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FIVE PENCE

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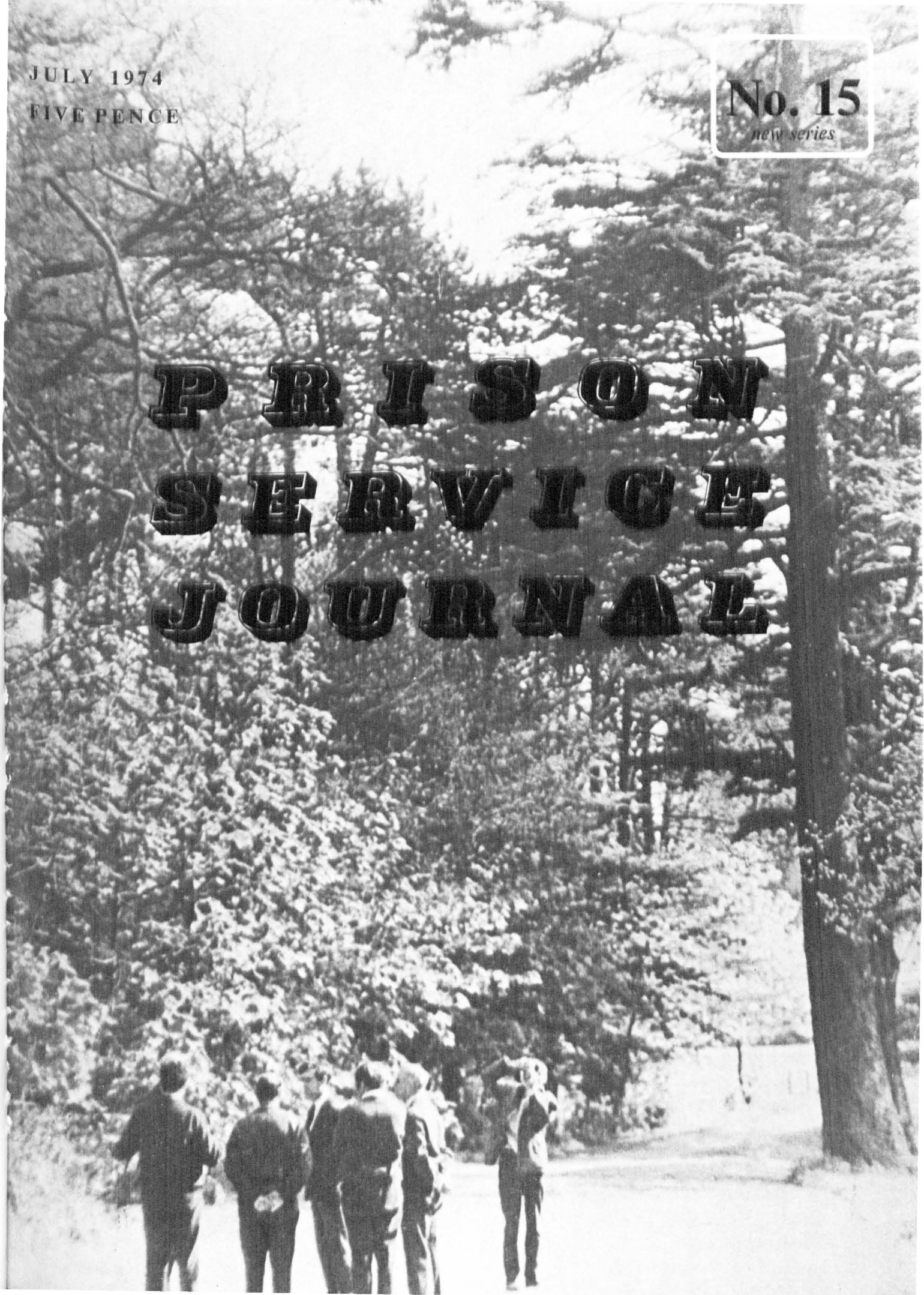

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

No. 15 New Series July 1974

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On our front cover Mr. Joseph and photography class view the arboretum at H.M.P. Leyhill, Glos.

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Printed at H.M.P. Leyhill, Wotton-Under-Edge, Glos.

EDITORIAL

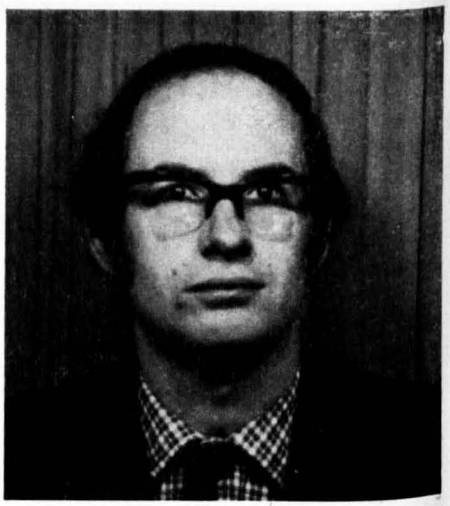
A "mixed bag" we offer our readers this quarter—trying to be, perhaps, like the prison system itself, all things to all men? No, the truthful reason is much more simple. The current need for economy in the use of printing paper restricts us *pro tem* to a meagre 25 pages, so that if we are to present a balanced journal, reflecting fairly the vast range of issues affecting both adult and young offenders, and avoid disappointing the many members of the Prison Service and interested others who continue to send us so much useful material, we can do so only at the expense of "depth treatment". Which is not to say that the articles we publish this month lack depth—far from it. Nor would we want to deprive our readership of their regular diet of book reviews—for some perhaps the most useful section of the Journal (and, dare we suggest it, predigested reading is often the only reading many of us find time for!)

By far the most important event on our stage this year is the report on young offenders by the Advisory Council. It will probably be some time before the full implications of this have been understood, let alone before some of its recommendations are accepted and assimilated. But we hope at least to open the debate in the October number. In the same issue there will be commemorated, believe it or not, the centenary of the opening of Wormwood Scrubs Prison. This promises to be an event of some interest, and the editorial ear at least heard the news with mild surprise—surely "the Scrubs" has been with us for longer than that? Apparently not, as we shall discover, along with whatever it is they wish to commemorate! Torchlight processions? Dancing in the exercise yards? Closed circuit television programmes in colour? We must wait and see.

We are delighted to welcome Mark Winston back to these pages, with a light-hearted article about talking to outsiders from the point of view of an insider—something he is very competent to write about, and something which he himself does supremely well.

Dreams and Predictions

K. L. SOOTHILL



Keith Soothill was research officer for the Apex Trust for five years during which time he completed a Ph.D. thesis entitled "The Apex Project: an Evaluation of an Experimental Employment Agency for Ex-Prisoners". He works as a research worker at the Institute of Psychiatry, London, and as lecturer in sociology at the University of Lancaster as well as continuing to act as research consultant to the Apex Trust

WELL over 300 years ago Francis Bacon proposed that "dreams and predictions ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside". Whether or not they reserve their deliberations to talk by the fireside—or use the modern equivalent of the day or week-end conference—there is no greater enthusiasm among research workers than trying to predict the behaviour of men and women after serving a prison sentence. This particular enthusiasm has dominated criminological research for nearly 20 years, with sophisticated computer techniques being the most recent addition. As with the growth of other enthusiasms, there has in recent years been a parallel thrust which has questioned the whole rationale of whether we are able to predict human behaviour at all.

Sociologists in particular have been in the vanguard of the fairly recent critical approach to prediction work. Their criticisms have been numerous and sometimes complex to understand, but this does not exonerate us from considering their thoughts. One extreme stance is that it is simply not possible to predict human behaviour and certainly, on a practical level, there is some support for this view in the sense that prediction studies have not often been dramatically effective in predicting behaviour. What we should perhaps usefully draw from this theoretical approach is the message that, while the methods of natural science have been phenomenally successful in the understanding, prediction and control of natural phenomena, it may well be that the study of social phenomena is an *essentially* different enterprise to the study of natural phenomena. In other words, we should be somewhat more reluctant in making the ready assumption that just as the natural scientist discovers "natural laws", so there are general laws available for the seeking which explain social phenomena. Questioning this assumption has led some sociologists to reconsider the whole approach to their own subject, and this involves not just criminological prediction work. After all it has been the traditional method of sociologists since Durkheim's classic work, *Le Suicide* (first published in 1897), to define a category of behaviour as a fact (say, for example, suicide) and then make the next step that of finding the causes. The procedures for doing this are modelled on the natural science paradigm of testing hypotheses and so on. The point is, however, that many present-day sociologists no longer feel it is a very appropriate procedure simply to ape the natural scientist. This is an important on-going dispute among sociologists and will no doubt continue to fill the pages of sociological journals for some years to come.

Another point of view is that prediction studies seem to work, but only to a limited degree. This is roughly the conclusion of Mrs. Frances Simon's comprehensive Home Office Research Report, *Prediction Methods in Criminology* (1971). This thorough study is fascinating partly because the Home Office has over the years made perhaps the greatest investment in prediction studies in this country. These have largely stemmed from the pioneer study of Mannheim and Wilkins who carefully examined the records of borstal boys to discover factors in their backgrounds which might help to predict which boys were likely to be reconvicted after leaving borstal.

HUMAN BEINGS OR COMPUTERS?

What generally seems to emerge from these studies is that prediction methods are likely to identify only extreme risks, good or bad, but there remains a large middle group for whom accurate prediction of future criminal behaviour does not seem possible. Another characteristic would seem to be that prediction methods—whether they be, say, a simple totting up of "good" or "bad" points or the use of complex mathematical techniques—work to all intents and purposes as well (or as badly!) as one another. As an example of this, one needs to go no further than Mrs. Simon's own probation study where she showed that probation officers' judgements of the extent to which the young men showed "delinquent tendencies" were as predictive of later conviction as a variety of somewhat more sophisticated techniques which combined other items of information.

Perhaps with some danger of misrepresenting Mrs. Simon's more general conclusions, her fairly recent study has the attraction of making human beings feel rather less inadequate when their performance is set beside that of a computer. Humans perhaps feel that they have much ground to recover since the computer now seems able to win games of noughts and crosses so easily these days! There are, though, unexpected dangers in the human making the prediction rather than the computer. The dangers stem from the human's endearing quality of being human, and this can easily result in the so-called predictions simply becoming self-fulfilling predictions. The problem is that if probation officers genuinely believe (as I suspect most do anyway) that they can recognise "delinquent tendencies" and can predict later conviction, their approach to

their work with the "bad" bets will, consciously or subconsciously, fulfil their prediction, while their more positive approach to the "good" bets will ensure that these clients stay out of trouble. What in fact may eventually happen is that probation officers will appear to get better and better at prediction, with their clients polarising between two extremes. Everyone will probably congratulate the probation officers on their brilliance at prediction, and at the same time simply forget they have produced a self-fulfilling prophecy.

This all sounds annoyingly academic, for it still remains of interest whether, for example, prison officers or anyone for that matter can intuitively predict the outcome when the prison gates close behind a man. It is fascinating to consider how good human beings are at estimating the behaviour of other human beings. However, from what we have already said, a crucial requirement should be that the predictors should not be involved in the subsequent behaviour they are attempting to predict. Probation officers predicting the outcome of their probationers obviously do not fulfil this requirement.

AN OBJECTIVE STUDY

The Apex Trust, an employment agency set up in 1965 specifically to obtain employment for ex-offenders, has recently completed a small-scale study which largely overcomes this particular objection. As part of a study primarily aimed at validating some prediction formulae which emerged from some earlier work (1966–9) in H.M. Prisons Wormwood Scrubs and Pentonville, it seemed interesting as a sideline to ask the project executive involved in the second study to record a "prediction" of the likely outcome of her placing efforts. A further random sample of men from the same two London prisons were interviewed and offered the Apex service of trying to find them a suitable job interview to attend immediately on release. The rest of this paper is devoted to discussing the results of the project executive who completed the prison interviewing in April 1973.

To avoid some of the dangers of this "prediction" becoming the dreaded self-fulfilling prophecy, it was decided that the project executive should make the assessment *after* the job interview was found for a man to attend on release but before his actual release from prison. The project executive was to make three predictions—whether the prisoner was likely/not likely to attend the interview arranged; whether the prisoner was likely/not likely to start the job arranged; whether the prisoner was likely/not likely to stay at the job for three months or more.

As I have stressed, this small part of the programme was rather in the nature of a minor diversion and in fact was to see whether some earlier work was replicated. On the earlier occasion, the present director of Apex tried to guess on intuitive grounds the outcome of his placing activity simply in terms of whether the men would attend an interview or not. He was not given the possible benefit of considering a man's criminal record in making his assessment, and under these conditions the outcome was roughly that he was more often wrong than right in his predictions whether a man would attend a job interview. In fact, while only 46 per cent of those whom he thought would attend did so, 71 per cent of the supposed bad risks actually attended the interview arranged. In observing closely the placing activity of the first Apex project, I sometimes wondered whether I was witnessing a new phenomenon of a self-defeating prophecy—the director of Apex may have been so anxious to ensure that personal prejudices which we all have in some form or other did not intervene that he may even have over-compensated in making supreme efforts to find suitable interviews for men he disliked! At least this is one of many explanations of why he was unable to make a very good prediction on their subsequent behaviour. Anyway, after this experience it produced a little humility at Apex regarding our ability to predict outcome by intuition.

In making her prediction in the present study, the project executive on this occasion could make use of any information available at the time including previous employment history and criminal record as well as, of course, her knowledge of the suitability of the job interview arranged on release. (Incidentally, it should be emphasised that the project executive could only arrange a job interview for a man on release and there was, of course, no firm guarantee that the prisoner would be accepted for the job.) The present analysis is restricted to the 67 men (29 men from Wormwood Scrubs and 38 men from Pentonville) for whom job interviews were arranged prior to release and the project executive had an opportunity to see the man a few days prior to his release to make the assessment. In other words, we are concentrating solely on the *first* placing action but disregarding those who had their first interview arranged a few days after release as well as those who were notified by letter prior to release of the interview arranged but whom she could not see personally to tell them of the interview arrangement. The three predictions of whether they would attend the interview, start the job and stay three months were all made at the same time, that is, immediately prior to a man's release. At this time, the project executive also recorded what she regarded as the reaction to the interview offer in terms of "apathetic", "interested but has some doubts" and "enthusiastic".

It should, of course, be stressed that while the project executive had no direct influence on what happened after the man had gone through the prison gates, there was, of course, much going for her to make an accurate forecast of the outcome. After all, she had originally interviewed the man, arranged the job interview, and seen his reaction to the interview offer; furthermore, we were asking the specific matter of the job outcome to be predicted, and we were not entering those somewhat more muddy waters of whether the men would be reconvicted or not. Well, in all those circumstances, how good was she at "prediction"?

PREDICTION OF ATTENDING THE INTERVIEW ARRANGED

The project executive who had found the job interviews for the prisoners predicted that 38 men were likely to attend the interviews arranged and 29 men were unlikely to do so. In the event, she was correct in 45 cases (or 67 per cent), so making 22 errors on this "prediction". *Prima facie*, 67 per cent would seem quite a successful rate of prediction, until one realises that she would have made 57 per cent correct responses if she had simply said that they would all attend (her favourite response). Still, her intuition was an improvement, but some would argue that an improvement of only 10 percentage points is not much of a gain. On the other hand, as Table 1 shows she was marginally better at predicting that someone would attend (71 per cent success rate) rather than successfully predicting someone would not attend (62 per cent success rate). In fact, Table 1 shows that she underestimated the performance of 11 men

(or one-sixth of the sample) and over-estimated the performance of another 11 men (or one-sixth of the sample):

Table 1

PREDICTION OF ATTENDING JOB INTERVIEW ARRANGED

Actual outcome	Correct pre-diction	Incorrect pre-diction	Total
Attended job interview	27	11	38
Did not attend job interview	18	11	29
TOTAL	45	22	67

Incidentally, although she worked in Pentonville after Wormwood Scrubs, her success rate did not improve and was very similar in both prisons (66 per cent in the former and 69 per cent in the latter). Apart from the consistency of her results in the two prisons, the other interesting feature is that she seemed considerably better at predicting whether a prisoner would attend an interview arranged than the director of Apex who carried out our first venture in this field. This outcome could be for a variety of reasons of which the more obvious are that she had the benefit of more information in making her assessment (e.g. previous criminal record, etc.), or that she found job interviews of which one could more readily predict the outcome, or simply that she fulfilled the romantic notion of the wisdom of a woman's intuition!

PREDICTION OF STARTING THE JOB

The project executive predicted that 35 men were likely to start the job where an interview had been arranged, while the remaining 32 men were unlikely to do so. In the event, she was correct in 38 cases (or 57 per cent) and on this occasion she would have made 67 per cent correct responses if she had simply said that none of the men would start. However, when one investigates the matter further, one can see that she was somewhat worse at predicting that someone would start (only 13 out of 35 or 37 per cent thought likely to start were correct) than predicting that someone would not start (78 per cent were correct). In this case, Table 2 indicates that she underestimated the performance of seven men (or about one in ten of the sample) and over-estimated the likely performance of another 22 men (or one-third of the sample).

Table 2

PREDICTION OF STARTING JOB WHERE INTERVIEW HAD BEEN ARRANGED

Actual outcome	Correct pre-diction	Incorrect pre-diction	Total
Started job arranged	13	7	20
Did not start job ...	25	22	47
TOTAL	38	29	67

Although again her success rates were very similar for the two prisons, more of the men in Pentonville surprised her by starting the job unexpectedly. The tendency in fact is to over-estimate the likelihood of men starting the job from Wormwood Scrubs (men who are generally younger and with a shorter criminal record) while to some extent the reverse is the case for the Pentonville men (who tend to be older and with a longer criminal record).

It should, of course, be recognised that errors tend to be cumulative. For example, of the 11 men whom she predicted wrongly that they would attend the interview arranged, she had also expected nine of these men to start the job. These nine men are included among the 29 wrong predictions in Table 2.

Of the 38 men who actually attended the Apex interview arranged, 18 men failed to secure or to start the job. This was for a variety of reasons. There were five cases when the employer rather failed to measure up to the original hopes of offering a job to the prisoner—e.g., "employer stated that although he was impressed, the client was not the best applicant for the job", "assessed by employer as not experienced enough", and there was one case where it simply appeared that the employer had actually filled the vacancy prior to the agreed interview—all five men had been "predicted" to start but their "failure" was clearly for reasons out of their hands. Of the 12 men who were actually accepted for the job but failed to start, eight were in fact "predicted" to start while for the other four the "prediction" that they would not start was in fact accurate. The remaining man was one who was not expected to start and this was unhappily the case when he failed to supply requested references to an employer.

PREDICTION OF STAYING AT THE JOB FOR THREE MONTHS OR MORE

The project executive predicted at the time of the final prison interview that 21 men were likely to stay at the job for three months or more, and maintained that the remainder in the sample were unlikely to do so. She made a correct prediction in 49 cases (or 73 per cent), but it is obviously easier to predict that a man will not stay three months at the job than to pick out those who do. Of the 46 men she did *not* expect to stay at the job for three months or more, she was accurate in all but two cases; whereas of the 21 men she predicted would stay, only five did so. Put somewhat differently, of those that stayed three months or more, five were expected but two men surprised her by doing so.

Table 3

PREDICTION OF STAYING AT THE JOB FOR THREE MONTHS OR MORE

Actual outcome	Correct pre-diction	Incorrect pre-diction	Total
Stay at the job for three months or more ...	5	2	7
Did not stay for three months	44	16	60
TOTAL	49	18	67

RESPONSE TO INTERVIEW OFFER

It is always fascinating to wonder whether the enthusiasm of men in prison to an offer of a job interview is matched by a similar enthusiasm to take up the offer after release; perhaps, on the other hand, those who appear more contemplative at the time of the prison interview are genuinely weighing up the possibilities of the offer; certainly one tends to be less unsure about the outcome of those who appear very apathetic at the prison interview, but is such a ready conclusion justified?

The project executive recorded whether she regarded the man's response to the interview arranged in terms of being enthusiastic, interested but has some doubts, or apathetic. There was a similar response in both prisons and as Table 4 shows, two-thirds of the sample were thought to be enthusiastic about the offer.

Table 4

RESPONSE TO THE APEX OFFER AND SUBSEQUENT OUTCOME

Response to interview offer	Total No.	No. attending interview	No. starting job	No. staying three months or more
Enthusiastic	41	25	14	4
Interested but has some doubts	18	10	5	2
Apathetic	8	3	1	1
TOTAL	67	38	20	7

While a higher proportion of those regarded as enthusiastic attend the interview arranged and in fact start the Apex job, the differential does not hold in terms of the proportion who stay three months or more. The person who was regarded as apathetic but remained at the Apex job for six months indicates the danger of assuming that the apparent response to the interview offer is all that predictive of subsequent performance. This person was from Ghana and the project executive noted that he had "no home to go to, nobody to go to, in trouble financially" and so on; however, she noted accurately in spite of his apparently apathetic response that "I think he'll start if the job is offered". He was eventually dismissed from the job after six months—"his work began to deteriorate and he became, according to the warehouse manager, a 'damned nuisance' ".

SO WHAT DO WE LEARN?

It is conventional to state some words of caution before being so presumptuous as to suggest one can learn anything from such a small piece of research. After all, this was only one project executive making "predictions" on a comparatively small group of men. However, everyone can spot the enormous number of "caveats", but let's forget these and ask what we may begin to learn from this.

What seems to emerge is that it is fairly difficult to predict on intuitive grounds whether or not a person is likely to attend an interview. She was able to make a correct estimate on only two out of every three cases, and more seriously she was *under*-estimating the performance of one in six men in the sample.

It seems even more difficult to estimate whether or not a person is likely to start a job, for on this matter she was only correct in 57 per cent of the cases. Mainly her problem was one of *over*-estimating the likelihood of the men starting work. But much of this apparently poor showing by the men is really the outcome of factors out of their hands, for if employers fail to give the expected job opportunity one can begin to understand the disappointing "prediction" of the project executive as well as the very real disappointment of prisoners who had hoped and had been expected to do well on release.

Perhaps surprisingly, the project executive was particularly good at predicting whether a person will stay three months or more, for one would have thought it would be very difficult indeed to foresee such an outcome. She correctly predicted the outcome in about three-quarters of the cases. Her mistakes tended to be in the charitable direction of *over*-estimating some of the potential performances. As we have seen, a few of these men hardly had the opportunity to settle as they were not offered a job at the interview, but there were others who were offered a job but failed to start. This is clearly an area which could be studied in more depth. What happens between being offered a job and failing to start? Does the job offer fail to measure up to expectations and so he just does not turn up to start? Does another offer (either of a legitimate or of a criminal nature) come up between the successful interview and the agreed starting date? We just do not know, but these tend to be the men whom the project executive expects to stay at least three months but fail to do so.

In contrast there were two men who surprised her by rather unexpectedly staying three months or more at the job which she arranged. Both are interesting cases. One had indicated at the first interview that "he is satisfied with his life-style, 'I like to groove around' and 'smoke', 'don't get home till 6 a.m. and unwilling to change all this to hold down a 'straight job' ". He intended going to Germany for a couple of weeks after release. However, somewhat nearer to discharge, the project executive noted "as agreed, I went back to see E. prior to his discharge. He says his probation officer is giving him a hard time and wants him to get fixed up with a job. He seems to have given up the idea of going to Germany at least for the time being, and agreed that I should try and get him a labouring job to go to on Monday". The labouring job was found and three months later the employer reported: "E. has settled down into the job, has had two spells away but has always rung in with a reason. We are quite pleased with him". While this man was expected to start the job but not stay there, the other person who unexpectedly stayed three months or more had not even been expected to attend the interview. He was placed as a "top man" with a demolition company and three months later the firm reported that "he is doing very well" and that they were satisfied with his work. While one can often seem to predict the outcome, humble pie is from time to time the diet of the day.

In terms of the more successful predictions, however, what we have not done, of course, is to consider whether our project executive was using something conventionally called "women's intuition" or is simply a fabulous human computer. While the computer measure Apex is developing only takes a few variables into account, the project executive may, in making her assessments, take hundreds of variables into account. What will be interesting to consider at a later stage is whether the project executive and the computer make errors over the same kinds of persons, so perhaps giving some indication whether they both think along the same lines!

We are awaiting material from the Home Office so as to complete the validation study of our computer-derived predictions. But what if our computer measures are no better than the results of the intuitions discussed in this paper? In those circumstances how could we justify continuing to consider computer measures? In my view, there are at least three justifications:

(i) An aim to save money and placing effort

The project executive is making her predictions *after* interviewing the men and indeed *after* finding the men suitable employment. The aim of the computer measure is a screening procedure so as to distinguish men who may be helped by a placing service by a comparatively simple inspection of their criminal records and employment history.

(ii) An aim to produce an objective measure

Some people may be good at predicting outcome but other people may be hopeless. In contrast, the aim of the computer measure is to produce a consistent and objective measure so that there is the same prediction whoever does the prediction. My view is that the computer technique is a fairer procedure which avoids, in the screening process at least, human likes and dislikes of other human beings.

(iii) An aim to eliminate the more serious errors

Some errors are more serious than others. It is more serious for a prisoner if someone predicts that he is unlikely to start a job arranged and he does than vice

versa. In other words, some project executives might write off as "hopeless" a fairly high proportion of clients who do actually stay at the Apex job for perhaps as long as three months or more. One way to overcome this is to produce a computer measure which is likely to be generous rather than conservative in estimating a man's potential work performance after release. This type of measure would produce more errors of over-estimating men's potential rather than the more dangerous notion of under-estimating the likelihood of prisoners benefiting from a particular service.

There are two somewhat different issues which begin to emerge. In the first place, the question of whether it is possible or even wise to try to predict human behaviour. We have only tangentially considered this matter but there are plenty of academic papers which begin to consider this. The second issue rather emerges from the assumption that it is possible to predict human behaviour and the question is whether human beings or, say, computers are likely to produce the more appropriate results. We have touched on this issue, but when all is said and done there is one overriding disadvantage to the computer. All those at Wormwood Scrubs and Pentonville who worked with the project executive at Apex, who has now returned to her native Australia, will probably agree that it is a much more pleasurable experience working with Susan Hearst than a wretched computer!

The Impact of Borstal Training on Criminal Careers

R. COCKETT

R. Cockett, pre-war graduate of King's College, London, also teacher-trained, joined Air Ministry as a research psychologist in 1943, gained Ph.D. degree in 1950 and during the same year transferred as a principal psychologist to the Prison Service. Served for 11 years at Latchmere House Borstal Reception Centre, eight years at Ashford Remand Centre. After a sabbatical year as a Simon Senior Research Fellow at Manchester University took up present post as Regional Psychologist, South-west Region, in 1970

THE basic processes of classifying and quantifying phenomena are as important in behavioural science as in the physical and biological sciences. They enable conceptualisation of the phenomena and also comparison of the latter with one another and with influences exerted towards modifying them.

In criminological work one is accustomed to using one or two simple bases for measurement of "criminality": the number of convictions a person has incurred; the age at which he first became convicted; the length of his recorded criminal history. All such "measures" are inevitably determined by an amalgam of the person's actual behaviour and a variety of chance factors (e.g. whether or not he got caught, how long it took for him to get convicted, whether several offending acts were dealt with at the same court appearance). Imperfect measures are, of course, better than no measures, provided one has some idea of the degree of imperfection or knows that chance is not their major determinant. One can accept, too, that even accurate quantifications are only partial statements of the realities of criminal behaviour; because they may disregard important qualitative aspects of the behaviour, in which may lie much of its social significance, importance, danger, nuisance-value.

It is relatively rarely that outstandingly successful effects on the course of criminal behaviour can be demonstrated to flow from the application of penal measures. It may be that this is due in part to the inadequacies of the available measures of criminal behaviour relied upon, or that we are applying tests which are in fact too stringent or not wholly relevant.

THE BASIC DATA OF MEASUREMENT

In penology one can never directly study what we are really concerned with—the actual offence behaviour—since it has already occurred before observation begins and we have only *post-factum* descriptive accounts. By reason of legal niceties, a unitary action may breach two or more statutes and so lead to more than one offence; by reason of court procedures, more than one offence or more than one offending act may be dealt with at the same time and constitute only one "conviction". Consequently, from records of convictions it may not be easy, or indeed always possible, even to count a person's actual number of known offending actions; yet these are the basic units of criminal behaviour.

Temporal aspects of criminal behaviour may also be of significance: how long (so far as is known) a person has been behaving in criminal ways, and how early in his life he began to do so. It seems to be fairly common experience that, within quite wide limits, the longer and the earlier the more difficult to change. The intensity of the practice, or habituation, as revealed by the intervals between successive offences (or convictions) may also indicate differences between people or be related to the stage of development of a criminal career.*

JUSTIFICATION FOR MEASUREMENT

There is no inherent merit in quantifying criminal behaviour; its value lies

* R. COCKETT. "Habituation to Criminal Behaviour". *Brit. J. Criminol.*

in the fact that it enables various comparisons to be made. In particular, the kinds of comparison that the penologist needs to make are those between segments of life-history before and after a given type of treatment, and those among individuals or groups of individuals selected in whatever various ways the researcher happens to be concerned with. Probably the former sort of comparison is of more immediate importance from the point of view of operations and policy-making in penal work since such comparisons, if soundly made on reliable data, assist judgements as to the merits and efficacy of the treatment method under scrutiny.

The commonly-used method for such comparisons has concerned whether or not individuals treated in a given way subsequently offend again, or whether they do so within a specified subsequent period. In such studies when, say, two treatments are being compared, the earlier criminal histories of the individuals are used mainly for matching groups or pairing individuals. The results enable the researcher to compare the groups, or to assess the relative efficacy of two treatment methods, making the assumption that individual variations within a group are random, unpredictable, or "error variables".

Whilst this may be a satisfactory procedure for comparing two or more treatment methods on the assumption that, between groups, such error variables will tend to neutralise each other, when one is concerned with a single treatment method, e.g. the training given at one particular establishment such as X borstal, there is no basis for comparison. Two other objections may also be noted: first, that no account is taken of *how* "bad" or criminal each individual was before arrival; second, no indication is reached of the effect of the treatment on each one—which may be important from his point of view, if for no other reason. To meet these objections a method is needed whereby each trainee is his own control, i.e. a method of quantifying *change* in the individual. It is suggested that this can be achieved by taking account of the intervals between successive convictions rather than the number of past convictions and the mere occurrence of subsequent offences. The length of such an interval is assumed to provide an indication of "non-criminal stability", and one can ask about an individual: "Is he better or worse following treatment X?"

There are certain pitfalls to be avoided in basing calculations on interval lengths, apart from the fact that the method cannot be applied to any first offender. One is that any previous period of incarceration removed the individual from risk, artificially lengthened the next interval, and has to be deducted by reckoning only from date of release; i.e. intervals must be periods-at-risk. This is a matter of fact-finding. The second is that intervals are in part related to the stage in a criminal career at which they occur, longer intervals tending to come early; so that taking an individual's longest interval as a yardstick may mean one is comparing most recent behaviour with relatively early and so perhaps relatively irrelevant history. Third, it has been shown that single intervals are relatively heavily chance-determined, so that some combination may be necessary to achieve reliability.

With appropriate precautions to meet these difficulties, measures of change in criminal behaviour derived from intervals between convictions were examined for two samples of borstal trainees followed up through their supervision periods. The first was a sample of cases discharged from Prescoed Borstal; the second, cases discharged from Guys Marsh Borstal. It was important to ensure that no cases were selected out (in particular, not to lose reconvicted cases); the samples were accordingly identified as (i) all those individuals discharged from Prescoed during the first six months of 1970, so that reconvictions during the 24 months' post-training supervision period were already known or obtainable; (ii) all those discharged from Guys Marsh during the first four months of 1970. At Prescoed, 76 individuals were identified from records; for four of these the available documents contained insufficient usable data, and they were discarded. There was no reason to assume that this would distort the sample. At Guys Marsh, 90 cases were identified from records; of these, one was unaccountably untraceable, and four were first offenders so that computations were impossible in their cases. The two samples thus comprised 72 and 85 cases respectively.* The average intervals between successive convictions for each sample were calculated. In all cases intervals were at-risk periods, i.e. eliminating the influence of periods in custody under sentence or under training. The necessary computations were based on information culled from reports on the individuals that were available in the documents. This was reasonably easy for most cases; in the occasional instance an estimate had to be made, but this was considered preferable to discarding any cases. The intervals used were those prior to the borstal training period, working back from the last to the earlier ones as far as the criminal history extended, and the interval after borstal release until reconviction if that occurred, or to the termination of supervision. Where there was no post-borstal reconviction during the supervision period the latter interval is artificially limited to the value 24 months, although such cases almost all, naturally, have in fact higher but unknown values. Accordingly, the average post-borstal interval arrived at is an underestimate of the true value, but we do not know to what extent.

There were 34 cases in each sample for whom we have five pre-BT intervals, with progressively larger numbers for whom we have fewer intervals. To illustrate the results we thus have to draw a series of graphs, and these are shown in the accompanying figure.

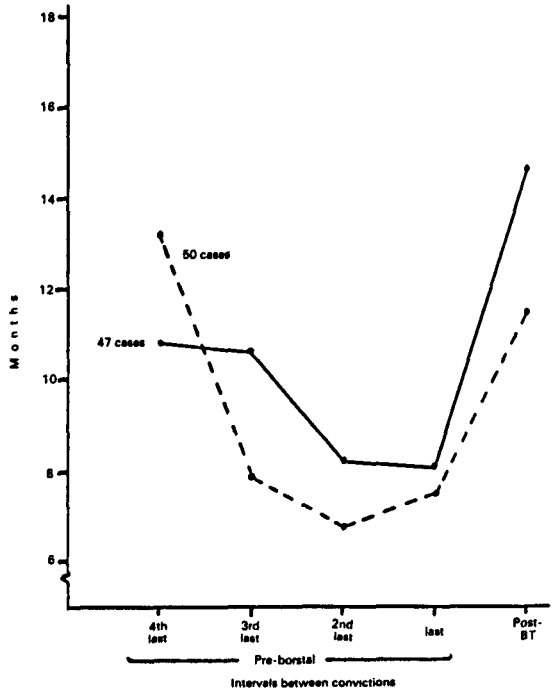
These graphs all tell essentially the same story: on average, the trainees' careers prior to borstal training had exhibited increasing habituation to criminal activity, reflected in progressively shorter intervals. The post-borstal average interval suggests that the intervention of the training period had the effect of substantially dehabituating them. This was true for both samples, although they are somewhat different in their habituation patterns. In both cases, it can be argued that the training period had a positive impact on the group of individuals, so far as their criminal behaviour is concerned. This, of course, is an essential part of the *raison d'etre* of the training establishments; and it may be that this method of looking at the facts indicates an important way of judging the impact of a training institution in the penal setting. It should be noted that we are not here comparing institutions, nor are we concerned about matching their intakes. The comparison we are making is between pre- and post-treatment

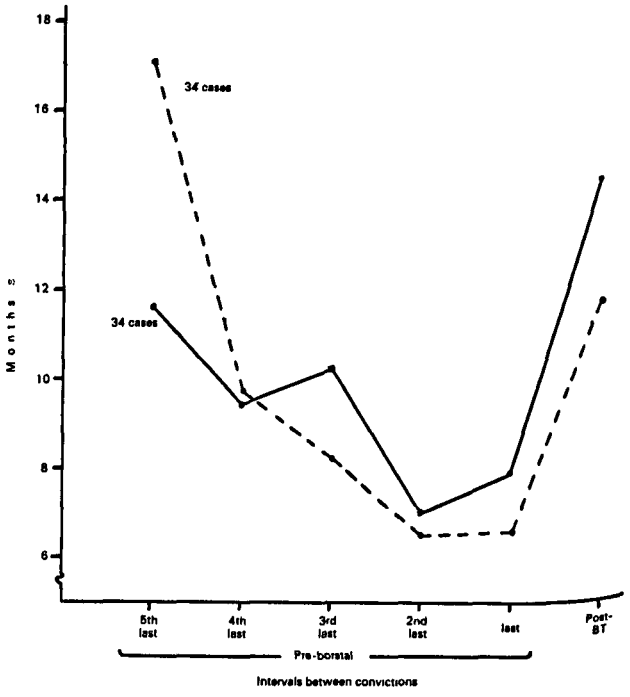
* I am indebted to the governors and staff of both establishments for their courtesy and help in making the records available, and to P4 division of the Prison Department for retrieving data that were not available locally for a proportion of the cases.

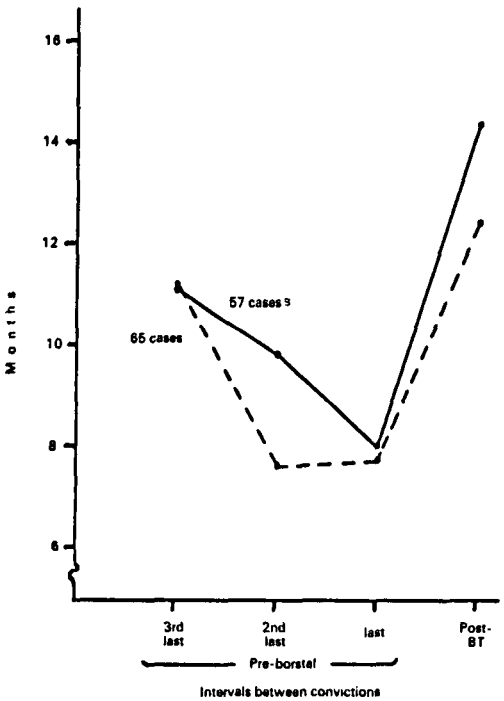
periods, i.e. what the trainees were like, in the criminal behaviour respect, before and after BT.

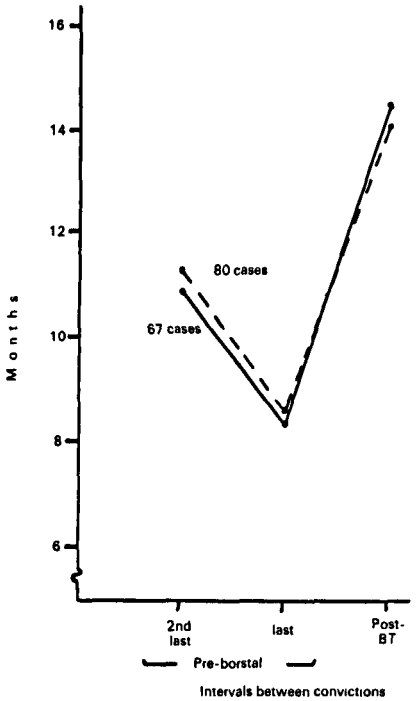
Average results, of course, are not representative in any full sense of each of the individuals in the sample; and this is particularly liable to be true where one is dealing, as here, with sequential material. But the method lends itself also to the examination of individual cases, since each has his own habituation graph. Thus one could consider how far the particular training regime has worked for each individual; or what aspects of regime A are related to the successes, and what characteristics of the failures does the regime not cater effectively for? Asking such questions is conceivably the way to improve a training regime for dealing with the population it has to receive, and it may open up a whole field of exploration towards training improvement.

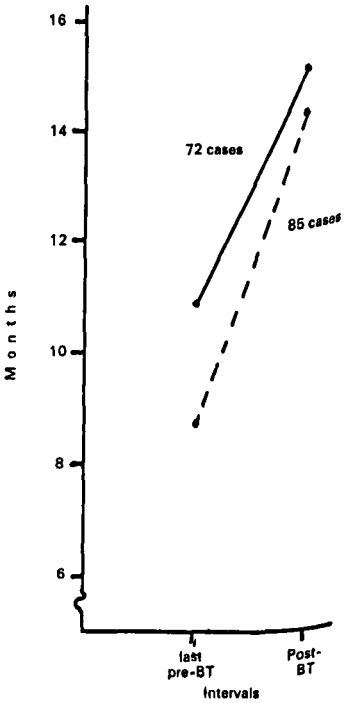
GRAPHS ILLUSTRATING FIVE PRE-BT INTERVALS







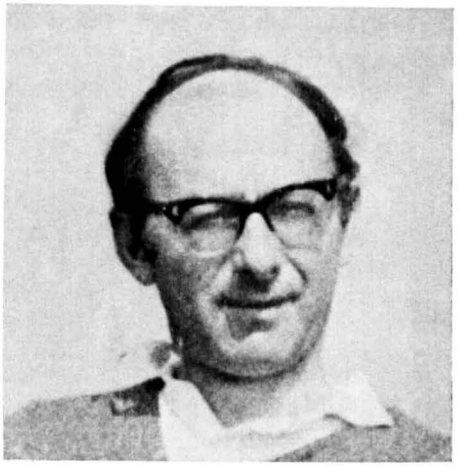




Therapeutic Communities

An Experiment for Prison Staff

M. E. WHITE



M. E. White is 42, qualified in medicine in 1958 and as a psychiatrist in 1962. He worked at University College, Dublin for 12 years and trained in England at the British Institute of Psychoanalysis. Since 1969 he has been consultant psychiatrist at Wormwood Scrubs, and runs twice weekly group meetings at the newly-established hospital annexe

THE setting up of a wing in a large prison to be run on the lines of a therapeutic community offers interesting opportunities to study the possibilities of changing negative institutionalised attitudes in prison staff. In a previous article[1] I endeavoured to show how some of these defensive negative attitudes lead to a reinforcement of criminality in the prison population.

My intention in this paper is to study the early history of this unit and its effect on prison staff working there. By examining, in a weekly staff group, changing attitudes I felt it would be possible to evaluate any improvements that might occur when a therapy ideal was introduced into the custodial activities. The ideals of therapeutic communities are well known[2]. Inmates take a more active role in their own and each other's management. There is a place for anxiety and anger and an outlet for self expression. All of these are inhibited in the usual prison setting.

The aim of our weekly group meetings was to give the staff working in the unit an opportunity to examine themselves and their problems in this new unfamiliar setting. They had received only a short period of training at a London mental hospital prior to the establishment of the unit and had little supervision of their psychological work other than the liaison at a mainly administrative, physical and advice level with senior medical staff.

The unit has 39 beds. There were nine prison officers staffing the project. At first many of the prisoners were drug addicts but later the group became more balanced and included all kinds of character disorders and sexual problems.

EARLY GROUP RESPONSES

The attitudes that predominated in early group meetings and which persisted in a modified way in some members of the staff can be summarised as follows. They have a striking resemblance to my previous study of group responses and were at conflict with the whole ethos of a therapeutic community.

Initially there was much enthusiasm and relief when I suggested a weekly meeting. However, in spite of this there were remarkable difficulties in those early groups. It was like a railway station with people coming in and out continuously. There was great difficulty in finding a suitable room to hold it in, in spite of the many empty ones that were available. When I took this up as an expression of destructive feelings towards any search for understanding, there was a blank denial. Everything was seen as being due to an external reason. However, shortly after this interpretation a suitable meeting room was found and some semblance of a method of dealing with the interruptions was evolved. There was an attempt to impose a rigid structure on the group—to make it into a straightforward teaching or case supervision session—to establish one as an authority figure who would tell them what to do, and yet one could feel even in those early meetings the enjoyment of self discovery and decision-making. Tremendously powerful feelings of persecution towards the group leader developed, looking at problems was felt as criticism. It was thought that I was taking mental notes to make reports to higher authorities rather like censoring of prisoners' letters—one did not forget what one read. There was a feeling that anything expressed would be noted and held against the offender. Members of the group felt that the positive work they were doing was not being appreciated, only faults noted. There seemed to be only one level of looking at things and any other way was a puzzling foreign language to be treated with suspicion. There was little concept of a search for understanding. When a new idea was introduced such as patients having even a small say in selecting who stayed in the unit and who was transferred back to the main prison, I found that the idea was often exaggerated. What started off as having a small say, became "prisoners discharging each other from prison"—"deciding the length of each others sentences", and the idea was thus exposed to mockery and ridicule and, therefore, made to appear useless. Some insecurity was engendered by the feeling that the annexe staff were being classified as softies—not being "one of the boys". Poor channels of communication with higher leadership aggravated this sense of isolation and insecurity.

Within the staff hierarchy there was criticism that there was not

enough leadership—it was too easy going.

It is easy to see that this group of brave, relatively unsupported officers were finding familiar ways of coping unsatisfactory. Yet there were extreme institutionalised pressures to stick to familiar ideas towards each other and prisoners. These pressures made it dangerous, soft or even mad to look for different ways of viewing problems.

LATER RESPONSES AS CHANGE TOOK PLACE

The first break-through seemed to come when the staff were discussing some stolen sugar. At first the group slipped into primitive, moralistic attitudes and struck an attitude of incredulity—had I gone mad?—at the idea that one could gain some understanding from this event. Gradually it was seen that the stealing of the sugar could be dealt with in the obvious way but that it could also be used to understand something of the prisoner's way of expressing his hidden feelings. It emerged that the hoarding was linked with the insecurity the prisoner felt about his stay in the annexe—would it last or would he be transferred? There ensued a lively debate about different ways of looking at things and a sense of adventure and freedom came into the group.

Gradually it was found that using prisoners' Christian names helped communication and did not threaten authority as feared at first.

The group began to find that it could learn a lot by examining its own attitudes and prejudices. This I felt was another large break-through. Some could not see the relevance of this.

Gambling within the unit was discussed. A number of prison officers were able to talk of their personal attitude to it. One member said he felt that gambling was a rebellion against authority to try to express individuality in a prison set-up where this was an extremely difficult thing to do. Another session began with a casual remark by a prison officer about wearing green socks and went on to explore the meaning of titles and uniforms. Were the officers hiding behind their uniform, was the doctor hiding behind his title? Didn't psychiatrists go mad sometimes? I felt that the group itself was finding an identity by questioning authority and not idealising it. In terms of the prison culture this was thinking for themselves rather than obeying the book. In a rather crisis-like meeting one prison officer wanted to keep a prisoner he was interested in and help him work through his problems. This prisoner had been causing a lot of disruption. At the beginning of the meeting it was felt that the whole authority of the staff of the unit would be lost if this man stayed. At the end of the meeting people were talking about ways of helping the officer to keep him and work out his problems.

As the group progressed some officers stayed away more regularly. Others became more adventurous. Issues that were raised were formerly unheard of topics, like—what are our reasons for working in a prison and what being a prison officer means to population outside the prison. The examination of motivation led to the feeling that society tried to use the prison as a dustbin. This made those of us working in the prison defensive and isolated in many cases. The effect on staff morale on hearing about a prison officer who was evicted from his house after many years of service once he became ill was discussed. It was important that being a prison officer did not imply some superior morality. The staff could acknowledge that they could be influenced by ordinary human factors just as prisoners were.

It was seen that there was little external reward or encouragement to step outside the stereotype prison role and yet this was demanded if we were to help prisoners. Here the men were questioning issues which do affect them but are usually ignored.

SUMMARY

I have given only a few examples of changing attitudes in a situation which in many respects encouraged growth and understanding in the prison staff. Some destructive stereotype prison attitudes were questioned. But it was discovered that prison officers working in this type of situation, even though not always aware of it, need a great deal of support and a varied training programme. I felt this was not perhaps fully realised at first by the prison authorities, some of whom felt it was something of a soft job. I felt that a low staff/patient ratio made it virtually impossible to run an effective unit. Time was necessary for group and case discussions.

A prison officer in our group felt quite clearly that outside the annexe he had to learn to be invulnerable and resist relating too closely to his feelings, while inside the annexe he had to relearn his vulnerability and rediscover himself *as a person* in order to be able to deal with the problems of the prisoners.

The extent of the pressures on staff were expressed by one member who linked separation from stereotypes with going into the unknown—giving a feeling of being cut off at times equivalent to sensory deprivation experiments where people became temporarily insane and hallucinated. Certainly the idea "it's mad to leave the safety of familiar custodial attitudes" ("what's all this about"?—was a common rejoinder in the group) was very prevalent. But the meaning of finding an atmosphere in the prison where these issues could be questioned and examined became clear to many of the group and was valued.

It was felt that when a unit such as this was established and running properly, staff from other parts of the prison could be seconded for short periods of training. They would then be in a position to run groups in other parts of the prison. Prison staffing problems might become easier with the spread of therapeutic community ideals. At the time of writing the balance between growth and destructive factors was very fine. This paper is not so much an attempt to predict outcome as to learn from an absorbingly interesting situation.

1. WHITE, M. E. Howard League Journal, vol. XIII, No. 4, 73.

2. BRIGGS, D. L. Howard League Journal, vol. XIII, No. 3, 72.

A.C.T.O.
Eleven years on

A. D. MORRISON

Alan Morrison has been the Probation Adviser at the Staff College since October 1970. He joined the Probation Service in 1962, after taking a post-graduate diploma in social studies at Leicester University and a certificate in social casework at Southampton. He served as a probation officer in Slough and Nottingham and was subsequently senior welfare officer at Nottingham Prison prior to his being seconded to the Staff College. He is shortly to return to Nottingham as an assistant chief probation officer

THE relationship between the Prison Service and the Probation and After-care Service is a complicated one, and it gives rise to a variety of feelings and fantasies among the members of both services. It is my present aim to examine the nature of this relationship, to clarify some of the effects which it has on the members of both services, and finally to suggest its present significance for the Prison Service.

The current organisational structure relating the two services was introduced following the A.C.T.O. Report of 1963 on "The Organisation of After-care", and it is this report which provides a definition of the basis of the relationship. In the report certain general principles were identified which were considered to be essential to any effective system of after-care:

> "(1) After-care must be designed to meet the needs both of society and of the individual offenders.
>
> (2) The nature and quality of the after-care service provided should be fundamentally the same and available for all offenders, irrespective of the particular type of sentence which they may have served.
>
> (3) After-care is a form of social work which requires in those undertaking it special qualities of personality and special training and experience.
>
> (4) After-care, to be fully effective, must be integrated with the work of the penal institutions in which the offender serves his sentence, and must be conceived as a continuing process throughout his sentence and for as long as necessary after his release."[1]

The application of these principles to the situation existing prior to 1963 exposed weaknesses, and the report suggested certain remedies:

> "(1) the amalgamation of compulsory and voluntary after-care into a common service;
>
> (2) the employment of professional social workers on after-care work both in penal institutions and in the community;
>
> (3) the decentralisation of the arrangements for after-care, accompanied by a strengthening of the lines of communication between the social worker in the institution and his colleagues in the community; and
>
> (4) a greatly increased understanding of the part to be played by members of the community in the rehabilitation of offenders."[2]

The report then proceeded to recommend how these remedies could be applied—through the expansion and reorganisation of the Probation Service, the appointment of social workers to penal establishments by the Home Office and through changes in emphasis in prison officer and assistant governor training. The underlying theme of the recommendations was integration: the integration of statutory and voluntary after-care, the integration of after-care with the local community and, most importantly as far as the relationship between the Prison Service and the Probation Service was concerned, the integration of "institutional care" and "after-care".

According to the report, this integration was to be structured by having one service providing institutional care (the Prison Service) and a separate service providing after-care—or more accurately community-based care (the Probation and After-care Service). The link between the two services was to be established and maintained by the social workers in one service liaising with social workers in the other. This structure was not, of course, adopted and although the reasons for its rejection were never made very clear, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that this link between the two services would have been weak and ineffective.[3]

A JOINT RESPONSIBILITY

The organisational structure which was adopted, and with which we are all now familiar, was one of an *overlap* of the two services by means of seconding staff from one service to the other, thereby interlinking institutional care and community-based care. It is this structure which is of fundamental importance in understanding the nature of the relationship between the two services. The relationship is defined by the structure in the following way: *the Prison Service is responsible for institutional care; the Probation and After-care Service is responsible for community-based care; and both services are jointly responsible for the inter-relationship of institutional care and community-based care, with the primary agents for managing this inter-relationship being the seconded officers.*

In practice, then, how has this structure affected the two services in their joint task?

It is an obvious, but important, fact that the two services have very

different organisational structures. The Prison Department is a department of central government, and its policy and its use of resources are determined centrally. The Probation and After-care Service consists of a number of local services run by independent committees and, although there is some central oversight, its policy and its use of resources are to a very considerable extent determined locally. Therefore, when the two services have a joint task—of integrating institutional care and community-based care, i.e. "throughcare"—there are difficulties in establishing lines of communication and in determining and implementing common policy and practice. For example, at local level, the population for which the governor provides institutional care does not coincide with the population for which the local chief probation officer provides community-based care. A common policy of throughcare cannot therefore be established at this level. At regional level, not only do the two services' definitions of regions not coincide, but the Probation and After-care Service (as distinct from the Home Office Department) has no significant regional structure. The link between the two services at national level is a complex one: the structure of the Prison Department is clearly defined, but as far as the Probation and After-care Service is concerned there are a number of groups involved in determining matters of national concern. These groups include the Home Office Probation and After-care Department, the Conference of Chief Probation Officers and the Central Council of Probation and After-care Committees, none of which has complete executive authority over or within the Probation and After-care Service.

The differences in organisational structures make it difficult, therefore, to define the relationship between the two services at these various levels in terms of their joint task and their respective responsibilities. It is only at local level that the overlap of the services exists and it is for this reason that relationships at this level are particularly significant.

For Prison Service staff, one of the effects of the secondment of officers from an "outside" service may be to increase rather than to reduce the isolation of institutional staff from the outside community. The seconded officers have existing relationships with services in the community—indeed, this is one of the resources which they bring—and this may result in the seconded officers making all the contacts outside the institution, and so indicate to Prison Service staff that they do not need to be concerned with forming and developing relationships with the outside. This is particularly significant because the seconded officers' relationships are primarily with rehabilitative agencies in the community, and therefore a further effect may be the tendency to "reduce" the rehabilitative role of prison staff. So the structure, designed to reduce the isolation of prison staff and to increase their involvement in rehabilitative work, may in fact have the reverse effect.

CONFUSION OF IDENTITY?

For the seconded officer, the overlapping structure gives rise to uncertainty about his relationships both with the Prison Service and with the Probation and After-care Service—with which does he identify? In theory perhaps, he belongs to both; in practice he may feel he identifies with only one or even at times with neither. Somehow he has to maintain working relationships with both services. To have a close relationship with one may be felt to put the relationship with the other at risk, and an effect of this may be a certain distance or defensiveness on the part of the seconded officer in his relationships with staff in one or both services. This uncertainty about his relationships is aggravated by the uncertainty in relationships between the two services at higher levels.

There may also be a lack of clarity about the nature of his task: is it to be concerned with the total task of the institution in providing institutional care, or is it simply to liaise with the outside service in relation to individual prisoners? The former implies a close involvement with other staff in the life of the institution, the latter implies a specific link with the outside service. In a situation of uncertainty one tends to hold on to that which is familiar and to avoid or withdraw from situations which are new and which may give rise to conflict. The effect on the seconded officer, therefore, may be that he holds on to his liaison task, thereby reinforcing his relationship with the outside service, but also reinforcing the isolation and the reduction in the rehabilitative role of the Prison Service staff.

For those working in the community, the system of secondment raises questions about the nature of the outside officer's involvement during the period of institutional care. Does he need to be involved at all, since a member of the same service works in the institution? If he is involved, what is the nature of his relationship with the "inside" officer and other staff in the institution—is he an agent, a servant, or the primary worker? The relationship will no doubt be defined differently according to different situations, but it will produce uncertainty and conflict as the needs defined in terms of institutional care do not necessarily coincide with the needs defined in terms of community care—for example, the "inside need" to reduce a prisoner's anxiety may conflict with the "outside need" to reduce the pressures on his wife.

EXTENSION TO BORSTAL

These, then, are some of the issues and the problems which the overlapping structure presents for the two services and for staff working in them. This structure was introduced in January 1966 into prisons and it has since been extended to girls' borstals, remand centres, detention centres and borstal allocation centres. Its extension to the only remaining category of penal establishment—the male borstal—is about to be tested by the secondment of officers to five such establishments on an experimental basis. It would seem that in spite of the problems the structure is considered to be sound, and that the relationship between the two services is blossoming. But is this so? What can we learn from the past eight years?

Since 1966 there has been a rapid increase in the number of officers seconded from the "outside" service to penal establishments. If the officer's task is defined as throughcare work with individual prisoners then this increase is understandable. On this definition of task a ratio of one officer to 100 prisoners is by no means excessive (and part of the Midlands experiment seems to support this definition). On the other hand, if the officer's task is defined more in terms of facilitating the throughcare work of the institutional staff as a whole—as proposed in the male borstals—then staffing ratios can be determined differently. The former definition of task fitted the situation as it existed in 1966, but perhaps it is towards the latter definition that the two services need to be moving.

"THROUGHCARE" THE NEW CONCEPT

During the last eight years, it is clear that the Probation and After-care Service's view of after-care has changed. The term "after-care" is now felt to be unsatisfactory, and the term "through-

care" is in increasingly common usage. There seems little doubt that this has been due to the commitment of the service to work during an offender's sentence both within and outside the penal establishment. The Probation and After-care Service has increased its effectiveness in this area of work, and there has, therefore, been an improvement in the quality of the service provided both for individual offenders and for society.

During the same period the Prison Service has been concerned with containment (post Mountbatten), maintenance (due to population increase) and control (due to demonstrations and the need to provide for an increasing number of difficult prisoners). The Service's concern with throughcare and rehabilitation has not been reinforced or developed in any obvious way through its closer relationship with the Probation and After-care Service. A possible exception to this is the development of "neighbourhood borstals", but perhaps the overall effect has been a tendency to see throughcare and rehabilitation as primarily the responsibility of the Probation and After-care Service. If this is so, then this reinforces feelings of isolation and deprivation among prison staff.

The Prison Officers' Association has expressed, from time to time, the wish of its members to "take over" the tasks performed by seconded officers. This may indicate that the effect of the secondment system has indeed been to increase the isolation of prison staff and to deprive them of certain functions. This suggests that the opportunity provided by the overlapping structure has not been used. For this structure *does* provide an opportunity for the sharing of these tasks and of the skills required to perform them, and for a reciprocal exchange between the two services, which can enhance rather than reduce the work of both services.

ALTERNATIVES TO THE "LAST RESORT"

A recent development which is of considerable significance for the relationship between the two services is the provision of non-custodial penalties as alternatives to imprisonment, introduced in the 1972 Criminal Justice Act. The significance lies particularly in the fact that the responsibility for implementing this provision rests with the Probation and After-care Service. This may have a divisive effect on the relationship between the two services in that the Probation and After-care Service has a major task to provide *alternatives* to institutional care. Another effect which this development may have is the further isolation of the Prison Service and the further deprivation of its rehabilitative role, in that this provision may be seen to emphasise that imprisonment is very much the last resort and to imply that it has an extremely negative effect on offenders.

If this account of the current scene is at all accurate then certain conclusions may be drawn from it about the basis of the relationship between the two services.

Firstly, the relationship needs to be based upon a common, identifiable professional activity in which both services are involved. This means that each service needs to have a clear definition of its task. Each service must also have a *view* of its task, a *position* in relation to it which the service represents. The Probation and After-care Service does have a clear definition of its task, and does have a view of it. One may argue about the validity of that view, but at least one knows what the service stands for and one can relate to it on that basis. But what is the task of the Prison Service, and what does the Prison Service stand for? This is not clear, and whereas this is understandable, given the conflicting pressures on the Service, it is very difficult to work out a relationship with the Service under such circumstances. There is much talk of "professionalism" in the Prison Service, but what does the Prison Service "profess"?

THE NATURE OF PROFESSIONALISM

Secondly, the relationship needs to be based upon a real partnership. This does not mean that the two services need to be identical, or that one service should "take over" the other. It does mean that there needs to be some common ground, and on the basis of the common ground that each service is prepared to share and to be open to the influence of the other in pursuing the common task. There is a need to recognise differences as well as similarities and to face the conflicts which these create. Some of the characteristics of this partnership are perhaps indicated by Charlotte Towle in writing about the nature of a profession: "A profession, like an individual, has come of age when it has developed capacity for interdependent relationships, notable qualities of which are readiness to give and take without anxiety and without need to dominate or to suffer loss of identity". She adds, "This growth is difficult to attain".[4]

If the relationship between the two services can be established on this basis, then the Prison Service and the Probation and After-care Service can not only live together, but each can benefit and develop as a result of it. But is this really possible?

The Prison Service has in the past focussed exclusively on providing institutional care. This focus is reinforced by the nature of its organisational structure and by the political pressures to which it is subjected. As a result of this, the Service has perhaps had difficulty in seeing institutional care in the wider context of penal policy and practice and of residential provision in society as a whole. In recent years the Service has imported a variety of staff resources in order to increase the effectiveness of institutional care, but this has been felt by some to have had a fragmenting effect on the Service, to have reduced the roles of existing staff and to have weakened its sense of identity. As far as the importation of members of the Probation and After-care Service is concerned, I have suggested that in particular this may have tended to increase the isolation of prison staff from the outside community and to reduce their rehabilitative role. I would disagree that such developments are inevitable.

LOOKING OUTWARDS

In my view a relationship of the kind described earlier between the two services can offer an opportunity to the Prison Service to reduce its isolation and establish its identity by participating more fully in the care and rehabilitation of offenders. To take this opportunity, the Prison Service must clarify what it stands for, and it must undertake a commitment to the joint task of throughcare. In doing so the Service will establish the contribution of its work not only in the context of

penal practice but also in the general context of residential work in social provision. This in turn can bring opportunities to participate in related work. To take but one example, in the development of alternatives to imprisonment there is an opportunity to use some of the knowledge and expertise of the Prison Service in the provision of various hostels. This could be achieved by the secondment of prison staff or by using Prison Service resources in other ways. It is an opportunity for the Prison Service to look outwards and to "export" some of its resources, and it is through its relationship with the Probation and After-care Service that this opportunity is presented.

This raises a fundamental question for the Prison Service about its future. Does its future lie in committing itself to the shared task of throughcare, in looking outwards and participating in developments outside penal institutions? If so, then its relationship with the Probation and After-care Service will facilitate this. If not, then I suggest the Prison Service will find it increasingly difficult to establish a "professional" identity, and will become increasingly isolated from the community with the result that its capacity to perform its rehabilitative task will become increasingly impaired.

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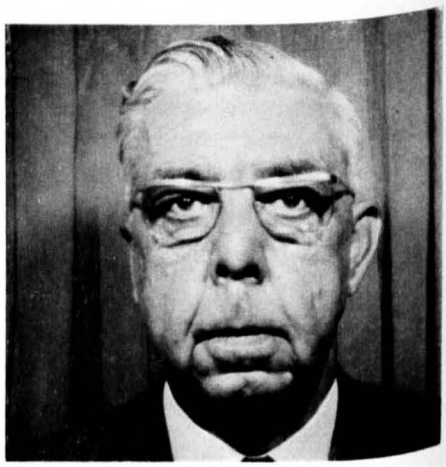
Talking About Prison

MARK WINSTON



Mark Winston was editor of this Journal from its inception in 1960 until he retired in 1971 as Deputy Regional Director (Operations). His life includes experience as a journalist, a P.O.W., a probation officer and in a variety of posts in the Prison Service. He now continues his benign surveillance of the frailties of his fellow mortals as liaison officer for voluntary organisations in the southern part of the newly-constituted Trafford Borough Council and is thus able to maintain his practical interest in helping lame dogs over stiles

JOURNALISTS do not talk much in public, except to each other in public houses in Fleet Street and elsewhere: they have to try to get other people to talk. So, before I came to prison for the first time in 1950 I had not done much talking, though five years as a probation officer had given me my apprenticeship with the Womens' Institutes and Mothers' Union where I had heard (and not for the last time) those encouraging remarks of Madam Chairman . . ."well, ladies, we have all listened to Mr. er . . . er Wintthrop . . . now next week we have a really good speaker . . .".

First week at Maidstone Prison found the governor, John Vidler, of happy memory to all staff and many prisoners, suffering from a cold, so the latest assistant governor had to get out talking about prisons, and I have been "out" fairly regularly ever since.

At the old Imperial Training School in Wakefield there was more talking to do, and in such good company as that of Gordon Fowler whose command of words was, and is, impressive, and of whom a woman officer once said: "I could listen to him for hours. I didn't understand it all, but it was lovely": and Gordon Hawkins, responsible for the saying "In Wakefield you are not awakened by the birds singing, they're coughing". Anyone who lived in Love Lane in the pre-diesel days knows what he meant. Bill Brister's carefully enunciated legal instruction, punctuated by some salty satire, is another contribution worth remembering. There were many more, John Keightley, Frank Ryan, Jim Haywood . . . all of whose stories, scandalous or sentimental, gave me ideas about presenting prisons to a variety of audiences, outside the walls. Later, at Staff College, somewhat withdrawn from the hurly-burly of routine talking, I found it saddening to be told by a student some years later that he had heard the principal on two occasions, on arrival and on departure. I only hope I get the speeches in the right order.

Putting aside talking to staff, one wonders how much good comes from talking to church groups, university students, Rotarians, Round Tablers, any and every organisation who ask for a talk on prisons.

The man or woman in the street, or rather on the hard chairs of the parish room or the plushier but often more cramped seating of the business lunch, are certainly interested in us. Interested, even concerned, but are they likely to be prepared to be involved? Talk for half an hour, give your all, pull out all the stops, and what you

may get at question time is often statement time. "These layabouts need flogging"; "Parole is wicked" or "Hanging is too good for them"—are fairly typical quotes. Often the church groups, largely female, are understandably more vulnerable, torn between Old and New Testament thinking, and questions, and statements, centre round old ladies whose homes have been ransacked and beaten-up pensioners. Sometimes these groups express a real desire to help, but there is evidence of an equally real anxiety at prospects of meeting actual prisoners.

So, much talking must be about reassuring our listeners that many of our charges are really quite ordinary people, albeit people with quite extraordinary problems. I told a group of clergy that if I took all of them, changed them over with a group of prisoners I would not be able to tell the difference merely by looking at them. "Prisoners are people just like you and me" was not well received: even telling them that I would be able to tell the difference when they began to talk did not entirely reassure.

You can slant a talk on prisons any way you wish. There is prison history, from the days of John Howard's horror at conditions in the county gaols, the cramped misery of the hulks, the slopping out in the Victorian prisons, then and now . . . or you can slant it towards open prisons, open university, drama groups, the humanitarian work of the prison visitors, the improved menus of today . . . and before you know where you are you have painted a Butlinesque landscape where every prospect pleases and even man is not so vile, a picture just as inaccurate as the darker canvas of squalor, sadism and sadness of Cold Bath Fields (what a wonderful name for a prison: if it had not existed Dickens should have invented it). Can we persuade our audiences where the truth is to be found?

Public images in a world of very private relationships are not easily describable in the language of public relations. We see this today when "Within these Walls" and "Colditz" both come in for criticism. Anyone who has worked inside a prison knows that all Googie Withers suffers has been suffered by every governor since the Reverend Mr. Nihil (another notorious but nevertheless real name): there have always been chief officers who did not see eye to eye with "father" or indeed "mother" though "madam" does not often seem to have been given the gentler name: I am sure, too, that many staff could remember chaplains and doctors who were described in the line of the hymn "and some have friends who give them pain", yet one never doubted the professional and personal loyalties of these clerical or clinical colleagues.

True images of Holloway (sorry, Stone Park) cannot be presented in an hour, nor any more easily than can the image of Colditz: despite that difference, namely, that one is fiction (based on fact), the other fact, slightly fictionalised. It is interesting to note whence come the criticisms. In the case of Governor Googie, the TV critics have written, quite kindly, about the difficulty of presenting human stories without over-employment of the stereotypes, the "good" governor, the over-enthusiastic assistant governor, the rigid chief with a heart of gold, even the near-caricature of highly-placed Home Office officials. With "Colditz" it is the German Press, objecting on behalf of the German people, to the presentation of guards and security staff as crude, insensitive, cruel Huns. The German Press is therefore defending real people rather than cardboard characters.

Before my 20 years in and around English prisons I was in Stalag Luft III for two years. In both places I have seen (and I must add that I have also been) both the good and bad side of being a prisoner and a prison official. Life inside is not easy for either. It is hard for a prison officer to establish really meaningful relationships with prisoners; possibly harder for prisoners to become purposefully yet still legally involved with officers: it is probably hardest for both of us (and we know we should not say "us" and "them") to project ourselves, prisoner or prison officer, to a public who, having rightly rejected the prisoner and paid us to look after him, so often seems determined to see the worst in both captives and captors.

Centuries have passed since prisons were opened as peep-shows for the populace, and no one wants to see those days return. If you want to look at prisons today, there are not only the annual reports, but Tony Parker's books, the literary efforts of ex-inmates, plus much well intentioned and usually well informed comment from Press and TV. So, public relations-wise, we may be said to be having quite a good time of it.

If, however, you think this is only a job for the professional P.R.O., script writers or the anonymous "spokesman" please do think again. Let them get on with their work, and in particular that part of their work which explains—not "explains away"—but just explains the problems facing the Prison Service, the mistakes we make, the misconceptions of our critics (and our friends) and let you and me get on with the job of actually meeting real people and talking with them. Somebody actually in the community must talk to the Mothers' Institute and the Womens' Union (or have I got them confused?) Certainly confusion is very likely to occur when what we talk about gets into print. When some Blundeston prisoners escaped, the *Sunday Times* compositor misread what the crime reporter wrote. Readers were informed that "Mr. Winston, the prison gardener, said . . .". This amused a lot of people, but what cheered me most (and prison staff need cheering up after an escape happens) was a post-card from Duncan Fairn, another good talker from Wakefield days, who wrote: "If you are the prison gardener may I congratulate you on your crop of runner beans".

And if you must talk, do not be surprised at audience reaction. After some prisoners had smuggled out a letter to the London Press, I was interviewed on Anglia TV where I imagined I had managed to put over a reasoned, accurate and at the same time, understanding comment on their rightful aspirations however illegally they had expressed them. Came the phone call. Not from "Irate Viewer", not even from "Prisoner's Friend". It was to ask: "And where did you get your smart-looking hearing aid?"

Pardon me, there's the phone . . . "the Ladies' Circle? Yes, of course. About 20 minutes? Problems of Prison Today? Between the president's remarks and the jam and jelly judging . . .".

Ah! Well!! Next week, a really good speaker?

BOOK REVIEWS

Romance or Sociology?

DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Edited by PAUL ROCK and MARY MCINTOSH

Tavistock, 1974. £5

THE British Sociological Association held a conference on deviance in April, 1971; this volume, published three years later, contains a selection of the papers delivered on that occasion, nine in number. The editors do not themselves contribute to the volume, except for a two-page introduction. The first paper is by Stanley Cohen, and has the title: "Criminology and the sociology of deviance in Britain: a recent history and a current report". Its main theme is familiar. Cohen suggests four "signposts" to the direction that the sociology of deviance must take: "its connexions . . . with sociology should be recognised"; "it is necessary to recognise the problematic nature of social control"; it should avoid "the correctional stance, which takes for granted the objective of getting rid of the deviant phenomenon under question"; and ". . . the very categories of crime and deviance and hence how one studies them are problematic in specifically political ways. That is, the field has something to do with control, power, legitimacy, ideology". Cohen is contemptuous of the achievements and the traditions of British criminology, and belabours its leading figures for their neglect of theoretical matters, their Fabian preoccupation with the practical, and their tendency to "play down" the sociological contribution to the study of crime, "pushing criminology either in the legalistic direction or (more frequently and more unfortunately) towards the clinical/psychological/forensic ideology". He is by turns patronising—"It is to Walker's credit that he states his resolution of the problem so clearly" —and censorious—" . . . while Walker's solution is clear, it is both over-simplified and untenable". He traces the origins of the disastrous state of British criminology to Goring, Radzinowicz, Mannheim, the I.S.T.D., the *British Journal of Delinquency*, the Home Office, and—by a remarkable feat of logic—the Social Science Research Council. He is repeatedly caustic about Donald West, not confining himself to a rather intemperate critique of the Family Development Study, but taking an occasional swipe in passing without even bothering to identify the particular piece of work that has given offence. Thus in asserting that "British sociology . . . cannot be exonerated easily from two further charges: a certain *parochialism* which wilfully excluded American sociology of crime and deviance for so long and, then a clear *misunderstanding* as to what sociology is about", he remarks that "the work of West is a clear example on both these counts". Not that he is much more charitable about his sociologist colleagues; he quotes his own description of them, already published elsewhere: "They were either mandarins who were hostile towards a committed sociology and found subjects such as delinquency nasty, distasteful or simply boring, or else they were self-proclaimed radicals, whose political interests went only as far as their own definition of 'political' and were happy to consign deviants to social welfare or psychiatry".

The reader arrives at the end of this tirade in a state of turmoil. It is clear that British criminology has been useless and extravagantly expensive (the luckless West is the only investigator whose project is costed)—indeed, it is somehow to blame for obstructing the development of a *real* sociology of deviance. Cohen's paper is hardly a work of scholarship, but a rousing address to the adherents of "the 'new' sociology of deviance", to use his term. It is reasonable to assume that the editors intended this first paper to set the scene for the remainder of the volume, and one turns the pages in some impatience to see the first fruits of this movement.

Some of them are impressive. Howard Becker's paper, "Labelling Theory Reconsidered", stands out as a model of informal, lucid exposition, dealing in relaxed and convincing style with some of the criticisms that have been levelled at "what has rather unfortunately been called 'labelling theory' " and some of the misunderstandings that have arisen in its application. (Becker is, of course, an American—and this paper has already appeared elsewhere.)

Roland Robertson and Laurie Taylor contribute a long, thoughtful, methodological essay—"Problems in the comparative analysis of deviance"—that is surely the most substantial, and the most difficult, paper in the collection. It is a meticulous examination of the nature and potential of the comparative method in sociology, and the manner in which it may be applied to the phenomena of crime and deviance. The authors criticise the proliferation of spurious comparative studies which result from the adoption of American conceptual frames-of-reference by criminologists working in other cultures. They discuss the virtues and weaknesses of evolutionary perspectives, contrasting Nils Christie's work with Marc Ancel's "social defence" school, reviewing the work of Yehudi Cohen, and evaluating the debate between Bohannan and Gluckman. By this means they arrive at a statement about the appropriate use of comparative strategies in the study of deviance. It is an intensely interesting and thought-provoking example of contemporary thinking in matters of methodology, and, in a way, a vindication of some of Cohen's brash polemics. It *is* a new point of view, and it *does* hold promise of avoiding some of the gross pitfalls into which, as Cohen pointed out with gusto rather than tact, we have kept tumbling in the past. But one only discovers this on the third or fourth reading; Robertson and Taylor are uncompromising in the demands they make upon the reader's acquaintance with sociological literature, and they write with studied precision in long, complex sentences.

W. G. Carson contributes an elegant paper in which he considers the usefulness of the notions of conflict and of power as basic themes for the study of legislation and the administration of the criminal law. Such views have difficulty in accounting for "criminal legislation which places proscriptions upon the behaviour of groups in power"—the Companies Act, the Factories Act, and laws governing the sale of food and drugs. It is also hard to explain laws which seek to control actions which present no threat to the interests of the powerful. Carson uses these two problems as points of departure for an illuminating discussion of the nature of conflict and consensus in the making and enforcement of laws.

"The basic themes of phenomenological philosophy have a reputation for being difficult to excavate from its notoriously verbose literature", we are told by Michael Phillipson and Maurice Roche, who then proceed to give a very fair example of this difficulty on their own account. There are traces of Cohen's style of argument here, caricaturing "established" views in order to convince the reader of the inevitability of the new order—in this case, a phenomenological approach to the sociology of deviance. "The empiricist" is in trouble again, since he foolishly endorses "a deterministic account of mind and action in terms of gross physiological and environmental factors", ignoring *intentionality* even though it is a straightforward concept, familiar to common sense, to sociological theory, and more recently to existential psychiatry and the post-war conceptual analytic or linguistic philosophy school of British philosophers. The difficulty about this style of argument is that, since he is given no inkling of why presumably intelligent men should have fallen into such absurd errors, the reader finds it difficult to discover whether he is being invited to embrace an exciting new approach, or simply to be sensible. And he may well wonder why "common sense", rejected with derision by Cohen in chapter I, should now emerge as a telling weapon against empiricism. The fact is that Phillipson and Roche are really writing for scholars familiar with philosophical controversy; it is difficult to believe that they are addressing the intelligent layman with sentences like: "Thus Schutz recognised that Husserl's basic problem, even in the latter's preoccupation with the constitution of the *Lebenswelt* in his later writings, was the solipsism inherent in the concept of transcendental subjectivity". Nor, indeed, is it easy to imagine how such language must have struck the ears of the audience at the conference at which this paper was allegedly delivered.

The chapters dealing with substantive problems—by Mike Hepworth and Mike Featherstone on social reactions to "going missing", and by Gerald Mars on pilfering from the docks, are of interest as examples of the new sociology of deviance in action. Neither presents systematic data in the conventional sense; Hepworth and Featherstone reflect upon the reaction of the police, journalists, and relatives and friends, to the problem of explaining why someone has chosen to abandon his customary way of life—and the difficulties that they may experience in reconciling loyalties to "the ordered society" with a belief in the liberty of the individual to choose his own path. The argument is supported by quotations and case examples; some 18 pages of notes are used to back up 20 pages

of text. Mars also adopts the "case study" approach, using his own observations and experiences as a dock employee to describe how substantial feats of pilfering are accomplished despite the vigilance of look-outs charged with prevention. Both papers have something to offer—vivid descriptions of events, perceptive commentary, occasional insights that illuminate an episode of human behaviour—but what happens next? The reader, now warned of the folly of empiricism, will not expect testable hypotheses of the old-fashioned, "deterministic" sort, but he presumably still looks for regularities in the actions of individuals, and it is not clear that the anecdotal approach exemplified here is a secure basis for such principles.

The last two papers, by Jock Young and Stuart Hall, are concerned with the role of the mass media of communication in shaping public responses and individual reactions to the use of drugs and to group conflicts—for example, disputes within the universities. Young is caustic, indignant and occasionally unfair: "Thus the man whose sorrow about his soldier son being killed in Northern Ireland was used to make the *News of the World* headline 'I Don't Even Know What My Son Died For', didn't know because all his knowledge was derived from papers like the *News of the World*". Hall's paper is less angry, more scholarly, and more explicit in theoretical structure; he describes it himself as "largely speculative", and provokes lively expectations of the project of research, then (in 1971) just beginning, in which these conjectures will be given empirical flesh.

This collection of papers is a fair example of the talents and the weaknesses of this lively group of young sociologists; of their impatience with the timid, pedestrian achievements of British criminology; their willingness to tackle problems of such political sensitivity that previous generations of criminologists, careful of their acceptability to government departments, evaded; their delight in argument and methodological debate; the rather modest yield, so far, in terms of empirical studies of any kind. As Cohen remarks in a perceptive moment, "mainstream criminology . . . has complacently thought that there are no problems of competing values and interests. . . . The sociology of deviance has been complacent in another way, though, by sometimes giving the impression that it has solved these problems. At worst this has led to a self-indulgent romanticism, at best it has been simply good sociology". That neatly sums up the content of this volume.

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SOCIETY OF SUBORDINATES

Inmate Organisation in a Narcotic Hospital

CHARLES R. TITTLE

Indiana University Press, 1972. £3.50

CHARLES TITTLE asks some fascinating questions in this study of a federal narcotic hospital in the U.S.A.—questions concerned especially with the nature of inmate adaptation to institution life and the causes for it. He encompasses much of the "sociology of institutions" and utilises a searching methodology to pursue answers to the questions he poses. Before presenting the evidence of his own research Tittle undertakes a thorough review of earlier research in his first two chapters. For anyone unclear about the issues dealt with by Clemmer, Wheeler, Sykes, Mathieson, Street Vintner and Perrow, and many others, the author's review of their work is most rewarding —indeed justification enough for reading this book.

If this book's purpose is clear enough—"This study has been concerned with those specific issues that have remained unresolved after 30 years of research into the sociology of confinement"—the setting for this piece of research might be thought strange. The narcotic hospital studied houses volunteer and imprisoned addicts of both sexes: these different categories presented Tittle with a range of variables for consideration. The author himself is not perturbed by the comparison of a hospital with a prison, pointing out that a number of the inmates/patients "perceived" themselves as prisoners and that the hospital had a custodial force charged with "keeping order, maintaining a drug free environment, and regulating heterosexual interaction". Certainly the conflict between inmates and the custodial staff is keenly felt by many inmates in the hospital, and one inmate compares guards in the hospital unfavourably with prison staff. "In a prison the guards do their duty but they don't needle you like they do here."

The book confronts the reader with many facts and tables but the author's lucidity and common sense language makes them acceptable. None the less, it is difficult not to conclude that there are few positive insights for us to use in the Prison Service: indeed Tittle's searching analysis of the various theories on confinement leaves none with their credibility unscathed! His conclusion, that various researchers have failed to distinguish between primary organisation and collective organisation, is particularly provocative. Interestingly, he discovers that within the hospital, women are more involved in primary organisation (close personal relationships) than men, and less involved in collective organisation. The description of the differing roles played by the treatment and the custodial personnel is insightful. Both are sceptical of the goals set by the other and naturally inmates perceive this and react differently to the two sets of staff, thereby perpetuating the differences.

The *Society of Subordinates* is a readable book containing many useful glimpses into institutional life and the world of the inmate or subordinate. The comments of the inmates interviewed are particularly revealing of the various reactions to staff whether treatment agents or custodial agents. Despite the relevance to prison life this book will disappoint those seeking clear answers to the questions raised by Tittle. He is too honest to present spurious conclusions and he concludes that there is a need to form a general theory of inmate organisation so that hypotheses can be drawn from it and tested for specific application to prisons, hospitals, etc. Though one has to agree with the logic of his viewpoint Tittle's critical analysis of our knowledge of institutional life, even after his own detailed research, emphasises how inadequate that knowledge is. He presents a fascinating range of ideas and brings a clear mind to the field of institutional processes and any reader must be grateful to him for that. This book will surely become required reading in the study of institutions but the full implications of the many conclusions presented need time and patience from the reader for their assimilation.

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CURRENT ISSUES IN COMMUNITY WORK

Community Work Group

Routledge and Kegan Paul (for Gulbenkian Foundation) 1973. Hardback £3.20
Paperback £1.45

THIS book, the result of three years' study by a group of planners, community workers, academics and local government officials, reflects the growth and diversity of community work in this country over the last few years. It is a companion volume to the earlier study *Community Work and Social Change* published by the Gulbenkian Foundation in 1968. Why the upsurge of interest in community work and the promotion of a new field of professional and voluntary activity? The explanation is not hard to find. We live in an age of large-scale, impersonal administrations to which the individual interest is often subordinated. As decisions about planning for the central issues of our lives such as housing, education and the environment are taken at levels far from the influence of the local citizen, the sense of individual powerlessness becomes more acute. To combat these impersonal features in our society there is a growing awareness on the part of individuals and organisations of the need to involve local people in decision-making processes which affect their lives and those of their children.

The study looks at the way local communities have attempted to redress the balance of power through the growth of self-help groups, tenants associations and consumer groups. It also examines government interest in this field and discusses the influence of the urban aid programmes, community development projects in distressed urban areas and the setting up of educational priority areas. Community work is thus seen to be concerned with social change and is much related to some of the central issues of our society, namely, the distribution of power and the problems of effective representation among large educated populations with diverse views and needs.

The practice of community work in this country mainly revolves round four broad areas of activity with workers employed in a variety of settings on the voluntary and statutory front. These four areas can be defined as neighbourhood work, self-help programmes, interagency co-ordination and the community work focus of a direct service agency like the social services or probation department.

Neighbourhood work is often centred in an area of urban renewal or social distress where the worker encounters a high incidence of delinquency, mental illness and poor environmental facilities. The worker adopts a grass roots approach in trying to arouse local residents to take some collective action about their own area. People will be attracted to different issues which reflect their own generation's needs. The worker's methods may well be a compromise between the brief of his agency and the demands of the group he is attempting to serve. Not all local issues can be answered at the local level and many questions asked by disadvantaged residents can only be referred to the politicians in power

for key decisions. The worker will also be concerned to influence other statutory agencies in an area to make their services more relevant to the needs of the locality. Ultimately the worker hopes that the neighbourhood group through participation and the exercise of indigenous leadership will achieve some of the change objectives they have set themselves.

Other groups of people in a community centre their interest on particular social issues rather than one geographical area. The spread of education and mass media coverage has made people aware of minorities such as the homeless, handicapped or those on limited incomes. Members of such groups combine together to draw attention to their difficulties in the hope of attracting strong support for their claims. These groups have a distinctly self-help flavour in which involvement enables the participants to re-define their own situation in ways that avoid personal or moral condemnation. Leadership in, say, the welfare rights movement or the squatters, is often taken by those with a direct experience of discrimination but can equally be set up in partnership with outsiders who display a strong political commitment.

The third area of activity concerns those workers whose task is to draw resources together from different agencies in order to meet some recognised need. These community workers, who are often found in a local council of social service or new town development corporation, are essentially co-ordinators. In an increasingly fractured society, where too many decisions are taken at the departmental level rather than "across the board", the role of a co-ordinator with an informed understanding of what individual agencies can contribute to a particular problem is vital. Such a worker is frequently operating at several different levels and may, over a planning issue in a redevelopment area, have to communicate with local residents, councillors, housing officials and planners in an attempt to help all parties reach some agreement.

Finally, community work can be seen as a method of social work practised in the social services. Staff can be placed in a number of ways, ranging from the preventive approach of the worker running a family advice centre on a difficult housing estate to the specialist personnel who might concentrate on work with single parent families or drug addicts. Since social services departments rely heavily on the voluntary support of ordinary members of the public to amplify limited statutory resources, a number of statutory staff have also been appointed in recent years to liaise with volunteers and place them appropriately in children's homes, old people's centres or pre-school play groups.

Apart from a comprehensive coverage of the wide scope of community work in this country the book also looks at ways of analysing and evaluating community projects. There is also a helpful section on training, which only serves to illustrate the dangers of trying to encapsulate community work teaching in a narrow frame of reference. Since community workers can be employed in a variety of settings it is proper that community work is seen as an interdisciplinary activity of common interest to people involved in adult education, youth work, social work and administration.

As a general introduction to community work the book is both readable and informative. For those already acquainted with the subject the book holds some disappointments. It raises many issues and questions but lacks detailed discussion on some of the points which have been made. More case material could have been included from the wealth of contemporary studies now available. However, these irritations should not distract the reader from a courageous attempt to pull the various strands of community work together in one volume.

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DECISIONS IN THE PENAL PROCESS

A. KEITH BOTTOMLEY

Martin Robertson 1973. Hardback £4.50
Paperback £2.25

DR. BOTTOMLEY'S book, in the "Law and Society" series, presents to the reader a very detailed analysis of almost every area of criminal justice. He starts with the familiar discussion of the inadequacy of criminal statistics as an indicator of the amount of deviant behaviour within the community. He follows Wilkins' hypothesis that the statistics reveal the point along the line at which an interception is made. So, statistics may be influenced by changes in methods of recording and can, for example, obscure what lies behind non-reporting.

Next, Bottomley considers the issue of whether or not police intervention remains at an informal level or is associated with the reporting of an offence. After discussing arrest he examines the use of the discretion whether or not to charge. He draws upon authority after authority in his closely argued examination of these decisions. He shows that in a high number of arrest situations irrespective of surrounding factors the "attitude of the offender" or the "demeanour of the defendant" is the fulcrum upon which the decision is balanced. Another key element is seen as the "incongruity between the individual and the surroundings". This latter, of course, has implications for the freedom of action of minority groups—and here, Bottomley suggests, may lie the root of the self-fulfilling prophecy by which some individuals or groups become trouble-makers.

An incident having reached court, that court may then have to decide on whether to remand the defendant in custody or to grant bail. This decision process is examined and the interesting, if somewhat disturbing conclusion is drawn that the "remand in custody" decision may often be more related to the assumption of guilt than to the objective criteria of the 1967 Criminal Justice Act. Studies have shown that the greatest influencing factor at this stage appears to be whether or not the police oppose bail.

Keith Bottomley then touches on the defendant's decision whether to plead guilty or not. There follows a fascinating exposition of plea bargaining and "negotiated justice". American studies have shown that substantial advantages may accrue to the defendant who pleads guilty in contrast to the one who does not and is subsequently found guilty. If the former defendant has already negotiated a plea of guilt to a lesser charge than the one for which he was originally to stand trial, his advantage is further enhanced.

Bottomley moves on to consideration of decision-making in sentencing. He looks at the implications for "justice" in the seemingly conflicting notions of individualisation and parity of sentence. Disparity in sentencing is closely examined—an exhaustive review of the research in this field is made and the conclusion drawn is that there are three main contributing factors. These are the social background of the magistrate or judge, the character of the community in which the offence has taken place and the extent and type of information available to the courts before sentence is passed. It may be comforting for writers of social enquiry reports to note the quoted study by Ford (published in 1972) which shows that in the 450 cases in the sample taken, 80 per cent of the recommendations as to disposal were put into effect.

Bottomley then considers questions more directly related to imprisonment. There is a discussion of the interrelation between security, control and rehabilitation. Are they compatible or mutually exclusive? He suggests that the many different factors involved in accommodating involuntary inmates generally imply that "control" will be the prime consideration—other matters of importance must therefore somehow be reconciled to its requirements. He surveys the development of classification and of the decision-making involved. There follows a fascinating discussion of situations arising where decisions involved in classification may appear to conflict with judicial intention. This is illustrated by contrasting dicta of Lord Chief Justice Parker in Angell's case (1964 *Crim. Law Review*, 553) and passages of the paper "People in Prison". Lord Chief Justice Parker had commented upon the different regimes to be found within the borstal system and said that "if the court in any particular case . . . feel that it is a case for punishment they can say so". The White Paper, though, suggests that such allocation decisions are within the prerogative of the Prison Department whose treatment aims "do not vary according to the reasons for which the courts send any one person to custody". In cases where judicial intention conflicts with allocation procedure or decision-making, one is aware that a makeshift kind of compatibility can be achieved by extra-judicial consultation, but this suggests that neither the court's nor the administration's decision can take full effect.

Parole occupies the last section of the book. Its history is discussed and, again, an exhaustive review of available research is made. The nature of the decisions taken is further assessed and at this point it comes as little surprise to the reader that here too "decisions are characterised by ambiguities similar to those found elsewhere in the penal process". Running in parallel with the objective approach said to be used, Bottomley finds the exercise of some sort of intuitive logic, or in Keith Hawkins' terms, "tacit value judgements" affecting the decisions.

Thus Bottomley reveals the penal process to be "far from an orderly series of events". He agrees with Stanton Wheeler's findings that the division of labour in the system, the resulting conflict of values and the absence of "authoritative resolutions" of objectives preclude the possibility of "rationality".

Dr. Bottomley's style throughout is one which unites conciseness with clarity. He exposes the way in which the penal process deals with transgressors of the criminal law in that it is often a far more hit-and-miss affair than even the informed observer may suspect. One area, however, escapes his attention and that concerns those decisions taken during the time under sentence between classification and parole. How do administrators of penal policy deal with the internal infractions of regulations? Which criteria do they use in granting privileges to those under sentence and how does this affect the relationship between control and treatment goals? How are decisions as to the transfer of inmates from institution to institution reached? These are examples, but here too one believes ambiguities akin to those discussed in the book may be found. Perhaps we must wait for Graham Zellick's forthcoming study for the Cobden Trust to see a scientific examination of that area.

Keith Bottomley has taken on a massive task in writing this book, and the wonder is that so comprehensive a study has been possible in 252 pages. Not once does he skimp on detail and each statement made is supported by a mass of research. Those with even a passing interest in the machinery of criminal justice will find themselves well rewarded by reading his work.

PETER QUINN,
Assistant Governor at Hollesley Bay Colony.

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INTRODUCTION TO CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION

RICHARD E. HARDY and JOHN G. CULL

Charles C. Thomas, 1973. $12.75

IN this book the editors have brought together 17 papers concerned with contemporary developments in the treatment of offenders in the United States, with particular reference to vocational rehabilitation.

The vocational rehabilitation services which have been developed throughout the United States, particularly since World War II, have no exact parallel in this country. Originally intended to serve the physically and mentally handicapped and the educationally underachieved, the agencies provided training, remedial education, counselling and placement services. Eligibility depended on the answer being "yes" to the following questions:

(a) Does the applicant have a disability?

(b) Is the applicant handicapped in finding a job?

(c) Is there a good chance that the vocational rehabilitation services can help him towards gainful employment?

Although formerly concerned in the main with the physically and mentally handicapped, the agencies increasingly interpret questions (a) and (b) to include public offenders in prison or on probation. The agencies, therefore, have to adapt to a new and difficult group of clients. At the same time they have to try to integrate effectively with the existing correctional agencies: the State and the Federal prison, probation and parole services.

The purpose of this book is to help to bridge the gap between the correctional and the vocational rehabilitation agencies.

The reader may well ask what relevance this has to us. Arguably, a great deal. Although we do not have a parallel system of services we face very similar problems. Whether involved in the custodial or non-custodial care of offenders, one is, or one should be, extensively concerned with enabling them to find and settle to remunerative work as an alternative to crime and imprisonment.

Although one of the papers is by an ex-prisoner, most are by practitioners. They contain a wealth of information and a great deal of practical wisdom. They are mostly descriptive and non-academic in style: one or two are rather bland and one otherwise very interesting piece, "Crime, Court and Concerned Citizen", sinks occasionally into schmalz.

The first nine chapters set the scene. They provide a brief introduction to some of the latest thinking in criminology and penology, and include descriptive pieces about some contemporary developments in the prison and probation services. The later chapters are, for the most part, more specialised. They contain much of interest for the British practitioner but it has to be winnowed out.

The provision of vocational training or industrial skills, whether in penal institutions or day centres, is seen as only the beginning of a process of rehabilitation. A major problem for so many of the people in our care is not how to *do* a job of work but, rather, how to find it and keep it. The kinds of problem which have brought them to us predispose them to absenteeism, lateness and go with an inability to accept the ordinary demands of industrial discipline. There is far more to settling to gainful employment in our society than knowing the actual job-skill: that is the easy part which many employers are prepared to teach the willing applicant. What this book illustrates convincingly is that the so-called "habit of work" is only partly acquired in the workshop. The critically important, and arguably more difficult part, is the empathetic counselling which ought to accompany and support training. It should support attempts to find work and should aim to facilitate adaptation to a life-style which is compatible with keeping a job.

Vocational rehabilitation is not put forward as a panacea, but in so far as keeping in regular and satisfying work tends to be incompatible with recidivism, it is clearly important. The money poured into prison industries and vocational training, on both sides of the Atlantic, is mostly wasted where these activities are seen as having intrinsic usefulness, where they are seen as ends in themselves. To begin to be effective they must be part of an integrated strategy involving the offender himself, his instructors and skilled counsellors (in whatever guise) to bridge the gap between the institution and the free world.

DEREK SHAW,
Head of Induction Training Dept., Staff College.

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MATRIX ORGANISATION—MANAGING INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

DONALD RALPH KINGDON

Tavistock Publications, 1973. £3.30

IT is a pity that this important book should have been written in such difficult language. It really is heavy going. The jargon of business consultancy—American jargon at that—is thick and heavy. The book is best taken in small doses. But it repays perseverance.

Dr. Kingdon's premise, which the foreword to the book blandly asserts is now widely accepted, is that the conventional large-scale organisation is increasingly ineffective in the face of present-day social and economic complexities and uncertainties. He characterises the conventional organisation as a bureaucracy controlled by a rigid, hierarchical management, with consultation going little further than the passing of instructions downward and reports upwards, and departments in the organisation working independently with minimal lateral communication. This may be a caricature rather than an accurate description of the average commercial organisation or government department or educational establishment, but there is no need to argue too strenuously with Dr. Kingdon's view that they are not conspicuously flexible or adaptable.

Dr. Kingdon does not insist that the hierarchical model of decision-making is redundant. It is an efficient method for a simple organisation operating in what he calls a placid environment. An example is a firm making one simple product that is sold in an assured, unchanging market. The more one moves from this static situation towards one that he describes as turbulent, the more the hierarchical model needs modification. This is fairly familiar ground, even if the terms Dr. Kingdon uses to describe it are not.

One looks for some original thinking in that part of the book which deals with his research into methods of adapting conventional organisations and which gives his views about likely developments. He has a wide experience to draw on. His career has been spent partly as a behavioural scientist in the academic world, partly in commerce as a marketing executive and a management consultant, and partly on the organisation and training side of industry. In this latest phase of his career he worked in the American aerospace industry during its heyday. This industry above all others was faced with complexity and uncertainty. The aerospace programme had to tame new technologies, integrate the operations of a formidable number of firms and government agencies, and produce results quickly and safely. How were these managerial problems solved? It is plain that much was hurried improvisation.

First, so-called project management enabled practically everything, including cost, to be subordinated to the task in hand. There was nothing new in that. Secondly, a supposedly new form of organisation emerged—the matrix, or mixed form. This term described the modification that took place in the hierarchical managements of firms engaged in the aerospace programme. The superior-subordinate relationship of the hierarchical structure was complemented by the formation of lateral relationships —relationships which were negotiated between people or groups of people, generalists and specialists, at the respective working levels. The reviewer finds it difficult to break free from the management jargon used in the book to give a reasonably simple description of the arrangement. But what it purported to be was this. Instead of a series of relatively isolated chains of command meeting at the top of their respective hierarchies, the result was an organisation interlocked by any number

of working arrangements made at levels and at times dictated by the need to solve problems as they arose. This involved devolution, delegation and all the other processes to force decision-making outwards and downwards. (It is only when people start relating "laterally", sharing information and expertise at the various working levels, that the need for real delegation is understood.)

On the face of things an organisation given this treatment could hardly fail to become more flexible and its staff more responsive and fulfilled. The snag was that tiresome thing, the human factor. People in the organisation did not easily slip into these freer but more difficult roles. As Dr. Kingdon puts it, there was not a "spontaneous" acceptance. Staff certainly needed training. Beyond that they needed support. Some people could not form satisfactory relationships within groups, evidently preferring the security of the simple superior-subordinate relationships. Jealousies between specialisms were hard to overcome. There was a general tendency to regress to the plain hierarchical model. This will cause wry smiles from people in the Prison Service who have worked for any length of time with such problems. One assumes that the aerospace firms and government agencies could afford to spend lavishly to provide the support that was needed and that they thought it worthwhile to do so. But it is clear that when the programmes began to run down and the United States Government became more cost conscious, regression increased.

The sceptic will be quick to conclude that this whole business was just another short-lived management gimmick, sustained by the obvious urgencies of the aerospace programme. It is easy to take a cynical view of achievement in management. There is always someone ready to tell you that good managers are those in undertakings that would be hard put to it to fail; bad managers are those in concerns that are doomed to fail. There is no need to write-off the episode in that way. The lessons are not all negative. Also, even if one dislikes the book's rather pretentious claim that the ". . . Matrix form is directly co-related with the needs of healthy adults for a more democratic form of organisation . . ." we can share some of Dr. Kingdon's optimism about its future. Even government departments in this country have moved away from the stereotype hierarchies the public assumes them to be. It is common for people, or groups of people, in divisions of a department to negotiate lateral working arrangements with people in other divisions or other departments—even if those arrangements do not always appear on organisation charts. There is an increasing number of planning units linking together specialists and generalists on something of the matric pattern.

If the Prison Service is not in the forefront of these changes the need to develop new styles of management is well-recognised. The book serves as a reminder that in any organisation the process is hard and slow and needs to be sustained. It also reminds us that this business has to be approached with some humility. The need for change does not rest solely on arguments about efficiency and effectiveness—the driving forces at the start of the American experiments. It has to do with human need; and we should be as concerned with the anxieties of those who are less adaptable to change as about the frustrations of those who want it.

K. H. Dawson,
Assistant Secretary, P2 Division.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

E. A. Johns

Pergamon, 1973. Hardback £3.50
Paperback £1.95

THIS is a useful and valuable little book for those who have neither the time nor the inclination to delve at depth into the pages of management writers such as Bennis, Benne and Chin. The author bases his arguments on the premise that the ability to introduce change with minimum resistance is a key managerial skill, since change is a necessary way of life for all organisations. Even if an organisation intrinsically resists change, it must eventually respond to movements in the outside environment. This may sound obvious but experience in the Prison Service suggests that it cannot be emphasised too often. Johns goes on to argue that the manager of the future must be a "do-it-yourself behavioural scientist" capable of investigating and acting upon a whole range of problems within his organisation. Thus there are no stereotyped answers and no easy short-cuts. Awareness of probabilities and tendencies is of more importance than adherence to dogma or rules.

The book examines the need for constant change, analyses sources of resistance to change and describes techniques for implementing change. The two final chapters describe the value of T-group and sensitivity training and the effects of staff changes at managerial level. Each chapter contains short and pithy illustrations, mainly drawn from the industrial scene, but capable of translation into situations similar to the penal setting. The summary at the close of each chapter neatly draws the arguments together.

The second chapter "Change, Equilibrium and Homeostasis" is worth reading and re-reading (even if one reads nothing else in the book) because it seems to have a great deal to say about current development and thinking in the Prison Service. Organisations have an in-built tendency to sustain some kind of equilibrium and to seek to restore it if the existing balance is disturbed. Furthermore, we may think we have solved one problem but in doing so other forces have entered the situation and a new problem is now waiting to be solved. It is very hard to foresee all the major problems involved in organisational change but this is no excuse for not trying! The whole organisation is ultimately affected by change in any part of it—something perhaps we do not always take into account when launching experimental schemes and projects. (In the current thinking about the values of rewards and punishments it is interesting to note that a combination of these may well be the most effective technique in a learning situation but only in so far as punishment is not destructive and rewards are meaningful in terms of the individual's own perceived goals.) The chapter on sources of resistance to change covers more familiar ground though it is useful to be reminded of the particular difficulties in introducing change in institutions where there is a strong community consciousness.

Chapter five provides some stimulating discussion on the view that bureaucratic systems attract inflexible personalities (does one attempt to change the personality or the system?) and on the prediction of Bennis that the organisations of the future will be unfrozen (organic): that they will be temporary systems evolved in response to problems rather than to programmed expectations. Perhaps this is where we turn to open meetings and project groups and heave the policy and heads of departments committees out of the window with a sigh of relief! In the prison situation, where it is essential to be able to tolerate ambiguity (does the officer report to the wing A.G. or to the chief officer?), it is encouraging to hear of a successful firm in which 30 departmental supervisors reported indiscriminately to no fewer than five senior executives! Apparently the only dissentients were two supervisors who had the Diploma in Management Studies, were more organisation-conscious than their colleagues and by implication were considerably more inflexible. Chapter six reminds us that participative management should be neither a manipulative device nor an easy process of opting out for the manager.

It is a pity that sensitivity training has become identified with "T-groups" in certain circles and chapter seven is no exception. The unfortunate mystique surrounding T-groups is such that the real value of a sensitivity approach is often clouded by a conflict of irrational responses.

The final chapter provides some answer to those people (if any of them are still left) who subscribe to the view that the answer to every institution's problems is simply to change the governor!

J. H. Anderson,
Governor, Huntercombe Borstal.

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THE MAN INSIDE

An anthology of Writing and Conversational Comment by Men in Prison

Tony Parker

Michael Joseph, 1973. £2.75

"We do not ask for pity, sympathy, even forgiveness, all we ask is that you think about what you are doing and if you are satisfied, go on, but if you are not, then stop."

Alan K. (29).
Offence: Using a firearm.
Sentence: Ten years.

Most books on criminology written by academics, confessed a member of staff of the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge late one night, are only read by other criminologists and have little real use except to form the basis of another book, either as a target or a stepping stone. Tony Parker's books come at the other end of the scale—reputable academics may admit furtively to reading them but the opinion of the interested general public is informed by Tony Parker. Though the effects of each book seem curiously evanescent, it does mean that to the Prison Service a new Tony Parker has immediate importance for its intrinsic interest and its effect on a wide range of concerned opinion.

The method is well known: there is no judgement, no comment, there is merely the recording of a revealing conversation. It is seemingly so simple; the inarticulate, the deprived and under-priviledged have a witness—art that conceals art. Of course it is not simple, it is very difficult indeed and there is great skill required, not only to draw people out but to record and to select. In this latest book, *The Man Inside*, Tony Parker has prepared an anthology, a collage, a patchwork of comment, poems and prose from those who have a direct experience of imprisonment in some way or another.

The subject of this book is not about individuals in distress but about imprisonment itself and the effect it has on those who participate (mostly those who are serving long sentences), and also those concerned with them: their wives, the staff directly involved with incarceration and the welfare staff. The contributions are anonymous. The subject is treated as a continuous thread, without chapter divisions, taking us through from conviction to discharge with an observation on each part. All aspects of imprisonment are covered, including the perception of the experience, work, attitudes towards authority, visits, letters, attempts at self-improvement and self-occupation, attitudes towards society, the perception of time-passing, adjusting negatively, the reality of "treatment" and the after-effects when at liberty.

Impressions can only be subjective and the over-all impression to this reviewer is one of dark depression. There is only the sense of futility and waste and the sour taste of self-pity. As always, no solutions are offered, just the implicit feeling that this is how it is—and it's terrible. The critical faculty, however, observes that this may, or may not be how it is. But it is certainly how Tony Parker sees it. With a wealth of material there must be selection, with a wide range of those available to talk choice has to be made. Further, if an interviewer's views are well known, then to some extent those interviews tend to polarise, either for or against the opinion of the interviewer—few can remain neutral. An analysis of one "subject" may help to illustrate this. Pages 48–62 have 13 contributions. The first from a prisoner (Victor aged 40, armed robbery, doing 10 years) says the system has the effect of making him hate authority. Of the remainder, six contributions are by prisoners, six are by staff. A summary of one prisoner's views is that officers are unfeeling; another would like to kill an officer stone-dead, that there are only nasty men now; another that an officer fills him with absolute loathing and he would like to squash the life out of him like a beetle; and another that officers are sadists at heart, are thoughtless automatons. On the credit side, it is felt that there used to be nicer ones around, that there are one or two you might have a drink with in a pub, one or two come in thinking they might do some good. A summary of the officers' view about themselves is that when a prisoner writes: "All screws are bastards", the officers would be inclined to agree, for "If we were anything else but bastards we wouldn't be screws". One says: "If you work up to your neck in shit all day you're bound to stink a bit yourself, aren't you?" Another, that he came into the Prison Service because he was brought up in an orphanage and thought of doing nothing else, another considers that he is living a life sentence longer than any prisoner, another sees himself despised both by prisoners and by the public, and another enjoys it because he prefers the company of criminals, feeling that he could easily have been a criminal himself. Whilst the reviewer is not prepared to deny that these observations were made, he, like anybody with personal experience in this field, is entitled to query whether they are in any way representative.

The illustrations are sincere in intent but derivatively surrealist in style and do not add significantly to the text. Despite these reservations, the important aspect of the book is that here is collected a matchless witness to prisoners' self-image. There is a directness of feeling, rawness of emotion and suffering. There is little artifice and less that is phoney, and for anybody working in the prison scene it is a cautionary tale. The critical faculties should not be lowered. But here prisoners are speaking in a way that few have been able to do in face to face encounters with authority figures, and what they have to say is relevant.

> "*The silence is full of shrieking that nobody hears*", writes a prisoner—
> GEOFF B. (21).
> *Offence:* Murder.
> *Sentence:* Life.

Perhaps, if nothing else, the book teaches the reviewer and reader to listen more carefully in future.

M. F. G. SELBY,
Governor, Chelmsford Prison.

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VANDALISM

Edited by COLIN WARD

Architectural Press, 1973. £7.50

"REDUCE GLAZING TO A MINIMUM.
Rainwater pipes should be fitted internally.
SMALL HIDDEN RECESSES SHOULD BE AVOIDED.
A high level of illumination must be provided in high risk areas.
BARRIERS SHOULD PREFERABLY BE UNCLIMBABLE."

ANY designer of a category B dispersal prison would be grateful to his client for such well meaning snippets of advice. They are intended, however, for more universal application. In the longest of all the essays in this important new collection, the author presents a well tabulated list of similarly depressing commonsense injunctions, under the general heading "The Designer's Contribution".

Little comfort here then for any architect still wedded to a belief that the physical environment can somehow be manipulated to exert a beneficial influence on social behaviour. Architectural determinism, it would appear, is currently out of fashion, although after reading the book as a whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that planners and designers must take their share of responsibility for the conditions in which vandalism thrives.

The book divides into four broad sections, in the first of which Stanley Cohen restates his now familiar typology of vandalism and with the help of other contributors, mainly from his own field of sociology, convincingly destroys the popular stereotype-image of the vandal. The second section is largely devoted to prophylactic advice of the kind quoted above, the stereotypic vandal stamping his image on every page, while the third offers a diversion into the field of "legitimised vandalism" on the part of public authorities and developers. Some sorry case histories of environmental spoliation through apathy, mismanagement, philistinism and greed are described—by contrast with which the efforts of the common vandal fade to insignificance.

The final section of the book returns to the main theme and seriously considers the various solutions to common vandalism that have been offered, giving a brief but challenging glimpse into the future. Deliberately the editor has chosen not to exercise his right to impose a consistent approach, and indeed it is difficult to imagine any common ground that all contributors could share. Yet the diversity of assumptions does rather take the breath away.

A few scant references are made to property destruction carried out by the inmates of institutions. A future edition of the book—and certainly it deserves an extended life, perhaps in paperback form—could well include a study of what is popularly called vandalism in our penal establishments. Official statistics reveal interesting variations in the pattern of "wilful damage to property" as between one type of establishment and another.

The very high incidence of cell smash-ups at remand centres, for example, might be seen to lend support to Laurie Taylor's thesis in the first section of the book that it is not so much the environment itself that matters as the individual's conceptualisation of it. The essay refers to research carried out on long-term prisoners in a maximum security wing, whose reactions to their environment were shown to be determined by problems of personal relationship rather than the physical characteristics of their place of confinement. The author draws an analogy with those members of society who find themselves alienated from the world at large and have few means of expression other than the simple act of "scrawling obscenities on the cell wall".

In his final chapter, the editor interprets this writing on the wall in more positive terms, as a healthy affirmation of human values in an increasingly regimented society—and envisages a more malleable environment in which acts of "creative" vandalism can be contained. In this context one can perhaps consider that astonishing example of inmate participation when the old borstal recall wing at Holloway was painted in a riot of psychedelic colour, remote indeed from officially sponsored standard schemes of decoration.

Perhaps this is an over-optimistic view. But it is distinctly possible that the future pattern of our society may depend upon our response to the kind of signals the vandals are sending out. For this reason alone, Colin Ward's volume, for all its unevenness, should be required reading.

G. J. HAWKINS,
Former North Regional Architect.

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MEDICAL CARE OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES

CIBA FOUNDATION SYMPOSIUM 16 (new series)

Elsevier/Excerpta Medica/North-Holland, 1973. £5 approximately

THE symposium which inspired this book had, as its participants, a group of articulate

and informed professionals from several related disciplines. Many nations were represented covering a wide spectrum of penal establishments. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Anthony Storr, the papers presented and the subsequent discussions resulted in a work of practical value and absorbing interest.

In this symposium we are given such a wealth of excellence that it is perhaps misguided to select particular areas for scrutiny. Nevertheless there are three papers which may hold particular interest for our readers and therefore justify special mention. P. Boissier, director of the Henry-Dunant Institute, Geneva, writes on "Standards of Medical Care and Protection in Detention Camps". The subject has obvious and important implications at this time and the paper is a clear evocation of the problem by an eloquent sensitive man with long and intimate experience of this unpleasant phenomenon. It should be required reading for those currently engaged, or contemplating work, in such communities.

Those of you immersed in the work of the English Prison Medical Service will, no doubt, have moments of frustration in attempting to clarify the functions and purpose of the system. The paper by Dr. W. J. Gray, medical superintendent at Grendon, should offer some degree of optimism. Beginning with a succinct and highly informative historical background he goes on to enunciate with clarity and precision the present philosophy, the practical situation and the aims and aspirations of his institution. Surely a paper deserving of distribution throughout the Service.

Dr. P. D. Scott is internationally recognised as an authority in his subject. To those of us in the Prison Service he is a continual source of guidance and learning. His paper on "Violence in Prisoners and Patients" further enhances his reputation. Beginning with a general description of institutions and their inter-relationships he moves on to a biological consideration of non-adaptive behaviour. Having clarified the issues we are introduced to the reality of violent behaviour in the prison setting and given an acceptable interpretation of its origins and manifestations. Mention is made of those individuals, familiar to all who work in prison, who comprise a group seldom referred to by visiting academics or those dignitaries who wander through our institutions in a cloud of well meaning altruism. With compassion and understanding the bully, the sadist, the "possessed" immigrant and the grossly psychotic psychopath come under scrutiny. Practical advice for care is given and exacerbating factors in these and other common problem situations are brought to our attention. Finally, there is a discussion of the regime of the institution and its influence on aggressiveness. In essence we are provided with a basis for effective intervention in dangerous behaviour. The fascinating and informative dialogue which followed this paper was a reflection of its substance.

Of the 12 papers in this symposium I have mentioned only three in any detail because of the particular appeal which it might be assumed this selection would have for readers of this journal. However, all the papers have direct relevance to those working in penal establishments. Some readers may find a clarification of fears and aspirations which have lain dormant in the sometimes confused setting of our working lives.

It is comforting to discover a shared suspicion of aversion therapy and other conditioning techniques except when used as a support for the patient's primary motivation. An equally realistic appraisal is made of attempts at prediction of dangerousness. A number of important generalities emerge which serve as pointers for future action and discussion. They include an observation on how very ill-informed the general public is about prisons and how tendentious is the literature on the subject; the need for small institutions; how doctors must avoid confining themselves to medical matters, and the destructive tendency for prisons to become isolated in the community. Perhaps the most important and difficult is the need to feed back information regarding our mistakes.

The book commands our involvement in the subject and the setting of a symposium imparts an unusual quality of intimacy. Astute and imaginative editing has clarified essentials while retaining the apparently irrelevant but revealing snatches of dialogue.

The information provided in this book is given added savour by the emerging personalities of the participants. On occasion their aggression can be seen to act as a catalytic agent. The stimulating effect of verbal interplay elicits humour, affront and disciplined reasoning.

This is, then, a useful and stimulating book which speaks with the authenticity peculiar to expert practitioners in a difficult field. I endorse the final remarks of the chairman: "If you have all learned as much from this symposium as I have, you will have learned a very great deal".

IAN STEWART,
Medical Officer, Norwich Prison.

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THE DRUG PHENOMENON: SOCIAL ASPECTS OF DRUG TAKING

ERICH GOODE

Bobbs Merrill, 1973. 65p

THIS is one of a series of sociological monographs which aim to review critically what the authors think to be the most significant research in the subject, to discuss the central theoretical and methodological issues, and to make suggestions for further reading.

This short book is clearly set out. It begins by attempting to find out "what is a drug", and maintains that it is simply anything which people define as such. The author continues with a brief discussion of six drugs with a public image, and shows how our views of these drugs and their effects are formed as a result of social conditioning rather than by objective considerations. In a section on "Turning On", the writer shows how the effect of availability does not adequately explain drug use. More important may be the influence of the peer group, and of parents. He indicates that parents who drink and smoke and who use prescribed drugs stand a significantly higher chance of raising children who will experiment with, and use illegal drugs. The author goes on to look at the way in which behaviour tends to be judged popularly in absolute terms, as being right or wrong in itself. He considers that this attitude plays a central part where deviance is imputed to other people. In conclusion he examines three instances of the inter-relationship between social setting and drug-taking, and shows how the popular conception of what these drugs do is incorrect.

This is a most interesting book which provides a stimulating introduction into the subject of drugs and society, an area where there is much prejudiced and muddled thought. Whilst some may not agree with the author's conclusions, I highly recommend it.

JANE SEAMARK,
Assistant Governor, Bullwood Hall Borstal.

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THE CHARACTER TRAINING INDUSTRY

Adventure Training Schemes in Britain

KENNETH ROBERTS, GRAHAM E. WHITE and HOWARD J. PARKER

David and Charles, 1974. £3.50

THE kernel of this book is a piece of research into the effects of character training courses upon a group of teenagers in the light of aims expressed both by course organisers and sponsors. The description of the research is preceded by an historical and geographical guide to the character training movement. Outward Bound and Brathay Hall (called here the "establishment" in deference to their financial security), Locheil, Yorkshire Dales Adventure Centre, Adventure Training and the Sail Training Association, Blue Triangle, Macalister Brew and Kingsgate College are some of the better known courses. The description of their content and requirements will be useful to those sponsoring lads for a course. Outward Bound alone, in existence since 1946, has six schools and receives approximately 6,000 young people each year.

Three interesting chapters are devoted to the aims and expectations of the groups involved in a course—the organisers, the sponsors and the trainees. The organisers consulted saw the course in terms of personal development, a commitment to community service and the promotion of social harmony. Some also included leadership and the profitable use of leisure as desirable aims. Sponsors, usually members of the personnel staff from the trainees' firms, saw the aims as personal development, learning the ability to mix and developing qualities of leadership. Trainees, selected by the firm, often saw their selection as indicating that they were in need of some kind of personal development. More generally, however, courses were seen as a welcome break from work. Superficially the aims of the groups appeared compatible, but closer examination revealed inherent contradictions.

The clash between an instructor's own aims and those advertised by his organisation in order to attract custom from industry was an illustration of such contradiction. The publicity brochure may well emphasise what the course can do for the young man to enable him to contribute more effectively to his firm, while the course instructor may be more concerned with developing the lad's potential. The sponsoring firm, faced with the returned employee showing new found confidence and an ability to question his boss, may not feel it has received value for money.

Given the supposed effect of courses upon trainees as stated by organisers and sponsors, the researchers gave a questionnaire to two groups of youngsters in an attempt to measure this effect—one group about to go on a course,

the other having recently returned. Both groups were asked about job satisfaction, relationships with peers, intentions of staying with the firm, leisure pursuits and their concern for others. Little change in outlook or performance was noted between them. A few statistics showed some change: job satisfaction decreased by 14 per cent on return and those thinking of leaving their firm increased from 30 per cent to 46 per cent. The desire for an active holiday went up after the course from 10 per cent to 23 per cent. More significant to the researchers were the areas of no change. For example relationships with peers remained the same and there was no increased involvement in any kind of community service.

The authors concluded that the character training industry does not stand up to scrutiny because its manifest aims are not realised. There is little evidence in their research for any noticeable change in the behaviour or attitudes of those who attended. To quote: "Our conclusion . . . must therefore be that, whilst personalities may be affected, young lives are rarely reshaped by the schemes under scrutiny"—few of us ever believed otherwise, I think.

Having now read of their main findings, you may not feel inclined to acquire the book itself. I would argue, however, that it is important reading for all those involved in character training. The authors discuss the future of the movement with explicit reference to the use of such courses as one form of intermediate treatment. Our Service already avails itself of much that Outward Bound and other courses have to offer. Our growing involvement in community service is now a recognised part of the system. At present the general assumption is that such activities are "a good thing". Examination of these courses and their effects upon trainees may give weight to such assumptions. On the other hand, as this book has shown, they may be entirely misplaced.

C. J. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Governor at Wetherby Borstal.

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MANAGEMENT TRAINING FOR REAL

HAWDON HAGUE

Institute of Personnel Management, 1973.

£1.25; I.P.M. members 80p

A SMALL but apparently growing number of people who attend Staff College development courses say that their jobs increasingly involve personnel management. This is not always accompanied by any enthusiasm actually to read in this field, but Hawdon Hague's recent publication from the Institute of Personnel Management ought not to disappoint any member of the Prison Service who gives it his attention. Do not be misled by the title of this book, with its awful forebodings of American prose. The clear style and short sentence lengths of this compact paperback provide easy reading. (A still more concise statement of the author's thinking may be found in his article in the October 1973 edition of *Management Today*). The title indicates Mr. Hague's determination to emphasise the value of management training "in the real situation", an expression which appears at intervals during the book.

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate the flavour and essence of the author's case is to give a series of quotations in the order in which they are written:

> Changing (a man's) job, or coaching him in it, are important ways to train him, whether the planning and coaching is done by a line superior or a specialist. Other ways of using the real situation as a training vehicle are to set up projects: projects within the organisation and dealing with actual problems (p. 9).

> There is no doubt that the best method of management teaching, in the real situation or anywhere else, is good coaching by one's boss. . . . If all managers made a reasonable attempt to coach their subordinates, there would be no need of management trainers (p. 23).

> Whenever the practice is more difficult than the theory, coaching is appropriate (p. 36).

> There is rarely a shortage of project material as every firm has investigations it would like to make but has never got round to, policies that haven't been rethought for some years and assignments it is thinking of giving to consultants (p. 46).

> Training in the real situation is the most effective means of training, to be supplemented but not replaced by outside courses (p. 59).

> The higher a man is in the hierarchy, the more discretion he has on how he spends his time and the greater the probability that he will spend it badly. . . . Get a team to look at any manager who claims he has no time . . . until he admits either that he has time for development activities or that he is not up to his job (p. 76).

Apart from the matters dealt with in these quotations, the book also has important points to make about delegation, group processes, job rotation, management by objectives, career planning, the role of the trainer, the use of time, commitment and motivation, and appraisal.

In his conclusion Mr. Hague modestly states: "The concept of training in the real situation is not new". To many readers his attack on the training specialist may seem banal. Some will argue that the very reason why we have management training in the unreal situation (i.e. away from the place of work and not performed by the manager) is that training for real is known to be impracticable. Others, on the other hand, will want to argue that training as a specialist function is as much an indictment of current practice as is inmate welfare as a specialist function.

A useful comment on this division was made by Mr. E. T. Moorby in his article "The Manager as Coach" in the November 1973 edition of *Personnel Management:*

> Much of what is said about coaching could be said to go without saying. Unfortunately in many cases it is said without doing.

Mr. Moorby's article deserves to be read in conjunction with the book presently under review. It covers the questions of why managers feel they should coach, what benefits are gained, how coaching skills can be improved and the levels of achievement the coach should aim for.

His approach then is not totally novel. What is striking is his clarity of expression and his challenge to current practice accompanied by constructive alternatives.

A few disconnected misgivings which may occur to the reader deserve comment. Without defining the term, Mr. Hague frequently complains that managers waste much of their time on committees. Perhaps the reason is that the nature of the meetings they attend is undefined. In the strict sense, a committee is an autonomous body making corporate decisions. Its members either give their support to those decisions or resign because they are no longer able to do so. The chairman is there to order the procedure, not to order the outcome. However, most meetings below board level in an organisation are subject to higher decision-making authority and members as employees may not have the right to dissociate themselves from meetings with whose outcome they disagree. These factors indicate that such meetings are consultative in nature rather than autonomous.

Some readers may not care for the protestant-ethic tone of self-improvement through work which pervades the book. Like most writers on management who support this ethic Mr. Hague fails to discuss the place of job satisfaction in the total context of "life satisfaction". Along with the evangelistic tone there is advice on how to manipulate events to overcome resistance. This may be common-sense consultancy behaviour which it would be a dereliction of duty for the consultant not to employ but some readers may find this distasteful.

We can hardly assess the relevance of the approach to management training advocated in this book without re-examining the much-discussed question of the place of accountable management in public administration, and in the Prison Department in particular. A manager's job is justified by the extent to which he causes work to be done through the medium of others. By organising and motivating others he facilitates and enables their efforts. That is precisely why the catalytic role is common to manager and trainer, and why writers like Mr. Hague want to coalesce the two roles and in so doing emphasise the interconnection between appraisal and training. The manager is accountable for ensuring congruence between the employee's abilities, work level and reward, with all the attendant recruitment and training implications. Where are these people to be found in the Prison Department? Perhaps only at head office level, since staff in field establishments may be thought to be fellow practitioners at different levels of seniority rather than occupying manager-subordinate relationships. That may be felt to be a needless overstatement, but it is submitted that we cannot talk seriously of management training, for real or for unreal, until we know who and where the managers actually are.

As he makes his way through the book, the reader may be left with the impression that the author assumes there to be a concentrated working environment. This contrasts strongly with the Prison Department with its employees dispersed throughout the country. It is interesting to find at the end of the book that outside assistance in training is considered more suitable where there is geographical scatter. A case study in one of the appendices starts as follows:

> This book has emphasised that courses should not occupy the central place in management training they have so far had, but there are times when there is no

alternative to a central course, for example when a firm's high fliers are scattered geographically.

Apart from the rather exclusive designation "high fliers", this partially describes the Prison Department's position. However, our actual geographical distribution raises the question of which training areas are most appropriate for implementation centrally, regionally and locally. Those involved in central training are in danger of working independently of those who will exercise permanent supervision of the trainees when they return to the field. Hence there has been a tendency at the staff college in recent years to move from a prescriptive approach towards consultation with course members and those who supervise them at the place of work. The notion of individualised development training has been under discussion for some months and the case study mentioned above continues with such a recommendation. In the field of projects there has been a move, not so far always successful, towards making projects strictly relevant to the perceived needs of the course members or, perhaps preferably still, to headquarters' perception of the material training should concentrate on. The alternative is project work leading to a report which is little more than a collective fantasy of the group members, and not anything which they have the authority or wish to put into practice. Changed methods of reporting back on projects (e.g. involving as many members as possible, requiring a verbal and visual presentation with a written summary only) are tendencies which it is gratifying to see recommended in this book. The removal of practitioners from the field to undertake training responsibilities for a limited period, as occurs in the Prison Service, is also advised.

Interesting though this may be, none of it should blind us to taking seriously the author's advocacy of a major devolution of training accountability to the real work setting. The practicability of *Management Training for Real* depends ultimately on its acceptability to those upon whom training responsibilities would thereby devolve.

DEREK TWINER,
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A NEW PORTRAIT OF SOCIAL WORK

BARBARA RODGERS and JUNE STEVENSON

Heineman Educational, 1973. £4.25

THIS book is a sequel to the first *Portrait of Social Work* written in 1957 by Barbara Rodgers and her colleague Julia Dixon after they had carried out a study of the personal social services in a northern town with a population of just under 100,000.

In 1969, Mrs. Rodgers and another colleague, Dr. June Stevenson, returned to the same town to see what developments there had been in the activities, training and deployment of social workers in the past 12 years. This was a particularly interesting project as it took place just prior to the reorganisation of the local authority personal social services, and the creation of the new, large all-purpose Social Services Department embracing the functions of the former Children's and Welfare Departments, and the Mental Health Services.

The book shows that during the period from 1957 to 1969 there had been a considerable increase in the number of social work staff within the town and in the proportion of trained staff (made possible by the expansion of courses at both graduate and non-graduate level). One sees the agencies considerably widening the scope of their work and recognising the importance of preventive as well as crisis work.

It would seem evident that during the 1960's a greater awareness of social work and the role it can play was developing in the town amongst other professionals and organisations and that there was much goodwill and co-operation. On the other hand there was still a good deal of room for improvement—complaints of lack of understanding of each others objectives and difficulties were still heard.

The book shows that social work services had grown during the period, and also that there had been a parallel expansion in residential and particularly domiciliary support services such as home helps and meals on wheels. The book demonstrates that it has thus become increasingly possible to think in terms of supporting clients within the community without having to resort to residential care, although social services are still a long way from achieving the desirable level of provision.

The authors show that within this self-contained northern town, in spite of the fragmented organisation of service delivery and the competition for scarce resources, the morale and motivation of the staff was good, and the opportunity existed for communication between statutory and voluntary agencies. There are of course other similar towns in England, but I think that one should not lose sight of the fact that the picture which might have been drawn from looking at a larger, more complex metropolitan area might have been less agreeable.

The book exposes some of the weaknesses of the era before reorganisation of the personal social services. With its proliferation of agencies, competition for scarce resources was fierce, and the allocation of resources was rarely governed by any scientific study of need, or attempt to define priorities. To some extent this highlights the lack of management skills in local government, which is only now gradually being corrected although, unfortunately, the concept of forward planning is still not universal.

Perhaps, in due course, another study will be carried out to examine the results and experience since reorganisation. I suspect, however, that the authors will be proved correct in the view they take that Social Services Departments have made their task infinitely more difficult by paying too much attention to the professional generic concept, and to solving immediate problems, and not enough to creating flexible organisations capable of achieving better defined tasks.

R. J. WILLIS,
Deputy Director of Social Services, Coventry.

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CHILDREN WHO KILL

PATRICK WILSON

Michael Joseph, 1973. £3.50

WHEN I was asked to review this book, I did so with interest as I had always felt that "children who kill" was a neglected area of criminology.

Patrick Wilson discusses the criteria for choosing his case material and his reasons for writing such a book. One of the reasons he gives is "a demonstration of what has happened to children accused of extreme violence during the past two centuries. . . .". He says that he does not intend to analyse the cases fully, but to record them. The documentation varies with the evidence available.

It is interesting to look at the range of "punishments": John Any Bird Bell (1831), who was convicted of murder was executed, but Alfred Fitz and John Breen (1855), who were convicted of manslaughter, were sent to Liverpool Prison for one year to keep them out of trouble and to have instruction from a schoolmaster and chaplain. On the other hand in 1957, a sentence was passed on Reginald Cooper that he be detained for a maximum of five years under the Children and Young Persons Act, after he had been found guilty of manslaughter.

From reading the account of each killing the violence perpetuated by these children seems far in excess of what one would expect.

It is interesting to note that the facilities for the "treatment" of children who kill are as scarce today as they seem to have been over a century ago. Perhaps this book may stir people to give consideration to treatment facilities for such children. If this should be the outcome, then this book will have been well worthwhile. It is well written and, I would hope, will encourage us to look again at the whole field of juvenile offenders.

W. A. WESTON,
Consultant Forensic Psychiatrist, Stanley Royd Hospital.

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ISSUES IN CRIMINOLOGY

FALL, 1973

Women, Crime and Criminology

For Lombroso:

"Even the female criminal is monotonous and uniform compared to her male companion, just as in general woman is inferior to man."

(*The Female Offender*, 1920.)

GIVEN this simple-minded interpretation, it is small wonder that the study of women and crime has received such partial attention. The wealth of references cited in this journal cast profound doubt on the interpretation. The references will be unfamiliar to any but the most specialised readership in this country, but the content of the articles deserves wider consumption.

Direct study of the work of the writers who developed the major trends in the study of female crime would appeal only to those seeking reinforcement of their anti-feminist views. An interesting survey of these works is provided in the first article, by Doris Klein. She resurrects such pseudo-scientific arguments as Pollack's, by which women are deceitful because the nature of female orgasm makes it possible to hide enjoyment of sex—or the lack of it—while men cannot do likewise. Menstruation, too, provides in its hiding enduring practice in deceit. According to this view, there are certain characteristics inherent in the female, and corresponding feminine crimes. Should the crime not fit, if it is open, aggressive or economically motivated—then

it is masculine and the female perpetrator is sexually maladjusted, probably suffering from penis-envy or chromosomal abnormalities. Violent crime in women is taken as showing women as rejecting their sex-role. If women *conform* to their sex-role, they are manipulative, cold, promiscuous, deceitful, emotional or passive instigators of crime. Behaviour of either type is sexually defined.

Klein demonstrates how these early theories depended upon white middle-class ideas of femininity and criminality which could not necessarily be applied through space and time. Her article is followed by a study of the Juvenile Court of Honolulu which examines the view that women are more rarely brought to court and are less severely dealt with. Although this is a wide issue, studied in a minute and even improbable setting, it is none the less enlightening. The court is shown to take a moralistic and paternalistic attitude. For offences which could be sexualised, girls were more frequently arrested and were more strictly penalised. The court takes crime in women as a sign of moral degeneracy, requiring long term "treatment" rather than short, sharp punishment. The extent to which such an attitude prevails beyond Honolulu may need to be determined, but it is an attitude which would go some way to explain the figures for females remanded in custody, police opposition to bail or the granting of bail tied by conditions of residence which, for women, are currently running contrary to the figures for men in this country.

Making the most of Dale Hoffman-Bustamente's article, "The Nature of Female Criminality", would require comparisons with appropriate statistics from elsewhere, but it is, nevertheless, the most interesting and significant contribution to the issue. In America, women make up 14.4 per cent of arrests for all crimes. Various explanations of this low figure are entertained before the author examines the categories of offence for which women exceed this percentage. Embezzlement provides a simple illustration. Women are more likely to be detected, since they have lower ranking jobs and are more regularly and closely supervised. They are less likely to have acquired the skills necessary to conceal their crime. Once detected, women are more liable to be prosecuted, since they lack the resources to make repayment. Arguments based on opportunity and socialisation are used, in a similar way, to explain the different circumstances in which men and women commit murder, without the need to resort to fantasies about ladylike poisoners.

The journal concludes with a dialogue with the eminent criminologist Marie Andree Bertrand and articles on rape and prostitution. Rape may seem out of place in an issue devoted to female crime, but the justification for its inclusion comes from the part played by the victim in provoking the crime and from the tendency to treat the victim as if they were to some extent criminal. However, in this instance the article does not justify its length or its digressions. Prostitution, on the other hand, is a natural inclusion, though it contributes nothing to the total impact of the issue.

The dialogue with Bertrand points out a number of failings in criminology. In selecting criminals as the object of study, the science singles them out, making them more distinctive and more disadvantaged by the attachment of the label. The study of crime is based almost entirely on those who are caught and brought to justice, having to work on the assumption that others are non-criminal. While society dictates what crime is and, so, who enters the criminal statistics, criminology fails in not studying the whole society. If applied to the narrower field of women and crime, these arguments gain strength in a society where men dominate law-making, the police and the court system and criminology itself. In focussing on women and crime—a potentially retrogressive exercise—this coverage succeeds in opening up many interesting questions which warrant pursuit in this country.

M. GORMAN,
Assistant Governor at Styal Prison.

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COUNCIL OF EUROPE

VIOLENCE IN SOCIETY

The Tenth Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, Strasbourg, 1973

COLLECTED STUDIES IN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH, VOLUME X

Methodological Aspects of Classification in Criminology, Strasbourg, 1973

THE papers from the Council of Europe are now deservedly well-known sources of thinking on criminological issues which go some way to redress the American dominance of the subject matter. These two volumes are valuable additions.

The first is an intimidatingly large document, giving the texts of the papers delivered at the conference. There is, however, a very helpful report from Dr. West which summarises the proceedings well. Particular interest may focus on the French attempt to provide comparative statistics of offences for a variety of European countries. The Swedish contribution on public opinion and criminal policy is also important, although it has to make do with very slight information. Probably the most relevant contribution is that from Professor McClintock which examines the context in which violence occurs and which acknowledges the challenge to orthodox criminology which has come from the more recent "phenomenological" school. One section of this paper briefly examines some new developments in forms of criminal violence; these are assuming increasing importance for the Prison Service. It is interesting to see that McClintock and others have a number of publications forthcoming which should provide a better understanding of the problems associated with violence and its control.

The second report features an article by Dr. Opp of the German Federal Republic and another by A. E. Bottoms. The first is a short examination of the essentially *scientific* problems of employing classification in criminology. The second is a very much more penetrating analysis of the theoretical base on which classification depends, relating this to all the significant contemporary theory and research. It is extremely thorough, well in the tradition established by Wilkins and Hood and Sparks in their contributions to the council. In his third section, Bottoms confronts the question of the sort of classification system demanded by attempts to deal in reformative treatment. In so doing, the author provides an invaluable bridge between the academic and the practitioner. But it is a bridge which should be tested by those with some sophistication in criminology.

M. B.

GROUPS IN SOCIAL WORK

MARGARET E. HARTFORD

Columbia University Press, 1972. £6

THIS book is an impressive attempt to draw together theories, research findings and experiences relevant to small groups, and to explore their use in social work. Dr. Hartford approaches her task in a direct and refreshingly clear way.

She attacks the mystique which surrounds the use of groups and which has developed with the research into their operation. Groups are not useful in all situations, she suggests: in some, they may actually be harmful. They can be more time-consuming and less efficient than individuals working alone.

Beyond dispelling some of the mystique of groups, this book moves towards their more appropriate use by examining group processes and by showing how groups can be used to attain certain desired ends. The formation of a group and the phases in its development are fully described together with a wide range of the research findings. The examination of goals indicates the effects (for any group) of differences between objectives as defined officially, by the leader, by individual group members, or by the group as a whole.

Two main purposes of groups in social work are identified. The first is to benefit the participants through personal development, or through rehabilitation. There is considerable experience of such groups in penal institutions, and Dr. Hartford provides a framework which should enable others to be more purposeful in their efforts to form groups and which should help leaders to act and intervene in groups they are already running.

The second purpose of groups is to bring about social change within the institution, community or society of which they are a part. This is the target of many groups in society at large, but the Prison Service also uses such groups to a limited extent in its institutions. The decreasing dependency of staff and inmates on the organisation may lead them to seek change in the organisation's structure, and this possibility should be recognised when a programme of groups is set up.

Dr. Hartford stresses that groups which have the aim of social change must believe that their decisions will be implemented and that they are not simply working to a previously conceived organisational blueprint. It is in reaching decisions that a collection of individuals becomes a "group". But such a group may be viewed with suspicion by others in the institution: for within the present structure and climate, the group decision-making may not seem appropriate. There is then a danger that those involved will become frustrated and become militant against the organisation's basic framework. So care is needed in considering the implications of a group working in an institution. It is here, too (especially in the Prison Service), that the boundary between the two purposes of groups in social work becomes blurred.

Dr. Hartford's book shows those responsible for a programme of groups, or for setting up a staff group structure, what the benefits and implications are. Some of the chapters will also be directly relevant to leaders of groups. This book provides us all with a greater insight into the potential of groups in our work.

T. C. NEWELL,
Deputy Governor of Hatfield Borstal.

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