managerial behaviour.

As well as "Communication" the authors deal with "Basic Principles of Social Behaviour", Interviewing Skills", "Using Meetings and Committees Effectively" (a particularly useful chapter), "The Manager Dealing with Individuals", "Building and Leading Work Groups", "Interpersonal Skills and Social Engineering", and, lastly, "Training in Social Skills". All similarly handled in a clear fashion.

Finally, the format of the book lends itself admirably to training, either self-started or directed, and many a training group in our establishments could do worse than to work through the book, systematically applying the principles and prescriptions to the working establishment.

In summary, then, a very good curate's egg, of which there should be at least one copy in each establishment.

M. R. J. GANDER,

Tutor, Induction Department, Staff College.

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BEYOND THE PUNITIVE SOCIETY

ed. HARVEY WHEELER

Wildwood House 1973. Hardback £3.25

Paperback £1.60

BEYOND THE PUNITIVE SOCIETY is sub-titled "operant conditioning: social and political aspects". It is a collection of 19 essays, apparently presented during a symposium called to discuss the book *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* by B. F. Skinner (which is now available in a Penguin edition). So, obviously the first point to be made about *Beyond the Punitive Society* is that its interest and relevance for the reader is dependent in great part on his having already read *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. But that is not all.

The work of B. F. Skinner may be divided into two quite separate (though related) parts. The first was as an experimental psychologist in the laboratory. Here, during the 1930's and 40's, he was responsible for the discovery and elaboration of the principles of the phenomenon now known as operant conditioning. Without doubt, this work has established his reputation as probably the most important, and certainly the most influential, of twentieth century psychologists. But during the 50's and 60's Skinner increasingly forsook the laboratory and applied the concepts of operant conditioning to ever wider areas of human activity. This speculation has proved much more controversial. Basically, he argues that the possibility now exists for a human technology, applicable to problems as diverse as the education of the normal child, the rehabilitation of the criminal, and the treatment of the "mentally disturbed". *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* is the most extreme development of this speculation, being a discussion of the ultimate human problem: the design of the culture itself, and to appreciate it, some technical knowledge is required. As Skinner himself said at the symposium (his essay, "Answers for my critics", is the last in the book):

> The argument of the book (i.e. *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*) rests on the existence, or at least imminence, of a science of behaviour. I believe that such a science exists, but I made no effort to prove it. I assumed that my readers would either look up the references at the end of the book or take my word for it for the sake of argument. But this was not what happened. Instead, one finds frequent allusions to the "science of behavior" that existed half a century ago, with its rats in mazes, its dogs and dinner bells, and its formulations of behavior as a bundle of reflexes.

> Then, human behavior seemed, indeed, not unlike the behavior of a robot or a marionette.

This is certainly a valid criticism of many contributions to the symposium, and a necessary warning of the sort of preparation required of those entering the debate on the possibilities of operant conditioning as a social technology.

Granted such preparation, what can the reader expect of *Beyond the Punitive Society*? The predominant tone is hostile to Skinnerian doctrines; six philosophers all rejecting them are joined by five contributors from other disciplines. Very little of this hostility is based on factual material, but rather consists predominantly of personal opinion or philosophical "argument". Karl Pribram (officially professor of psychiatry but technically a brain-surgeon) does invoke his own work to contradict Skinner, and a systems-analyst (Rosen) is satisfied that *his* models of behaviour-systems show Skinner's proposals to be "most unlikely to accomplish the good results he expects . . .". Perhaps this dearth of evidence is the central fault of the book. Although Skinner does make philosophical as well as psychological assertions, nevertheless it is primarily on scientific grounds that his work will either be accepted or rejected. Obviously, a symposium is not solely an information-gathering exercise, but the invitation to such luminaries as Arnold Toynbee and Lord Ritchie Calder helps to create an atmosphere where opinion is valued more highly than fact—indeed, where facts can safely be ignored ("try to condition a goat, mule, camel, or horse; you will find that the exercise is counter-productive"—Toynbee).

Articles favouring Skinner's approach are no less bare of facts. One essay called "Controlled Environments for Social Change" is written by a team of avowed "Skinnerians" and promises "impressive" results from an operant programme for treating institutionalised alcoholics. Unfortunately, these results were not available at the time of the symposium, and elsewhere in the same article the authors are somewhat uncritical of current techniques along operant lines. But their contribution does convey the "flavour" of such techniques, and is a welcome reminder of their non-punitive nature (which few of the critics seem to realise). The point is surely this: that if someone is claiming that a social technology is possible, then that claim can be tested most rigorously in prisons or penal institutions (where the social engineer has the mandate to change behaviour). The results of a controlled trial with institutionalised delinquents of one operant technique (the so-called "token economy") were available at the time of the symposium. A contribution from the team responsible would have been worth any number of opinions.

Briefly, therefore, this book requires more than a passing acquaintance with the work of B. F. Skinner, and at the same time cannot really be said to include profound insights or criticisms. But mention might be made of one exception to this general assessment Jensen's article called "Skinner and Human Differences". Anyone interested in the application of operant ideas to education should read this paper, which contains a real and critical understanding of Skinner's work.

MARK WILLIAMS,

Senior Psychologist, Wormwood Scrubs Prison.

VIOLENCE IN HUMAN SOCIETY

JOHN GUNN

David and Charles 1973. £3.75

IN his preface to this book the author states that it is intended as a short guide to some of the issues and literature relevant to the scientific study of violence. The aim of the book then is not primarily to put forward new ideas but to review the thinking that is about.

In the first few chapters the author considers the literature on violence as such. He sees violence as an almost universal mammalian phenomenon, not peculiar to humans. Aggressive behaviour in animals, as in humans, can equally be triggered off by social factors, by overcrowding, sex, and the need for food and defence. However, in one important respect man differs from the animal: he has greater intelligence and a more complicated and elaborate nervous system. This gives him his ability to construct particularly destructive weapons. Although the author is understandably selective in this section of the book he gives both older references and the newer ethological ones to make his point.

The author next looks at the mental and emotional factors which are associated with violent behaviour. These include frustration, anger, hatred, love, jealousy and prejudice. Reference is also made to contemporary social problems: the relationship between the mass media and violence, football hooliganism, gangs, riots, and finally war—which the author regards as the ultimate form of violence. A very lucid and short review of the literature deals with the impact of violence on the sub-normal, the brain damaged, the psychotic, the epileptic and the psychopathic personality. In passing, the author points out the paucity of literature and the need for more research into the problems of addictive drugs and violence.

The book then considers violent crimes. Special attention is given to violence and motoring in this section. However, remarkably few references are made to robbery and robbery with violence. Those that are given indicate both the difficulty that faces the investigator of assessing the degree of violence, and the difficulty of classifying types of criminals committing such acts.

Finally the author makes an attempt at suggesting possible ways of controlling violence. In the social scene he advocates a concentrated effort to alleviate the economic hardships of underdeveloped countries, and to achieve a generally more equitable distribution of resources. In the political scene he urges greater international stability. This he would create through greater control of arms, the settling of international conflicts by arbitration, and the development of stronger world opinion for non-violence. In the criminal scene he would wish to see the setting up of more treatment centres, a reform in the present system of sentencing, an increase in community and local authority provision, and an extension of the Probation Service. He would like to see more treatment on the lines of Grendon within the present Prison Service.

The book concludes with the premise that as aggression and altruism are two opposing forces there may be hope that human society by its control of aggression and violence may make a way for its ultimate survival by allowing the growth of altruism.

This book is easy to read, but I found it difficult to follow for I was at times puzzled both by the author's choice of references and the examples he cited. And what for the readers of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL? Of what use is this book to them? Well, there is no doubt that much of the book is a useful guide to the question of violence. Readers will be interested particularly in those chapters dealing with violent crimes and the means of controlling violence. Some may smile at some of the "didactic guidelines" which the author himself found useful in the management of inmates, and others may be disappointed, as I was, that he did not develop his own ideas and express his opinions as to practical solutions and reforms, in view of his recent research. However, the book certainly poses problems and in the final analysis it shows us that we still have a long way to go to find out not only why Joe Bloggs is violent, but also why violence is increasing generally. I recommend readers, therefore, to read the book and find for themselves their own interest and stimulus. I'm sure that they will appreciate the glossary, the index and the clear presentation which enables quick reference to any of the key issues chapter by chapter.

MARIAN D'ARCY,

Medical Officer, H.M. Prison, Durham.

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THE MANUFACTURE OF NEWS

Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media

STANLEY COHEN and JOCK YOUNG

Constable 1973. Paperback £2.00

"THE mass media are in the business of manufacturing and reproducing images. They provide the guiding myths which shape our conception of the world and serve as important instruments of social control." Thus the editors nail their colours firmly to the mast and one is left in no doubt where they stand: such candour is refreshing and helps one to appreciate the very real points which are subsequently made. They concentrate their attention upon the conceptions of deviance and social problems revealed in the mass media and the implicit view of society behind such conceptions.

The book is a collection of individual case studies some of which were written especially for it but most of which have appeared elsewhere. The editors have collected and arranged their material into a coherent pattern and where appropriate have added their own editorial comments which are particularly helpful.

Part I of the book deals with the manner in which news is selected. It contains an excellent article by Leslie Wilkins in which he examines how modern society compartmentalises everyone so that it is possible to isolate oneself from any given direct experience and derive one's information totally from what one reads or hears in the mass media. For example it is perfectly possible for a criminologist to be kept informed and up to date with all the latest academic arguments without knowingly

meeting a criminal in his life. Modern culture leads to isolation and the increasing alienation of deviant groups. There is, therefore, a very real loss of information, which makes the role of the mass media of vital importance since it provides the only "information" available.

The manner in which this information is selected and published is vital to an understanding of how public opinion is formed. Bob Roshier in his examination of the way in which the Press select crime news suggests that newspapers give a distorted view of crime and criminals through selection and that these distortions show remarkable consistency both in time and between newspapers. Thus he notes that crimes of sex, violence and drugs are over-reported and that research shows that people are censorious on reading these reports. The conclusion to be drawn is that the newspapers give the public what it wants after creating that want.

Another method of selection is omission. For example, the American media consistently ignored the facts about car safety for some 30 years until Ralph Nader forced them to stop doing so. Robert Cirino suggests that this is explained by the fact that the media are controlled by businessmen and derive much revenue from industry. Motor-cars, tobacco and alcohol are some of the main sources of this revenue, and examination of the inadequate manner in which the lung cancer debate has been reported over the years without reasoned public comment should convince us that our own Press are not so unbiased as they would have one believe. It is important to be reminded occassionally that the mass media are themselves run as large scale businesses and are not interested in being seen to upset the social status quo until after public opinion has moved in advance of them. This is not to say that all newsmen, reporters, etc., are consciously doing this all the time but since most of the media are directly or indirectly controlled by business companies the end product should surprise no one.

Part II deals with the manner in which the media cover specific social problems. The editors point out that the media usually discuss the deviant as an isolate without bothering to examine his relationship with others. This simplistic approach ensures that the reader or viewer is thus denied the opportunity to discover just how the deviant became deviant. So his isolation is total. There are several interesting case studies in this section of the book which illustrate this theme—of which two are written by the editors themselves.

Jock Young chooses to examine the "Myth of the drug taker in the mass media" and promulgates Young's Law which states that "The greater the public health risk with a drug the less the amount of critical information provided by the media". His point is that the media are geared to represent the majority viewpoint which does not consider alcohol or tobacco as drugs even though these kill more people each day than L.S.D. does in a year. The accepted public moral codes seem to be flouted by young drug users, and the media consistently reflects this perception. In this connection drug users are seen to be those who take drugs for pleasure. So there develops a puritanical element in the public attitude based on the premise that anything that can be seen as unearned or undeserved pleasure must be bad. The media's irresponsibility in fanning up a moral panic over drugs contributes to public hostility towards the drug user, provides ready made scapegoats for moral indignation and prevents a rational approach to the problem.

Stanley Cohen takes a simpler phenomenon for his case study: that of the Mods and Rockers of the '60s. They first sprung to public prominence during the wet and cold Easter holiday of 1964. The initial media presentation of what was at first a very minor occurrence was crucial in determining the later stages of the public reaction to the Mods and Rockers. The media were guilty of gross exaggeration and distortion both in the seriousness of the events themselves and in the numbers involved. For example, the *Daily Express* talked of the beaches being invaded by boys who "smeared the traditional postcard scene with blood and violence". Other newspapers spoke of deserted Whitsun beaches in Brighton and Margate, the implication being that people were too frightened to go on them because of what were in reality mere scuffles. A closer examination of the papers would have revealed that the weather was particularly bad. Thus the situation was exaggerated by being reported in deliberately misleading terms. The media were also guilty of inviting violence by asking such questions as "Where will the Mods and Rockers strike next?" and in some cases even suggesting answers. The result was that more and more youngsters turned out to see the fun and a classic self-fulfilling prophecy came true.

Communication in the mass depends upon stereotypes which themselves depend upon the symbolic power of words and images. Thus "Clacton" became a symbol for the mass media in much the same way as "Teddy Boy" had been in the early '50s. It is important to remember that the activities of the Mods and Rockers at Clacton were in one sense manufactured news. It was a poor week-end for news and so the newspaper seized the opportunity to label one particular item of news in an emotive way which they then continued to exploit for the rest of that summer.

In Part III, the editors examine the effects and consequences of the media's treatment of events and make four points. The first is that students of the mass media must examine the information that is actually being used to build up society's stereotypes. Secondly they emphasise that these stereotypes reinforce society's image of what is normal and real. Thirdly the media are agents of moral indignation and play a large part in the definition and shaping of social problems by the generation of moral panic as in the case of the Mods and Rockers. Lastly, both as providers of information and transmitters of moral panic, the media have a crucial effect upon the agents of social control such as the police, courts, social workers, etc. These social control agencies help society tidy up, put away and forget its problems.

To illustrate these points Cohen adds a postscript to the Mods and Rockers phenomenon. The initial media accounts stimulated initiative or competitive forms of behaviour, but in a subtle way. The media provided a channel of communication which, by exploiting the Mods and Rockers idea, "sensitised" the deviants to action by providing recognisable symbols of affinity or hostility which were previously either non-existent or only loosely perceived. Constant repetition by the media of violent images and reports generated an atmosphere in which something had to happen, so that even innocent or ambiguous events were twisted and interpreted in a subjective way through this "sensitisation" process. Court appearances and subsequent reporting as news ensured that the deviancy label was retained, magnified and accepted. The Mods and Rockers could now take their place in the modern gallery of folk devils.

In the final part of their book, the editors comment upon the dearth of real, hard information concerning the way in which the media operates and suggest several worthwhile projects which could be undertaken by either the layman or the professional. In this section called "Do-it-yourself media sociology" they provide practical hints on some of the problems to be found so that no one need be deterred from attempting these projects.

I enjoyed this book. Although the editors have their own axes to grind, their bias is recognisable and professionally handled so that it does not detract from the value of their work. I recommend it as a counterweight to anyone who has at times been bewildered by the presentation of news he has had some part in or to anyone who has felt overwhelmed by the sheer volume of bad news as crisis follows seeming crisis. If nothing else it should make each one of us less inclined to accept the packaged version of the truth provided by the mass media and that, surely, can be no bad thing.

A. H. RAYFIELD,

Governor, Gloucester Prison.

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DARTMOOR TO CAMBRIDGE

DOUGLAS CURTIS

Hodder and Stoughton 1973. £2.40

"DARTMOOR TO CAMBRIDGE" is a description of a personal odyssey through the British prison system with a happy ending. According to all the statistics, Douglas Curtis should have been a confirmed recidivist by this time instead of a Cambridge graduate working for N.A.C.R.O., and he himself is very much aware of this.

Mr. Curtis knows himself quite well, as indeed a man who has been so absorbed in himself should do, and yet his very self-absorption and constant self-analysis, while contributing greatly to his criminal career, in the end seem to have led him out of the wood.

It was not long after he signed on in the Air Force for 22 years at the age of 17 that he discovered: "I always seemed to be in conflict with those in higher authority . . . I didn't want to climb the ladder of success, I wanted to pole-vault right over the highest rung . . .". And so he used his considerable intelligence, and the persistence he was always able to display in getting his own way, to "con" his way out. In a short time he was called up for National Service in the Army and, unable to accept the inevitability of this or the inferior status of a "pongo national serviceman", he was naive enough to believe that a three-year engagement would offer "better pay, better treatment, and better chances of promotion".

His reluctance to face reality until it was thrust upon him meant another exercise in conning the authorities, this time for a medical

discharge. Again he displayed remarkable persistence.

The search for an easy way out of his difficulties is the hallmark of his story. He has a deep fear that competition (particularly from public school types who have such an unfair advantage over him) will reveal to him that he is not half the man he likes to think he is. He avoids any long term planning of his life and is reluctant to accept poverty as a temporary necessity, or to accept the teething problems of his marriages.

And yet, in the end, his lack of self-confidence is partially repaired by his experiences within prison. With the average "con" at least he can compete, and during his final sentence of five years in Dartmoor, his natural optimism undeterred, he shows the persistence and grit in obtaining the necessary entrance qualifications for Cambridge which has distinguished his criminal exploits.

At last, as a future Cambridge undergraduate, he has a status somewhat commensurate with his conception of his own worth. This is enough to combat his still existent tendency to depression and his anxiety about status (which, after previous sentences had led him straight back to crime) during the difficult period between parole release and entering Cambridge when, as he puts it, "I was caught between two stools: my background precluded me from the jobs I was qualified to do and my qualifications precluded me from working at anything else". One reflects that Mr. Curtis had never accepted the idea of working at "anything else" and had he done so after any previous sentence he probably never would have got to Cambridge.

Even at this stage, however, his setting up and organisation of P.R.O.P. shows a lack of careful planning, or careful assessment of consequences. When the inevitable comes to pass and P.R.O.P. dissolves into mindless violence he pulls out in genuine, if somewhat naive and shortsighted dismay. When Descartes said: "Conquer yourself rather than the world" he might just have finished reading Dartmoor to Cambridge, had it been written!

Mr. Curtis has written a racy and often exciting book. It is also a courageous book, for it tells us a great deal about himself, which many of us in his place might hesitate to reveal. It is an autobiography and as such gives us no valuable insights into the prison system, simply the subjective insights and prejudices of one man.

PAUL CLAIRMONTE,
Watford College of Technology.

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POVERTY AND EQUALITY IN BRITAIN

J. C. KINCAID

Penguin 1973. 60p

THIS book is an attempt by Kincaid to hit firmly at what he considers to be the roots of poverty in Britain: social inequality, which is for him the product of a traditional capitalist and class structure. Like previous writers on the subject he argues that the present way in which social security benefits are raised and allocated can never significantly decrease the level of poverty until the inherent inequalities of British society are reduced. Without meaning any disrespect for the author there is a strong thread of twentieth century Robin Hood throughout the book. Yet, there is no doubt that the total content of the book has been carefully researched and that it contains one of the most insightful and eye-opening critiques of the British social security system that is available today.

Having laid down the hypothesis that poverty and inequality are inextricably linked, Kincaid turns to examine what is being done by the Government to reduce the inequalities that exist through the social security system. There follows a ruthless piece by piece demolition of the whole of the Welfare State concept as it exists in Britain today, including the very foundations on which it stands. Thus, Kincaid argues that since the inception of the Welfare State, social policy in Britain has ensured that social security benefits have been at the minimum level adequate to quell public agitation and uprisings. A very thorough assessment is made of national insurance contributions and benefits, family allowances, pension schemes, subsistence levels and taxation, all from the point of view of whether or not any of these sectors of the social security system do anything to reduce inequality. Time and time again the conclusion is that inequality remains untouched and, if anything, the indirect effect of social security has been to increase inequality. It is pointed out that inadequate benefits do little to ease the plight of those who are very poor, but on the contrary increase the standard of living still further of those who are already well off.

What is required to reduce poverty, Kincaid argues, is a massive form of redistribution. In his eyes what has hitherto been known as social policy must be replaced by socialist policy, which will be directed purely at correcting inequality. He states that so far no twentieth century government, whether Labour Conservative, Liberal or Coalition has made any long lasting contribution towards reducing inequality.

Tributes are paid to various schemes. For instance, Kincaid supports the system of family allowances where the benefit is universally received, but where a claw-back mechanism exists through taxation to reclaim benefits paid to families whose incomes are above the tax allowance thresholds. The whole controversial issue of selectivity versus universality is discussed, and the present Conservative Government is given marginal credit for the family incomes supplement scheme, since this is the ultimate in selectivity giving, as it does, benefits to families which are assessed as having the highest degree of need.

However, even when arguing for universality versus selectivity, Kincaid holds an extreme point of view. To him, neither form a sound basis for social policy if examined in the context in which they have been applied so far this century. Neither concept has any social value in his eyes unless, first, the benefit paid comes directly through taxing the richer sector of the population and, secondly, the benefit itself is so increased that it equalises the present gap between the rich and poor income groups.

In conclusion, Kincaid puts forward his own prescription for correcting the imbalance which, he says, exists between the rich and poor. He argues that since most of the direct power for equalising the situation is at present held by the moneyed classes, and since recent governments have been generally content with their methods of tackling poverty, the main avenue that remains open for putting pressure on the government of the day is through trades union organisations. He commends the recent growth of old-age pensioner associations, the work of the Child Poverty Action Group, and the increasing strength and militancy of the trade unions.

In reviewing this book, I have found it increasingly difficult to criticise what is in itself a critique of the social security system in Britain. However, if there is one area that evokes comment, it is the fact that the whole of Kincaid's argument is based upon the hypothesis that poverty and inequality go hand in hand. The inferences that may be drawn from this are: that inequality is the cause of poverty, and that by reducing inequality one may eventually eliminate poverty. The fact is that there can be no ultimate proof that this is the case in either instance. Nevertheless, this is a most useful book because it crystallises many of the crucial issues relating to social policy that politicians, social workers and the public generally are trying to face up to today.

J. M. A. THOMAS-FERRAND,
Assistant Governor, Wormwood Scrubs Prison.

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THE SYMMETRICAL FAMILY

A Study of Work and Leisure in the London Region

MICHAEL YOUNG and PETER WILLMOTT

Routledge and Kegan Paul (for the Institute of Community Studies) 1973. £4.50

THE dire predictions about the stability, and even the continued existence, of the family as a primary group that were current in the '50s and '60s are strongly discounted in this survey which reaffirms the vitality of the present-day family.

In their previous books—*Family and Kinship in East London*, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, and *Adolescent Boys of East London*—the authors have relied primarily on an anthropological approach, with detailed case studies enlivening much of their statistical evidence, thereby producing some of the more readable and stimulating research findings in the sociological field. In their latest book, Young and Willmott adopt a wide approach, linking their study to history, and examining the relationship between work and the family since before the industrial revolution up to the present day. The past and the future are embodied in the present. Their new book, in my view, is consequently more diffuse, less immediate in its impact, but nevertheless important and of wide interest.

Young and Willmott base their study on the principle that many social changes begin with the minority at the top of the class structure and slowly permeate downwards—"The people in the van of the column . . . foreshadow what those at the rear will be

doing tomorrow, just as those at the rear represent the past of those ahead of them".

The authors proceed by delineating three stages in the development of the family. In stage 1, the pre-industrial, the family was usually the unit of production, with men, women and children working together in the home. Stage 2 followed after great social upheaval, with the development of the factory system, and members of the family caught up in the economy as individual wage earners. With stage 3, the unity of the family has been restored around its functions as the unit not of production but of consumption. In this stage the term symmetrical is used to describe the emerging partnership and greater equality between man and wife, with all members of the family spending more time together in the home. Technology and feminism have together largely contributed to the new style of family relationships.

The study of the present-day family is based on a sample survey of individual men and women living in the Metropolitan Region. It was originally hoped that 3,000 people would be interviewed, but in the event only 1,928 (64 per cent) were contacted and co-operated with the survey. Some of these selected for interview from the electoral registers had moved, others were too ill to participate and 20 per cent refused an interview. This level of response was clearly very disappointing to the researchers and contrasted with their experience when undertaking the Bethnal Green study. No doubt the validity of their findings will be seriously questioned by the statisticians.

A detailed questionnaire was administered to each of the respondents: a formidable array of questions, from home ownership to satisfactions in both work and home situations, to the use of leisure.

As with much research in the social sciences, some of the findings confirm the obvious. On the whole the unskilled and semi-skilled find less satisfaction in their work situations and experience a higher incidence of boredom than the professional and managerial classes, mainly because of their limited autonomy. But the compensation is that working-class men have more energy left over for their wives and children. Because they are less work-centred they are more home-centred. In contrast the men in the managerial class may well be working longer hours than previously and have possibly lost leisure over the years as the rat race has gathered pace. In an interesting chapter devoted to a small sample of managing directors it was shown that they often regarded the family as secondary to work, with less symmetrical marriages as a consequence.

Wives have been taking jobs outside the home more than before, and husbands have in their turn been more involved with their families. A new style of family life is now with us. In place of two jobs, there will often be four, with both the wife and husband working inside as well as outside the home. Married men spent most of their spare time at home. In a long chapter on leisure the authors show how a majority of the respondents pursued leisure activities as a family, and such remarks as "My family is my hobby" and "My wife and family are my leisure time" were indicative of a general attitude.

Inevitably the family is now subject to new pressures following on from the greater diversity in roles. There is no evidence that the amount of leisure time has increased. Young and Willmott predict that the divorce rate will rise as people expect more from each other, and in turn children may in future receive less attention from both parents. Thus the stage 3 family might give way to a new structure inimical to the rearing of children. It all depends on the rate of economic activity. If, as the authors argue, work was valued a little less, both husbands and wives, even with four jobs, could have more free time with each other and their children. In fact, as a result of outside forces beyond our control, and not by a unilateral decision hoped for by Young and Willmott in their concluding chapter, there may now be a slowing down in economic activity in our society, and this may produce that free time.

G. P. McNeal,

Peter McNeal has been in the Probation Service since 1964. *He has worked in the East End of London and in Bermondsey. He previously worked as an assistant governor in the Prison Service.*

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DETERRENCE—THE LEGAL THREAT IN CRIME CONTROL

Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins

University of Chicago Press 1973. £6.10

"DETERRENCE", state the authors, "is a function of the declaration of some harm, loss, deprivation, or pain that will follow non-compliance with commands. The central concept is that of threat, a transaction which involves two parties: a threatening agent or agency and a threatened audience". The notion of deterrence suggests that threats play a dynamic role in the behaviour of some people, establishing barriers to conduct that would not exist without the threat and causing tendencies to violate the law to be replaced by patterns of conformity. The authors are concerned that legislators and penal administrators rely heavily on the supposed function of "deterrence" without really understanding what it is or how it can be assessed. So in this book they attempt an analysis.

After considering ethical and political questions Zimring and Hawkins examine the impact of deterrence on individuals. They look at how deterrence affects moral behaviour and to what extent it instils respect for the law. They postulate that some people may be constitutionally more influenced by threats than others, and consider on what basis this may occur. But they also consider how reactions to threat may vary between individuals as a result of the different socialising experiences they have undergone. They contend that certain *pre-barriers* are established by normative processes, especially in relation to severe crimes, so that deterrence (the threat of punishment) may not be too significant in murder, but may be highly significant in cases of illegal parking, in which most of us would indulge save for the threat of punishment.

The rest of the book examines the relationship between the deterrent effect of threat of punishment and the chances of being caught, the variety of punishments that may be imposed, and the research material that exists to date.

Zimring and Hawkins make a fairly thorough survey of this material and the methodology used in it. Clearly, the question they are asking runs: "Is there a casual relationship between a crime control policy and the observed crime rate?" They take great trouble in their discussion on research methods to show how easy it can be to infer false conclusions as to the success of a policy from unsubstantiated evidence. Survey research can be useful in throwing light on attitude, knowledge and behavioural response, but it does not easily provide hard data. The authors conclude by suggesting a possible programme for future research. The areas they suggest might be investigated are traffic offences, street crime, variations in sanctions on severe crimes and the effect of criminal prohibition on behaviour.

Though the book is a combined work of a criminologist and a lawyer, and benefits from their breadth of experience, there is little emphasis in it on legal aspects. Zimring and Hawkins have taken up the concept of deterrence and worked through the contributions of several disciplines to put together the work. This is not something for which they can be faulted as it gives to the book enormous source material, making it almost definitive as a reference book on the subject. They have organised their material well and have liberally drawn on other works, which gives a sense of completeness to the book. However, as a result of this approach the major part of the book lacks the stamp of its authors' identity. Having said that, it is valuable for three reasons. First, Zimring and Hawkins cover the field exceptionally well. Secondly, in their systematic treatment of deterrence they repeatedly highlight the problems faced by legislators, penal administrators and researchers in establishing whether a certain measure has succeeded or failed. Thirdly, they present a good analysis of research methodology.

One cannot help feeling that "deterrence" covers more than it set out to do but achieves less. However, the authors reward well those who persist.

A. P. Spencer,

Assistant Governor, Polmont Borstal.

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ON ANALYSING CRIME

Edwin H. Sutherland (Ed. Karl Schuessler)

University of Chicago Press 1973. £4.30

THIS book is a collection of articles and papers (some previously unpublished) written by Edwin Sutherland, one of the major contributors to criminological theory. The collection covers practically every topic which engaged the attention of criminologists between 1925 and 1950, though there is very little penological content.

Sutherland was a very influential figure in the development of the modern sociological approach to crime and in his analyses he showed himself to be consistently sociological without broadening his theories to accommodate biological and psychological factors. His other main concern was to be strictly scientific and he laid great emphasis on the methods employed in analysing crime. His methods were always simple and plain and he showed great scepticism about calculations and hypotheses which were not directly supported by the data.

Sutherland is probably best remembered for his attempt to construct a general theory of crime, namely: that of "differential association". He argued that criminality results from participation in a cultural tradi-

tion and from association with representatives of that culture. This was in contrast to the other schools of criminology of the time which tended to regard criminality as a consequence of some physical or psychological abnormality of the person. Sutherland was committed to the principle that the goal of science is to formulate general theories that are applicable to all events of a given class. The result is that his theory of differential association tends, in some respects, to be too broad to be helpful. The section of the book which deals with this, however, contains, in addition to the statement and development of the theory, a critique which shows that Sutherland was aware of the difficulties associated with it.

Another of Sutherland's major contributions was in coining the phrase "white-collar crime". Here, Sutherland demonstrates his concern for the manner in which the legal process seems to operate to the distinct advantage of the privileged and influential classes. At the same time, he discusses, fairly objectively, whether "white-collar crime" should be regarded as crime in the accepted sense.

In the section on crime and social organisation, Sutherland outlines a theory of "differential group organisation" designed to explain variations in crime rates rather than the criminality of specific individuals. In his efforts to explain crime rates as a function of social organisation he makes considerable reference to the work of the Chicago ecological school of criminology, but takes issue with the theories about culture conflict which were popular at the time, because he considers them to be too general and not worked out in sufficient detail.

Sutherland did not concern himself much with juvenile delinquency, since he argued that its causes could not be considered apart from the general problem of crime causation. On the subject of the prevention of crime generally, he again emphasises that personality formation, stability and change are dependent on the culture of the community in which the person participates and that to effect a change in the person, change must be manipulated in the community setting. He suggests that "ultimately the crime problem can be solved only on the level of the local community through changes in the social organisation of the people who live in it".

On treatment programmes, he makes the point that "to evaluate methods of treatment it is necessary to take into account their relationship to society as a whole. The effectiveness of a specific method of treatment depends not only on its intrinsic features but also on the public's concern in controlling crime and on the way in which society is organised for the purpose of enforcing its laws".

The book also contains articles on murder and the death penalty, the sexual psychopath laws in America and the decreasing prison population in England between 1857 and 1930! Again, these subjects are treated in a methodical way, making great use of statistics, and reveal his tough-minded insistence on careful and objective examination of the facts.

The book concludes with papers on the methods and techniques used in the study of crime which also emphasise how opposed Sutherland was to abstract theorising which is not properly grounded in the significant empirical data.

On Analysing Crime is a historical document which outlines the main features of the work of an eminent criminologist. It will be a useful reference book for students of criminology but the emphasis on scientific method and the limited conclusions of most of the articles leaves the reader feeling that Sutherland was sometimes using a sledge-hammer to crack a nut. On the other hand, one can take Sutherland's own point that it will only be through a truly scientific approach to the subject that criminology will offer practical value for the purposes of social engineering, in the long run.

D. G. LONGLEY,

Deputy Governor, Wetherby Borstal.

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THE POLICE WE DESERVE

J. C. ALDERSON and PHILIP JOHN STEAD

Wolfe Publishing Ltd. 1973. £2.25

ONE of the features of this rapidly changing society in which we are all living is the extent to which established institutions are being challenged. This is as true of the arrangements for maintaining law and order as it is of university administration or the system of free enterprise. Indeed the police themselves are engaged in challenging some of the old concepts of evidence and the proof of guilt at the same time as their own philosophies, organisation and attitudes are being scrutinised.

Unfortunately, the discussions of police affairs by outsiders have been seldom supported by well documented evidence. A few exceptions come to mind, for example, Banton's *The Policeman in the Community*, Ben Whitaker's *The Police*, Lambert's *Crime, Police and Race Relations*, and Geoffrey Marshall's *Police and Government*. However, here for the first time is a book produced by people with inside knowledge of the service. One, John Alderson, now chief constable of Devon and Cornwall, at the time of writing was commandant of the National Police College at Bramshill. The other, Philip Stead, has been director of General Studies at the college since 1953. Their book consists of 11 essays. It is their stated intention to give their readers an insight into the character and business of the British Police Service to-day. To this end they have invited nine people to join them in contributing to the current debate on police affairs. Sir Robert Mark, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, opens with a chapter on social violence and the role of the police in combating it. T. A. Critchley, a former member of the Police Division at the Home Office and secretary of the 1962 Royal Commission on the Police, writes about the democratic origins of the police and the concern he has at the need to keep the police in close touch with the community. John Alderson himself writes on the principles and practice of the police and of the change which has come about in recent years in their own attitudes about their role in society. Geoffrey Marshall contributes views on the control of the police which one can find expanded in his book referred to earlier, whilst Dr. Louis Blom-Cooper discusses the question of police discretion. The job of a chief constable in running a police force is very well described by the present Chief Constable of Derbyshire, Walter Stansfield; and Chief Inspector Jennifer Hilton and Michael Chatterton write on the interplay between psychology and sociology and police work. Philip Stead describes the work of the Police College in developing the attitudes of senior police officers. Commander Neivens and C. H. Rolph, a former police officer, raise some of the problems in relationships between the police and young people and police and public.

Not all police officers will agree with all that is said, but the book does not, of course, set out to present solely the police point of view. Not all will accept Geoffrey Marshall's comments about the control of the police and some may feel that Mr. Chatterton's piece does not fairly reflect all the constructive work which has gone on within the Police Service over the past few years. On the other hand it will probably only be policemen who will agree entirely with the views of John Alderson as to the role of the police—indeed, some policemen may believe that perhaps he has gone a little too far away from the traditional law enforcement pattern.

Nevertheless, the book can be commended as a very readable contribution to the examination of police affairs (which everyone seems to find interesting) and it is worth a place on the shelves of any library seeking to reflect all points of view in this very provocative field which so closely affects us all.

P. D. KNIGHTS,

Chief Constable,

Sheffield and Rotherham Constabulary.

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DEPRESSION, PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDE IN A BORSTAL SAMPLE

(Home Office Research Studies No. 19)

A. SYLVIA ANTHONY

H.M.S.O. 1973. 36½p

THIS short pamphlet is rather technical and will be of interest mainly to psychologists and psychiatrists. It studies the relationship between psychopathy, depression and attempted suicide in a sample of trainees taken from one borstal. The trainees were administered tests of co-ordination (psychomotor tests) and these were compared with the clinical diagnoses made by two psychiatrists. It was confirmed that there was a relationship between responses to the tests and the clinical diagnoses. Further, it was shown that depression is associated with slow psychomotor responses. Looking at the relationship between psychopathy and depression, the writer suggests that the majority of young men in borstal who attempt suicide are diagnosed as psychopathic. However, though they are psychopathic her research shows that suicidal attempts by them may be strongly associated with depression—their suicide attempt may be no sham. It is important to recognise this, she concludes, for "depression is a condition which, if recognised, may offer to the sufferer some alleviation by psychological or social treatment, and hence offer to society some hope of reducing the incidence of violence against others or the self which is frequently associated with depression".

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