

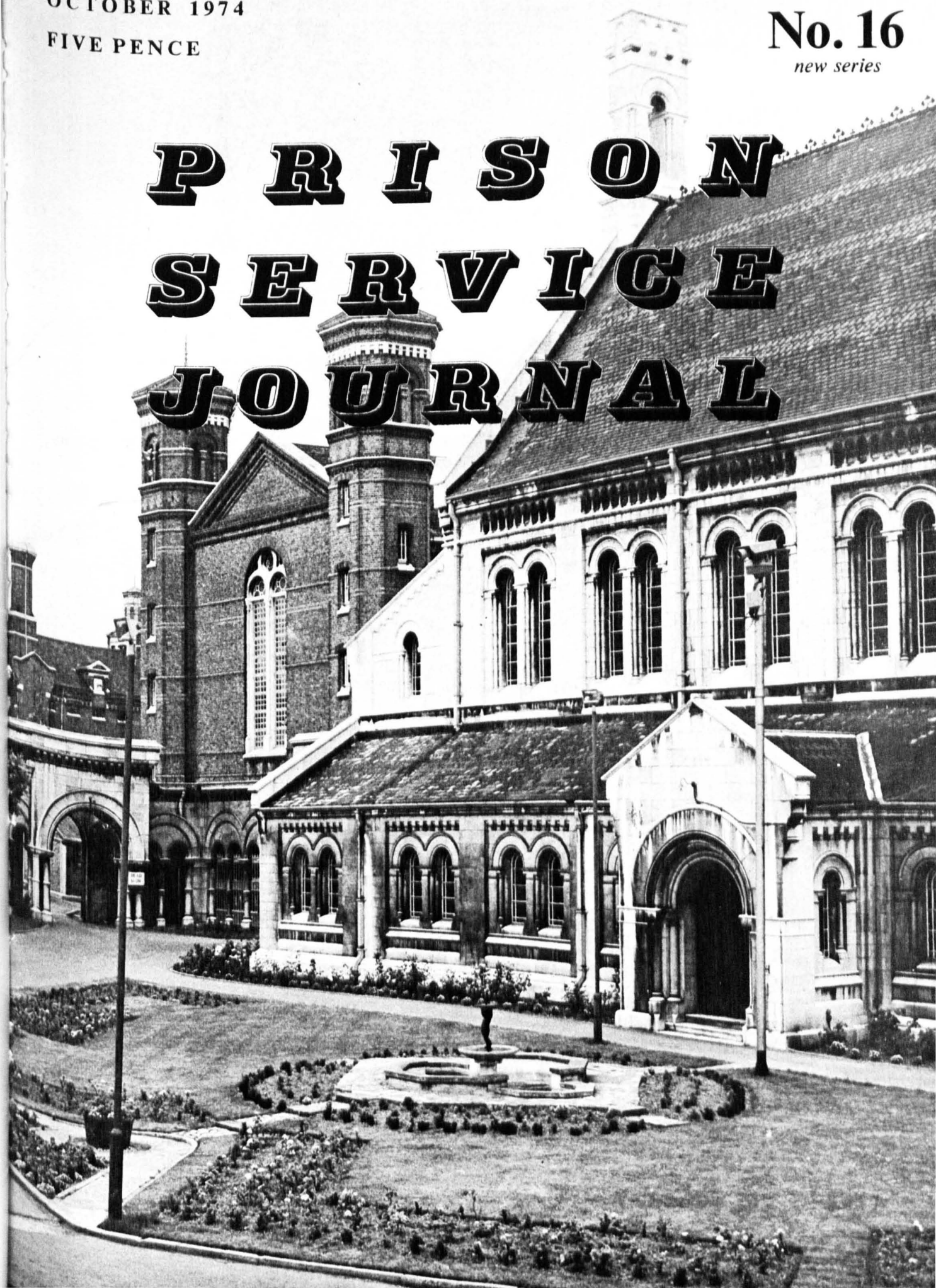
OCTOBER 1974

FIVE PENCE

No. 16

new series

P R I S O N S E R V I C E J O U R N A L



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Our cover picture shows the forecourt
Church of England chapel at H.M. Prison,
Wormwood Scrubs



PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Board: H.M. PRISON, LEYHILL, WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE, Glos.

For orders through H.M.S.O. for delivery by post:

Single copies . . . 10p

Annual subscription 35p for four quarterly issues

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EDITORIAL

It is not fashionable today to dwell much on the past—as a colleague was heard to say at a recent conference, “even nostalgia isn’t what it was”! Much of the history of the penal system in this country is probably better forgotten, for it is shot through with incredible stupidities, cruelties and ghoulish moralising which can today inspire nothing but disgust of the kind reserved for disingenuous politicians and uncharitable high priests.

Why, then, devote the major part of an issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL to what is virtually a short history of one of the oldest and most notorious of our nineteenth century white elephants? As the evocative phrase has it, if the walls of this prison could speak, theirs would be a terrible tale of misery, inhumanity and misdirected zeal. The centenary of such a monument to human failure seems hardly a fit subject for celebration.

But history is the stuff of which the present is made. Wormwood Scrubs (and many other buildings like it) is still very actively in use as a prison. And if a history is honest—that is, if it can steer a course between insincere sentiment and holier-than-thou strictures—it can do the present a unique service. It can remind us of the steps, logical or fortuitous, which have brought us where we are; it can correct our over-hasty condemnation of past mistakes by showing us how the excesses of our forebears were not, as it is so easy to assume, the product of an atavistic brutality, but an inevitable response to the total conditions of their society, materially so different from ours.

So that the moral here is perhaps not that they were a harsh lot in those primitive days, and thank God we are more civilised now; but rather that Wormwood Scrubs still exists in 1974, the age of Concorde, *is still locking people up and likely to go on doing so for a long time to come*. This is the essential fact which future historians will record—and which generation, ours or the Victorians’, will come out better in the long-term judgement of a really enlightened culture? They at least believed in what they were doing, and built according to their beliefs. No one today believes in the Victorian prison any more, but no one, apparently, cares sufficiently to replace it.

Peter Leonard has written a brief but brilliantly perceptive account, admirably researched and stuffed full of gems of wisdom for those who run to read. His section on the “Young Offender” is held over to the January edition, where it will provide a logical spring-board for discussion of the A.C.P.S. Report which will be the main theme of that issue.

Young Adult Offenders

Report by The Advisory Council on the Penal System

(Chairman: the Rt. Hon. Sir Kenneth Younger, K.B.E.)

THIS YEAR, 21st May will prove to have been an important day for all those who work with young delinquents. On this date the Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System on the Young Adult Offender was made public and generally welcomed by the Home Secretary who promised wide consultation with all concerned, before its main recommendations were considered for implementation.

In many ways the report is unexceptionable and adheres closely to the Press previews which preceded it months before its official unveiling. Nevertheless it has exploded like a bomb-shell over the penological scene as various interest groups express their concern over its main recommendations.

It will be worthwhile trying to explore why it has caused such interest and cries of anguish, particularly at a time when its underlying beliefs appear to be fairly widely held. Perhaps it is because the main agencies involved—the Probation Service and the Prison Service—are both challenged outright as to their present effectiveness; the adequacy of supervision on the one hand and the effectiveness of containment on the other. It may also be that since Seeborn, both services have been destined to become inextricably linked, but the reality of what this could mean to both services is only now becoming clear, and as such possibly presents threats in both quarters. At the same time the public misgiving over the Children's and Young Persons' Act of 1969 and the increasing number of 15-year-olds coming to borstal is making certain people apprehensive of a more liberal interpretation of ways of dealing with a delinquent in the community.

The "Young Adult Offender" is an important document whose overall influence in the years to come is bound

to be immense. Not since the Gladstone Report of 1895 pointed the way to the first borstal has a review of this kind been carried out. With institutional success rates being what they are it can hardly be denied that such a review was necessary.

The main concept underlying its proposals is that the majority of offences committed by the young offender stem from some failure in his ability to cope with his social situation. As it is inevitable that he must face this situation again on release from custody, the report thinks that possibly the greatest hope of helping him to avoid offending again in future is for him to be dealt with as far as possible within his own social situation rather than segregated in the artificial conditions of an institution.

Acceptance of this underlying theme explains not only why the report recommends dealing with more offenders in the community but also why, when custody is eventually seen as unavoidable, arrangements should be made so that offenders can be sent to establishments as near to their homes as possible.

This would have the added advantage of facilitating contact between the offender, his family and the probation officer and of making the new custody and control order a meaningful whole, so that whilst in custody and afterwards during supervision, the resources of the institution and of the community can be best utilised in the overall interests of the individual concerned. The extreme flexibility of the order inevitably highlights this close working relationship between each institution and the probation officer representing the local situation from which the offender came.

It also recommends that the present distinction between Y.P. centres, borstal,

and detention centres should disappear. Establishments should be grouped on an area basis so that within each area a wide range of facilities could be made available. Further, these new establishments should be "educational" in the broadest sense and should aim "to motivate the offender toward change and maturation and to relate his present and future educational and employment needs". Many of the basic beliefs underlying the running of the institutions are challenged.

"Staff of all grades . . . will need not only to offer direct help when required but also to manage the establishment in such a way that communication takes place freely, that hostility and conflict are avoided or absorbed and that its total influence is seen to operate in a constructive and helpful way."

This is a challenge, an ideal we should all be aiming at and one already achieved in many establishments. The management and training implications are obvious. At a time when it is suggested resources need to be diverted to helping the offender in the community it must not be forgotten that more resources will be required to facilitate in institutions the developments the report itself advocates.

It is time we took a long hard look at what we and our colleagues in the Probation Service are doing with those entrusted to our care. This report has initiated a most healthy debate concerning young offender treatment and it is to be hoped that the consultation now taking place (a welcome innovation in itself) will lead to a realistic re-appraisal of what we are doing and where we should go from here.

In view of the importance of the Young Adult Offender Report the whole of the January issue will be devoted to looking at its implications and analysing its main proposals.

Wormwood Scrubs Prison

A Short History

PETER J. LEONARD

I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH PRISONS

FOR many reading this essay an introduction to prison history is unnecessary. But some, particularly those outside the Service, may find it helpful. Like Macaulay I have seldom thought it necessary to cite authorities in my introduction but there my resemblance to any historian, alive or dead, ends.

Prisons of one form or another have existed in England from the earliest times. Dungeons in castles, secure rooms in gate-houses, attics above taverns have all been used to contain prisoners, and in 1166 Henry II ordered the building of prisoners' cages at the assize of Clarendon.

Until the end of the eighteenth century prisons were used mainly for the containment of prisoners awaiting trial, those sentenced to death or transportation and debtors hoping for the discharge of their liabilities. Gaolers ran them as lucrative enterprises renting rooms or buildings from private landlords and charging prisoners a fee for their reception, discharge, food, bedding and water. In most cases the gaolers leased to local tradespeople the right to sell goods within the prison and hired out selected prisoners as labourers. In 1774 Mr. Popham, the member for Taunton, introduced a Bill into the House for the abolition of gaolers' fees but the iniquities of the system remained until well into the nineteenth century.

"Punishments were usually of a physical and sanguinary character; mutilation continued up to the reign of Henry III, and treason meant breaking on the wheel, while stealing from a house was punished with loss of eyes and other mutilation. Sentence of imprisonment and fine began to appear about the time of the reign of Edward I,

and such fines were the perquisites of the Crown. The subordinate officials undoubtedly also had their share of such fines. As time went on things unfortunately did not improve, and many perished of hunger, disease and even torture in prison. Torture (the rack) developed after 1468, under the Tudors; in 1530 an Act was passed authorising prisoners to be boiled alive. Heretics were burned at the stake, and the same punishment was meted out for high treason or for the murder of a husband by the wife." (This burning remained legal until 1790.)¹

As well as being forced to pay exorbitant fees prisoners were subjected to dreadful physical conditions in early English prisons. Gaolers were not prepared to spend money on restoring the decaying fabric of buildings, providing heating, lighting or furniture, or making adequate sanitary arrangements. For the most part straw thrown down on the open sewer floor served as bedding and light came from tiny ventilators high in the roof or open grills in the door; no gaoler was prepared to spend more than necessary on the window tax in force from 1696 until 1851.

It is hardly surprising that many prisoners died of disease before being brought to trial. Typhus or "gaol fever", spread by lice, thrived on the insanitary and overcrowded conditions but was not confined solely to the prisoners. At the Oxford Assize of 1577, known as the "Black Assize", several hundred people, judges, officers of the court and members of the public died after contracting the disease brought into the court by prisoners from the adjoining gaol. In London in 1750 the

Lord Mayor, two judges and several other officials died from typhus spread to the court by inmates from neighbouring Newgate. To protect the court officers from the ravages of this disease and the offensive smells issuing from the gaols, the practice grew up of strewing sweet smelling herbs and flowers on the floor of the assize court rooms.

In addition to this medical and magical carpet judges were presented with posies of fresh flowers into which they could bury their noses whenever the smell got unbearable. (The "Clerk to the Judges Ceremonial" informed me recently that even with the advent of Crown courts judges are still presented with posies at certain courts.)

During the 1500's "bridewells" and "houses of correction" came into existence and operated alongside "common gaols" in the enforcement of law.



After leaving agricultural college Peter Leonard spent five years in retail management before joining the Prison Service as an officer. He worked at Feltham and Finnamore Wood Camp and Wormwood Scrubs. He is now a tutor at Wakefield O.T.S.

Although there was a difference in original intent between these three institutions, in practice the difference became blurred so that by the eighteenth century they all served the same function.

During the late eighteenth century mounting pressure on the legislature brought about two important Acts which substantially changed penal practice in England. In 1776, courts were empowered to send convicted criminals to prison with hard labour and two years later a Bill was passed to establish a penitentiary to house transportable convicts not sent to the colonies. It was increasingly difficult to persuade colonial administrators to accept transported convicts and public feeling was that much useful, able-bodied labour was being sent abroad when it could be gainfully employed at home. At first the convicts were detained in the notorious hulks, which did not finally disappear until 1857, where conditions were even worse than in the prisons. Some convicts were put to work on large public projects but mainly they were detained below decks, cramped, under-fed and brutalised.

The much-needed national penitentiary, "Millbank", was begun in 1812 on land in Tothill fields bought by Jeremy Bentham, the social philosopher and philanthropist, from Lord Salisbury. John Howard inspired some of the work and the regime adopted when the prison was eventually opened; Sir Robert Smirke superintended the erection and the builders were Want and Richardson who had established a fine reputation building the Military College at Sandhurst.² Unfortunately, as I show later, the building was inade-

quate, the land unsuitable and from the outset the new prison was troubled by difficulties and disease.

In 1850 "public works" or "convict" prisons, where prisoners serving more than two years' penal servitude passed their sentences, were brought under the control of Central Government through the establishment of the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons. Transportation was entering its final years and new establishments were needed to house long sentence prisoners. The directors were empowered to acquire and open new establishments and take over the management of Millbank.

Other prisons remained in the care of justices or sheriffs until 1877 when all prisons were "nationalised" and placed under the control of the Prison Commissioners (although the Directors of Convict Prisons did survive as a body for a few years) the Prison Commission was incorporated into the Civil Service proper in the early 1960's when it became the Prison Department of the Home Office.

One of the directors of convict prisons and first chairman of the Prison Commissioners was Sir Edmund DuCane. Born in 1830, the son of a major in the 20th Light Dragoons, DuCane entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich and was commissioned in the Royal Engineers in 1848. He helped with the building of the Great Exhibition in 1851 but most of his working life was concerned with prisons. In Australia he organised convict work and served for a time as visiting magistrate to penal stations. In 1863 he became surveyor general of military prisons, inspector of military

prisons and was appointed a director of convict prisons. He remained in the army until 1887 and retired from the Prison Service in 1895. DuCane was made a K.C.B. in 1877 mainly for his work in connection with the Prison Act of that year.

"Upon a general review of the management of English and Welsh prisons under the existing methods laid down by the legislation and regarding the treatment and condition of the prison population objectively, we consider that the long and able administration of Sir Edmund DuCane has achieved a large measure of success."³

To maintain an interest in military prisons, help to plan and build at least one large convict prison and bring all the prisons in England and Wales under the control of a single authority was a massive goal which DuCane achieved.

"He was a courteous gentleman of the old school and, on any question of departmental governance, unless one trod on his toes, of a hearty and cordial manner to all his colleagues... I unfortunately did tread on his toes and I cannot remember that he ever spoke to me again."⁴

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II

A "MODEL" PRISON: THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

THERE are two Wormwood Scrubs, the one a large tract of open grassland on which Londoners play sport, picnic and exercise their dogs; the other is the prison, still plainly visible across the open common land from the railway line into Paddington. Its other aspects now are largely obscured by Hammer-smith Hospital to the east, a 1913 housing development to the west, and the embankment of the Central Line

to the south. When our story opens, though, this was all open land.

For some time Millbank Prison, the national penitentiary standing beside the Thames at Pimlico, had been condemned. Though little more than 50 years' old it no longer met the modern Victorian requirement of allowing the easy control of prisoners with a small number of staff. The cells were damp and unhealthy and the land on

which the prison stood had become quite valuable. Construction techniques of the day had not been equal to the task of raising a substantial permanent building on the very marshy ground within the cost specified. The actual cost of erection far exceeded the estimates and considerable amounts were spent on trying to rectify defects which became apparent soon after completion. Although a number of

distinguished men were associated with Millbank, particularly in its early years, and had given a great deal of thought to its design and regime they were essentially idealists with little knowledge of building methods or the practicalities of prison administration.¹

By the 1870's the directors of convict prisons had decided that a new prison of modern design should be built. Eventually a site was chosen at East Acton in the parish of Hammer-smith, sufficiently remote from any large centre of population but with adequate road and rail communications near at hand. Part of an estate belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the site, in all about 20 acres, was of heavy clay quite suitable for brick-making. Negotiations took place during 1873 and on 9th August the sale was agreed and the price fixed. On 19th March 1874 the freehold was conveyed and the purchase price of £10,019 9s. 7d. paid.²

Chief architect of the new convict prison was to be the chairman of the directors of convict prisons, Major-General Edmund DuCane. During his career DuCane had proved himself to be a competent engineer and surveyor, having a reputation for thrift, careful planning and an eye for detail. He quickly set about the task of organising the work for the new prison and resolved that prisoners should be trained in the necessary skills and erect the entire prison themselves.

"The first step was to prepare at Millbank and Pentonville convict prisons temporary buildings of iron and wood to house 100 convicts with their warders. These were put up by free labour . . . and surrounded by a wooden hoarding. This temporary structure was then declared a prison."³ A new convict prison had been started a year earlier at Borstal (a village near Rochester) and there, too, convicts were used for the construction work. There was no temporary prison for the prisoners to live in, instead they were taken daily to the site from Chatham Prison until sufficient cells could be occupied. In the case of Wormwood Scrubs, DuCane explains the need for the iron-lined wooden huts by saying it was felt, ". . . the daily conveyance of prisoners through the Metropolis to work there might cause apprehension".⁴

On 14th December 1874 nine "special" class convicts moved into the temporary prison and started on the task of enlarging it. The free workmen were discharged and by May 1875 the accommodation had been increased

to 195 cells. Offices, a cookhouse and a workshop had also been built. To ease the task of bringing up the materials and supplies that would soon be required in large quantities, a sound road was needed to connect the prison with the nearest public road which lay half a mile to the east. The major problem during that first winter was in getting men and supplies across the fields to Wood Lane, as the deputy governor explained in his first annual report: "During the first month or two the weather was extremely severe, at times our only means of communication was by sledge across snow or deep, tenacious mud which made the track nearly impassable". Further on he says: "Work of the first importance was to construct a good hard track or roadway to Wood Lane, this took 1,863 cubic yards of brick ballast made of clay excavated and burnt for the purpose . . .".⁵

Entrance to the temporary prison through the palisading was by way of a wooden gate-keeper's lodge which was destroyed by fire early in 1875. A new one was soon begun (along with workshops for smiths, stone sawyers and other artisans) and offices for the clerk of works were built. Various sheds and engines for use in brick-making were installed. "D" Hall, the first block of the permanent prison, was started on 8th August 1875, by which time a water supply adequate for the brick mills had been laid on.

The "radial" design was largely followed for prisons built during the second half of the nineteenth century, Pentonville, built in 1842, being generally regarded as the "model" prison of the Victorian period. DuCane, however, departed from this tradition by erecting four large parallel cell blocks connected by covered passageways. He explains: "The idea of making blocks radiate from a common centre was abandoned as it was decided that the balance of advantage was against it in this case. The cell blocks, therefore, are arranged in parallel, running north to south". The prisoners, he felt, would benefit from this simple layout for "All the cells under this arrangement can have some light on them at some time of the day. There are no damp, dark corners or courts as there must necessarily be in a radiating plan and the cell windows of one block do not overlook the yard attached to another block".⁶

One of the main criticisms of Millbank was its very complicated plan. "Angles at every 20 yards, winding staircases, dark passages, innumerable doors and

gates, all these bewilder the stranger and contrast strongly with the extreme simplicity of modern prison architecture".⁷ So complicated was it in fact that Griffiths relates the story of one old warder who served many years at the prison and rose to a position of trust yet was totally unable to find his way about. He always carried a piece of chalk with him and used this to blaze his trail. Only by watching for the chalk marks could he find his way back to his starting point.⁸

THE BRICKS AND MORTAR

Although the first block of Wormwood Scrubs was not completed and finally roofed until 1878 it was not necessary to wait until then to occupy it with prisoners. As each tier of cells was finished the arches above were cemented over and a tarpaulin stretched across the central part to make the building weather-proof. Work then commenced on the tier above until that too was cemented over and tarpaulined, in this way each row of cells was occupied as soon as the cement had dried.

By June 1879, when "B" Hall was started, the temporary prison had probably been vacated and made ready for conversion into a Roman Catholic chapel, a workshop and matron's quarters. "C" Hall was complete apart from needing a last coat of paint and the electric cell-bells wiring up, "D" Hall had been finished and fully occupied for several months. The permanent kitchen, bakehouse and boiler house, built between the two inner cell blocks, were completed by October 1880 and on 6th November 1882 "B" Hall was finished and completely occupied by convicts.

The prison continued to expand and in his report for the year ending 31st March 1885 the governor was able to report ". . . the following buildings have been completed and are now in use for the purpose for which they are intended. The entrance gate, jury room, tailors' shop, two blocks of subordinate officers' quarters and conversion of the steward's store in the temporary prison into a shoemakers' shop. But the completion of the prison gate is the most important addition to the prison, not only as being a sufficiently strong entrance to the establishment but also that it contains accommodation for and is occupied by all the single discipline officers of the prison who would be available for immediate service at night should an emergency arise".⁹

The large protestant chapel which

has impressed so many visitors to the prison over the years was roofed and completely finished in 1890, and by the following year "A" Hall, the last of the cell blocks to be erected, was fully occupied by prisoners. The prison was now virtually finished; as well as the cell blocks, chapel, workshops and central services the convicts had completely built, in a little over 16 years, separate hospitals for male and female prisoners, separate buildings for reception, quarters for subordinate and superior officers and a high wall to surround the prison buildings.

Altogether about 35,000,000 bricks were made on the site, those not used at Wormwood Scrubs being sent elsewhere. Stone for the building was quarried at Dartmoor and Portland convict prisons, iron castings made at Portland and carpenters', joiners' and blacksmiths' work done at Millbank and Chatham. According to DuCane the total cost of the building was £97,155 or £70 7s. per cell which compared very favourably with other prisons of the time which had cost between £130 and £198 per cell when erected by contract. The temporary prison had cost £3,270 to make and erect and the officers' quarters £12,532.

In all, DuCane had good reason for saying: "The construction of this prison affords an example not only of the use which may be made of convict labour, but also the saving which may be effected by it".¹⁰

DISEASE AND DEATH AND DISCIPLINE

Health among convicts employed on the construction work seems to have been generally good, there were few outbreaks of serious disease and accidents were minimal "... due to precautionary measures at all times taken by the officers, as it is a well known fact that convicts are invariably reckless in all their movements".¹¹ In September 1880 there was an outbreak of typhoid which affected staff and inmates. All recovered and an extensive inquiry by the Medical Inspector of Prisons, Dr. Gover, soon revealed "Two cesspools . . . in the prison grounds some distance from the buildings, they were cleansed, deodorised and filled in". Whether they were the source of the infection is not clear but "As a further sanitary measure all available ground within the prison enclosure . . . was sown with root seed".¹²

In the same report the medical officer states: "During the last few months a great number of prisoners

have been received from Pentonville Prison so far below average in physique and strength as to necessitate a modification in the labour demanded of the parties formed of such men".¹³ Gradually the health of these men was improved, assisted by a modified diet and special light labour, but the treatment had repercussions for it incited "... strong and able-bodied men upon the works to present themselves before the medical officer as casual sick in the hope of importunity or deception prevailing upon him to recommend them for less arduous labour, which they see others doing".¹⁴

In October 1880 the only fatal accident occurred when two prisoners working under the eaves of "B" Hall died after the scaffolding on which they were standing gave way.¹⁵ There were a number of less serious accidents, as the medical officer records, but in general the safety record was good.

Control of the prison was maintained by a harsh, unsentimental discipline imposed on convicts and officers alike. True, the officers were not birched or given a reduction in diet but, as we shall see, they were often punished severely for trivial offences. The routine of the working day began for prisoners at 5 a.m. when they were to rise, wash, and clean their cells. Breakfast was served at 5.40, slops were collected and at 6.40 the prisoners were unlocked for the labour parade which took place at 7 a.m. From 6.05 p.m. until 7.45, when they went to bed, they were allowed to read and write letters and exchange their clothing.

The prisoners' desire to get away from this frugal existence must have been great but there is no record of any successful escapes from the temporary prison, on the contrary DuCane says: "The temporary nature of buildings did not lead to any escapes or combined insubordination and in fact there has been but one escape since the prison was opened in 1874 even though 7,030 convicts have passed through it". (1889).¹⁶

We know, however, from the deputy governor's annual reports that there were several attempted escapes. In 1875 "... a prisoner at the brick mill ran from his party and tried to burrow a hole beneath the boundary fence with an old iron poker but he was almost immediately captured". On another occasion a convict "... in one of the wings of the temporary prison unscrewed a portion of the sheet-iron lining of his cell thus gaining access to the lower portion of his cell window. He tried to cut the latter out bodily

with his tin dinner knife converted into a rough saw, but the attempt was detected in the morning when the work was still quite incomplete".¹⁷

As Thomas has pointed out, any attempt at mass insubordination or co-ordinated escape on a large scale was thwarted by the administration which imposed a rule of silence and kept prisoners in virtual isolation from their fellow inmates by not allowing free association.¹⁸ Prisoners of all classes were exercised in single file and in silence and any prisoner caught talking was punished.¹⁹ Conversation among prisoners at work was not impossible though and Charles Cook, who visited Wormwood Scrubs in about 1890, describes the skill which experienced prisoners had in speaking undetected. "Coming out of the prison we walked into the fields where men were at work, some 10 or 12 being in the care of each officer. It is impossible to keep them from talking, they are supposed not to talk but they do so and the warders know it. Without a movement of the mouth or throat an old lag will talk as distinctly as possible, it is impossible to know which of the party is talking".²⁰

THE MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY AND THE PUNISHMENT OF "WARDERS"

Today prison officers are not called warders, the old name implies dreary, unthinking drudges concerned only with the control and numbering of prisoners. Not that officers during the period under examination completely fitted this description either. Some worked as schoolmasters to the prisoners, others instructed them in crafts and trades while others were trained as nurses working within the prison hospitals. They were, however, subjected to a much harsher discipline than is the case today and the organisation was far more militaristic with many warders and governors being recruited direct from the armed services.²¹

Following various attacks in the newspapers on the integrity of warders and the discovery that trafficking with prisoners persisted and that governors were to be empowered to search staff, one officer wrote to a newspaper in December 1879. "Finding so much public attention directed to articles on our convict system appearing weekly in your columns, will you kindly allow me space in your valuable paper to

make a few remarks upon the circumstances of the convict warder.

"Before joining the Service a man must have an unimpeachable character. He must be recommended by an influential gentleman, in addition to this he must give the names of two respectable householders as references. With the latter the Civil Service Commissioners communicate and ascertain from them a history of the candidate's whole life, and if all is satisfactory, he is medically and otherwise examined, and if fit he is taken into the Service but with the distinct understanding he is to undergo three months' probation. At the end of this time if he is found to display sufficient tact and judgement, he is taken on to the permanent staff as an assistant warder. . . . An assistant warder commences at a salary of £70 per annum and may rise to £80 at the end of seven years' service. This may be considered a fair figure if nothing came to take the gilt off it. His time on duty is from 5.15 a.m. to 7 p.m. one day, and from 7 a.m. to 6.20 p.m. the next. . . . During the time he is on duty he may have 80 or more prisoners of the vilest description under his immediate charge, be accountable for their conduct, the due performance of each man's task, keep work-books, prisoners' mark-books and look after the many other little matters, and the slightest mistake on the part of an officer thus employed is visited with the heaviest penalty. For instance if he fails to detect a little dust in the corner of a prisoner's cell who is under his charge, if a prisoner's bed is not properly folded, in numbering a party of men if he happens to give one more or less than is in the party though he may correct his mistake in the twinkling of an eye, if one prisoner is seen to speak with another whilst at work, these and a host more unavoidable petty offences are visited by fines varying from one shilling to five shillings."

In the last paragraph of the letter he asks: "Discipline has been relaxed in the army and the navy, also among convicts why not extend the humane feeling to prisoners' guardians?"²²

If the discipline of officers within the walls was severe they could obtain some relief from their task which was not as boring as that of the civil guard who patrolled the outside of the walls. Pensioned military men under the charge of a superintendent, their role was to guard the outside perimeter and prevent anyone climbing the wall from escaping across the fields to freedom. They were armed with carbine

rifles but quite what deterrent effect this had is hard to assess.

Charles Cook recalls one escape attempt described to him during his visit. "The civil guard were mounted in small wooden huts all round the enclosure with loaded guns. Sometime before a convict escaped over the paling, he was shot at several times but not hit, he was eventually recaptured and brought back. . . ." ²³ Certainly that prisoner was not frightened off by the thought of being shot at and neither was the one mentioned by DuCane as the only prisoner to escape successfully during the first years.

F. W. Robinson, a journalist who visited the prison, regarding this successful escape as a daring and romantic adventure excelling anything in popular literature. "The escape was carefully planned and remains to this day somewhat of a mystery. It was effected from one of the upper cells; the prisoner having made an aperture large enough to get through lowered himself by means of his sheets a considerable distance and then dropped the rest to safety. It was a rough night when this was accomplished, the armed warder without was supposed to have just gone his rounds, and the prisoner got clear away through airing yards and over the boundary wall, and has not been heard of since."²⁴

HANDCUFFS FIT FOR A PRINCESS

It seems to have been quite fashionable for journalists and authors of the day to visit the "model" prison at Wormwood Scrubs and write with a mixture of sympathy and contempt of the things they saw there. H. L. Adam pays a well-deserved tribute to DuCane's design, which survives today as a not untypical example of Victorian baroque. The octagonal turrets and ventilators have a distinctly eastern quality and the military-looking chapel has a Spanish style bell tower over its west door. Around the central courtyard are cloisters of white Portland stone. As Adam says: "Having passed the first portals of Wormwood Scrubs, which are not so forbidding as many of them are, you find it difficult to realise you are within the confines of a prison. On all hands are flower beds, brilliant with multi-coloured blossoms; on your right is a beautiful marble (*sic*) colonnade, round the pillars of which gay creepers intertwine; on your left are arbours of luscious greenery; facing you is an imposing cathedral-like structure, stately in white

stone, with rounded apse, high-pitched roof and flanked by pillared colonnades. All is bright with the joyous garb of the affluent life, and bathed in the warmth of golden sunlight".²⁵

Adam saw these bright surroundings as having a desirable effect on the "drab clothed" prisoners, who "moved hither and thither with downcast eye, and furtive step, and silent lip" and were "apparently appreciating and purchase being mentally uplifted by the nature of their surroundings".²⁶ By contrast, F. W. Robinson did not think the prisoners were appreciative of their new prison and its regime. "The prisoners have evidently most healthy quarters at Wormwood Scrubs and have much to be thankful for, but they are not thankful. They reckon not of the old prison days, of dark cells, unwholesome air and gaol fever, they are not grateful that the philanthropists and prison boards and Royal Commission have studied them and made much of them during the last quarter of a century. They are not a grateful class; they got on better, take it all together, from their own point of view in the brave days of old; they were not under such exasperating surveillance; there were more opportunities of evading the rules, doing the officers 'dodging the sneaks', a glorious opportunity sometimes even of 'getting shut of it' altogether, and being off and away a free man and a brother, until the net closed again, and 'landed' them".²⁷

Robinson felt the chain room at Wormwood Scrubs was ". . . one of the features of interest in this busy prison. Herein are all the paraphernalia of prison punishment—a little torture chamber of somewhat mild description. Herein hanging from the walls are chains of every degree of pattern and thickness and all scrupulously bright, without flaw or fleck and a history of handcuffs might be compiled from the numerous specimens arranged in patterns on all sides. . . ." Robinson records that H.R.H. the Princess of Wales toured the prison and that when she visited the chain room she ". . . insisted upon trying on—on the occasion of her visit to Wormwood Scrubs two years since—handcuffs that are sacred now to sightseers and which will in all probability hamper no convict's movements again".²⁸

How the princess felt about the chain room is not recorded but Robinson was "glad with a little shiver, to get out of it". Especially, we might suppose, because "In this room also are some glittering, but particularly ugly, steel tripods, to which the prisoner who has

been extra disobedient and refractory may be fastened bare-backed at embarrassing epochs of his career; whilst above them are various specimens of birch rod and the cat, some of them light and airy trifles, which seem to suggest that they are only there 'for fun' and others that evidently mean business of an unpleasant character should circumstances arise to bring them into active operation".²⁹

A CHANGE OF FUNCTION

Few prisoners had been released from the convict prison: they were received from local prisons (or, later, from court) and transferred to public works prisons at Chatham, Dartmoor and Portland. In 1891 Wormwood Scrubs was changed from a convict prison to a local prison despite local opposition. The central theme of that opposition lay in fear that large numbers of prisoners would be released daily into the locality and this would have a detrimental effect on house and land values and spoil the common land as a public amenity.

Several public meetings were organised and held locally and these culminated in a petition which was presented to the Home Secretary. One gentleman, who appears to have been popular with the crowd, reviled the prisoners in his contention, at the Harrow Road Mission Hall, that "... in addition to the enormous flood of criminals let loose upon them (the local inhabitants) the greater evil would be the people and friends of the prisoners who came to meet them as they were discharged. They did not want any Artful Dodgers, Charley Bateses or Nancys to come to meet the unfortunate Oliver Twists outside the doors of the prison".³⁰ At a meeting held in the Ladbroke Hall he again raised cheers and laughter in alluding to the gun ranges to the north-east of the prison he said: "... the Government had spent £40,000 in altering the Wormwood Scrubs ranges so that stray bullets may not pop over the wall and damage the convicts inside...".³¹

General Goldsworthy, M.P. for Hammersmith, said at the Ladbroke Hall meeting: "... he was certain that if the conversion was carried out it would mean ruin to the owners of land and houses and a large number of shopkeepers",³² and in the Harrow Road Mission, he intimated that the Home Secretary would receive a deputation.³³ The Home Secretary met the deputation on 11th November 1887 and listened to speakers say: "It was feared that a large number of criminals

would be discharged from the prison day after day and that they and their friends would become a terror to the neighbourhood".

It was a formidable array of M.P.s and notables that confronted the Home Secretary with their petition, and in his reply he "... assured the deputation that it was not the wish of the Government to inflict injury upon the locality...". He reminded them the change had been recommended by the Royal Commission of 1885 and said it was obvious there must be prisons in London and the inmates had to be discharged somewhere. The deputation did not leave empty-handed, however, for the Home Secretary pledged the Government to the discharge of prisoners to their own locality and to reserve Wormwood Scrubs for offenders sentenced to not less than three months.³⁴

Whatever the pledge of the Home Secretary, prisoners serving less than three months were held within the prison and those released returned to their own locality only if they used the railway ticket they were given on discharge. The worst fears of the petitioners were never realised, Wormwood Scrubs continued to be widely used as a place of recreation, house prices may have dropped a little in the immediate vicinity of the prison but they soon recovered and the shopkeepers must have welcomed the extra trade brought to them by an expanding prison.

VIOLENCE WITHIN

There is little record of violence against staff by prisoners in the first 25 years of the prison's history but one can imagine that violence was both above and below the surface. However skilful the officers were at handling their charges, and many had been N.C.O.'s in the services, the normally strained relationship between captive and guardian must have been exacerbated by the strict discipline and silence and the lack of avenues for emotional relief. In a modern prison an inmate is often able to relieve his feelings in a variety of ways, although still a prisoner he has a host of little freedoms which assist him in coping with the daily pressures of being locked away from normal society. In Victorian prisons there was almost total deprivation.

Charles Cook makes reference to two serious assaults on warders: one (for which I can find no other reference), when an officer was thrown from the top floor landing to the bottom, a

distance of about 40 feet. In the other an officer was struck by a prisoner armed with an iron tool.³⁵ Of this attack the medical officer said: "A severe case of assault by a prisoner occurred early in the year of 1882 whereby Warder Lisney was so severely injured by a blow upon the back of his head that his physical and mental condition so far suffered as to necessitate his superannuation with a pension".³⁶

The Times made a full report of the trial of the prisoner which took place at the Central Criminal Court in May 1882. "On the 1st April the convicts were working with beating irons, beating the osiers (willow twigs) for basket-making. Lisney being in charge of 32 men. When they left off work the other men returned their beating irons but the prisoner retained his and when the officer's back was turned towards him, dealt a severe blow which felled him to the ground insensible and the doctor now stated that he would never thoroughly recover from the effect of the injuries."

In reply to the judge, Lisney said that he had 32 prisoners to look after on this occasion, but he had had as many as 40. They were all armed with these instruments, he carried a short sword and in case of an outbreak it was the duty of the warder to whistle for assistance which would arrive within a minute or two.

Col. Garcia, the governor, was put in the box and when questioned on the procedures engaged during an emergency he said: "... so perfect were the arrangements that an outbreak could be put down in a very few minutes". But when the judge asked how matters would be if the warder was rendered insensible and consequently unable to whistle, the governor made no reply.

On being found guilty of wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm the prisoner made a long statement complaining about the governor and officers. The judge said he could deal only with the matter before the court and sentenced the prisoner to five years' penal servitude consecutive to his current sentence.³⁷

VIOLENCE WITHOUT

Although the violence by discharged prisoners and their friends that the local inhabitants feared did not materialise, violence did come from an unexpected quarter. During the night 6th/7th June 1893 Harry William Kimberley was tending sheep grazing on Wormwood Scrubs Common. At about 5.45 a.m. he was walking from Old Oak Common

towards the butts at the end of the rifle ranges when he came across the body of a young woman lying in the grass 100 yards from the path. The head and face were badly disfigured and the features of one side of the face were unrecognisable. The divisional police surgeon told the West London Police Court that the injuries were caused by direct violence by "kicks or blows from a heavy stick or some blunt instrument".

The civil guard had been discharged when the status of the prison was changed from convict to local prison and each night two police constables were set to patrol the outside of the establishment. One of these, P.C. 385X, who had been on duty the night of the murder, now stood accused of the crime. Brief inquiries had soon associated him with the victim and although he gave little away to the magistrate he later made a statement admitting the offence and saying he had pondered over what he had done and the disgrace it would bring to the force.

In outlining his relationship with the girl, Maud Smith, he said that he had first met her when she was working as a prostitute in the area of the Strand. He had given her money for her support from time to time but latterly had wanted to end their association and this desire had become stronger when he transferred from Bow Street to X division. He had met a young servant girl to whom he became engaged but Maud Smith heard of the engagement and threatened him. On the night she died she had come to the prison where she knew he was on duty and abused and taunted him. He begged her to go away and when she did not he struck her with his hand; instead of this driving her away as he hoped it only made her taunt him more. Eventually he lost his temper, drew his truncheon and battered her to death.³⁸

TOWARDS THE FUTURE

On the semi-rural outskirts of London a great new prison had risen almost literally from the clay on which it stands. Made for prisoners by prisoners the light, airy almost grand buildings were intended to assist in the reformation of criminals which even the Victorians saw as a function of imprisonment.

Bricks and mortar alone could not accomplish reformation and the chaplain and schoolmasters made an effort to broaden the knowledge and widen the horizons of their charges. Through the media of religious and educational

instruction they attempted, with what today we would regard as limited resources, to identify and cater for the needs of widely differing groups of prisoners. As the chaplain pointed out "Although board schools are so general now the necessity of teaching convicts has not disappeared".³⁹

Having identified varying needs the chaplain classified the library books so that they could be distributed "... with due regard to the education and intelligence of the prisoners".⁴⁰ This seems to have cut down the number of complaints about books from prisoners and improved the quality of the library service offered to them, for "Our classification of books at standards corresponding with the prisoners' school standards enables a schoolmaster easily to select a suitable book for each man and where particular books are applied for, efforts are made to supply them as quickly as possible".⁴¹

Until 1880 schooling and letter writing took place "in association", meaning that prisoners were formed into classes and instructed as a group. DuCane was opposed to prisoners coming together in association and exercised his influence, as the chairman of the Prison Commissioners and chairman of the Directors of Convict prisons, to bring about a reduction in the amount of association allowed. In March of 1880, following an instruction from the directors, the educational system at Wormwood Scrubs was altered and prisoners were instructed individually in their cells.

Prison officers had a more important task than that of mere custodian during these years. Just as their modern counterparts may be described as "change agents" they too assisted their charges in making sense of their training in prison and helped to make their sentence more tolerable by showing kindness and understanding. The administration had made rules preventing undue familiarity between staff and prisoners and so the officers trained those under them by example rather than by protracted discussion aimed at altering the offender's attitudes. In Victorian terms they demonstrated the satisfaction which could be gained through honesty and industry.

I cannot be certain when female offenders were first imprisoned at Wormwood Scrubs. The governor's report of 31st March 1890 declared that the block of quarters for female officers was complete and a bath house for females "was fitted up".⁴² As it seems unlikely women would be contained without these two amenities

I have assumed they were first moved in from Millbank when Wormwood Scrubs became a local prison in 1891.⁴³ The original plans show that "D" Hall was to be used for females in the completed prison and perhaps for that reason the cells are slightly smaller there than in the other halls.

An apparently harsh and unconstructive part of the regime for some prisoners was work at the crank or the treadmill. The crank was a machine situated in the prisoner's cell and operated by a handle which required both hands and a good deal of effort to revolve. It was non-productive work, the number of revolutions were simply recorded by a meter, the prisoner having to perform an allotted number of rotations of the handle in a certain period of time. The first reference to cranks in the cells at Wormwood Scrubs appears in the governor's report for the year ending 31st March 1893. Fortunately for many it was a chore only inflicted on those undergoing hard labour of the first class by order of court.

We know the treadmill was in use at Wormwood Scrubs only from a photograph which accompanied an article on the prison appearing in *Pall Mall Magazine* in 1895.⁴⁴ There is no mention of the machine in the text and I can find no written account of it in any other work so there is no way of knowing what, if anything, it was used to power. It was quite a large treadmill and, like many others, comprised a series of long wooden slats or steps arranged at right angles to a spindle, resembling the paddle on an American riverboat. The working surface was divided off into a series of separate stalls in which prisoners stood holding a handle fixed to a wooden board which protected the upper part of their bodies from the revolving slats. The mill was turned by the men walking up the slats. Four men were set to work every three stalls, thus allowing a period of rest to be taken from time to time. In some establishments those "resting" were required to pick oakum but, from the evidence of the photograph, this does not seem to have been the case at Wormwood Scrubs.

In 1894 the then Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, formed a departmental committee on prisons and appointed Herbert Gladstone to be its chairman. The *Gladstone Committee* made a searching inquiry into prison conditions and treatment and published their report in 1895. They made a number of recommendations designed to im-

prove and up-date the treatment of offenders within the system and among these were the abolition of the treadmill and the reintroduction of associated work in all local prisons.

DuCane, who opposed association and held with uncompromising military discipline, retired in the year the *Gladstone Committee* reported. This report, coupled with the Prison Act of 1898, supported by a new chairman of the Prison Commissioners, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, who was conscious of the changes needed if the prison system was to have any credibility as a rehabilitative agency, paved the way for the changes that were to come.

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3. DuCane *ibid*.
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8. This appears to be an apocryphal story. It is related in Griffiths *ibid*.

9. Taken from an extract of the Governor of Wormwood Scrubs' report for year ending 31st March 1885 which appears in Directors' Report 1884-5. All extracts from governors' reports appearing in the text are to be found in the reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons or Prison Commissioners unless otherwise stated. (Staff College Library.)

10. DuCane *ibid*.

11. *Ibid*.

12. Governor's and Medical Officer's reports for year ending 31st March 1881.

13. *Ibid*.

14. *Ibid*.

15. *Ibid*. DuCane's account of the accident states that only one convict was killed but both the governor and medical officer state in their annual reports for 1880-81 that two died and I am satisfied this is the correct figure.

16. DuCane *ibid*.

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19. Governor's report, 31st March 1881.

20. COOK, C. *Prisons of the World*. Morgan and Scott. 1891.

21. For an account of the proportions of prison personnel recruited from the armed services see Thomas *ibid*.

22. Signed "A Convict Prison Warder". This letter appeared in the *Weekly Times*, 7th December 1879.

23. Cook *ibid*.

24. ROBINSON, F. W. wrote an article entitled "Convict Life at Wormwood Scrubs" in a periodical. A photostat of this came into my possession bearing the Hammersmith Library stamp. Unfortunately the original cannot be found and I cannot say for certain which

journal the article was written for.

25. ADAM, H. L. *The Story of Crime: from the cradle to the grave*. T. Werner Laurie. 1908. Much of the greenery he describes has disappeared in the interests of security, but the overall impression remains. (Hammersmith Central Library.)

26. Adam *ibid*.

27. Robinson *ibid*.

28. *Ibid*.

29. *Ibid*.

30. *The Daily Telegraph*, 31st October 1887. (Hammersmith Central Library (365.1).)

31. Cutting dated 1887 from an unknown newspaper. (Hammersmith Central Library (365.1).)

32. *Ibid*.

33. *The Daily Telegraph*, 31st October 1887.

34. *The Daily Telegraph*, 12th November 1887. (Hammersmith Central Library (365.1).)

35. Cook *ibid*.

36. Medical Officer's report, 31st March 1883.

37. *The Times*, 25th May 1882. (Staff College Library.)

38. *The Daily Telegraph*, 10th June 1882. Remanded to the Old Bailey the constable was found guilty of capital murder. Despite a recommendation for mercy by the jury he was held at Newgate Prison and hanged on 25th July 1893. See *The Times*, 24th July 1893. (Newspaper Library (Colindale).)

39. Chaplain's report, 31st March 1886.

40. Governor's report, 31st March 1880.

41. Chaplain's report, 31st March 1884.

42. Governor's report, 31st March 1890.

43. Governor's report, 31st March 1892.

44. *Pall Mall Magazine*, November 1895. The article in which the photograph appears is entitled "A Model Prison" by C. Fletcher Park. (Hammersmith Central Library.)

III

THE ADULT PRISON: DEBTORS AT WORMWOOD SCRUBS

WHEN the mother of a child too young to be separated from her is sentenced to a period of imprisonment the baby also is taken into prison. Others, pregnant on reception, have their baby in a maternity hospital and keep it with them for a time. At the turn of the century prison babies must have provided a welcome relief from the dull routine of "local" prison life and been well cared for and perhaps even spoiled by staff and inmates alike. Griffiths remarked: "... the prison baby has, for the most part, a good time. High officials, visitors, matron, warders and all are glad to pet and cosset it, there is plenty of wholesome food, it has toys to play with, fresh air and exercise in its mother's arms, while its nursery, though no doubt a cell, is bright, well-ventilated, not ill-furnished with its comfortable cot, and

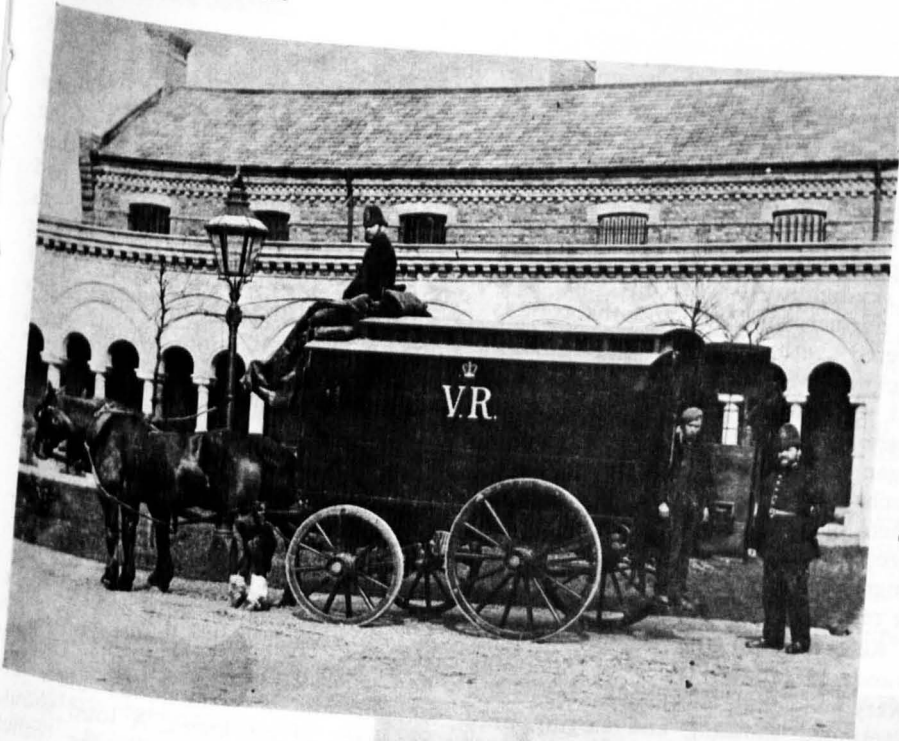
is scrupulously clean. Moreover, when the prison mother is drawn elsewhere by the necessities of her daily toil, she knows that her baby will be well cared for in the prison nursery or *creche*".¹

Women prisoners were moved from Wormwood Scrubs to Holloway Prison during October 1902 and debtors, formerly held in the old City of London gaol, were moved in to occupy their quarters. "The debtors' division at Wormwood Scrubs is, of course, kept quite apart from the other quarters of the prison. Here is a description of how debtors are treated in prison and how I saw them.

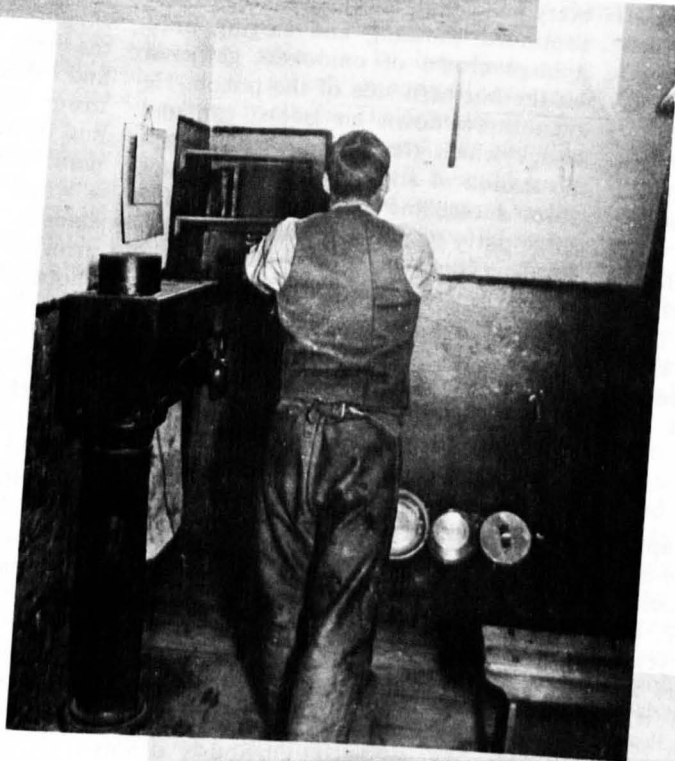
"Upon admission they are asked whether they will wear their own clothes, or would prefer a suit of prison clothes. This, at first, may sound a trifle ironical, not to say stupid, but as a matter of fact, some-

times a debtor's clothes are so pitifully threadbare and dirty that the wearer is only too pleased to exchange them for a suit that will hold together, and does not let in the air too freely. At one time a debtor could feed himself, but now a thoughtful legislature directs that he be content with prison food, and also that he must work even though others may weep. . . . The privileges they enjoy beyond those extended to ordinary prisoners are two periods instead of one of exercise, during which they may walk in couples and console and condole with one another. They may write and receive more letters and more visits—although they may not pay any without the precincts of the prison—than an ordinary prisoner. For the rest, they live the life of the latter.

"It fortunately happened upon the



Guests arriving



The crank—"hard, useless, unprofitable labour"



The morning airing

occasion of my visit, that debtors were issuing from their particular wing of the prison for one of their periods of exercise at a time when I was located in that part of the prison. They interested me immensely, for a more motley crew I have never gazed upon.

"They emerged from the doorway in single file, down a short flight of steps and through another doorway to the exercise ground. Some of them were regarding their situation as something too funny for words, and their faces wore a broad grin. Others were gloomy and pained beyond expression. They were of all ages, sizes and conditions. The variety of styles of dressing was almost amusing.

"One man would be wearing a long Newmarket coat, of a decidedly sporting cut, tripping lightly down the steps, as though he were hurrying to 'put a bit on'. He would be followed by a shortish man, in a 'cutaway' coat, which had arrived at the olive green stage of antiquity."²

In expressing the humour he saw in their appearance, H. L. Adam was not deriding the debtors. In fact he had sympathy for them and said: "When a tradesman gives credit he takes a chance, and he knows the chance he takes. The only conditions under which imprisonment for debt is excusable is when it can be proved that a debtor has money and from sheer dishonesty refuses to pay".³

"CONVICT'S MAD FREAK"

Little documentary evidence appears to have survived concerning the unrest and insubordination among convicts in "C" Hall during April 1907. From the governor's report for that year we know that, "The ringleaders were moved to other prisons and it was found necessary to deal with several officers for improperly discharging their duties", but quite why control broke down and how extensive the insubordination was remains a mystery.⁴

One of the ringleaders moved to another prison was almost certainly William McCoy, serving six and a half years for burglary and robbery. He climbed onto the roof of "C" Hall and for over five hours defied all staff to get him down. Under the title of "Convict's Mad Freak" a *Lloyd's News* reporter recorded that: "About 11 o'clock yesterday morning McCoy was, with six other prisoners, in charge of a warder and was crossing the exercise yard which lies between 'C' and 'D' blocks of the prison. Without a word of warning he dashed out of the rank and began climbing up a rainwater

spout which ran from the ground to the roof of the 'C' block. The warder in charge blew his whistle for assistance and the other prisoners were hurried away to their cells.

"The roof of 'C' block has a fairly steep pitch. All along the ridge run the sky-lights. At short intervals there are dormer windows, and the roof is covered with tiles. With incredible quickness McCoy shinned up the pipe and reached the top of the building. There he raised a great shout and then began to climb along the ridge until he reached one of the corner towers, where he managed to wrench off a piece of lead piping about four feet in length and armed with this as a weapon he resumed his peregrinations."⁵

According to the account McCoy wandered about the roof smashing every pane of glass he had access to and continued shouting and singing until a large crowd of onlookers gathered on the northern side of the prison. He then threw down his boots, cap and badge which the crowd tried to gain possession of and were only prevented from succeeding by the arrival of a large party of police officers. Overhead McCoy sang "Oh, that will be joyful", and "I wouldn't leave my little wooden hut for you", and interspersed his singing with shouts of "I am out for the day and I won't go back alive".

Once all other prisoners had been locked away and the staff assembled McCoy turned his attention to the roofing tiles. "He began to wrench off the tiles and throw them to the ground, saying, as each one crashed to the ground, 'That's for any ----- warder who tries to take me'." Slowly and cautiously the warders began to climb on to the roof, but McCoy was always on the alert, and the appearance of a warder's head was the signal for a tile to be thrown at it. Obviously it was impossible to struggle with a man on a steep roof, for this would only mean that he and his captor would slide off and be killed.

The deputy-governor tried persuasion. But McCoy was inexorable, "I am going to stop here", he said, "and the first ----- who comes near me will be outh". The chaplain had no better luck. News rapidly spread among the local population and all afternoon people streamed across Wormwood Scrubs to witness the spectacle. With all the glass gone from the windows and large areas of tiling torn up and thrown to the ground, the prisoner turned his attention to the window frames which he began to destroy systematically. Then at four o'clock it

began to rain quite heavily. This was McCoy's undoing.

"He took shelter in one of the towers, and leaning out of one of the openings, he asked the crowd how they had enjoyed the fun. The warders had observed this move, and they began to climb stealthily up the winding staircase inside. As soon as he heard them McCoy rushed out and began climbing up the smooth coping which forms the edges of the roof of the 'C' block. Sliding down the other side, he found that the opposite tower was then full of warders waiting, and he retraced his steps.

"But Warder Dennis followed him. Inch by inch as McCoy climbed back again the warders followed silently. The crowd was in almost breathless suspense. Then suddenly just as McCoy had reached the ridge, Warder Dennis caught him a tremendous blow on the back of his knees. A loud shout, and then warders from the other tower began to climb over the ridge and throw themselves on the struggling man. The spectators stood petrified as a whole body of men slid down the smooth coping—a writhing mass of arms and legs and bodies. Then a loud shout of relief told that the mass had been brought up against the corner tower, and that danger was at an end. The warders closed upon their captive. Quickly, handcuffs were on his wrists and irons on his legs, and he was carried shouting and struggling, down the winding staircase to the punishment cells."⁶

It was some time before the prison became quiet again, for the other prisoners, locked in their cells and aware of the roof-top drama, banged on their cell doors and shouted from their windows to the crowd. The crowd was swelled by people who had heard of the incident and travelled some distance to view the damage which was estimated at £600.

THE "STAGE" SYSTEM, ASSOCIATION AND "LEADERS"

In early prisons, as I have said, inmates were put together in one large room regardless of age, sex or criminal sophistication. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, reformers such as Howard began advocating separate or solitary confinement. *Solitary* confinement meant just what the phrase implies, total isolation from other prisoners. *Separate* confinement on the other hand meant allocating one cell to each prisoner but allowing some association, usually

at work. A number of experiments were run and a good deal of confidence was expressed in the "separate system".

Under the advice of John Howard, the Lord Lieutenant of Sussex built a new prison in Horsham in 1776. Griffiths tells us that after 12 years a judge, Lord Mansfield, remarked on the reduction in the number of prisoners brought for trial to which the governor of Horsham replied: "Although in days of yore my prisoners were very frequent in their visits to me, discharged at one assize and in again, within the old rules, before the next. Yet such, my Lord, has been the effect of separate confinement and of making a rogue think a little and become acquainted with himself that in the course of the last 12 years I can solemnly declare that only one prisoner has been twice within these walls".⁷

Solitary confinement was used in "local" prisons during the nineteenth century and the isolation was made complete by forcing the prisoners to wear masks to avoid recognition whilst at church. The system was never particularly well favoured by prison administrators and, by the turn of the century, separate confinement had been adopted in all British prisons. Writing of the old system in 1903 Griffiths said: "In those old days the victims to far-fetched theory went mad after long periods of unbroken seclusion. Now all British prisoners are segregated: they are located, each one, in a separate cell or small room; that is to say, when they are not under discipline and observation".⁸ There was an opposite point of view: "Solitary confinement was given up in England as liable to bring on insanity and as being deleterious to the health, both moral and physical, of the prisoner. But in continental prisons, it does not appear to have this effect, and barely as many pass on to an asylum as now in England. A long period of solitary confinement is, in fact, considered by many continental thinkers to be a better weapon for the reformation of the criminal than association".⁹

Whatever the considerations of the continental thinkers, "associated work" was introduced into Wormwood Scrubs at the beginning of the century, "... where the ground floors of the great halls are converted into rough and ready ateliers, and such simple trades are prosecuted as post-bag making, mat making, and the manufacture of rope".¹⁰ There were, according to the governor, clear advantages in the new system: "Associated labour has been carried out as far as practical

in the various shops and halls, there is no doubt that prisoners are more content and more work is obtained".¹¹ In 1910 he reported: "In July last two prisoners while at exercise managed to climb onto the roof of 'A' Hall workshop and did considerable damage. The majority of the prisoners resented the conduct of their fellow prisoners as the shop had to be closed while repairs were executed. This shows how much the privilege of working in association is appreciated by most prisoners".¹²

A graduated system of privileges also was introduced into English prisons early in the century and in 1930 the operation of this "stage system" at Wormwood Scrubs was fully described by T. White Mountain.

"A man does not remain under the same conditions throughout his whole sentence unless it be less than eight weeks in actual amount. There is a progress in stages. The prisoner remains not less than eight weeks in the first stage, and if his record is good he is promoted to the next stage. On the day of promotion to the second stage, the prisoner together with any others being advanced that day, is addressed by the governor or his deputy, who points out that henceforth less restriction will be his lot and further that he will enjoy freedom in increasing degrees as he progresses through succeeding stages. These privileges involve obligations, they are not to be used in breaking prison rules and regulations, there is to be an honourable understanding and the prisoner is informed here and now that should it be his wish he may return at once, or at any future time, to conditions of the first stage. If at the conclusion you should get into trouble again, you won't come back to this prison, and there is no other prison like this, that is, none with such amenities and privileges. As soon as he is promoted to the second stage he removes to another cell, furnished with a small mirror and a plain washstand in addition to the equipment mentioned before. The window of his cell is half as large again as that of the one he has vacated, not an unimportant detail on gloomy winter days. The prisoner in the first stage has all his meals in his cell with the door closed, but from this point onwards he will sit at a table in company with others in the second, third and fourth stages. These tables are distributed along the floor of the hall. We had forgotten to mention that the plates, spoon, tin knife and salt cellar are not to be found in his new cell

since he will have no meals there. The companionable mug will, however, remain, being taken to the table for meals and replaced in the cell after each. The seating capacity of a table is 12, five along each side and one at each end. Along the sides are wooden forms and a chair at each end. The table-leader occupies one of these chairs and the deputy table-leader the other. The tables and forms are of plain deal scrubbed daily and no tablecloths are used. The prisoners' friends are permitted to bring or send flowers for table, not for cell, and there is usually a very striking display along the whole length of the hall, especially so in summer.

"It is the duty of the table-leader, and in his absence that of his deputy, to superintend the division and distribution of food to the members of his table, maintain order and rebuke any guilty of using offensive language or objectionable conduct of any kind. There is a pantry in the hall from which the leader of each table and his deputy collect just before a meal such cutlery, dishes, etc. as are required. The food is brought from the cookhouse and bakehouse to the pantry where it is collected by these leaders and carried to the tables. The other members of the table take it in turns one day at a time, to clear the table after meals and return cutlery, dishes, etc. to the pantry. It is now permissible for the prisoner, should he desire, to obtain from outside sources a safety-razor and shaving brush which must of course pass to him through the official prison channels. The authorities will supply him with a sufficient amount of white and good shaving soap and so he can now shave at leisure in the privacy of his cell instead of to order in the hurly-burly of the workshop. As soon as he enters the second stage his attention is drawn to certain evening classes which he may now attend. There is no obligation to take classes but there is, however, this inducement: the man who attends not less than three classes per week is not required to do any cell tasks, and so may if he chooses devote the whole of his spare time to study and reading. He may now visit the library on one day per week and thus has a much better opportunity of finding books likely to be to his taste than he had when selecting from the catalogue alone. This visit is made during the second half of the dinner hour, that is in his own time. As many as six library books may now be retained together in the cell. While on exercise he will,

as heretofore, march round a ring with other prisoners and under the supervision of warders. At 6 p.m. he must leave the table and return to his cell where he will remain locked up until next morning, but if he has a class that evening the cell will be unlocked again at 6.45.

"Six weeks pass and if conduct has been satisfactory in the meantime he is promoted to the third stage. He may now sit up in the hall until 7 p.m. playing draughts, chess, dominoes, chatting with the others, or reading. No longer will he march round an exercise ring but instead will walk at leisure in a yard chatting with other prisoners, though still under the observation of a warder. In other respects matters are much as they were in the second stage, no, that is not strictly correct, for there is one novelty which is so important that special notices have been prepared to draw his attention to it. Within a day or two of entering this stage, he finds a stereotyped notice laying on his cell table, and on reading this he learns that he no longer sits on a stool but a chair, it is true a plain, white-wood chair. The prisoner is being gently prepared for his return to the life of the outer world. Further, the notice informs him that he may now borrow library books without limit but within reason. Another six weeks pass and conduct still being satisfactory, he enters the fourth and highest stage. It is permissible for him to sit up in the hall until the time of the class, until 8 p.m. on those evenings on which he has no class to attend, or he may go to the recreation room at 6 p.m. or to his cell if he desires to be shut in and learn. The recreation room is the sanctum of the prisoners in the fourth stage. Officials may have occasion to enter it in the course of duty, but they will not remain to pry. Here the prisoners in the fourth stage may see the daily newspapers, which, by the way, are carefully restricted to this room. Exercise now takes place in a very large space but under no surveillance whatsoever. The prisoner may walk quickly or amble and in the company of pals or alone. He may sit and read his library books. Certain prisoners are elevated to the rank of leaders as necessity arises, the governor deciding in each case the suitability of the man. Reference has already been made to one group of leaders, the table-leaders, and the major part of their duties described. It also has to be mentioned that the table-leaders hold a private meeting once a week at which suggestions bearing the im-

provement of the prisoners' lot are mooted. A table-leader, having an offensive and recalcitrant man at his table, may bring the matter forward at the weekly meeting. No officials are present at these meetings and the decisions reached are entered into a book which is placed before the governor on the morrow. Another group, the party-leaders, are occupied mainly in leading groups of prisoners to and from the workshops, etc., and in acting as assistants to the warders in charge of these workshop stores. The symbol of leadership is a coloured armlet worn on the upper arm. A leader is permitted to proceed in the course of duty throughout the prison without being escorted by a warder, and also he can, on receiving instruction from a warder, escort a prisoner or party of them from one place to another within the walls. The leader has no key and so when he arrives at a locked door or gate he must call upon or wait for a warder to unlock it. The leaders are in the main assistants to the warders and the institution of the leaders scheme has had, incidentally, the result of affecting a not inappreciable economy in the State expenditure on prisons, for if they were not there, the work they would do would have to be carried out by warders, and as the latter, of course, receive pay where the leaders are unpaid, there must be considerable increase in the staff of the prison and as a consequence in the payroll. Sometimes one hears warders declaring more in grief than in anger the day is not far distant when leaders will be entrusted with keys".¹³

According to Crewe the routine for a man in the first stage at Wormwood Scrubs during the 1930's was:

- 6.00 a.m. Rise, clean cell and attend to personal ablutions.
- 7.00 a.m. Drill if under 40 years and fit for the exercise. If not, open-air exercise or remain in cell. Prisoners who did drill were allowed extra cocoa and bread.
- 7.45 a.m. Breakfast.
- 8.35 a.m. Labour commenced.
- 12 noon Dinner.
- 1.00 p.m. Labour.
- 5.00 p.m. Tea.
- 9.00 p.m. Lights out.

During the period from 5.30 p.m. until lights out each prisoner was expected to sew 18 feet of canvas mailbag; on completion of this task he was permitted to read his library book.

The routine varied for men in the

second, third and fourth stages, but the diet for all was the same. Breakfast consisted of bread, margarine and porridge; dinner, the only meal which varied from day to day, always contained meat—shepherd's pie, savoury bacon, steak and treacle pudding and roast mutton are typical examples. Tea, the last meal of the day, was always bread, margarine and tea.¹⁴

During the 1930's prisons began to undergo a fairly radical change. The narrow-minded, punitive attitudes of the past were gradually swept aside and the notion of training came much more to the fore, with staff attempting to understand individual behaviour and allowing prisoners to express their own personalities. A wider range of interests were fostered and encouraged. At Wormwood Scrubs, field sports were organised at week-ends and bank holidays and, in 1936, a bowling green was laid down by an anonymous benefactor. At about this time also a recreation hut was made available to men in their fourth stage, "... built on Nissen lines and comprising two very large rooms, one of which was a dining hall and the other a recreation room. The latter was equipped with a stage and a cinema screen so that it could be readily converted into a theatre or cinema".¹⁵ There is nothing remarkable about the provision of this amenity which today would almost certainly be regarded as a necessity. What is perhaps surprising is that there was no direct supervision of men in association in the hut. "The recreation room is much valued, the sight or thought of a large number of men at fourth stage there on dark evenings playing indoor games, listening to the wireless, reading, talking, etc. with no officer present, taking place daily, results in much comment and enquiry from visitors to the prison. The door is not locked and in the summer the same men spend their time in the yards again without supervision by the staff".¹⁶

THE WAR YEARS

During the early part of the second world war Wormwood Scrubs was given over to the Ministry of Defence for use by the military authorities. Part was, however, handed back during 1942 when 342 prisoners were transferred from Wandsworth. As a "star" or first-offender prison it was never appropriate for executions to take place within Wormwood Scrubs but the exceptional circumstances of war made it necessary for part of the hospital to be adapted as condemned cells. During 1945 and 1946 a small

number of men sentenced to death were received into these cells, held for the days prior to execution and taken to Wandsworth or Pentonville to be hanged. One such man was William Joyce, "Lord Haw-Haw", who stayed at Wormwood Scrubs from the time of his Old Bailey trial until September 1945 when he was transferred to Wandsworth to await the final outcome of his appeal and subsequent execution in January 1946.

THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

Norman Howeth Hignett, who wrote of his experiences in Wormwood Scrubs, was not altogether impressed by the prison. "The nature of my training at Wormwood Scrubs did not help me. For 18 months, until June 1951 when I went to Wakefield, I worked in the mailbag shop. No more sordid or soul destroying environment could be imagined and as my actual work could have been in the capacity of a normal child of five, the strains and stresses which it imposed and the absence of any element of mental concentration were no less than those in which it was set.

"My return in February 1952 was a return to the mailbag shop. A few months later, however, in May, the governor, in a rare moment of inspiration, transferred me to the garden party and endowed me with a red band (the symbol given to a man allowed to walk about the prison unescorted). As I had no knowledge of gardening nor aptitude for it and was physically incapable of heavy manual work, the change for me was a far from happy one. It was indeed made tolerable only by the understanding and helpfulness of the garden officer himself, who was one of the better types and to whom I was well known."¹⁷

Commenting on the recreation hut Hignett says that in 1951 the Commissioners decided to build a second hut. "It took two years to build and its cost, could it ever be computed, would prove to be enormous. In this building, staffed by two, sometimes three officers, there are no windows except in the roof or high in the walls, and these are barred".¹⁸

Hignett also found a shortage of pens, ink and blotting paper and in this he was supporting the findings of an M.P., Mr. D. Weitzman, who was imprisoned in Wormwood Scrubs for

five weeks before his successful appeal and complete exoneration. On his return to the House he said: "There ought to be a committee of enquiry, the members of which ought to mix with the prisoners. They should not rely upon official visits, accompanied by an official".¹⁹

After mentioning a lack of adequate work, library books and writing materials, Weitzman commented: "It has been said repeatedly that one of the main elements in the treatment of prisoners is something reformatory, something which should improve the criminal and make him a better man when he returns to the outside world. I saw nothing reformatory at Wormwood Scrubs".²⁰

Weitzman was imprisoned shortly after the second war and, to be fair, this was a time of austerity and shortage for all. By 1954 things appear to have improved a good deal and an exhibition of prison work and handicrafts was held. Brushes and brooms including a "beautiful cream coloured horse-hair wall brush" made in the prison workshop were on show and the Mayor of Hammersmith admired work done by prisoners on the full-time fitters' course. There was a dolls house made from the oak of a scrapped school desk, a travelling chess board made from leather and a basket-work bird cage.²¹

In 1956 Ken Meadows found that, "Prison life is not without its opportunities for men who want to start anew and make their prison term their turning point into a better, useful and happier life".²² He considered the routine at Wormwood Scrubs to be dull and monotonous when compared with outside life but felt this was partly compensated for by a wide selection of library books, stimulating evening classes and adequate food. Most popular of the library books he was told were detective stories, westerns and travelogues. After tea each day men could play darts, dominoes, draughts and chess and in the recreation room, table-tennis, newspapers and a wireless were provided. Seventy-five evening classes were available each week, concerts held monthly and film shows weekly.

About this time a great deal of confidence was being expressed in the psychiatric treatment of prisoners. Gren-

don, the new psychiatrically orientated prison, had not been opened but at Wormwood Scrubs there was a small psycho-therapeutic unit operating within the prison hospital for men aged between 17 and 30 with severe character disorders. "The 10 patients live together, eat together and work together. They are in fact a community themselves learning communal responsibilities.

"During the daytime they work in the bookbinding shop. There they learn the art of bookbinding and put their new-found knowledge to practical use by repairing and renovating books out of the prison library.

"In the evenings their leisure time is taken up with lectures, study, painting, play reading, discussions, indoor games and educational classes among themselves."²³ In 1957 prisoners from this unit staged their own production of Christopher Fry's play "A Sleep of Prisoners" before a specially invited audience. This was the first time a group of prisoners had been allowed to present a play in the part of the prison in which they lived.²⁴

During the fifties and sixties prisoners at Wormwood Scrubs had an increasing amount of freedom. It is said that under one governor the front gate was only shut at night, it is certainly true that a large number of prisoners worked outside the prison. Inside, many men were granted a red or blue band—a privilege which allowed them to move about unescorted and even, in some cases, to escort other prisoners. Large numbers of visitors were invited to the prison and when a prisoner's own family visited they were free to sit on the lawn if the weather was fine.

ONE OF OUR PRISONERS IS MISSING

There is evidence that criminals were becoming more sophisticated and better organised by the end of the 1950's and it was clear that prisons built to hold penal servitude convicts would not contain modern professional prisoners with the power to command outside help and resources. The number of prisoners serving very long sentences was starting to increase and, with the phasing out of the death penalty, the number of "life" imprisonments began building up. The apparent ease with which some prisoners escaped from closed prisons was causing concern and it became obvious that security

defences would need to be improved if the escape of potentially dangerous prisoners was to be prevented. Commenting on the number of escapes from Wormwood Scrubs during 1957-58, *The Star* said 14 had got away, "... half of them by the simple method of climbing the wall".²⁵ The obvious solution, thought *The Star*, was to erect a barbed wire screen on top of the wall, introduce closed circuit television and employ electronic devices to give early warning of attempted escapes.

The number of escapes from Wormwood Scrubs was reduced and the security record of the prison remained relatively good until June 1966. In that month six prisoners managed to get out of "D" Hall, the long-term training prison, and five of them escaped over the wall. Following a visit by the Home Secretary the Prison Department's security working party were ordered to study security arrangements at Wormwood Scrubs and several other prisons and make recommendations for systems to prevent further escapes. As a result, "... schemes were prepared for improving wall patrolling at Wormwood Scrubs, Wakefield, Maidstone and Leicester prisons; for the manning of the observation towers at Wormwood Scrubs during daylight by officers with V.H.F. walkie-talkie sets, and for television coverage of the wall with powerful illumination at night".²⁶

Before the working party's recommendations could be implemented an event overtook the Prison Service which caused it to examine its systems, functions and structure. George Blake, a spy serving 42 years' imprisonment, who had been at Wormwood Scrubs for five and a half years, broke through a second floor window at the south end of "D" Hall, scampered over a low roof, ran a few yards across the exercise yard, climbed the wall and vanished. He has not been re-captured.

Following Blake's escape, Earl Mountbatten of Burma was appointed to enquire into prison security in depth and as a result of his report a number of changes were made and devices introduced to increase the efficiency of the Prison Service and improve the quality of the service it gives to the public.

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IV

THE PRISON TODAY

WORMWOOD SCRUBS has the largest prison population in Britain. During 1973 it had an average daily roll of 1,549 adults and young offenders most of whom were serving their first custodial sentences. It was designated a category "A" dispersal prison in 1967 since when it has housed a number of high escape-risk prisoners. The policy of dispersing these among the populations of several closed prisons has meant that a small number of recidivists are received at Wormwood Scrubs each year but no conclusive evidence exists

to show this has a detrimental effect on "star" prisoners.

New adult receptions are housed for a short time in "A" Hall, where they are assessed and allocated to training prisons. They are then moved to "C" Hall which is a holding unit for men awaiting transfer to training establishments, where prisoners spend the major part of their sentences. The long term training prison, "D" Hall, contains men serving sentences ranging from four years to life. These benefit from greater periods of free association

and have a wider choice of educational and industrial work than the inmates in the other adult halls. In addition to the borstal allocation centre, "B" Hall has a small, modern unit for young offenders serving periods of imprisonment.

An interesting addition to the prison came in the opening, in 1973, of a treatment unit for drug abusers, alcoholics, sexual offenders and compulsive gamblers. Housed in a separated section of "A" Hall a few offenders from these categories are subjected to a regime based upon group and individual

therapy aimed at giving them insight into their problems. The unit is staffed by specially trained prison officers and visiting psychiatrists and doctors from the prison hospital maintain contact with individual patients.

The prison hospital has beds for over 70 patients and accepts men from Wormwood Scrubs and prisons in the southern half of the country. It has an operating theatre equipped for minor surgery, medical and convalescent wards as well as a ward for patients undergoing psychiatric treatment. Situated in London the hospital is convenient for visiting specialists and it is only occasionally necessary to send prisoners to outside hospitals.

The welfare of individual prisoners is, of course, the concern of the whole staff but to assist prisoners in resolving social and domestic difficulties there is a team of trained probation officers working as prison welfare officers. Their close liaison with probation officers working in the community helps to bridge the gap between the man and his family and serves to keep the prison management informed of outside circumstances.

The education department of Wormwood Scrubs provides a large number of day and evening classes covering the whole range of art, craft and academic subjects. Tuition is available for men at all levels of achievement; for the unfortunate illiterates or those who have been brought up in foreign countries remedial or basic studies are provided. At the other end of the scale facilities for open university students have recently been provided. Vocational training is given to suitable applicants and the trades taught include painting and decorating, plumbing and bricklaying.

A number of workshops exist for prisoners not engaged in full-time education or trade training and here the move is away from the traditional, boring mailbag sewing that once took place at Wormwood Scrubs. For a number of reasons it is not easy to find suitable industrial work for prisoners but, where possible, tasks that are interesting are chosen and one of the most successful is the construction of aids for the disabled.

The aim of the Prison Service is to train offenders to live in society

without finding it necessary to re-offend. At Wormwood Scrubs the resources exist to teach men new skills and trade and gain an understanding of themselves and of society. In 100 years the prison has changed from an efficient, para-military machine towards a treatment complex individualising the care of prisoners—a process which is still incomplete.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the help I have received from a variety of sources including—Public Records Office, Hammersmith Central Library, National Newspaper Library (Colindale), Staff College Library (Wakefield).

I owe an especial debt to Diane Mathers and Dorothy Hemsworth of the Staff College, Dora who typed the final draft and Hilda who typed the notes; Mrs. Bayliss at Hammersmith Library, Brian Clayton and Ken Moody who encouraged me and kept my English in check and my wife who, as always, quietly suffered.

The photographs which accompany this article were very kindly provided by Ron Harrington of Acton.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE—INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

Cropwood Short-Term Fellowships

THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY is again offering Cropwood Short-Term Fellowships to persons working in the field of criminal justice, crime-prevention or the treatment of offenders (including juveniles). Fellows will be attached to the institute for a period of work or study varying from six weeks to six months, according to the scale of their project. The project may involve a specific piece of research, or the completion of an inquiry already begun, and the presentation of results in the form of an article or longer monograph; the preparation of special lectures; or intensive study of a topic of practical concern.

Awards will cover living expenses in Cambridge. Fellows will have access to the institute's library and other facilities, and will be provided with study accommodation. The institute's senior staff will be available for consultation and guidance.

No formal qualifications for candidates are specified, but it is essential that they have experience relevant to their project. A well-conceived and detailed proposal is required as evidence of capacity to take advantage of the Fellowships. Candidates should also enclose a *curriculum vitae*.

Applications should be sent to the Director of the Institute at 7 West Road, Cambridge to arrive not later than 30th December 1974

BOOK REVIEWS

Justice, Prison and Politics

POLITICS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

GEORGE C. COLE

Sage 1973. Hardback £5.50

PRISONS, PROTEST AND POLITICS

Edited by M. ATKINS and H. B. GLICK

Prentice Hall International, 1972.

Paperback £1.20

CRIMINAL JUSTICE and politics have never been as separate as most of us have been prepared to treat them in the past.

Constitutionally, of course, there is a clear connection between them, for law is passed through the political process in parliament and enforced through the courts, whose chief officer—in this country—is a member of the Cabinet.¹ However, the doctrine of the separation of powers and the fact that politics and law are separate academic disciplines have accustomed us to seeing courts of law as above mere politics. Indeed, it may be considered distasteful to suggest that one of the highest social values—justice—is contaminated by politics, which we associate with partisan bickering and expediency. Yet the books under review seek to analyse the criminal justice and penal systems as part of the political process.

Both books are American and whilst the U.S. criminal justice and penal systems are sufficiently similar to our own to be meaningfully compared, the correspondence is not exact and therefore some effort is required to recognise the implications the books have for our own system. Each book deals with quite separate areas of the system as a whole: on the one hand Cole's *Politics and the Administration of Justice* examines the process of the investigation and prosecution of crime; whilst Atkins and Glick have edited a set of articles on *Prison, Protest and Politics* which attempts to examine the growing trend towards violent protest in American prisons, epitomised by Attica. What they do share, however, is the frustrating tendency to outline an interesting problem in the first few pages, then suggest what appears to be a potentially powerful means of exploring it and then fail to follow this approach through systematically. Necessarily, therefore, this article will be concerned with the *promise* rather than the product of political analysis of the criminal justice system, for the issues raised are certainly fundamental, but unfortunately the analyses offered are less than adequate.

Cole's book—the second volume in a series from Sage on "Politics and the Legal Order"—is a mixture of original research carried out by the author in Seattle and a broad discussion of the system of justice in general which draws upon a wide range of previously published material. Having pointed to the widespread sense of crisis surrounding the system of justice in America, he focuses particularly upon attempts by the Supreme Court to resuscitate the "due process" model of justice. It is widely believed in both America and Britain, that justice is best safeguarded through the adversary system by which lawyers do verbal combat before judge and jury in order to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the

accused. It is the essence of the due process model that all other judicial officials are simply handmaidens to this central drama. But wait, says Cole, this is to ignore an important, though obvious fact of the judicial system. The court-room drama is only the pinnacle of a large, pyramid-shaped hierarchy. Policemen often remark that if they prosecuted every offence they encountered they would not get more than 100 yards from the police station and the courts would soon be choked. In short, there is literally an enormous amount of potential crime of which only a very small proportion is ever brought to a full trial. As Cole points out, the vast majority of crime is dealt with in ways which do not involve the court and, therefore, if we are to understand how the judicial process in fact operates, we must account for these other disposals.²

Cole is concerned to examine the decision-making process which decides how various cases will be disposed of. He points to three important features of the system:

- (1) Judicial officials—including the police—are granted discretionary power in their handling of cases and do not proceed with trivial cases which would waste the court's time.
- (2) Most decisions about whether or not to proceed with a case are usually taken in the relative privacy of the patrol car, police station or lawyer's office.
- (3) Since the greatest volume of decisions not to proceed are taken at the "base" of the pyramid—for example, by policemen deciding not to prosecute a motorist exceeding the speed limit by five m.p.h.—it follows that the greatest volume of decision-making will fall upon the most junior members of the hierarchy.

The judge in court is dependent, therefore, upon the decisions made by these "minor" officials, because he will only hear cases that they have previously decided are worth his while hearing. Yet, in stark contrast to the invisibility and relative unaccountability of their decisions, his every word will be recorded and made subject to appeal if he does not conform scrupulously to correct procedure. In other words, the due process model is actually stood on its head, for the most powerful actors in the legal drama are those who rarely appear on the court-room stage.

Having described where the power lies, Cole goes on to examine the process of decision-making amongst these various minor legal officials. In doing this he makes use of *exchange theory*,³ which treats all human action as a process of bargaining in a manner characteristic of the market place. As the case proceeds up the pyramid towards a full jury-trial, it is handled by a series of participants: the complainant; the policeman receiving the complaint; the investigating detective; the prosecuting attorney; the defence attorney and, finally, the judge and jury.

Now exchange theory presumes that each of these participants have certain interests which they would like to see satisfied and they will therefore seek to influence the other parties to accept a course of action which will best suit their interests. The actual course of

action which emerges should be a function of the different directions in which each of them is pulling, multiplied by their relative power. In this instance, because the case is passed from agency to agency up through the pyramid, the bargains are struck at the point at which the case is handed over. If it is to proceed towards a jury-trial then each agency must convince the next, that it is in the interests of the latter to accept the case. What Cole does, is to examine the various interests of participants in the system, how these produce typical bargains and what the consequences are for the accused.

The consequences for the accused can be summarised by saying that those least advantaged in society are further disadvantaged by this system. This is not due to straightforward prejudice or malevolence by officials, nor some grand conspiracy, but simply as a result of the disadvantaged lacking the power to threaten the interests of various legal officials. In a sense, the terrible feature of this is that officials are behaving quite reasonably: they are, after all, simply trying to keep their organisations in business. If they are to succeed in this they are required to satisfy other powerful parties, such as the local council, that they are acting efficiently. In other words, Cole is taking survival of the organisation concerned as the interest that various legal officials bring to the exchange and which they will seek to maximise during the course of bargaining.

How, then, are reasonable motives like the desire to survive, translated into perverse outcomes of selectively penalising the already disadvantaged? Well, in order to appear effective, each judicial agency will try to accept for prosecution only those cases that it can creditably dispose of in the most economical way. For example, police efficiency is assessed by local councillors according to the ratio of complaints received to crimes successfully prosecuted—the "clear-up rate". Now, the police can appear effective if they (a) avoid complaints which they know are difficult to clear-up and (b) solve those they receive. Since they know, from collective experience, that assaults which result from domestic quarrels often lead to the complaint being withdrawn by the aggrieved spouse, usually after the investigation has been completed, the officer receiving the complaint will avoid recording it as a crime and may attempt to divert the complainant to, say, the marriage guidance counsellor. On the other hand, since they know that so-called "crimes-without-victims"—drug offences, prostitution and the like—will only be recorded as a complaint by the arresting officer (ensuring a much more favourable clear-up rate), the police will place greater emphasis on prosecuting these offences and so will intentionally risk creating the impression that drug-users and prostitutes are being unwarrantably harassed.

Since the disadvantaged members of society tend to lack wealth or education they continue to be good currency for members of the justice system. They can rarely afford legal representation during the pre-trial period and, being on the whole inarticulate with probably only limited literacy, they find the whole procedure incomprehensible and are less able to present their own case effectively. Very often, their experience has taught them that they will not win if they try to oppose the system and are, therefore, best advised to plead guilty to a lesser crime. Thus, when two agencies are bargaining about whether or not a case should go forward towards prosecution, the fact that the disadvantaged are much more likely to be found guilty means that all agencies will find

it more attractive to prosecute them and thereby demonstrate their efficiency. The advantaged members of society present quite a different prospect, however, for they are likely to be aware of their legal rights, will obtain legal representation from the outset and will fight the case through every avenue available to them because they have much to lose through conviction. To proceed with a case against an advantaged member of society will inevitably be long, difficult and problematical for legal officials and it is therefore in their interests to dispose of the case in some other way.

I have dealt with Cole's thesis at some length because it does seem to be potentially useful as a theoretical approach. Unfortunately, he allows himself to become too easily bogged down in explaining the background details of how the police are recruited and how the attorney's office operates. These digressions are frequently interesting in themselves, but it would have been much better had he kept systematically to exchange analysis alone and developed this more fully. The book might also have benefited if instead of examining each agency in turn, he had taken a number of typical routes through the system showing what bargains are made and the consequences for the accused.

Atkins and Glick's work is much less substantial, consisting as it does of a series of rather poor, journalistic accounts of the horrors of the American penal system together with highly polemical attacks on prisons, those who run them and society in general. It is only in the editorial introduction that we find anything approaching systematic discussion, for here they—like Cole—adopt an exchange theory perspective. They start from the premise that for disadvantaged groups in society, one of the few ways of bringing influence to bear upon the authorities is through protest and riot. They then apply this proposition to an examination of the relationship between prisoners and prison officials, arguing that although the United States has had a long tradition of prison riots, these have recently undergone a fundamental change. Unlike the unplanned explosions of discontent arising from poor food, overcrowded accommodation or the brutality of guards that punctuated prison life in the past, recent riots have become politically motivated and are planned attempts to challenge the fundamental legitimacy of the system. The evils of the system are probably only marginally worse than they were, but now poor food, overcrowding and brutal guards are interpreted as justifying the view that the penal system as a whole and, therefore, the society which allows it to persist, are essentially corrupt. It has been the influx of politically sophisticated and ideologically motivated prisoners into the system—the result of black power and student protests—that has created prisoners' leaders capable of articulating their collective grievances. Under this leadership prisoners have been given a unity of purpose and a coherent ideology with which to challenge the system. They have also realised the power of using television (which they demand to be present during negotiations with the authorities) as a means of presenting their case to the wider public. Through this means they are able to present the grievances of prisoners as one more example of how racist America oppresses its minority groups and thereby enables them to mobilise sympathetic opinion outside.

Given this promising introduction, it is all the more unfortunate that the analysis ends

here. Thereafter, the book is devoted to showing the justice of the prisoners' case and becomes something of a platform for black power ideology.

* * *

To return to the question posed at the beginning of this article: what is the promise of political analysis of the criminal justice and penal systems? What has it to offer? Is politics an alien or pathological feature of human existence which needs to be avoided where possible, or a normal aspect of human organisation which can be used to good effect? Is it proper to treat the criminal justice system as political at all and, if so, in what sense is the term "political" being used? Besides the exchange theory of Cole, Atkins and Glick, are there any other potentially useful political perspectives?

What is, perhaps, curious about discussion of the criminal justice system is not that it should now include a political perspective, but rather that it has avoided one for so long. If we take the possibly most significant penological debate of recent years—whether or not the prison system's primary goal should be the rehabilitation of offenders—it is noticeable that it has been carried on in a political vacuum. The absence of any political consideration is apparently based upon the presumption that if a method of treatment of demonstrable effectiveness was discovered, then its adoption would be automatic. However, when Nicholas Hinton pointed out in the "Man Alive" programme on alternatives to imprisonment⁴ that progressive policies like community service orders are adopted not simply because they are effective, but—perhaps more importantly—because they are sufficiently appealing to conflicting sentiments in public opinion, he was pointing to the political reality. A policy will be implemented only if it receives the support of sufficient powerful interest groups. Similarly, when he accused R.A.P. of having a potentially detrimental effect on penal reform, through pressing for the entire abolition of prisons, he was again pointing out that by presenting a case which their opposition sees as a significant threat that must be defeated, an interest group may be mobilising support against itself. In both these arguments Hinton was implicitly using a respectable, if limited, political theory: namely pluralism. The lessons are simple, not to say obvious, but appear to have eluded at least some members of the reformist lobby.

It is also curious that sentencing should be seen as a politically neutral rational activity based either on assessing the moral harm inflicted on society by the offender or, alternatively, on assessing his rehabilitative needs. Both arguments are limited in failing to appreciate the political dimension. It must be acknowledged that sentencing is indisputably an act of State. In the criminal court the prosecution is typically brought in the name of the Crown, heard before the Crown's representative—the judge—and in the last instance is subject to appeal to a legislative assembly, the House of Lords. Nor are the courts merely servants of the law as passed through parliament: there is sufficient flexibility allowed in the interpretation of statute law, and considerable flexibility in common law judgements, for the courts to make law. The courts are simply a means of making certain recurrent decisions by the State.

If the sentence of the court is a decision of State, can it be analysed in the way all other political decisions are analysed? It is clear from a review of recent news that the judiciary

are no less required to maintain a balance between interested parties than are governments. For example, Sir Robert Mark has commented that if the scales of justice are too heavily weighted in favour of the accused, police officers may begin to leave the service. Similarly, there can be little doubt that increases in the length of sentences and the use of the minimum recommended sentence have been astute political responses which have, to some extent, placated those opposed to the abolition of the death penalty. Equally, members of the judiciary themselves have not been backward in using their position to bring pressure to bear on other departments of State. When a judge recently remarked⁵ upon sentencing a man to five years imprisonment for offences connected with pornography: "The shrill, petulant protest of licentious libertines has been resoundingly rejected", he was no less political than would Malcolm Muggeridge have been when saying exactly the same thing at a festival of light.

This curious absence of political awareness amongst those who discuss the criminal justice system probably results from the way in which the term "political" itself is used. In our political culture we tend to treat politics in terms of the formal institutions of State. We also tend to equate the term "political" with "political parties", hence the cry to "keep politics out of sport . . . art . . . science". However, we need to define what we mean by political, not least because when theories like pluralism or exchange theory are employed, it is clear that they can, in principle, be applied to levels of analysis other than that of the State.⁶ There is, however, a fundamental problem here: if we define politics in a manner which includes the case of a policeman and a lawyer bargaining over a prosecution then the notion of politics loses its analytical power. If this is political then so too are the myriad everyday actions of the most mundane kind and it makes a nonsense out of the observation of Atkins and Glick that recent prison riots have become "political", since according to this broad definition they must always have been. True, politics is about interests and power, but it would be a very cynical discipline indeed if it was *only* about these things. It is not to deny the validity nor the importance of Cole's analysis as far as it goes, to say that rather than claiming to be a political perspective, it should have claimed only to be a social exchange perspective.

If we cannot define politics in terms of its area of study—the operations of the State—nor merely the use of power in pursuit of interests, then how can it be defined? Here the point made by Atkins and Glick, when they claim that recent prison riots have become "political", is relevant: for they are pointing to the infusion of ideology. Ideology, with its total view of the world, welds individual grievances into common interests and relates interests to valued aims. By avoiding the question of ideology Cole has not invalidated his analysis, but has certainly limited it. If it is claimed that the only guiding interest of legal officials is the continued survival of their organisations it is then difficult to explain why the police and prosecuting attorney should have prosecuted the Black Panthers or the "Chicago Seven". Both these groups could be guaranteed to know their legal rights, to fight the case through every avenue open to them, with the attendant risk that the prosecution would fail and, moreover, in the full unabated glare of publicity. If, however, it is merely supposed that on the whole legal

officials tend to support a conservative ideology—not an unreasonable suggestion—then their readiness to risk their survival interests becomes more understandable. For the vast majority of cases there is probably no conflict between survival interests and ideology—prosecuting drug-users and prostitutes is probably both functional and ideologically satisfying. It is when they do conflict that the truly political aspects are exposed.

By defining the political component of human action as the use of power and influence in pursuit of valued aims and interests, the interesting problem arises of how general ideological positions become incorporated into relatively mundane decision making. For example, in a recent report on the policing policy being adopted in Detroit⁷—America's murder capital—it is suggested that "right-wingers" favoured increasing the number of plainclothes and undercover operations, whereas "left-wingers" advocated the alternative of having policemen visibly present in patrol cars. How is it that an apparently technical decision about police deployment becomes relevant to the left-right ideological division? Perhaps one of the greatest contributions that political analysis can make is in examining the role played by ideologies in decision-making at every level.

How, then, might political analysis be used in examining issues related to the prison system? If we take a topical case—the confusion and ambiguity surrounding the prison system's aims—then it is clear that, as in Cole's study, we immediately confront an account which ignores any political aspect in the sense used above. It is argued that if the Service clearly specifies its aims and the relative priority of its objectives, then the Service will become more efficient.⁷ The naïveté of this view is that it focuses exclusively upon the authorities and fails to recognise the role of other participants in the debate—those Gamson⁸ calls the "potential partisans", who may want to influence the decision about what the Service's aims are, or should be. The naïve view assumes that defining objectives is simply a question of the authorities recognising the realities and stating them. It is clear, however, that there are many potential partisans who want to influence this decision and that their views are in conflict.⁹ It might well be argued that the ambiguity surrounding the Service's aims is simply a reflection of the balance of countervailing pressures from these various partisans. Even though we may recognise this, we would do so reluctantly, for it would be a matter of regret to us that the organisation was thus prevented from operating like a well-oiled machine. However, to view the ambiguity as wholly negative is to do less than justice to its potential value. Where there is fundamental ideological conflict, ambiguity can stabilise the situation and prevent it deteriorating into disputes between parties to the exclusion of all else. Ambiguous aims allow all the various parties to claim that the beliefs which they hold dear are enshrined in the declared policy. In addition, ambiguity permits sufficient flexibility for the organisation to respond to shifts in the prevailing social and political climate, through being able to appeal in the declared aims, at different times and in different contexts to different elements. It is a tribute to the established policy of the Service that these aims have remained so stable over three-quarters of a century, during which time the Service has been modified and become increasingly complex. Those who now cry out for clarity and precision may only succeed

in bringing the Service to a standstill whilst energies are diverted towards conflicts of ideology.

A very similar issue arises at a different level in regard to the conflicts which are said to exist between various grades of staff. Here the naïve rationalist view is that it is all a question of role confusion. If everyone is given a role specification, so that they know what is expected of them, it is argued, all will be happy and efficient. What this view fails to recognise is that not all grades of staff are introduced into the organisation for purely functional reasons, some grades are introduced to signify that the organisation values this or that aim at any particular time. Thomas points out that the introduction of assistant governors into the Service performed this symbolic function, by signifying that governor grades were committed to the rehabilitation of inmates through close interpersonal relationships.¹⁰ In cases such as this, the conflict which thereafter arises may not simply be the result of role confusion, but one of values as groups within the establishment compete to influence policy so as to make it correspond to their ideology. Where this occurs, the specification of roles has little positive result and may be detrimental, since if conflict is to be resolved one or other party will feel the others have "won". A political approach to conflict resolution would stress the need for machinery through which conflicts can be expressed and negotiated on an ongoing basis, and not on a once-and-for-all arrangement which cannot reflect shifts in the distribution of power between parties. The implications for management of this approach are quite significant since for management the task becomes then not to determine the objectives and co-ordinate efforts directed towards the achievement of the objectives set, but to act as an arbiter between conflicting parties, seeking solutions which reconcile differences as much as possible. Management in this view becomes rather more akin to what Lord Butler has called "the art of the possible". Proposed regimes should not only be assessed in terms of whether or not they are likely to achieve their objective, but whether or not they will mobilise the support of the necessary staff.

Now, all this discussion of the potential of political analysis may appear to be merely of academic interest, but it is more than this. If a naïve model of how the system works is accepted as true, then those who believe it will act as though it were true. The result of this kind of action is illustrated by Cole. In America, the "due process" model of law is widely accepted as both possible and proper and, accordingly, the Supreme Court has pursued a policy of attempting to make actual practice fit rather more closely to this model. Perhaps the most well known case where this was attempted was the Miranda judgement,¹¹ which obliged the police to inform the accused of his legal rights, or else the prosecution was invalid. The consequence of this well-intentioned judgement, was not only to bring a howl of protest from the "law and order" lobby, but also to have an arguably detrimental impact upon the aims of the system. For now, the articulate and powerful have a further avenue through which to challenge their prosecution thereby making it even less likely to succeed, whilst the disadvantaged members of society are faced with yet more meaningless mumbo-jumbo of which they cannot take advantage. If the process of bargaining that actually goes on was acknowledged, then the

aims of justice could be furthered by bringing about change in the criteria used to assess police and other legal officials' effectiveness, or equally, by attempting to make the bargaining between agencies more visible and open to supervision.

If adherence to a naïvely rational model of the judicial process can result in this kind of misapplied policy, what potential damage can be done by applying equally naïve models of organisational behaviour to the Prison Service?

P. A. J. WADDINGTON,

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NOTES

(1) The Lord Chancellor, who is not only a member of the Cabinet, but also leader of the House of Lords. Most political structures have some member of the Government in the position of Minister of Justice.

(2) Cole reproduces a diagram which demonstrates how small the proportion of cases proceeding through to full trial actually is and the numerous other means by which cases are disposed of.

(3) A fuller exposition of exchange theory can be found in P. M. Blau *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. Wiley, 1964.

(4) "Man Alive" "Prisons: Part Two—The Alternatives", televised 27th February 1974.

(5) *Guardian* Friday, 7th June, 1974.

(6) As Antony Jay has observed, even the classical theories of Machiavelli can be applied to the operations of business organisation. See A. Jay *Management and Machiavelli*. Penguin, 1970.

(7) This position has been adopted by various contributors to the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL over the years, but is given its most systematic presentation by J. E. Thomas *The English Prison Officer Since 1850*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

(8) W. A. Gamson *Power and Discontent*. Dorsey Press, 1968.

(9) A point repeatedly acknowledged by Thomas (*op cit*) but treated as pathological by him. See particularly his discussion of the role of specialist grades, pp. 197–200.

(10) Thomas (*op cit*) pp. 119–121.

(11) *Miranda v. the State of Arizona*.



CLOSING CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Edited by YITZHAK BAKAL

Lexington Books, 1973. £4.70

BETWEEN 1969 and 1973 the State of Massachusetts' Department of Youth Services closed all of its reform schools and replaced them by a system of community-based homes and other treatments operated in the main by private groups. This remarkable step was brought about largely by the efforts of one man, Jerome Miller, Commissioner of the Department of Youth Services during that period. Miller was appointed as a result of a widespread and largely external demand for change and reform of outmoded practices in the Department of Youth Services. This external pressure gathered momentum in the mid 1960's. Recidivism by then had reached 80 per cent and the annual costs per child were twice the national average. There was obviously a need for change, and in August 1969 the state governor signed the Reorganisation Act which created a new department

covering welfare, health, mental health and corrections, and prepared the way for Miller's sweeping changes. Miller was appointed as the first commissioner of the department in October 1969.

His years in office were not without difficulties, and he met stiff opposition to his policies both inside and outside the department. Some of the problems he encountered will not be unfamiliar to anyone who has ever set out to change the course of a well-established organisation. He embarked on a policy of closing institutions, weathered the storm and in January 1972 he used his powers to close the institutions overnight.

Yitzhak Bakal is an assistant commissioner in Miller's department and his book, subtitled "New Strategies for Youth Services", is the result of a conference held six months after Miller took his drastic step. It is an attempt to set out the philosophy and the mechanics of setting up alternatives to the traditional institution and, with the recent recommendations of the advisory council in mind, this book takes on a topicality which should make it doubly interesting to anyone involved in the treatment of the young. Consisting of articles, many of which were written for the conference by various workers in this field, the book starts from the basic premise that the large correctional institution has failed to achieve its purpose, and goes on to examine the disadvantages of the institution, and to suggest other methods of treatment.

The articles are presented in four sections. Part 1 gives the general concepts and rationale behind the move away from institutions and presents broad outlines of the alternatives. Part 2 is devoted to a more detailed presentation of the alternatives describing methods, and the community-based structures designed to replace the institution. Part 3 presents actual case studies showing what has been done to implement alternatives in particular cases; and Part 4 details the Massachusetts experience as an example of the practical application of all the points presented earlier.

The book is well laid-out and the arguments are carefully presented, but some of the contributors are over-fond of using jargon and slick scientific-sounding phrases. For me at any rate this sort of writing has an inhibitory effect on the efficient assimilation of information presented to the perception through the optical faculty! Seriously though, it is a small criticism and this book is worth reading from cover to cover.

It is too early yet to evaluate the Massachusetts experiment, but it is to be hoped that Mr. Bakal will give us another book detailing the results in due course.

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THE PROVO EXPERIMENT

LAMAR T. EMPEY and MAYNARD L. ERIKSON
D. L. Heath, 1973. £5.60

IT SEEMS to be highly appropriate that with the publication of the Advisory Council on the Penal System's Report (Young Adult Offenders) it is now possible to purchase *The Provo Experiment* by Empey and Erickson. History may see both accounts as milestones and yet it is probably truer to say that the Provo experiment represents a sign-post and the Advisory Council's Report a cross-roads, in the movement towards the community treatment of the offender.

The Provo experiment was one of the earliest attempts to establish and evaluate a community-based alternative to institutional treatment for serious offenders. We first heard of it as long ago as 1961 when an article was published in the *American Sociological Review*, and later—1965—when we heard that the experiment was closed because of lack of public support and funds. After all the controversy and debate which ensued the authors now describe the experiment and try as dispassionately as possible to evaluate its results.

It is ironic that these results which—tentatively—suggest the viability of community, as opposed to institutional, treatment of delinquents are distilled from a situation which itself was terminated because of pressures in the community whose support was so necessary for its success.

Provo is a town near Salt Lake City in Utah which gave its name to the experiment conducted at Pinehills—the programme centre. It was non-residential and no more than 20 boys were assigned to the programme at any one time. This group was divided into two separate discussion units. When a boy was to be discharged from one unit a new boy was added. No length of stay was specified but release usually came between four and seven months. The centre dealt with repeat rather than first time offenders who were aged between 14 and 18 years and who had appeared before the juvenile court in Provo between 1959 and 1965.

The programme itself was divided into two phases, the first more intensive than the second. It hoped to use work and the delinquent peer group as the principal instruments for change. During the winter months those boys who were still at school continued to attend. Those not in school were employed in the city work programme. On Saturdays every boy worked. At the end of each day all the boys had to attend a group meeting at Pinehills after which they returned to their own homes.

During the summer every boy attended an all-day programme involving work and group discussions. Attendance was compulsory and predictably there was a great deal of manipulation of staff. Virtually all the delinquents disliked and resented the coercive methods which were used to reinforce the ground rules (there were three—compulsory attendance being one), yet they admitted that such methods had not only helped to maintain organisational stability but had caused them to reflect seriously on the problems facing them. Many considered the imposition of some sanctions as a major turning point in their experience at Pinehills. However, they felt that the greatest long-range benefits were derived from their active participation in a problem-solving, decision-making role. After release from the intensive activities of phase one a boy would enter stage two—designed to maintain continuing group support and using community action to help him find employment.

The experimental design demanded the random selection of boys to Pinehills who otherwise would have been on probation or sent to a residential institution. By using the boys not allocated to Pinehills as control groups it was hoped to assess the effectiveness of community treatment against both probation and residential correction.

In 1962 random selection was discontinued because of a decline in the number of boys being sent to residential institutions from the Provo court. Although vigorous analysis was still applied, this unfortunately makes

some of the authors' conclusions more tentative and open to doubt than one would have wished.

What, then, are the main findings?

1. That the period at Pinehills was more effective than probation in terms of the number of arrests made at this time. The findings suggest that intensity of supervision is directly related to the chances of arrest during supervision. The more intense the supervision the less chance there appeared to be of arrest.

2. That in this respect Pinehills was almost as effective as incarceration. Paradoxically, the most serious offences were not committed by boys from Pinehills but by those who had escaped from a period of incarceration.

3. Pinehills was unsuccessful in providing employment for boys on discharge. The authors admit this part of the experiment was a failure. They suggest that in view of the boys' educational backwardness future projects would be better served by concentrating on providing educational rather than work opportunities.

What did the authors discover about delinquency rates after the experiment?

4. On a four-year follow-up period the Pinehills programme did not appear to be greatly superior to probation. But experimental evidence suggests that Pinehills boys had consistently fewer arrests and fewer confinements for adult crimes than those controls who were committed to institutional treatment.

The authors point out that they wish to be cautious in interpreting this as the one bit of conclusive evidence of the superiority of community intervention over incarceration and say that the differences could have been explained by offender rather than programme differences. They do, however, go on to say that it indicates that community intervention is at least as effective as incarceration.

5. A more detailed analysis showed that boys who had been imprisoned tended to continue to violate the law long after their detention while the offence rate of boys who had remained in the community declined at a more rapid rate. It does appear to confirm that imprisonment may result in a negative socialisation increasing the tendency to delinquency.

All of which is not very reassuring to those of us working within the penal system. Neither is it reassuring to those engaged in exploring community alternatives.

The theoretical perspectives framed within this sociological study indicate that all the above conclusions are substantially demonstrable. However, reality also demands that we have to look at why a successful experiment like this had, nevertheless, to be terminated.

This is a book for sociologists rather than the practitioner though the latter is well rewarded if he follows its disciplined arguments to the end. What he will miss is a discussion of the practical issues involved and a far more stringent analysis of why the local community was ultimately so threatened that an experiment like this was forced to close.

Now that community care is generally accepted as the next step forward, we must ask ourselves the very real question as to whether the community at large is prepared to support and co-operate with such necessary experiments as at Pinehills. There is a lot to be learned in terms of educating the community in which such establishments are to be placed and this will have to be one of the tasks undertaken by the project and ignored to its cost. I suspect another constraint is the difficulty of recruitment and remuneration of staff who must be of high calibre—who will

need support and training for a demanding situation needing skilful handling.

What we now need is an experiment which not only produces the right sociological answers (and Provo demonstrates to me the need for a multi-disciplinary approach), but is also viable enough to survive and be accepted by the community as a realistic alternative to institutionalisation. This is an aim whose successful attainment may be more difficult to achieve than many at present would allow.

As the authors suggest, their results prove not only the need for experimenting further with various kinds of community projects but also the need for more innovation in institutions. The treatment of delinquents, if it is to be successful, cannot be polarised as either custody or community oriented. There are shades of grey in between and it is into these areas which we must now move. It is worth remembering that it was the Provo experiment which first started making tentative steps in this direction.

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WHITEGATE—AN APPROVED SCHOOL IN TRANSITION

OWEN GILL

Liverpool University Press, 1974. £4.00

THE transition in the title of the book is the change effected at the approved school when the headmaster was replaced. "Training" became "treatment" and much of the book concerns itself with the questions which arise from a change in attitudes and directions at an establishment like an approved school. The views expressed by the new headmaster are given as direct evidence, although the remarks about his predecessor are hearsay and largely derogatory. In this respect, there seems to be some lack of balance.

What affected all approved schools was the transition from the "Children and Young Persons Act, 1933" to the "Children and Young Persons Act, 1969". In fact, many of the problems which Mr. Gill describes as a consequence of the new headmaster taking over, were certainly exacerbated by the transforming of "approved schools" into "community homes".

There is a shortage of published work which gives the opinions of boys in what were previously "approved schools". Owen Gill wrote this book after being resident at Whitegate, working under conditions which allowed him to be accepted by the boys without being seen as part of the "establishment". Although Mr. Gill points out the limitations and disadvantages of his approach, his book gives one the feeling that it is written from first-hand knowledge and careful observation. Many of the recorded opinions illustrate the ability of the boys in the school to express themselves clearly and to criticise the regime constructively.

The policy and practice of the school are clearly enunciated. There seems to have been a willing acceptance by care staff of the new headmaster's concepts, although to some extent one feels that a constructive approach by the house staff was lacking and that everything depended on the headmaster. This is probably a fair estimate of the situation, but it points to the necessity of attracting caring staff who are able to make helpful suggestions.

The public outside closed institutions

would find the book very readable and would learn from it something of the attitudes of young delinquents. This same general public might well be alarmed by the steady failure in "success" rates since 1933. There is nothing which leads us to believe that since 1969 there has been any increased effectiveness in similar institutions modifying the behaviour of boys sent to them. Neither is there indication of any change in the expectations of such institutions over the 20 years since Gittins wrote: "The constant problem of training is to prevent the formation of behaviour which is merely a veneer and in this the approved schools labour under a major disability. The great desire of the boy is to get out, to go on licence. To achieve this he seeks to exhibit a socially acceptable pattern of behaviour yet, valuable as the resultant habit training may be, if the essential attitudes remain, the training is basically ineffective". Nothing in "Whitegate" leads to the belief that there has been a breakthrough in this respect.

Mr. Gill feels that the role of the school will be little affected by the 1969 Act and that to change the function of the school would necessitate expensive reorganisation of personnel and facilities for which the legislation makes no provision, either of money or of staff training.

In all, the book is somewhat gloomy and one has the feeling of hard and devoted work being ineffectively applied. At £4 for a slim book, it possibly has more of a place in a library than in a private house.

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CARE OR CUSTODY: COMMUNITY HOMES AND THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY

N. S. TUTT

Darton, Longman and Todd, 1974.

Paperback £2.40

THE writer of this book was employed, for some time, as a psychologist in a boys' approved school. The school was run by a Roman Catholic order and had a reputation for enlightened leadership and progressive practices. Dr. Tutt's book is an attempt to describe the workings of this school as an organic, changing entity. He prefaces his report by giving very sketchy descriptions of certain characteristics of young offenders, a resume of some theories of criminality and the penal/legal measures available for coping with this group of youngsters. All this will be familiar to anybody who has a nodding acquaintance with criminology. It does, however, meet the purpose of setting the scene for those who know nothing about ex-approved schools and want to proceed to the following chapters.

These, in turn, describe, often with an implicit evaluative judgement, the school itself and certain of its procedures. The chapter on "Staff and Boys" is interesting because it highlights many of the problems of these two segments of the establishment, both individually and interactively. This section should prove particularly useful to staff dealing with young people in detention centres and borstals.

The longest chapter gives case histories of three members of staff and some boys, taken verbatim from interviews. The purpose of this chapter is not immediately apparent, unless it is to give the reader some "real feel"

of the people Dr. Tutt is talking about. In many ways this chapter highlights the problems of interpretation presented by the whole book. Dr. Tutt's remarks are based mainly on his experience and description of one establishment. Whilst he is obviously knowledgeable about many other areas in the child care system and says things which are said by most people in that system, his statements remain a matter of opinion—sometimes highly dubious, as I will come to later—and it is not very sensible to accept them or to extend them to other establishments without adequate empirical evidence.

The chapter on "Staff Role" aims at evaluating the functions of specific groups of staff: e.g., headmaster, residential social workers and others in an approved school. This leads to a discussion of the "Role of Formal Education in Residential Treatment" and a chapter on the role of work training in approved school. Again, those who are responsible for organising work programmes for young people in detention centres and borstals may find this an interesting and informative chapter. However, it fails to point out that work programmes are often developed not as means of production or vocational training, but because the waking hours of residents must be filled somehow and activities with useful end-products, be they mail-bags or leeks, are a reasonable and obviously "productive" way of doing this.

The title of the book is "Care or Custody" and much of the foregoing material, though not always obviously relevant to the title, is nevertheless critical of the ambiguity in the role of approved schools in relation to care or custody. The difficulties in parts of the system outlined by Dr. Tutt are agreed on by most practitioners, who have, nevertheless, despaired of finding a way out of those difficulties. It is, therefore, with enormous anticipation that the practitioner or the theorist comes to the last chapter aptly titled "What Needs to be Done?"

For the thirsty in search of water, having chased a lot of mirages, this particular oasis has a few damp patches, some coloured glass vessels which *could* have contained water, but not a drop to drink.

Dr. Tutt starts by saying: "It must be obvious to all that something needs to be done about the residential treatment of young offenders in this country" and goes on to suggest that "The first thing that must be done is for society to decide whether it wants to treat or punish its deprived children". This is to suggest that there is a clear dichotomy between treatment and punishment. If there were, this would imply totally different systems for dealing with the children who are inevitably the subject of both. Both conceptually and practically, "treatment" and "punishment" are vague and diffuse and often used in a complementary fashion. What is treatment and what is punishment is often a matter of who is doling out and who is at the receiving end, and not a matter of what is actually being dolled out.

This chapter is suffused with a lot of "liberal" and currently fashionable exhortations to change "the system" but nowhere in the chapter is any evidence or even reasonable argument given as to why the exhortations should be followed. For example, there should be accommodation in schools for the child's "family to move in with him if they desired, or if they needed to in times of crises—like the threat of eviction". It is stated that if the schools were locally based, they could "prevent delinquency as well as treat it *in situ*", and

that many of the problems of schools such as truancy would be "greatly reduced" and absconding "would no longer be perceived as a problem". Whilst there are good reasons for having some family accommodation in community schools or for placing some schools for certain types of children in the immediate locality, those reasons need to be argued and explicitly stated. Dr. Tutt, by treating the topics in such a dogmatic and cursory fashion, does little to promote his own avowed cause. In fact the whole chapter suggests a surprising lack of sophistication in looking at the complex interplay of society with the institutions it has created for coping with its wayward youth.

The book will be useful as an introduction to some of the problems of community schools, as well as giving some insights into the workings of a particular establishment. It takes its place in a respectable line of publications and should find its way to the bookshelves of all those who are concerned with the residential treatment of young people—and not just offenders. But, its greatest weakness lies in perpetuating the myth that all we need to do to reduce delinquency and, more particularly, recidivism is to improve our establishments. It ignores the fact that since the dawn of man any number and variety of penal and "treatment" measures have been devised which, except for "final solutions", have failed to curtail delinquency.

It is reasonable to expect Dr. Tutt, an experienced psychologist, to have pointed out that the problems of ex-approved schools and current community schools are those of any residential group situation where the "clients" are kept in against their own will and in the context of profound social ambivalence. This applies as much to boarding schools for the maladjusted and the handicapped as it does to special hospitals. Dr. Tutt's considerable skills could have been used to point out that breaking the law is but one problem amongst many presented by the individual to society and to himself and, that from amongst all those problems, the one we least know how to treat. The pity is that Dr. Tutt misses the opportunity to point out that, at least in the case of youngsters, offending is not a suitable subject for treatment.

M. S. HOGHUGH,
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RADICAL NON-INTERVENTION— RETHINKING THE DELINQUENCY PROBLEM

EDWIN M. SCHUR

Prentice Hall International, 1973. £1.25

CHARLIE NASH is the middle child in a family of nine children. He is just 14 years old. His father is a lorry driver and the family live in a substantial but poorly furnished Victorian house in one of the twilight areas of inner London. The whole area has been scheduled for redevelopment for many years. His three elder brothers have all been before the courts and, while this is now some time ago, they have considerable difficulty in settling down in regular employment. Various social agencies have attributed this to their mother's somewhat possessive attitude; it is generally recognised that relationships within the family are very affectionate. This is despite the somewhat slap-happy domestic arrangements and the father's limited income.

A year ago Charlie smashed a window on the way home from a party. He appeared at the local juvenile court and was given a conditional discharge for a year. Six months later he is seen with two of his friends on the roof of a shop. They are charged with attempted burglary and in view of Charlie's poor school attendance (characteristic of all his older brothers in their day) he is committed to Stamford House remand home for full reports. There he is found to be co-operative, rather withdrawn and with the reading age of a child of nine. However, he is deemed neither mad nor maladjusted and on his return to court he is fined 50p. Stern warnings are also issued about the importance of attending school regularly. The probation officer supervising one of his elder brothers is increasingly drawn into the situation and when Charlie next appears in court (for riding as a passenger in a stolen car) recommends that he is placed on supervision.

Over the next few months Charlie makes some sporadic efforts to attend school but for much of the time wanders the streets with his friends. As his attendance deteriorates he becomes the subject of frequent anxious telephoning between his probation officer and the local educational welfare officer. He also becomes increasingly the object of police attention as once again his family come into focus as potential if not actual offenders. Eventually he is arrested for being found on enclosed premises (to which he pleads not guilty) and only avoids a more drastic penalty through the accident of coming before a bench who are unaware of his poor school attendance. His mother stretches the house-keeping money to snapping point to pay the £2 fine imposed and his probation officer tries vainly to get a transfer of school. Everyone is unhappily aware that next time he appears in court he will almost inevitably be "sent away".

Charlie Nash's progress from deprived but comparatively normal child to social problem is depressingly familiar to those struggling to cope with the problem of juvenile delinquency. He (or his transatlantic equivalent) seems also to be in the mind of Professor Schur who argues that the general disillusionment with the juvenile justice system stems from the fact that it simply doesn't work and therefore social policies must be adopted that tolerate and allow for a greater diversity in youthful behaviour. Only thus can we avoid the stigmatising labelling processes which characterise our present juvenile court procedures and in practice militate against the rehabilitative aims which hopefully underlie the present system. What we are left with now are sterile procedures which, to quote Tannenbaum's famous account, are the process of "making the criminal". This is above all a question of "defining, identifying, segregating, tagging, describing, emphasising, making conscious and self-conscious. It becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting and emphasising the very traits that are complained of".

Schur mounts his arguments on two main fronts. First, he criticises the school of thought that sees the delinquent as an individual to be treated and changed. Secondly, he opposes the standpoint that sees the first approach to the problem as primarily one involving changes in society. In the first instance, delinquency is seen as deriving from innate or internal causes, either biological in origin or more fashionably as the consequence of underlying development or psycho-dynamic disorders induced, most typically, by a faulty upbringing. In contrast, the social reforming school sees

delinquency in similarly deterministic terms, but closely linked with a particular neighbourhood group or sub-cultural context. This is the area covered by such familiar names as Sutherland and Cressey, Merton, Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin. The emphasis is on social pathology rather than individual disturbance, but it is still seen as a question of malfunctioning requiring treatment, whether of an individual counselling nature, or a street corner project geared to changing the nature of a group or neighbourhood.

To Schur, the key weakness in these notions lies in the assumption that the delinquent is fundamentally different from the non-delinquent. This has of course been criticised before, notably by David Matza with his conception of "drift" and the emphasis on the fact that so-called delinquents are not always behaving in a delinquent fashion, but in fact move in a highly fluid and contingent fashion between conventional and criminal activity. This together with the concept of labelling lies at the heart of the currently fashionable interactionist view of behaviour—that behaviour emerges from continuous processes of social interaction. Unlike much criminological theory this is essentially anti-deterministic in that it rejects the idea of forces beyond the individual's control which impel him into delinquent behaviour. On the other hand it recognises that a social definition of someone as delinquent has force, even to the extent of encouraging the very behaviour that is disapproved of through a change in the individual's view of himself. "To be signified as a thief", to quote Matza, "means that among other things one loses the blissful identity of someone who among other things has committed a theft".

Schur's response, faced with all these apparently blind alleys, is to advocate a strategy of radical non-intervention—in a phrase, "to leave the kids alone whenever possible". The key to his argument is his recognition that working-class children are victimised in that the legal process, however well-intentioned and high-minded ("this child needs help"), is a net that catches them far more often than their middle-class equivalents and also cannot be seen by them as anything other than punitive. However, his remedies for the situation are a trifle feeble and heavily generalised: "we need to oppose various kinds of intervention by diverse social control and socialising agencies . . . also by thorough-going changes in the structure and values of society". He does, however, specifically suggest that juvenile courts should perhaps concentrate on dispensing justice (that is react primarily to specific law-breaking) rather than persist in any chimerical ideal of rehabilitation.

Professor Schur's book, while rather repetitive and discursive, provides, I suppose, a reasonable introduction to the present somewhat shifting front-line of criminological theory. However, despite both its dramatic title and its surface plausibility and attractiveness, it has very little original about it and does seem to suffer from two major weaknesses.

First, that in its criticisms of conventional criminology (whether psychologically or sociologically based) it quite underestimates the value this can have in helping us to understand the individual who offends. I would agree that no one explanation can cover every manifestation of that protean monster "delinquency", ranging as it does in our society from murder to drunkenness, but the fact remains that the offending of many juveniles

and indeed adults often has a clear connection with neurosis (however defined), the influence of a sub-culture, parental rejection, cultural transmission or whatever.

Secondly, and as a corollary to this, Schur never really faces up to the fact that many juvenile offenders have very real problems which, if only because they are technically children, society arguably has a responsibility to recognise and if possible deal with. In a competitive world Charlie Nash's reading age (quite apart from his truancy) is a very real matter for concern, as is the poor material situation in which he lives, and his position generally as a loved, but undifferentiated member of a large poor family. The tragedy of the situation is that debatably remedial measures are only likely to come about as he works his way up the tariff of juvenile court penalties.

ANTHONY HEATH,
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THE REPORT OF THE PAROLE BOARD FOR 1973

H.M.S.O. 31p

THE board's report, published in June, records another year of steady progress. It also marks the end of Lord Hunt's seven-year chairmanship. The Hon. Mr. Justice Shaw's tribute to Lord Hunt in his foreword to the report will be echoed by all who are familiar with the work of the Parole Board.

In the year under review 3,344 people serving determinate sentences were released on parole. This represents an increase of 14.29 per cent on the figures for 1972. It is interesting that in 1968, the first year of parole in this country, the number released was 450.

Recalls remain encouragingly few: 252 during 1973. Of those some 50 per cent recalled lapsed within four months of release. But it would be misleading and out of keeping with the board's philosophy to regard recalls as, necessarily, failures.

Some 7 per cent of those eligible for parole opt out. This is a disturbing statistic which remains unexplained, although the Home Office Research Unit's study of the phenomenon is continuing.

Two important developments occurred during 1973. First, the Parole Board since June of that year has been involved in deciding when to review life sentences. Board members and officials make up a joint sub-committee for this purpose. Secondly, and in the long run much more significant, the limited devolution of decision-making to the local review committees has successfully begun. The Criminal Justice Act (1972) S.35 (1) provided that the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Parole Board, should decide upon a range of cases for which parole could be granted on the recommendation of the local review committee without reference to the Parole Board. It was decided that, at this stage, the new procedure would be limited to cases of people serving sentences of under three years and excluding those convicted of offences of violence, sex, arson and drug-trafficking. The local review committee's recommendation must be unanimous. In the year under review, the first in which the new procedure has been used, 813 people have been paroled in this

way. It may reasonably be anticipated that this number will increase substantially over the next few years.

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Staff College.*

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

JOHN WILSON

Basic Books, 1973. £5.50

WHAT, you may ask, does a book which deals with the Jehovah's Witnesses, pacifists and the temperance movement have to offer for members of the Prison Service? You will find no discussion of crime or imprisonment in this book, yet it could prove germane because social movements may affect the Service in two ways.

First, not all social movements are as innocent as those cited above. The Students for a Democratic Society (of campus riot fame), Black Panthers and fascists are all examples of social movements that have felt it necessary to employ violence at some stage or other. Hippies, beatniks and even some extreme religious movements have engaged in activities defined at the time as deviant. It is possible, then, that members of social movements will become prisoners because of their activism. Moreover, as the Black Panthers illustrate, once imprisoned they may continue to seek to further the aims of their movement and this may lead to protest or violence within the walls. The current social and political climate suggests that these criminally-defined social movements will become more, rather than less common in the foreseeable future.

Secondly, social movements are sometimes devoted to bringing about change in penal policy itself. They may, like the Howard League, do this in an eminently respectable fashion or through the more characteristic means of non-institutionalised protest like that recently employed by P.R.O.P. The Service is likely to feel the impact of social movements of whichever kind.

This book does not seek to analyse these particular causes and consequences of social movement action. Its scope is much wider, examining the characteristics that *all* social movements have in common, whatever their ideological persuasion. In doing this, it offers an excellent opportunity for members of the Service to relate their knowledge and experience to a much broader framework. Having read this book the reader may well find that he is able to make sense of events with which he is familiar from a new and interesting point of view.

Do not be misled by the title, for this is not *only* an "introduction". For those who know little about the theory of social movements it will provide a thorough and lucid review of the existing literature; but it is much more besides. At a time when authors are claiming with monotonous regularity that their books are a "new direction in", or a "reconstruction of" sociological theory, the modesty of an author like Wilson is refreshing. Yet if any recent book deserved the title "Towards a Theory . . ." then it is this one. He takes all the major theoretical viewpoints, extracts each of their respective strengths and blends them skilfully into as complete an account

as is currently possible. His breadth is not only intellectual either, the book is crammed full of examples, illustrations and test cases from the whole spectrum of social movement. It is the combination of breadth, balance and completeness which is the hallmark of this excellent book.

It can be considered as falling into two parts. In the first three chapters Professor Wilson is concerned with how discontent arises and then becomes welded into a social movement. Even though this aspect has been the focus of much of the existing literature, he still manages to provide an interesting and fresh analysis. It is, in particular, the balance between objective and subjective factors that Wilson so adroitly analyses. He neither claims that it is deprivation as such, nor solely the arousal of awareness amongst a deprived group, but rather a complex interplay between these factors, that produce a social movement.

In the remainder of the book he attempts to develop an analysis of the ongoing organisation and structure of social movements. Whilst there is not nearly so much research material directly related to this issue, he nonetheless draws from a wide range of literature to produce an incisive analysis. Using a basic structural-functionalist framework—though by no means becoming limited to it alone—he examines how social movements cope with the recurrent difficulties they face in surviving and achieving their goals. Furthermore, for the benefit of future theoretical development, he poses some unanswered questions which arise from this analysis.

Perhaps the most important overall conclusion one draws from this work is that the solution to these recurrent difficulties almost invariably involves a diminution of ideological fervour. The practical implication appears to be that if you wish to prevent a social movement from surviving and achieving its aims, the best strategy is not to suppress it. Suppression will only produce increased cohesion in the movement and strengthen the leadership. Toleration on the other hand poses the leadership with the problems of adapting to the existing social structure in order to survive and grow. The sheer weight of organisational management produces specialisms and thereby special interests. New members recruited in less exacting circumstances are often not nearly as committed as their predecessors. Gradually, the movement loses its momentum and settles down to an existence of more or less impotent respectability.

Understandably, Wilson has to limit his focus even in a book as exhaustive as this. However, by focusing more or less exclusively upon the social movement itself and how it acts, he does omit an important area of study. He ignores the problems that social movements pose for others in society, particularly the authorities. Smelser's *Theory of Collective Behaviour* which is in many ways less impressive than Wilson's book, does have the advantage of treating the development of movements as an interplay between its members and the authorities. For those in a position of possibly needing to control social movements, this omission may prove a drawback.

A second reservation derives from Wilson's treatment of how movements cope with difficulties posed by survival. He argues that these difficulties confront the movement as a whole unit, which therefore responds as a whole. Yet he himself emphasises the need to qualify the general point that survival requirements produce a reduction in ideological

cal fervour, arguing that where ideology itself directly refers to how solution must be found fervour does not decline. For example bureaucratisation is usually the response to administrative problems except when groups have strong ideological proscriptions against it as, for example, that found among the Exclusive Brethren. Now, rather than leaving this as an exception to the rule, it seems to me to indicate the possibility that within social movements there are various interests and coalitions as found in all groups. Instead of survival requirements confronting the entire group equally, it is possible, or indeed probable, that different segments will find certain problems more pressing than others; so that priorities as to which problems to meet and which kinds of solution are deemed appropriate are likely to be negotiated within the group and to reflect, therefore, the balance of power. Further examination of the exceptions noted by Wilson may show that in these cases the powerful segments were more ideologically committed than in comparative groups.

These are, however, relatively detailed and minor criticisms which should not deter anyone from reading this book.

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WOMEN IN PRISON

KATHRYN WATTERSON BURKHART

Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973. \$10.00

"BABY, you gotta be the voice for us. 'Cause, according to society, we ain't got no voices. Numbers can't talk—everybody knows that."

Kathryn Burkhardt, a freelance journalist, has given American women prisoners the opportunity to speak for themselves. She visited 21 prisons of various kinds, interviewed 400 women in depth inside and outside prison and talked to about 500 others. These women, she feels, are "the greatest over-looked source for examination and change of the system that governs their lives". She examines the gap between penal theories and their effects on individual inmates, and considers the relation of imprisonment to crime.

Ms. Burkhardt admits to being drawn to women who have been labelled aggressive or troublesome and concedes an initial bias against guards and matrons. She discovered "painfully" that the guards and matrons were human too: "they also live under stringent rules and regulations that imprison and brutalise them". She anticipates the objection that many of the prisoners may be distorting the truth. "The same may be said of administrators and guards. . . . This is the way they see it—and it's adding all these pieces together that gives us a fuller picture of what's going on."

She notes that most of those sentenced are the poor, the black, the resourceless. She makes an interesting distinction between two systems of justice which she characterises as the intellectual and the physical. The dice is loaded against the poor, she argues, not simply because of their obvious needs and anxieties but also because lawyers and such people are more appreciative of ingenious, intellectual crimes like embezzlement than of physical or "action" crimes like purse-snatching. The primitive crime prompts the primitive retort—imprisonment.

Theft, prostitution, drug abuse, drunkenness, and disorderly conduct are the most

common female offences; and are often a means of escape from intolerable circumstances. Take Jeanette, for instance. She was drunk while committing a robbery—and wearing a purple coat. "I guess I was screaming to get caught. I guess I was screaming for help. And that purple coat helped me scream . . . I was drinking so bad . . . I had lost my husband . . . I had lost my baby. I had really hit the bottom of the barrel."

The author contrasts an officer's matter-of-fact description of receptions procedure and narcotics search with the vivid picture of the same process from a prisoner's point of view—to the prisoner, it is a literal stripping of dignity and self-respect. A variety of institutions is described—from the grimly custodial to the benignly therapeutic, but the prisoner's response is remarkably uniform; they protest against the infantilising process, the attempt to rob them of responsibility and a sense of self. Seymour L. Halleck, psychiatric consultant for the Wisconsin Division of Correction: "If one had systematically and diabolically tried to create mental illness and tried to create situations in which there were no alternatives, he could probably have constructed no better system than the American prison system". He points out that it is not conducive to mental health to be forbidden to feel intimate towards others, to be denied contact with the opposite sex, to be forbidden contact with people of the same sex ("No plucking of one another's eyebrows"), to be punished for any show of aggression, even of a verbal, argumentative nature. These blocks—these invisible bars—limit responsibility, dignity and growth. "We are not physically abused", says one prisoner, "we are demoralised drop by drop that's all".

Eighty per cent of women prisoners have had children. (Joy Eyman in *Prisons for Women*, a study of American institutions, presents the information in a more useful form: she says that at any time more than half the female inmates "will be mothers of minor children".) It is true that some of these mothers cared inadequately for their children before imprisonment, but enforced separation, consequent anxieties and frequent lack of knowledge of their children's whereabouts will certainly impair mother-child relationships and may sever them absolutely. In some prisons, incredibly, children are not allowed to visit their mothers. The reasoning behind this is that many of the children would not understand why they were not allowed to touch their mothers. A deputy sheriff explains: "The regulations protect everyone from unnecessary traumas and problems".

An inmate feels powerless to prevent her family falling apart. The children may be scattered, or may scatter. Her husband may turn to someone else. She may have a long fight to prove she is a fit mother. The prison itself may make her less fit. An assistant warden: "Jails are not conducive to women being good mothers. Mothers in jails are not conducive to bringing up good citizens. We have 70 per cent recidivism. Yes, they come back, and their daughters and their daughters' daughters".

In an unsensational but sympathetic chapter about sex, Ms. Burkhardt describes the kind of adaptive behaviour that occurs because of the emotional deprivation of imprisonment. In a man-less society, men are invented. Family patterns emerge with women playing the parts of fathers, husbands, boyfriends, sons; such patterns occur, she suggests, partly because of the domestic layout of the

buildings in women's prisons—the "cottage" system. According to a warden, one of the greatest problems in the matter of homosexuality is the staff's preoccupation with it. "The staff create their own monsters", says a prisoner, "they worry about homosexuality and then they keep the men away". Mary had one man on her visiting list; a relative wanted to visit. Application rejected—because the relative was male, past his 18th birthday, and single. He was Mary's nephew.

In *Who plays Doctor?* Ms. Burkhardt is critical of poor medical facilities and of second-rate medical personnel who appear to spend most of their time playing hunt the malingering. She is aware of the difficulty of recruiting qualified medical staff when pay is relatively poor and institutions tend to be miles from anywhere. Patients in the outside world go to doctors because they "want attention"—in prison this is known as "malingering". Inmates and staff agree that prisoners must "literally fall out" before they get medical treatment. How strange that medical personnel are so often more punitive and less understanding than custodial staff!

Humane innovations have gone oft awry. Indeterminate sentencing was introduced with the intention of granting—in general—earlier discharge, but the Californian treatment model (which uses the indeterminate sentence in association with a range of admirable services) has resulted in the average term in California stretching from 24 to 36 months; the number of persons imprisoned has more than doubled; the percentage of reconvictions has stayed the same. Ms. Burkhardt warns of "the expansion of the system through sincere efforts to reform it piecemeal". The provision of residential community treatment centres she sees as a step forward; the cardinal error is that they are being planned to supplement existing and proposed prisons, and so are in danger of becoming appendages to "a growing machine that is already out of whack". She has a dream: plenty of hospitals and health centres. Clinics instead of criminal laws for people with problems. People judged and helped by their peers—"people who stole and threatened one another . . . remanded to groups of neighbourhood people who helped them work out their problems and repay their victims".

Ms. Burkhardt certainly cares. She tends to over-identify with the women she has interviewed and consequently to under-estimate the problem of management of prisons for women. She is, however, sympathetic with administrators and staff who feel frustrated that they cannot do more to help. She is aware that for some women prison is more reassuring than the world outside. Her recurring image for prison is the concrete womb—"a place we send people for change. We expect them to grow and become responsible on literally concrete ground. We force-feed dependency and regression to people and then hurl them back into society expecting them to be independent. It doesn't make sense".

Taken as a whole, the book is a searing indictment of the American penal system and of the society it serves. And of such systems. And of such societies.

Publishers have asked us to say that though Doubleday books are not on public sale in the U.K. enquiries may be made to The London Office at 100 Wigmore Street, London, W1H 9DR.

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Tutor at the Staff College.

CORRECTIONS: PROBLEMS OF PUNISHMENT AND REHABILITATION

Edited by EDWARD SAGARIN and

DONAL E. J. MACNAMARA

Praeger, 1974. £5.25

THIS is a collection of papers delivered at the Second Inter-American Congress of Criminology held in Venezuela in 1972. A wide range of topics is covered which makes any comprehensive account of the volume rather difficult. Broadly, the papers may be divided into two categories: those specifically about penal establishments and those about criminal, or deviant, behaviour in the community.

The papers about penal treatment vary in scope, quality and relevance as far as this country is concerned. It is interesting to note that throughout the articles the criminal is depicted as the unskilled, lonely, young man, often with a drink or drug problem, a poor work record, and a lot of good, and no doubt sincere, intentions about not returning to prison. The article on parole shows that North Americans are as ineffective as we are in stopping him returning. The author concludes that the money spent on prison and to a large extent on parole, is "misapplied"; one sometimes wonders if a better word might be "misappropriated".

Several of the 16 articles are concerned with ways of "treating" prisoners. There is an article on "A Therapeutic Community for Persistent Offenders" which is reminiscent of our *avant garde* optimism of the early 1960's, with statements like "The major therapeutic tool is through social dynamics". There is an article called "Contingency Management: Toward a Behavioural Philosophy" which is about "The Token Economy" or "Operant Conditioning". This describes a system of rewards which is familiar to us as the means by which we have controlled our borstals for 70 years. Nowadays in penal and mental health circles such crudity has been elaborated into a theory of treatment. One of the best articles is called "The Failure of Correctional Management" which describes the correctional manager as one who "tends to avoid risk-taking behaviour", and who is "bureaucratically impotent", amongst other things. It is an article which would, I imagine, appeal to everyone, except, of course, correctional managers.

The articles dealing with non-prison subjects are similarly varied and interesting. There is an account of "New Careers"—the involvement of ex-offenders in "treatment"—a development which, if it continues to expand here, could change the whole nature of social work, and has already begun to face the Prison Service with an awkward situation. There is a very interesting article on a management problem in an addiction unit, which arose from the refusal of addicts to accept the apparently scientific evidence of the presence of drugs in urine. One of the best articles of all is about the effects of the abolition of capital punishment in Canada. Two aspects of the American penal scene are, however, neglected. The most striking features of many American prisons are the predominance of blacks, and the scale of drug addiction. I would like the discussion of both to play a much more central part in American writing about crime and punishment. The absence of discussion about race has been the most amazing feature of American penological writing since the 1930's.

Nevertheless, for those who are really interested in penal work, this volume is worth reading. Those whose professional boundaries begin and end with the question of the identity of their new governor need not bother.

J. E. THOMAS,

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Author of *The Prison Officer Since 1850*.



GROUPS: FACILITATING INDIVIDUAL GROWTH AND SOCIETAL CHANGE

Edited by WALTER M. LIPTON

John Wiley and Sons, 1972. £4.90

"A MAJOR premise of this book is that there is no necessary contradiction between individual growth and societal, or group, process." In being concerned with group experiences across the entire spectrum of society (regardless of age or setting) the book, perhaps inevitably, is sketchy in certain areas but the arguments are well presented and those topics which are more fully developed provide absorbing reading.

The object of the book is defined in the first chapter. It is "intended to provide immediate help for the beginner and to help potential group workers to recognise their need for formal professional training". The latter need is amply demonstrated as the text unfolds but one wonders if the aim of providing immediate help for the beginner suffers as a result. For the inexperienced beginner the book too often assumes familiarity with counselling skills and social work concepts—although an extensive bibliography is provided and the author does express the hope that readers of the book may be prompted to further study and experience.

The book ranges over group experiences in the widest sense. It has chapters on: Group Characteristics and the Needs of Society; The Interdependence of Theory and Action; The Tools and Techniques involved in the Helping Process; The Real World—A Changing Society; Group Guidance, Orientation Programmes and Other Vehicles for Mass Dissemination of Information; and Professional Problems of the Group Counsellor. The reader who is seeking specific information on small group processes will find it in the chapter entitled "Problems in Group Counselling". Here the author examines the practitioner's role in the structuring and linking functions of group leadership, some of the techniques which may be employed to facilitate group activity and ways in which that activity may be understood. He acknowledges the weakness of any book of this kind which centres about an experience which the readers may not have shared.

Some of the ethical and philosophical issues discussed will have particular meaning and application for those working in penal institutions. In particular, the author makes the point that the leader may exercise choice in the use of techniques but the client must be free to make use of what is offered as he chooses. To illustrate this, Gilbert Wrenn in *Revolution in Counselling* is quoted: "If it is clear that the client is to select his own ends, that it is his life, not the counsellor's, then the client is safe in agreeing that the counsellor is to use his professional judgement and skill

in selecting and using the means that will help him, the client, reach those ends. He does not need to know what is happening to make the relationship productive if he trusts the judgement and integrity of the counsellor. (Nor incidentally, does this seem to be necessary in straight perceptual psychotherapy.) There is nothing ethically awry about counsellor choice and operation of means if there is equal adherence to the inherent right of the client to decide *what* he wants to change—or to be". (p. 104.)

This is an issue basic to social work in any context but for those of us who work in penal institutions it is one which should be a constant feature of our thinking and approach to penal practice.

Some of the problems involved in research are clearly outlined in Chapter 8 and the author's differentiation between research and evaluation is especially useful to those involved in attempting to evaluate the effect of group counselling activities. The same chapter explores the relationship of training to group leadership and the ethical responsibilities of group leaders.

The final chapter briefly discusses the ending phase of groups. This is often a neglected aspect of groupwork study and the fact that a complete chapter (however short) is devoted to it is perhaps a measure of the importance attached to it by the author.

In summary, this is an important book which suffers to some extent by attempting to encompass such a wide area but it has particular value for those of us who work in institutions—not solely for those chapters which offer information on small group process, but for the way in which it may make us look outside the immediate institutional situation in which we work to our interaction with society at large and make us re-examine some of the basic philosophies from which we operate.

REG SKELTON,

Field Supervisor, Assistant Governor Training.



LONELINESS

JEREMY SEABROOK

Temple Smith, 1973. £1.25

THIS is the fifth book in the series "Towards a New Society" published in association with *New Society*. Jeremy Seabrook's terms of reference were not to answer or analyse the problem of loneliness, but to try to single out a pattern of how and why people are or become lonely. The book itself takes the form of interviews with 35 people, of different ages, backgrounds and social upbringing.

Loneliness, as the author says, is a vague term yet when interviewing each subject Jeremy Seabrook seems to bring out from each of them what it is like to be suffering from loneliness. Most of us have at some time or another been lonely but we are capable of seeking companionship. Most of the people interviewed appear to lack this capacity because of some physical, mental or other handicap. However, I was quite impressed by the ability of the author to get some of the subjects, especially those with more pronounced physical handicaps, to express their determination and self-sufficiency to survive in society in spite of the shame, self-pity, embarrassment and personal unworthiness which loneliness

seemed to bring about in them. At the other end of the spectrum some subjects were bitter and felt cheated, blaming our materialistic society for their present condition.

It is interesting to note that none of those the author chose to interview were institutionalised but were more or less ordinary members of society. Indeed some have achieved financial and professional success. Some are apparently happily married with families, yet secretly longing for companionship, friendship and the need to feel wanted, not just by society but in some instances by the family circle. For a variety of reasons they are unable to fulfil their needs.

The book includes photographs by Bryn Campbell. The pictures taken are not merely illustrations but form sequences which are an integral part of the book. They complement the text and by themselves give an insight into the world of the lonely.

I recommend this book. It makes easy reading. Some of the contents may surprise or even shock you. I feel that Jeremy Seabrook's talent has highlighted loneliness as a frightening social problem.

J. BOUNDY,
Senior Officer at H.M. Prison,
Shepton Mallet.

KNOWHERE TO GO

GORDON MATTHEWS

A Cyrenian Publication, 1974. 80p

N.A.C.R.O. MANUAL AND DIRECTORY
N.A.C.R.O., 1974. £1

KNOWHERE TO GO is a practical guide to statutory and voluntary services for single, homeless people. Compiled and written by Gordon Matthews and published by the Cyrenians, it is primarily intended as a manual for workers in Cyrenian houses. As it contains descriptions of so many agencies and services, and gives well over 100 useful addresses and telephone numbers, it will prove to be an invaluable handbook for a much wider range of people.

A chapter is devoted to each of the major, official agencies—such as the Department of Health and Social Security, the Probation and After-Care Service, local authority social services and so on. A brief outline of each agency and its work is followed by details of the services it offers to the homeless, details of who is eligible and how the services may be obtained. A great deal of the information is relevant to the needs of a much wider group than single, homeless people.

The latter part of the book has chapters on accommodation, organisations, special services and services for special groups, and it is worth noting that Irish and Scottish organisations are included wherever possible.

Although not a book which many would wish to read from cover to cover, *Knowhere to Go* is a most useful work of reference to have on the office desk. It is a "must" for assistant governors, prison welfare officers and for borstal after-care units.

Copies are obtainable directly from, The Cyrenians Limited, 13 Wincheap, Canterbury, Kent, CT1 3TB. However, it is also obtainable from local branches of the Cyrenians and, if one buys from that source, they retain a proportion of the cost to support their work with the homeless in the locality.

Another useful reference book is the N.A.C.R.O. Manual and Directory. It will be familiar to members of the Prison Service

already. The latest edition gives information on N.A.C.R.O., on rules and regulations affecting prisoners' families, after-care and pre-release, as well as basic information about 700 projects for ex-offenders in England and Wales. The form of indexing adopted makes the manual easy to use.

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

PSYCHOLOGISTS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

STANLEY L. BRODSKY

University of Illinois Press, 1974. £1.20

THIS work is largely by an associate professor of psychology at the University of Alabama, although there are papers by other authors. It sets out to achieve three distinct purposes:

- (1) A description of what psychologists are now doing in law violation, social deviance and justice systems.
- (2) The identification of societal and justice system needs as related to the psychologist—what the psychologist should be doing.
- (3) A description of ways in which psychologists might be trained to meet those needs.

The description of the current role of psychologists in America (for it is with America that the book is concerned), will make familiar reading to psychologists within our own system. American criminal psychologists are engaged in a number of areas. They are engaged in *assessment*—assessing clients, selecting employees and drawing up job descriptions. They have a responsibility for *training and treatment*—training employees and treating offenders. They have a *consultative* role to some of those engaged in law enforcement and to organisations as a whole. Finally they are engaged in *research* and the building of theories.

We learn that only 25–30 per cent of criminally related behavioural research is carried out by psychologists and that in psychology as a whole only 1.5 per cent of projects are centred on the criminal area. Psychologists in this country may take some comfort from the statement that American psychologists are experiencing a chronic state of identity crisis. In face of this, American psychologists also apparently flock together—but the aetiology of this phenomenon is not explained.

The reader, then, will find nothing to excite him in that part of the book describing present activities. Sadly though, what follows is much less exciting still. It is, in fact, positively banal. The authors make reference to the need for integration of theories in the criminal justice area, to the need for improving classification methods, to the need for systematic programme evaluation and to the need for greater utilization of research results. They make, however, little reference to the immense difficulties that are associated with these problems, neither do they suggest any ways in which solutions might be attempted. It is simply asserted that in all these aspects psychologists should play a greater part and be used more.

It is always presumptuous of the reviewer to argue that a book should have been approached differently but one had hoped for rather more. Some analysis of a prison or criminal justice system, some definition of

organisational needs flowing therefrom and some assessment of the part of the psychologist in meeting these needs are all necessary if psychologists are to play an important role. Or perhaps there might have been attempted some description of the needs of the offender at different stages in his progress through the system and some suggestions of ways in which these needs might be met. Any of these would have been preferable to a simple statement of the issues.

Instead the book drifts on in no particular direction. There is a description of the various responsibilities of the psychologist both to the system and to the client and a restatement of an adage by Corsini that they often conflict. But nowhere is there any help or guidance to the psychologist as to how he might solve the difficulties.

A chapter by Marguerite Warren on the psychologist as action researcher briefly promises better things but slides in to a straightforward statement of the ways to set about a research project—information which any budding psychologist should have safely under his belt by the end of his first term at college.

The book moves on through various special applications of the psychologists' skills but comes briefly to life in the eleventh chapter when some new fields for the application of these skills are suggested. Amelioration of acute distress in crime victims and riot prevention are but two of these, although there is little indication of how existing knowledge might help with them in spite of there being a considerable amount of work in social psychology relevant to them. But so much more needs to be said—for example, on the handling of aggression in institutions, as Peter Scott has shown. Again, child psychology has much to say on the development of regimes in which people might grow—and experimental psychology on the processes of change. But these matters gain no mention.

The field remains untrammelled, so that the working party currently meeting on the role of the psychologist (in Great Britain) may take up the cudgels afresh, to analyse the nature of the systems which we are heir to, to decide the role of the psychologist in the light of perceived needs and at last to give some new direction to English penal practice.

P. S. LEWIS,
Deputy Governor, Brixton Prison.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

STANDARD MINIMUM RULES FOR
THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS,
1973

SHORT-TERM TREATMENT OF
ADULT OFFENDERS, 1974

METHODS OF FORECASTING
TRENDS IN CRIMINALITY, 1974

THE first of these recent publications from the European Committee on Crime Problems marks the acceptance by member countries of common rules regarding detention. The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners derive from a resolution passed by the United Nations in 1955; their revision, in the light of contemporary European penal policy and application, was started in 1968, the rules finally being adopted in Strasbourg last year.

Part I covers the general management of

institutions and is applicable to all prisoners. There are no surprises here; the ideas are already recognised in British legislation and in the Prison Rules, but the principles on which they are based are neatly summarised in this section. Part II contains rules applicable to special categories of prisoners. The first group is for prisoners under sentence, other groups being for the insane, the untried, and for civil prisoners. Like Part I, this second section lays down the principles which arguably underly our present penal system. Put together, they make fairly impressive reading although one feels such a document is ambiguous enough to be interpreted in various ways. Equal emphasis appears to be given to the rules governing impartiality, accommodation, medical care, discipline, treatment, work, education and other aspects of institutional life; but it is the emphasis on some aspects rather than others which constitutes an actual penal policy. Still, the rules are presented as a minimum and are not intended to describe a model system nor "to preclude the use of new methods or practices, provided that these are compatible with the principle of protection of human dignity and the purposes which derive from the text of the rules as a whole".

The second publication stems from a resolution concerning the "Short-Term Treatment of Adult Offenders"—those with sentences of six months or less. Recognising the increasing number of such sentences as well as the difficulties of carrying out treatment (the shortness of time, the wide range and large number of such offenders), a sub-committee was set up to report to the Council of Europe. Several recommendations are made based on the replies of participating countries to questionnaires and on four memoranda prepared by members of the sub-committee. These interesting monographs are appended to the report, along with a bibliography and the questionnaires, and include a paper by Dr. R. Andry of the United Kingdom.

The first recommendation concerns each offender in short-term detention: his personality and attitudes should be assessed with a view to devising immediate treatment, suitable after-care, and appropriate treatment should he again be sentenced. Here the emphasis is on investigation of personality and enquiry into social environment rather than on "classification" which nowadays is of lesser importance to penologists. Treatments should be "multi-purpose" and should play down the stigma of imprisonment, which is seen as an obstacle to social rehabilitation. Secondly, "treatment at liberty" is endorsed as an alternative to institutional treatment. Different forms of probation are mentioned, notably those of shorter duration but greater intensity, and the use of suspended sentences is noted. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, new approaches are recommended. These include attendance centres, hostel and out-working schemes, community service, week-end detention, special fines and disqualifications. Several of these measures (which stand between institutional treatment and treatment at liberty) were used initially for the young offenders of various countries, but the report recommends that they should not be applied to adults without thorough adaptation and examination.

The third publication from the Council of Europe is a report on "Methods of Forecasting Trends in Criminality". Compared with the other two publications, this will be of interest to a much smaller group of people—those concerned with systematic planning in connection with crime prevention and the treatment

of offenders. Such forecasting is now becoming more elaborate due to developments in the mathematical and statistical sciences (not to mention computer technology) and, in places, the report is very specialised. It is encouraging, therefore, to see a note included on the dangers of self-fulfilling prophecies and on the future state of criminal affairs being as much a matter to decide about as to predict.



SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR

(4th edition)

MARSHALL B. CLINARD

Holt-Blond, 1974. £6.35

MOST people working within the penal system are faced, willingly or unwillingly, with the daily task of making decisions about, and for, individuals who have fallen foul of the law. As a direct consequence, most practitioners have looked to academic criminology for assistance in coping with the exigencies associated with the processing of offenders. Academic criminologists have willingly, if somewhat inadequately, colluded in this venture. But there can be few magistrates, policemen, social workers or prison staff who are now unaware of the fact that some major convulsions have disturbed this tidy collaboration. It is not just that the many academics who take crime and the criminal as their data are not coming up with the traditionally sought-after goods, but that many reject the search and are critical of those who continue it.

There has seldom been a greater need for effective communication and understanding between those whose task it is to work the penal system and those who analyse it. For whereas the former have undoubtedly been guilty of basing their organisation and methods upon dubious assumptions, the latter have all too often failed to work through the practical implications of their theoretical insights. It is a situation that offers no easy solution. The social worker and the prison officer daily deal with human tragedy and "know" that their clients find themselves in a situation of often peculiar need. It seems self-evident that their clients are "special" sorts of people and that the criminologist should provide objective and scientifically-based guidance as to how these pathologies and abnormalities should be treated.

The criminologist on the other hand has shifted his gaze from the criminal behaviour of the individual to the process which designates it as such. And requests for assistance in correcting the criminal are increasingly viewed as just one facet of that process whereby economic and political struggles for dominance are masked by the legitimacy accruing from their translation into legal terms. Within this framework the legal system "suggests" a moral consensus and is said to manufacture criminals and to attribute to them characteristics which imply that they are "by nature" anti-social in a general sense. In this version, the criminal tends to be cast as the victim and the prison officer and social worker as the villain. Between these two crude pen pictures are a whole range of issues and problems about which no person working within the penal system should be un-selfconscious. I can think of no better way of introducing the fieldworker to such questions than through Marshall Clinard's *Sociology of Deviant Behaviour*.

This book has been an important text for almost two decades. First published in 1957 it appears now in its fourth edition. Each of the previous editions had been extensively revised and the latest is no exception. The chapter headings of each of the editions in turn provide as good a chart of the shift which has taken place in academic interests as one could wish to find.

The title suggests the book's related themes: that behaviour which contravenes the law is not intrinsically different from behaviour which departs from other less normally enforced norms; that criminal laws constitute just one form of social control; that whether or not forms of behaviour should be governed by legal statute is a matter of continual debate, negotiation and change; that contemporary industrial societies are characterised by considerable cultural diversity and that particular laws are regarded as more or less legitimate by different sectors of the community. Seen from this perspective, then, the review of crime becomes a chapter in a more general discussion of deviance alongside drug usage (legal and illegal), mental disorder, suicide, various forms of sexual behaviour and physical deformity. And if this list of topics does not depart greatly from that which might have been compiled by criminologists guided by more absolutist standards, then this is said to be due to the "exceptionally high degree of unanimity" on such matters. That the author has adopted a definition of deviance which owes its inspiration to political views dominant in the community is evident from the justification for his choice—"the forms of social behaviour selected for study here are, for the most part, those over which there is much contemporary interest, debate, and concern, particularly over measures of social control". Evidence enough that the sociologist of deviance has not necessarily moved as far from correctional criminology as is often suggested. But the balance has shifted. So, for example, within the discussion of crime, the occasional property offenders (the group which dominates the criminal statistics and which has preoccupied traditional criminology) receive rather less space than political, white-collar and corporate crime. That behaviour made illegal by law is the result of continuous ethical and political negotiation is apparent from some of Clinard's sub-headings. In particular he reviews the arguments for the "decriminalisation" of drug use and sexual morality; a well-worn debate in which, following Lindesmith's writings in the fifties, Britain is still amusingly cited as exemplifying particular virtue. Many British prisoners will be bemused to discover that their use of drugs is treated as a medical rather than a criminal problem, the present Home Secretary's views notwithstanding.

Since crime is only one of the areas of deviance considered, little space is given to the area of law enforcement, sentencing practice and the evaluation of "disposal" systems. The discussion of prisons, and alternatives to custody, is brief and attempts no more than a summary of those arguments with which most prison staff will be well acquainted. Despite its bulk (nearly 700 pages) this is a sound general text which covers a great deal of ground but which makes no pretence to consider particular issues in depth. It can be recommended on that basis.

ROD MORGAN,

Lecturer in sociology at Bath University. He is on the board of visitors at Pucklechurch Remand Centre and has been involved in the extra mural teaching of prison staff.

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