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"GOING PUBLIC"

IN the thirties, a party of borstal boys marched from Feltham to Lowdham to start the first open borstal. It was a courageous step; it made news, it made history.

Newspaper readers then would have been puzzled to see a headline in the financial papers telling them that a company was going public. Today, it is commonplace, as well known but formerly privately owned firms, accepted by the Stock Exchange, offer the general public a share of their business.

Government Stock is always available to private investors, but it is not suggested that details of such issues should refer to prisons as potentially profitable items in the Government Investment Portfolio, though such reference is to be found in the department's annual reports and, incidentally, it makes more satisfactory reading these days.

It is not this aspect of going public that the editorial board had in mind when selecting the three main items of the October Journal. Mr. Chilvers' examination of the borstal system emphasises the need for us to take trainees out into the world whence they came, for us to show them a better view of that world and indeed to involve them in caring about other citizens perhaps less fortunate than themselves.

If time in borstal has shrunk, then the average time in short term imprisonment is not much longer and Mr. Arnold is talking the same language as Mr. Chilvers: "Get them out and about".

It is not always easy to get prisoners into contact with outside. Security conditions, shortage of staff, the need for the right sort of outside contact all make for problems. Nevertheless, if we accept what a borstal man and a prison man say about this and we then read what Jorgen Jepsen has to say about another form of public participation, we might do well to remember that in any time of crime explosion, the public is totally involved, initially by being the victims, later in showing concern about the behaviour of sentencing authorities and eventually becoming critical of its own penal system.

Victims may be comforted or compensated; concern about magistrates and judges may be expressed in a variety of ways; but critics must be answered, especially if, as suggested by our authors, we hope to enlist the public as friends and helpers, rather than to meet them as members of pressure groups.

Now rapidly approaching retirement Bernard Chilvers came into borstal work in 1946, soon after finishing what he describes as "a comfortable and inglorious war". His one regret is that his acquaintance with borstal did not start earlier. Served twice at Rochester, once at Hewell under Bill Llewellin and David Hewlings, at Huntercombe with Almeric Rich. Opened Morton Hall as his first governor post, then Guy's Marsh and then Gartree for two frustrating years. Now enjoying Lowdham Grange, which is pictured on our front cover, and where he has made

A Reassessment of Borstal

If one is to consider the genesis of anti-social behaviour; if one is to consider the culture in which it is born and in which it flourishes; if one is to consider the level of awareness of moral right and wrong or that which is socially desirable or undesirable or even of what is likely to be or to prove to be socially beneficial to self or destructive of it, one is, I suspect, likely to find oneself considering not only the levels of responsibility of the individuals concerned but all the various factors that go to make up society. If one is to consider the effective position of borstal in society, one has got to accept that borstal is a remedy, or purports to be a remedy, which is imposed upon certain levels of society by that section of the community which accepts certain standards and norms of behaviour which are pleasing to itself and which it likes to see operative, particularly at those levels of society which are lower than that at which the imposers themselves live. Accepting that all human beings born to the world are equally liable to be born to the world stupid or ugly, beautiful or intelligent, from no matter what kind of cradle they come and in whatsoever strata of society they may be born, it seems particularly interesting that the vast bulk of delinquents come from a certain social order. One meets a few educated, gentlemanly, reasonably cultured people who have strayed from the narrow path and who have decided to take short cuts in their search for ease and comfort of living. But the vast bulk, and this is probably 95 per cent at least of the people that are to be met in prisons, in borstals and in approved schools, come from what used to be called the lower middle and lower classes. Common sense tells us that the spread of iniquity in the world, the level of sinfulness, the incidence of selfishness, the readiness to lust, the liability to intemperateness, and the general growth of selfishness is not decided by the class into which a human being is born. Indeed, from all one reads in history one would have thought that quite the reverse was true. The greatest of sinners, the worst of tyrants, the most ruthless of conquerers, the most selfish, the most debauched, the most vicious and the most lecherous have in history come from the better educated members of the upper classes. And yet the vast bulk of delinquents come not from public schools or grammar schools but from the "C" stream secondary modern. One is then faced with the conclusion that there must be some basic inequity which conflicts with the moralistic attitude towards those who offend against the law of the land. Those who were considered at the beginning as people of low moral standards had to be considered primarily as people who were of low social standards. Coupled with this was the further awareness that, generally speaking, the people concerned were not only of low standards of intelligence but were of a low standard of emotional balance. Now it may well be felt that all that has gone before this is no more than a repetition of trite remarks, of truisms about the social make up of the community in which we live. Nevertheless since careless thinking ends in false conclusion it is necessary to define and delineate what exactly it is that we have to deal with in the delinquent field.

IF one is to view the problem of the probable effectiveness of borstal training in the three last decades of the twentieth century one will need to consider the social concepts, the aims of penal practice and the development of the awareness of conscience in the society at the beginning of the century at the time at which borstal came into being. If one is to see borstal, as I suspect one must, as a present anachronism and a possible development one must go back to its inception, to the naissance of this particular social therapy and consider it as it was in the context of those days.

Our grandparents' "hypocrisy"

Later, one will need to consider the make-up of the present society and the pressures that modern thinking applies to the young (and the not so young) if we are to evaluate the possible effectiveness of the system in which we are presently involved. If, thereafter, with the proper awareness of the ideals and the ambitions, of the pressures and the demands with which society burdens its members, we may be able to consider the proper aims and objectives of borstal generally. At the beginning of the century, whatever one may care to say about the hypocrisy of our grandparents, exemplified by the use of child labour, of poverty and degradation of individuals, the fact still remains that throughout society there was an acceptance of a moral code to which it was generally accepted that "better" people subscribed. Certainly there was a good deal of deviation from this code but those who deviated accepted that it was good as an aim and an object. However faultily, however misguidedly and even however hypocritically this standard was lived up to, the fact that there was a standard of this nature was a sign of health. Into this situation society had interpolated a prison system which was based upon the concept of due punishment for unrighteousness. A humane development began to emerge and this humane development demanded that young criminals who had to be punished should be separated from older and more hardened criminals so that their youth should not be further debased by communication with and corruption by the older criminal element. Here was the beginning of borstal and the very soil in which the seeds of training, re-education and rehabilitation might be set. The aim and object at that time was, as it were, to recondition the youngster who had fallen away from the accepted norms of society so that he should desire afresh to seek to live at a level *which he himself knew* was socially acceptable and against which he knew that he sinned at his peril. The function of borstal, therefore, was to reiterate, to recapitulate, to drive home into the consciousness of the errant youngster the moral and social standards by which he would be judged in a society which by and large acknowledged, even when it did not adhere to, these acceptable standards. Over and again Paterson repeats the desirability of the inculcation of Christian moral standards, of the acceptable social behaviour into youngsters. It was in fact because of this that the type of upper class, reasonably well educated, correct and sporting, God fearing and law-abiding men came originally to borstal to teach, to expound, to show by example and to lead back into the acceptable fold of society. What is important to be seen in the genesis of borstal at the beginning of the century and in its development up to the pre-war period was the acceptance that there was a socially acceptable standard to which people should aim. In present-day society we have no such acceptable standard. However you like to phrase it, in 1971 we have a grossly materialistic society in which permissiveness has become *de rigueur*, in which the pressures from trade creation and money-making are paramount; never before has the motive of gain been as socially acceptable as it is today. The Victorians misguidedly accepted that there was a form of morality which dictated that the lower orders should live in a manner which was most suitable to the lower orders; that they should be treated in a manner most suitable to the lower natures that they "enjoyed". We look back on this with horror and we acknowledge that all human beings have an equal right to a reasonable share of the wealth and the comforts that society can create. And whilst we do this, the Government of the country gives the lie to it by its ready acceptance of the shocking housing conditions in which people have to live, of the disgustingly low standards which are employed in the public media of communication, so that our young people are almost justified, if that is possible, in growing up to believe that cynicisim is realism, that sharp practice is good business, that self interest is common sense, that promiscuity is freedom from unreasonable restraints. This is the world from which we draw the youngsters, by decisions of the Courts, into our borstal institutions. We are not in the position in which the originators of borstal found themselves. The ideals, the concepts of moral and social behaviour which imbued the originators of the borstal tradition are no longer seen generally as valid. We ourselves operating in borstal must be either materialistic or anachronistic. If we are to accept the poor standards of the society to which we and our charges belong we have little enough to offer them as desirable of emulation, as demanding of their young ideals, as suitable ambitions for their youthful spirits. They come to us cynical and there is little enough that we can offer them as substitute for cynicism. They come to us, in effect, dissatisfied with and rebellious against the world, the society in which they live, and we offer them uniform, sports, a singularly erratic discipline and a great deal of staff cynicism and we wonder that they look at us and judge us as being hypocrites, out of touch with reality and singularly non-constructive proscribers of their liberty. The truth of the matter is that the accepted present form of borstal containment at its worst exacerbates and justifies wrong doing and at its best permits in institutional isolation a certain maturation process and development. The latter has some potential virtue but manifold deficiencies. It needs a completely new dynamic, completely new thinking, fresh demands which are relevant to the society to which the boy is returning and an ever widening social awareness which is in complete contra-distinction to the process of institutionalisation of which we are all so pitifully aware.

Staff are our best asset

We need to show the trainee society as a challenge to which he may be encouraged to respond and, at the same time as a supportive group from which he can get help. So viewing the nature of the society from which our charges have come we must first of all try to consider the deficiences with which they come to us and how best we can help them to help themselves to remedy these same deficiencies. We must consider what materials, human and environmental, we have within the institution. Here we are going to need to think very carefully about our most valuable asset which is the staff who are our colleagues and we shall have to consider how these staff can be best trained and advised to carry out the demanding task which faces them

A healthy body . . . then the Arts, Religion and SERVICE TO OTHERS

Above all things, in everything that we do we must be very well aware that we cannot consider the rectification of faults, the strengthening of weaknesses, the inculcation of good habits, except we consider them in the fullest possible way in the context of the society back to which our charges must go when they finish with us. We must consider the amount of time that we shall need for this task, accepting the fact that this is going to be conditioned to a very large extent by the rate at which our charges can absorb the training we may be able to offer them and the natural maturation processes which in so many cases are the *sine qua non* of training and which often cannot be hastened. Most particularly we have to realise that man is a social animal and that although an institution may to some extent, parallel society, it must, of its very nature, be a miniscule, a faulty and a deficient form of parallel. We must realise, therefore, that everything that we do must be related to the wider world outside and that every strength that we aim to inculcate must be tested wherever possible in the wider fields of a larger grouping than the institutions which we operate.

It would be quite wrong to fail to take into consideration the physical deficiencies which exist in the young men who come to us which have a very real effect upon their spirits. So many lads who come to borstal have been ill fed, ill exercised, so many of them have drifted into the habit of poisoning their own bodies in the world outside. A good sound regular diet is an absolute essential and it has well been said that the kitchen is amongst the most important parts of the whole institutional life. It must never be forgotten that through the proper use of his body a young man can learn a measure of self esteem that he can learn in no other way. To this end it is imperative that he shall be instructed in how to move briskly and purposefully from one place to another, that he should learn to carry his body in a proper and erect fashion, that he should be encouraged to break from such habits as the biting of nails and other indisciplined and ugly habits. A great amount of the spiritual malaise from which lads suffer when they come through the Courts has had its roots in faulty feeding, bad teeth, eye defects that have not been corrected, nose and throat conditions, lungs which have never been properly expanded, bowels which have never been properly regulated. The level of medical examination and analysis needs to be raised far beyond what we have ever practised. A total check-out immediately after sentence should make possible a health profile which should highlight a hygiene programme for the individual. This would not only guide medical officers and staff, but would enable them to discuss with and advise involved staff from the very beginning as to the needs, limitations, probable reactions and development. Until medical practice in borstals is rendered totally relevant to the complete training programme, it must be accepted that we are providing no better than first-aid. As physical well-being is resorted, the medical side should also accept as its particular charge a whole range of instruction in personal hygiene. The assumption of these responsibilities would undoubtedly lead to a far better integration into the institutional training team of a medical service which at present tends to see itself as separate, self dependent and unfortunately isolated in its own special sphere of operation.

As soon as the defects have been taken in hand it should be considered just how far it is possible to extend the physical resources of the youngster so that he may learn his own strength, not only of the body but that of the spirit which drives the body. Much that is done in borstals at the present time in the way of physical education, the fostering of sporting abilities and so on is thoroughly good in its own way. It is, however, desirable to carry the business of extension much further than we have so far managed. With those who are fit I would consider that much more arduous work and much more arduous and prolonged exercise has a very considerable value in helping a young man to appreciate his limitations and to know that his spirit can drive far beyond the limitations which he has previously accepted as final. To this end we as organisers should address our minds to planning ever more demanding and challenging work and exercise. If the bodies have been neglected how much more so must we admit to the neglect of the mind. A thoroughly efficient system of education within the institution should have as its prime aim the levelling up of all subnormal educational standards to a minimum acceptable level and it may well be found that the aim even for the most backward should be a reading age and comprehension *of at least 12 years*. Over and above this, however, the educational system must aim at increasing the general breadth of vision for both the brighter and the not so bright lads. Here again the narrow confines of institutional life are markedly insufficient. Our aim should be the widening of mental horizons to include whole aspects of the society in which we live. Obviously there are limits to this and it would be unwise to endeavour to take all our charges to art galleries. It can, however, be boldly stated that we should aim to show them some of the attractions of visual arts over and above that of the cheapest film; that wherever possible we should aim to help them to appreciate music which is not totally pop music and so on. In the materialistic world in which our trainees live the matters of the spirit generally get short shrift; so it must be our function and our aim to bring into training some measure of instruction in matters which narrowly might be called religious but which must generally aid the trainees to comprehend increasingly aspects of himself which are at a higher level of awareness than he has so far reached. In so doing we can help him to a level of self esteem which he has not known and we can teach him at the same time to esteem others because he sees in them something of greater value than the purely physical. At this level we must include the inculcation of a proper respect for women, the need to help others less fortunate and so on. We cannot do this simply in the context of the institution. It is amazing how great, how quick and how full hearted is the response given by youth to people who are suffering, to people who are weak and to people who are in misfortune. We should never fail to appreciate that in this lies one of our greatest aids in the task of strengthening and improving the social characters of our charges. Here at Lowdham we have taken some steps in this direction and work is done by trainees in the Hospital of St. John of God at Scorton which in the last 12 months has been extended to a thoroughly ongoing exercise in which 132 trainees and 22 staff have spent five-day periods; the

CAMPS

voluntary work at the Cheshire Homes which has been operating now for three years on a parole basis at week-ends; the continuing assistance which is given by large numbers of lads to old-age pensioners in painting their homes, digging their gardens and so on, which is of long standing here, and the other ventures which have more recently been started in which lads have involved themselves with handicapped children. All these are good in their way but I am quite certain they could be extended tenfold and twentyfold.

A very large proportion of the young men who come to borstal have shown in the past a work pattern which is quite shocking in its inconsistency and in discipline. The inculcation of a steady work pattern therefore must be of prime consideration and in so far as this is possible some help must be given in preparation for the work that he must do in society when he is restored to it. Whilst this may mean that it is necessary for a young man to learn to accept repetitious work of a factory floor nature it must always be remembered that young people need something more than this if they are to know the real joy of demanding work. To this end we should sometime soon start a scheme of utterly demanding "taskforce" work which could be operated in most demanding circumstances over comparatively short periods. Experience instructs that lads with any spirit at all will tackle this sort of challenge and will learn much about themselves and much about the sheer joy of work from participating therein. We have operated this kind of work in some of the camp projects we have undertaker and we know from these the value that could be derived. Particularly if the work has a social value which could be seen by the lads, the response will be of a singularly high order.

I have already spoken of the paramount value to the trainee of his relationship with staff, viz. his unit officer and the other staff in the house team. It is probably true to say that the one greatest deficiency "enjoyed" by lads sentenced to borstal is the deficiency in relationships. It is probably true that despite any efforts that we might make the immediate relationship which is of the greatest importance is that with other lads. Many of our charges have never known what it is like to live together with any number of their peers. Many of them therefore are utterly selfish and have no knowledge of give and take. Living together, learning to understand something of comradeship and, through mutual help, to find mutual respect in a new experience. The tradition is comparatively good and there are constant examples of stronger lads helping the weaker and I believe that much of this has been aided by the system of leadership which is employed. There is much more that can

WORK

be done along these lines and the group discussions which take place in the units should be fostered to this end. Already we have been able to see young men taking a quite real concern for particular character weaknesses which are shown up in the group situation in various members of the group. This therapy should be encouraged as much as possible whilst the greatest care must obviously be taken to see that it becomes in no way "precious". The dependence of our lads in the early stages upon the good will of staff can, with care, be developed into a situation of interdependence of lad and staff. Constant discussions either in a person to person situation or in groups between staff and lads is of the utmost value in training. Only when we can see ourselves as others see us do we begin to make the effort to correct the faults which beset us and this is particularly true of the type of lad we have here. If it were possible to put down the whole aim and object of borstal training into one word I would consider that this word would be . . . relationship, relationship and relationship. We all learn to see ourselves and to respect others as we make firmer and firmer relationships with people of all ages. For the young man in his teens a good relationship with somebody 10 or 20 years older than himself can be a most creative force. But relationships with lads and relationships with staff are of themselves in essence institutional. The more the business of relationships can be carried into the world outside the better will be the training of the lad. To this end, although it is appreciated that the matter has been stressed before it must be said that the future of borstal training lies in the total society outside the institution. In so far as we are bound to be restricted in our contacts with outside society we must make the best of a bad job but we must always aim at the maximum involvement in the larger society outside our own walls. Here we have been particularly fortunate in the fostering scheme which has been aided so much by the Salvation Army and by other good people. The benefit to the lad who feels that he is alone in the world through having visits from well balanced and good Christian people is inestimable. But this of itself, however good, is not to be seen as the zenith of our ambition. The maximum involvement by members of the community outside with our trainees must be matched by an ever increasing effort on our part to send our young men out into the world outside. It may be that on many occasions we have to use staff in this situation and this in itself to some extent will be restrictive. The greatest benefit, whether at work or play, will be found where lads can leave the institutional community and, going out, can participate in social action outside and then return under their own steam. That this is going to call for risk-taking is obvious and the risks should be taken; though the build up towards the use of parole must always have the public and the good name of the Service at heart.

but above all RELATIONSHIPS

One of the greatest areas of concern which must affect people who work for disturbed young men must be in the disturbances which are known to exist in their families. To this end it is highly desirable that an institution should cater for young people within the geographical region in which it is situated. The benefit to the staff therapist that is derived from visiting the house and home and family of a young man who has just entered the institution is vast. The whole relationship of that member of the staff with the trainee changes when he or she has sat in the back kitchen with his mother. First of all we must have the possibility of being able to do this and so, in default of formal training, *we must train ourselves* in this kind of house and family visitation. In a great number of cases, no doubt, it will be desirable for the member of staff to visit the home on a later occasion *with the trainee*. There have

Co-operation with probation and D. E. P.

been numerous cases of recalcitrant young men who have become completely co-operative through this kind of therapy. The borstal system as a whole is insufficiently adjusted to the general idea of training through family and certain it is that in the future it will be seen as wise to spend money and time in fostering this kind of positive relationship. It should be mentioned that in all our experience the Probation Service has welcomed our activities and has complimented staff in the manner in which the work has been carried out. If it were only for the mental ease which this practice brings to parents and to trainees it would be well worthwhile. There is more to it than that however. One last thing remains to be said. We have never tackled yet as fully as we should and with sufficient backing from the department the question of resettlement in work. More lads are travelling out now to interviews with prospective employers than was so a year ago. The whole thing should be intensified. We need to take the closest possible view of this in conjunction with the Probation Service and with the Department of Employment and Productivity. The practical involvement of staff in advising, in help with letter-writing, sometimes in interviews with prospective employers and generally in job finding is a most rewarding exercise for both trainee and staff.

The aims . . .

In conclusion it may be as well to tabulate the specific aims to which this paper has generally animadverted:

1. Treatment of offenders in borstals should cease to be considered as "in isolation from the community". Preservation of this isolation renders borstal training irrelevant in 1971 and in many ways even encourages a sense of separation which, in turn, excuses and encourages anti-social behaviour.
2. To this end we must direct our training programme towards a growing involvement in the outside community. Our aim should be the development of social parole situations based on regional knowledge, personal knowledge by staff and the creation of positive trust between staff and lads.
3. In order to effect this staff must be encouraged to ever deeper involvement, not just with trainees but with their families and neighbourhoods, and relationship with and interdependence of the Service and probation and other branches of social service must be strengthened by more mutual training.
4. Opportunity to arrange all this will be increased by increasing the emphasis paid at allocation centres to regional allocation.
5. This more regional allocation will foster resettlement practice generally and job finding in particular and is a positive conclusion to ongoing institutional training.
6. Finally there should be a continuing relationship after discharge at least in so far that after-care associates must be offered our continuing interest through correspondence (and visits where deemed necessary). This has been experienced and probation staff have welcomed the opportunity to call on reinforcement from the institution. Any fears that probation would resent such an offer have been quite dispelled, indeed the closer liaison in after-care has markedly aided the ongoing cases still at institutional level.

DOUGLAS GIBSON

The sudden death of Douglas Gibson, secretary of the Central Council of Probation Committees was a great shock to his friends in the Prison Service. Winston Martin, a former colleague writes:

I first met Douglas Gibson shortly after the war when he had just left the approved school service to come to Wakefield. His attitudes were then fully formed but who could have told what a deep influence for the good he was to have on a wide circle of people and events? He was the model of the great-hearted man who, wherever he worked, would have accomplished much. It came about that he spent some years in the Prison Service and this gave him an excellent point of leverage.

He was a gay, amusing, warm-hearted man—original and creative. The latter qualities stemmed much less from intellectual analysis than from Christian simplicity. "What were the needs of people and how could they be met?" Such an approach always dealt with the roots of problems and this is why his thinking and his actions tended to move away from the institutional setting into the everyday lives of people.

When he and his wife, Eliane, thought of and founded the Circle Club at the beginning of the last decade, they were foreshadowing the neighbourhood centre where the joint resources of people could be called on to counter the apathy, loneliness and ignorance by which we are all apt to be defeated. In the same way, the wives' groups which they both fostered, always aimed at the mutual help and support not only of the wives of men in prison, but of all women who were willing to enrich their lives by working creatively together.

His real care was for the social and spiritual development of society and this is why, in speaking with older schoolchildren, he emphasised the need to understand in ourselves the urge to persecute minority groups and to find the means to overcome it.

Douglas was a Roman Catholic and his many friends among prison officers, prisoners, probation and child care officers may not know of his work for men who, for some reason, had ceased to be Catholic priests and were exposed to the loneliness and anguish which afflict many ex-prisoners. He founded the society known as "Compass" and there are many former clergy who have found happiness through the strength and support given by this group.

He was a great and good man, and all who knew him will sorrow—in Phaedo's words—"Not indeed for him, but at the thought of my own calamity in having to part from such a friend".

Initials like NADPAS, EDR, AOABH, NACRO are familiar land marks in our penal system. In Scandinavian countries, pressure groups, inside and outside, are conveniently if somewhat illogically designated and are here described by JORGEN JEPSEN Copenhagen Criminologist

KRIM KRUM KROM

IN April 1967, the psychology students at the University of Copenhagen arranged a "Criminals Week" during which a topic within the field of criminal policy was presented each night. The topics were introduced by a panel of experts and persons known from the public debate on criminal policy, and later discussed by a mixed audience: students of psychology and sociology (with a few law-students scattered among them), lawyers and representatives of the administration of justice and the correctional establishment—and a crowd of interested laymen, interspersed with "the only real experts": offenders. The topics ranged from discussions of the indeterminate sentence over "the contents of treatment" to the problem of how to evaluate "effectiveness" and whether prisons might be abandoned altogether.

Out of this initiative grew—a few weeks later—The Association for a Humane Criminal Policy "KRIM" (neither this constellation of letters, nor those of the other similar Scandinavian associations are direct abbreviations of anything, but the puzzle starts people wondering).

These events were preceded by the Swedish "Parliament of Thieves" which was held for the first time in 1966 (as usual the Swedes were ahead of their neighbours) and has been held annually ever since. In Sweden, KRUM was created as the first organisation to act as a pressure group for promoting the interests and well-being of sanctioned offenders; similar organisations were created by Norwegians (in 1967) and a little later in Finland (1968). Finland, by the way, developed two organisations—KRIM, a "reformist" group, and "Novemberrorelsen", a (neo) Marxian group—which to some extent compete.*

Competition, above all, has characterised the picture in Denmark—firstly as competition between the Copenhagen and Aarhus† sections of KRIM—a peaceful and useful competition—secondly as competition for leadership and dominance within the Copenhagen organisation, the latter less useful. It has resulted first in the establishment of a separate organisation for ex-prisoners —"Straffefangen" (the prisoner) and later a special one for ex-youth prisoners (borstal boys) still later in rivalry between factions of varying observance as to the degree of conflict and extremism (as opposed to reformism and peaceful co-operation with "the system") which the organisation should take.

Danish KRIM has worked with public debate and member study groups. A few of its members have visited one or more of the Danish correctional institutions, but after some initial interest, this line of activity seems to have faded away.

Both in Copenhagen and Aarhus, KRIM has devoted a great deal of energy to contact work between offenders and non-offenders, mainly its own members. In both cities "contact centres" have been created, and public hearings have been held in which ex-offenders have represented KRIM in public debate. The "contact work" has been quite demanding upon the members taking up this line of activity.

More serious, however, have been the internal conflicts as to attitudes and the relations between the offenders and non-offenders in governing the organisation. Three or four of the most active, verbal —and also the most difficult—ex-offenders have left the organisation in protest over various decisions and have publicly denounced the organisation.

Furthermore KRIM, after a period of time, made the ruling that persons in positions within the correctional service could not be members of any of its governing bodies. In part, as a result of this, most "system" representatives have gradually faded out of the organisation.

As of April 1971, Copenhagen KRIM is in the process of reorganisation as to structure and activities. An interim committee has taken up the task of making proposals for a new structure, trying to involve the rank and file members in running the organisation and counteracting the tendencies towards internal fights in the formerly isolated "top echelons". A membership of 500 turned out to be an unrealistic picture, and after a new inventory, a little over 150 members seem to be all the paying stock. However, the interim committee has now written to all names on file, offered subscription of *Rebstigen* (The Rope Ladder) an inmate newspaper put out in wide external circulation by prisoners in the preventive detention centre at Horsens and has tried to re-establish the ties to inmates and ex-inmates by offering them cheap membership, and to create local sections of the organisation in all prisons.

Aarhus KRIM—for long periods the more active of the two sections—has mainly concentrated upon more quiet, systematic contact work with individual ex-prisoners, taking up grievances with the prison authorities, and in some instances also with the police. This section is presently, however, in a process of dissolution after several of its inmate members have been recommitted because of new crimes, or are searched after by the police.

A similar period of crisis occurred for Copenhagen KRIM after great public exhibition in the heart of Copenhagen of handicrafts made by KRIM members, including, e.g. a painting by one of its notorious smuggler members. This painting was stolen from the exhibition and a few days later, the offender entrusted with the function as cashier, ran off to Spain with the proceeds from the sale. The question of whether or not to report this embezzlement to the police was settled in favour of the embezzler, but

* No further information about the Finnish organisations have been available to the author.

† Denmark's second largest town.

Placards and trumpets outside prison gate

provided further strain in the organisation.

Among the more positive achievements of Copenhagen KRIM were demonstrations in favour of the abolition of the indeterminate sentence, and in particular of youth prison (borstal), measures which are presently under constant and hard criticism in Denmark. This criticism may ultimately result in the abolition of these types of sanctions, or at least in a considerable reduction in their application—a development which can already be traced in the practice of the Courts, but is hardly due to the activities of KRIM alone. A scientific investigation of the effectiveness of the indeterminate sentences is presently under way at the Institute of Criminal Science at the University of Copenhagen, but public pressure may be so great, that the decision may be made in advance, unless very strong proof of effectiveness should be forthcoming.

KRIM has also demonstrated by placard carrying and trumpet fanfares in front of the oft-criticised Copenhagen gaol as well as on other occasions. It has made requests to the prison authorities for changes in regulations concerning inmate rights and duties, e.g. on letter writing and censorship, on visits—including cónjugal visiting—and on other aspects of inmate life.

In general, an increasing and accelerated liberalisation of such rules and regulations have marked the development within the Danish prison system over the latest years. These changes are only to a limited extent a consequence of the actions of KRIM, but the organisation undoubtedly has its share in affecting public opinion favourably in these directions.

Public statements by individual offenders, the upsurge of several inmate institutional newspapers and, more importantly, articles and comments by journalists with growing insight in criminal policy problems had had their share in this development, and probably a greater one than KRIM.

In Denmark, most social scientists have been rather reluctant to engage themselves in the public debate on criminal policy—in contrast to the activities of, e.g. Swedish and in particular Norwegian criminologist, psychologists and sociologist. (One of the latter—Dr. Philos. Thomas Mathiesen, author of the prison study—*The Defences of the Weak*—is the chairman of the Norwegian KROM). The Danish debate has been carried mainly by students, (ex)-offenders, and persons otherwise engaged in public social and cultural debate.

Pay rise demand

In one instance, Danish KRIM has co-operated with inmates in exerting pressure upon the prison system in the form of strike threats, namely in Horsens Preventive Detention Centre. Here, in mid-1970, the inmates demanded a pay rise and an increase in the proportion of their earnings of which they might dispose freely.

KRIM supported the strike threat and the claims, and suggested that inmates be allowed to form their own labour union under the national labour union (LO), which proved, however, quite cool to these openings. KRIM was even allowed to contact inmates in the active group in the prison. The strike was cancelled, however, and the Director of Prisons announced that a relatively high raise in pay would be forthcoming shortly, and that a change in the distribution of the income on the various accounts (I, II, and III, i.e. savings for release, at disposal for goods of lasting value, subject to prison approval, and an amount at free disposal).

Since then, this decision has been heralded by KRIM as a first and important result of inmate solidarity and co-operation with KRIM. Although the pay rise and the changed distribution had, in reality, already been resolved within the prison department before the action, there is little doubt that the affair contributed significantly to the inmates' feeling of rising power and solidarity.

A similar strike threat from inmates in the closed youth prison at Nyborg, in March–April 1971 did not meet with similar inmate solidarity, the inmates at Horsens even sent a letter to Nyborg, exhorting their younger fellow prisoners there to give up the strike.

"Beating the system"

In the spring of 1971 two leading figures ousted from the Copenhagen KRIM have turned out a booklet of about 100 pages containing advice to offenders—those sentenced, as well as those only arrested by the police or in gaol awaiting trial—on "how to beat the system", or at least how to get beat the least by it. The book is a mixture of information, much of it quite precise and relevant, on how the system works and how it is experienced and perceived by those in it, and exhortations, some of which border to encouraging escapes, disobedience and non-co-operation.

A somewhat similar booklet was published a few months earlier by a former long-term prisoner with a considerable career behind him. Together with frequent public statements in the Press and on TV programmes by ex-inmates and other critics of the system, their contributions give the debate a typical Danish touch of emotionalism.

Looking back on the development, it is striking—as should appear from the above—that Danish KRIM, up until the beginning of 1971, has been characterised more by emotional public appeals and criticism on a rather superficial level, rather than upon insight in crucial questions of criminal policy and relevant core problems in the treatment and fate of offenders.

KRIM has, in total, had very little influence upon the system it has set out to criticise. In the same period, this system has on its own initiative started experiments and begun reforms well ahead of the scope of KRIM's awareness.

Paying for criticism

The Danish system has shown considerable openness to KRIM, putting information at its disposal, allowing visits to the institutions, listening to its proposals and facilitating communication between the inmates and KRIM, even to the point of covering a considerable part of the expenses for the production and distribution of the inmate press, with its criticism of the system.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion, that this "soft line" and the internal reformism of the system left Danish

Sweden's 8,000 prisoners in an eight million population

KRIM rather ineffective and "behind", so that much of the energy that might have been directed against the system has instead resulted in internal conflicts in the organisation.‡

The same can hardly be said about the situation in the sister countries, Norway and Sweden. Right from the first moment, the development in Sweden was characterised by conflict between the correctional system, personalised in the Director-General, and Swedish KRUM, the first of these organisations, and the one with the largest membership—now around 8,000 in all (in a Swedish population of about eight million).

Swedish KRUM from the outset, presented an explosive blend of hard-hitting sociological and psychological criticism, launched by engaged social scientists and students, vociferous and articulate criticism from actual and former inmates, and well organised pressure and publicity led by a core of trained journalists. Hans Nestius, the co-founder and predominant public figure in the first years, has now been succeeded by a larger, but equally well-informed and relevantly verbalising governing body, sections of the organisation are created or under creation in many of Sweden's larger towns; the membership includes many knowledgeable persons, both on a practical and a theoretical level, among them an important number of dissatisfied employees of the system itself. The co-operation between offenders and "ordinary" members is exemplary, as evidenced by the well planned and co-ordinated hunger strike in October–November 1970. This resulted in favourable negotiations between inmate spokesmen and KRUM representatives on the one side, and the top echelons of the correctional system, including a newly appointed Director-General and the institutional governors, on the other, as well as in public appearances of the Minister of Justice on TV and radio.

While the former Director-General largely remained in the position of conflict against KRUM, which he had taken from the outset (which may partially explain why he is no longer Director-General) it is characteristic that KRUM and "the system" are now largely in agreement about the reforms to take place within the coming months and years. Several of the demands of the inmates and KRUM are simply those advanced by treatment-orientated correctional administrators over the last few years (although in vain) increase of treatment staff, institutional democracy, including spokesman arrangements, more time for group counselling and individual treatment, better after-care, more money to the probation and parole service and so on.

Its most striking achievement, however, was the great share that KRUM had in defeating the Kumla model as standard for future massive prison expansion in Sweden: vexed by increasing numbers of escapes from the old institutions, in particular the old and tough "Langholmen" in Stockholm, the former Director-General had designed and built an escape-proof, supermechanised, work dominated institution at Kumla, soon renowned for its seven-metre tall umbrella-handle wall, its TV camera supervision of doors and walks, and its long, subterranean corridor from the inmates' living quarters to their work places. In the attempt at preventing escapes and saving manpower, the "system" had succeeded in making the logical end product of prison thinking so manifestly absurd, that it had to go wrong. Behind an endless number of doors with signs saying "chief physician", "psychiatrist", "doctor", etc. there was—nobody. Slashing one's wrist became the main access to seeing the region's sole psychologist. And the mixture of drunken drivers, swindlers and petty larceny offenders with tough recidivists in this institution crowned the mistake. The plans for creating four to six such prisons in various regions of Sweden ought to go wrong, but it took a massive attack from inmates, social scientists and public debate, all centred around the action planning of KRUM (which also managed to enlist several of the employees of the prison system) to get a public declaration by the Minister of Justice, that Kumla would not be multiplied elsewhere.

Public teach-ins

In Norway, similar, although not quite so spectacular conflict has been occurring between Norwegian KROM and the correctional system. Also here the co-operation between (ex)-offenders, social scientists, students, informed laymen and relevant sections of the intellectual elete has been perfect. The abolition of the Vagrancy Act—and thereby the abandonment of Opstad, the grim and hated "cure place" for alcoholics—was largely due to well-planned and well-reasoned action by KROM. A combination of well-founded criticism in a "reform paper" from KROM to the Norwegian government and parliament, public teach-ins, and renewed publication of social scientists' year-long attacks on the Act made up the foundation; a "spontaneously arranged" hearing of inmates by a parliamentary commission visiting Opstad and taken aside by well-prepared inmates for relevant fill-in, dealt a final blow to the Act.

Other of KROM's "reform papers" have had less effect, as yet. This goes for KROM's well-founded attempt to stop the costly investment in a large youth detention centre, based upon the English model (the partial abandonment of which in England is cited by KROM). It also goes for KROM's recent protest against large investments in the Norwegian probation service; here KROM takes the view that social welfare work for offenders should be carried out by ordinary social agencies, to avoid the discrimination and stigmatisation inherent in a special branch of social service for offenders. Finally, KROM has met resistance in its attempts to contact inmates freely.

In this respect, the Norwegian correctional system showed an almost Swedish stubbornness in refusing KROM to correspond with two inmates in its seeking permission to publish their articles from a prison newsletter in a book anthology on inmate life. Although there was no mention of other inmates in the articles, which dealt mainly with matters of criminal policy on a general level —although in a critical fashion—the prison governor refused to deliver the letter from KROM to the inmates. Even after a heated public debate, this decision was upheld by the department of prisons, but the refusal may have aroused more public support for the critical views of KROM regarding the closed and arbitary nature of the system than would a Danish-style "soft" reply.

‡ A reorganisation in April 1971 promises however, a fresh start, including, for the first time, a comprehensive programme of reform of criminal policy and a structural plan to increase the influence of the offenders and other members on the grass-roots level on the activities of the organisation.

"Revolt of the weak" may become important breakthrough

Through annual Scandinavian KRUM conferences on criminal policy matters, through the publication of the minutes of these meetings and other debate, books in cheap, but well-written paperbacks, the views of KRUM and KROM are gaining wide publicity, acceptance—and ultimately effect.

In summary: KRUM in Sweden and KROM in Norway are fighting hard, but often successful battles for the cause of inmates, both on a very practical day-to-day level and on more large-scale problems of criminal policy. They succeed in engaging and involving the public in a debate on criminal policy, thereby increasing public awareness of and critical attitudes towards correctional problems, and advocating humane treatment of offenders. At the same time these organisations contribute to a growing solidarity among inmates and ex-offenders, and to constructive co-operation between offenders and interested non-offenders. Under such pressure, the system may be forced to change, a change that may at times be drastic, involving large-scale building programmes, changes on the legal level, and defeat and rise of top-level administrators of correctional systems. KRIM in Denmark has had no hard and clear enemy to fight. "The system" quietly has changed itself at a pace somewhat ahead of the imagination of most KRIM members, and open conflict has therefore been avoided. Aggression seems to have been turned inward into the organisation itself, so it has been characterised by disorganisation, intra-organisational conflict, and confusion about goals and means. The public debate was not to any major extent influenced by Danish KRIM. Solidarity between offenders and non-offender members was mostly low, and co-operation was restricted to rather narrow groups.

Time will tell if these trends will persist. KROM and KRUM offer offenders important avenues for destigmatisation and for purposive and constructive social action. But they may also unduly fixate some offenders in a self-image as "(ex)-offenders". Where this new-won solidarity will ultimately lead, is presently unclear. It *may* result in a "revolt of the weak". If one is afraid of such a development, the safest counter-measure for correctional administrators seems to be to yield to the pressure from such groups, or still better, to be ahead of them, but certainly not to choose the road of opposition, obstruction and conflict.

But instead of being afraid of "the revolt of the weak" one might herald it as an important breakthrough in correctional thinking: the offender genuinely becoming his own and his brother's saviour. If we believe sincerely in destigmatisation, increase in self respect, competence and relevant social action on the part of offenders, in short, if we believe in our own words about the inmate's inherent right as a human being, we should welcome and constructively support organisations of this type, trying to get them as effective as possible.

Do correctional employees mean their own words *so* seriously?

At its Annual General Meeting this year

the

HOWARD LEAGUE FOR PENAL REFORM

will commemorate the 50th anniversary of its formation. To mark the occasion, a talk will be given on . . .

EXPECTATIONS OF PUNISHMENT
—realism in penal practice

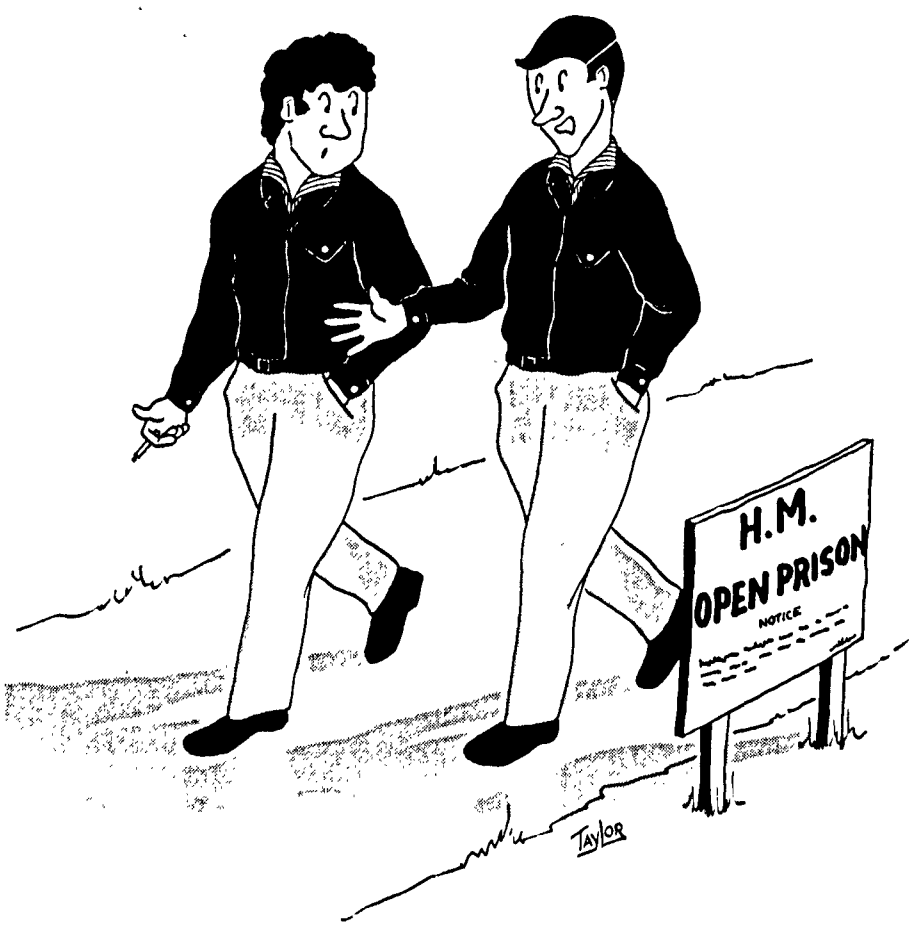
by ALAN ROBERTON

Governor of Leyhill Prison

on Thursday, 28 October, 1971 at 7 p.m

at the

National Institute for Social Work Training, 5–7 Tavistock Place, London W.C.1



"I look at it this way, Charlie . . . if it wasn't for prison reform, these places could become so unbearable as to make me seriously consider going straight"

The Media and the Message

ALAN RAYFIELD

ONE of the sadder features of ageing is that one finds it increasingly difficult to accept that people can be so stubborn and ignorant as to hold such incredible points of view. It does not matter whether they be about politics, foreign motor cars or the price of bread, other people seem to have failed to grow into that wise maturity that marks one's own progress to a pension. Certain "trigger" words and phrases have the effect of isolating factions or raising hackles so that rational argument becomes impossible. It used to be "short, sharp shock" that managed to cram more prejudice, ignorance and ill-considered philosophy into one short phrase than anything since "peace in our time". In 1971 we only need two such words: "permissive society". Whenever these occur, bugles are blown, armies draw up for battle and the witness boxes of Magistrates' Courts throughout the land are suddenly crammed full of legal, moral and medical experts all bursting to tell the world that it will either cause the greatest cataclysmic shock this side of Gibbon's Ancient Rome or that the new Jerusalem even now occupies the heights of N.W.1.

For the most part the more absurd posturings provoke nothing but good-humoured amusement from the average man. For example, in the current "Oz" obscenity trial, one medical witness said that masturbation was wrong and led to physical and mental degeneracy whilst another maintained that it was perfectly normal but that it was the main cause of the generation gap! No doubt readers will have their own views but the statistics for premature blindness amongst adolescents would seem to indicate no immediate cause for alarm.

In our own field, one has heard, *ad nauseam*, that prison life these days is soft, that it is like Butlins and that what is needed is a good old-fashioned dose of old-style Army discipline. One is, therefore, grateful to the splendid Granada TV "World in Action" team for "The Sailor's Jail" shown on 26th April which was about the detention quarters at Portsmouth Barracks. In outward appearance it would have gladdened the heart of any martinet with its squads of highly bulled ratings doubling everywhere to the commands of their petty officers. Unfortunately, this traditional form of treatment had been designed for such traditional offences as being drunk in charge of a policeman's helmet and the film showed clearly how inadequate it was when faced with sailors who did not fit into the more robust categories of offenders.

The "D.Q.s" found themselves dealing with perpetual absconders who wanted, above all, to leave the Royal Navy for which service they found themselves unsuited and with drug users. Many ex-ratings made allegations of attempted suicides, mental crack-ups, brutality and "cold turkey" treatment taking place which were difficult either to prove or refute. Whatever the truth it became clear that this type of regime did nothing for the more disturbed offenders. At best it merely punished and at worst it made men worse.

Selected discipline

There may be a case for solitary confinement, bread and water, plenty of "bull", marching and rifle drill, assault courses and the rest but the lesson is that one has to *select* those whom this treatment is going to help rather than applying it to all. However, once it is proved that a strong discipline regime does not deter or rehabilitate then all that one is left with is punishment and if that be the case then let us hear no more of reform but admit that that is its main purpose.

There has been a notable increase in the amount of interest shown by all sorts of people in alternatives to custodial sentences. *New Society* and the Press as a whole carried reports and comments about this subject but the group which has drawn the most publicity in this area is that known by its inspired initials as R.A.P. or Radical Alternatives to Prison. Their secretary, Rosalind Kane, has just written an article in *New Society* (1st July) called, provocatively enough, "Inside the Scrubs; the Psychiatric Failure". She was at one time employed in Wormwood Scrubs as a psychiatric social worker and in her article she paints a picture of callous administrative indifference worthy of Kafka at his most light-hearted. Her main complaint is levelled at the inadequate and indifferent psychiatric care (as she saw it) for the men and boys sent there for treatment and her recommendations are sound but not extraordinary. She would like to see a full-time psychiatrist appointed to coordinate and expand psychiatric work within the prison coupled with greater staff involvement in the form of meetings and case conferences. She also recommends the appointment of more occupational therapists, psychiatric social workers and a greater proportion of younger hospital staff to ease the generation communications gap. In her anxiety to present a telling and damning case she has failed to mention in her article any of the good points about the Scrubs' hospital, including the genuine humanity shown by the majority of the medical and hospital staff and the extreme difficulties they have to face in their everyday work. Her article also had a secondary feature which gave it some spice and that was that Miss Kane had at one time during her Government service signed the Official Secrets Act. No doubt there are many who will watch with interest what happens to her before others are moved to wear the martyr's crown.

The *Guardian* in its edition of 11th May carried a piece called "Young Lag's Diary", written by a young and well-educated prisoner who had just served his first term of imprisonment. His main points were sadly predictable; the chaos at the remand centre, the bad work situation in the locals, the cynicism prisoners feel about prison welfare arrangements and the helpless anger men experience as they feel they are being deliberately

THE TWO SIDES OF PENAL REFORM

humiliated at the offices of the Ministry of Social Security on release. If this were not bad enough there were errors in his narrative which would not have been picked up by members of the general public. The following extract is taken from his account: "Another prisoner with three weeks to go cracks under the pressure of being inside and swears at a prison officer. He loses 100 days remission. Roast pork and roast potatoes for lunch. What's the big occasion? Find out later that the Prison Commissioners are visiting. Next day photograph of the governor eating the food given to convicts. He should have tried eating the dinner served next day".

Mistakes?

There are no prizes given for spotting the mistakes in that short extract which one charitably assumes are not deliberate. The enormity of our problem becomes apparent; if this type of prisoner can feel that this is the true face of imprisonment then what has really been accomplished during the last 20 years? The cynic would say that all reforms and improvements have been implemented merely to ease the conscience of the public, who would rather forget than forgive, and to solve the economic and administrative consequences of overcrowding. Whatever the reasons the prisoner does not seem to share them but prefers to fix authority in the "bastard" role with a selection of myths and half-truths to help him in his resolve.

Whilst on this theme *New Society* printed an article on 3rd June called "The Other Side of Penal Reform" by Tom Hadden. He points to the huge gap that seems to exist between reformist claims and the actual conditions of imprisonment experienced by the majority of prisoners. He examines the consequences of "Mountbatten" and the way in which the suspended sentence scheme appears to have backfired and goes on to look at the reports of the Widgery Committee (Reparation by the Offender, August 1970) and the Wootton Committee (Non-Custodial and Semi-Custodial Penalties, September 1970). His basic question is "who does society think it is kidding?" In theory our penal system is geared to reform but in practice it is used by the Courts as a deterrent. Penal institutions are forced into punitive roles and neither staff nor inmates fail to see this; indeed most offenders expect it. Prisoners want to do their "bird" with as little trouble as possible and get out; they remain convinced adherents of the punitive school and are deeply suspicious of the reformist standpoint mainly because of their first-hand experience of society's actions as opposed to its promises. If a man accepts a prison sentence as fair then there is a good chance that he will be receptive to any ideas about reform. If he does not then it matters not what is done with him, he is unlikely to change either his mind or his atttitude. Hadden concludes that if one accepts this hypothesis then the essentially punitive nature of prisons should be accepted and that our energies should be concentrated on improving the physical standards of prison rather than on training and counselling. Whatever may be the future pattern of our prisons he suggests that society should be a good deal more honest with prisoners about the real function of its penal system.

Allegations

Finally, there were two items I came across during the last three months dealing with allegations of staff brutality in penal institutions. The first was by Tostig in *New Society* (27th May) and spoke of allegations of physical brutality at Aylesbury Detention Centre made by an ex-welfare officer and the second was in the *Sunday Times* (13th June) and dealt with the current Home Office investigation into the Ashford Remand Centre allegations. I mention them only as a reminder of how vulnerable we are as a Service to this kind of allegation and how widely they can be circulated. It is depressing how the alleged actions of a few members of the staff can cause the whole Service to be shown in a poor light. The author of the article in *New Society* wrote: "I often wonder how social workers in detention centres, borstals and prisons manage to retain their equilibrium, let alone their integrity, when incidents of psychological, if not physical, cruelty occur around them". It was not until I had read his article twice that I realised that he did not expect any staff other than social workers to be concerned about brutality; the implications of this worried me far more than anything else.

Hugh Klare at Strasbourg

HUGH KLARE has left the Howard League for Penal Reform to become head of the Division of Crime Problems of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France. He will have been Secretary of the League for exactly 21 years, save for a spell with the Council of Europe between 1959 and 1961. His departure also coincides with the 50th anniversary of the League which was formed in 1921 by merging the Howard Association (named after John Howard, the 18th century prison reformer and constituted in 1866) with the Penal Reform League.

Hugh Klare has represented the League on a number of national and international bodies. He is, for example, a Council member of the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders; and was, for a number of years, on the Council of the International Society of Criminology. In 1966, he was chairman of the first British Congress on Crime. Before he left he hoped to complete another book on prison and alternatives to imprisonment, to be published by Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, the educational publisher. Such alternatives and the expansion of the Probation Service have been the League's most recent preoccupation.

The Division of Crime Problems of the Council of Europe which he will head serves as a focal point for bringing together the heads of penal administrations in the member countries on the one hand; and academic criminologists and researchers from these countries on the other. This mixture of theory and practice serves to cross-fertilise ideas and enables detailed studies of promising new developments to be carried out.

Mr. Martin Wright, formerly of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology, is Director-Designate.

Inside Pentonville

Tackling the problem of short-term imprisonment

ADRIAN ARNOLD

To talk about short-term imprisonment and Pentonville in particular is to talk about something still, in my opinion, in embryonic form—we have hardly considered its place in the sentencing field or in the penal or correctional process.

Let me first put a few figures across to give some perspective—and we are indebted for this to the psychological department. Incidentally the first psychologist ever arrived in Pentonville just over three years ago, about a year before the first psychiatrist, such was the poverty of modern skills at the 'Ville.

Pentonville has for five years been the first short-term, recidivist "local" prison in the country; it serves only the south-east region (excluding Kent) but I have little doubt that the figures will be fairly representative for the rest of the country. Our first task is therefore to take men serving sentences of 12 months or less, civilian prisoners, aliens and commonwealth citizens, section 14/3 men and the overflow of trials from Brixton. Our population averages 1,200. The statistics for one-third of the receptions, i.e. under three months, are as follows:

53 per cent in for non-payment of fines for drunkenness offences;

54 per cent of no fixed abode;

56 per cent with no next of kin;

82 per cent of men over 35 years of age serving sentences of up to one month.

Of the other two-thirds of the receptions serving three months or more the following figures will suffice for this purpose:

66 per cent were 35 years of age or less, the largest group being 26–35 (43 per cent);

25 per cent were 25 years of age or less;

52 per cent remained at Pentonville throughout their sentence;

Nearly 25 per cent are ex-mental hospital;

23 per cent stated they had a serious drink problem;

6 per cent stated they were compulsive gamblers;

12.5 per cent were, or had been previously, convicted of a drug offence;

59 per cent claimed regular work at liberty;

41 per cent had poor work records with casual or no employment.

33 per cent asked for help to find work on release.

Larceny or receiving was the most common offence in all age groups.

Motoring and T.A.D.A. and drugs were inversely proportionate with "age" while the increasing incidence of false pretences and suspected person was proportionate with age.

Failed marriages became an increasing problem and should be a serious treatment aspect for the younger age group.

One could multiply these figures *ad nauseam*, but it is now important to see them in perspective. What do these figures show about society? First of all I suggest it shows that social failure is still being sent to prison in spite of the 1969 Criminal Justice Act; it shows especially that drunkenness and vagrancy still come to prison (indeed in increasing numbers) for non-payment of fines which we know they will not be able to pay a few weeks later; that ex-mental hospital patients are coming to prison in increasing numbers because of the Mental Health Act's creditable open-door policy in 1959, but little did we understand one side effect of that Act at the time. Indeed it is very difficult sometimes to distinguish who is the offender, and who the victim—society or the inmate. Now I must suggest that it is quite ludicrous to send such men to short-term imprisonment; it costs £1¼ million per year to run Pentonville (that is £22 per week for 52 weeks a year with an average of 1,200 inmates); remember this does not include the loss of their earning capacity or the social security for their families; we are probably talking in terms of £50 per week per inmate; what to do?—increase their problems of social failure; this is surely so very jejune and can only be dubbed "the psychology of management failure"; no wonder we talk about the short-term criminal stereotype with derision and the term "society's scapegoats" with such feeling.

What are the alternatives? First we are asking for £¼ million to set up hostels for about 250 men each—unfortunately this is capital costs not running costs so that these are just not available; we continue to spend £1¼ million a year on Pentonville. Secondly, California after eight years' practice, have found that they have a 28 per cent failure by keeping offenders in the community with intensive counselling and treatment according to their needs at half the cost, as opposed to 52 per cent failure rate for control groups going through normal institutional care and after-care; the qualifications here are that they screen for seriousness of crime, mental abnormality and serious community objec-

Why not "keep out" the Social Failures ?

tion and that this is the youth authority, but we are talking about 25 per cent under 25 years of age at Pentonville also and we know that probation is almost equally successful in this country. Thirdly, Holland have shown that they are more than successful in reconviction rates by cutting 10-year sentences to three years and three-year sentences to six months; now they have two prisons empty and work critical numbers. What a delightful situation! Why are lengths of sentence increasing fast in this country, when we know three years is a very long time and people can change completely in that time? Why, according to Council of Europe figures, are we keeping 80 per 100,000 in prison, twice the number of most European countries (40 per 100,000) and four times as many as some others? Only one country is worse with 100 per 100,000, namely Austria. I could go on for a long time discussing the many other alternatives to prison for more appropriate treatment, but my main concern is immediate measures to cut down hopeless, pointless overcrowding of maudlin people in prisons in our so-called Welfare State. We must quite simply reduce the numbers in prison by half and those in for social failure must be kept out first, if we are to come into line with most other countries with a social and legal conscience.

We need also to look at the quality of men in short-term prisons. The first major change in the last few years is that the vagrant and the alcoholic are no longer economic casualties; they are much more products of our competitive society and especially the conurbations; they are the drop-outs who have failed to adapt to our modern complex, affluent society; on the whole they are much younger than they were but they cannot compete with modern technology, demands in decision-making and alienation from the environment; instead, as Christian Action forcibly pointed out, they suffer from increased personality isolation and fragmentation. The Welfare State through the D.H.S.S. continue to call them collectively "homeless single persons of no fixed abode", but they include a wide range of mentally handicapped and mentally ill, socially maladjusted, alcoholics and drug-users. They are the most inarticulate; in the main they use the common lodging houses (30,000 mainly in Rowton and Sally Army) and the reception centres. Social failure today is in fact a complex problem which presents itself in a variety of ways.

The "Bible"

In this light then what is the role of the short-term prison? The first thing that has to be said is, in the words of some prophet, "we must think big"! We have hardly looked at this short-term problem but it is certainly a specialised prison. Our bible at first in the days of Eric Towndrow was an excellent document called the "report of a mixed conference on short-term imprisonment" in June 1966; half of this was also concerned more with alternatives to prison, but it also recommended the sub-division of the inmate body into a variety of groups according to offences, viz.: drunks, sex offenders, T.A.D.A. and motoring offenders, the 21–25 age group, professional criminals, and then further subdivided groups according to personality, social ability, attitudes and motivation.

These latter sub-divisions are much more difficult to classify, but the former are now accepted practice in Pentonville, although greatly extended to include more emphasis on socially supportive measures. In short the pertinent aspect was that security was a comparatively minor problem and the old fashioned prison discipline in these circumstances could be seen as a denial of growth; growth in both staff and inmate skills was vital; security was much more concerned with making most people feel secure in the knowledge that they could get at least some sort of help whilst there. Overall we need radical alternatives to short-term prison methods also, not only because of the type of inmate, but because of the immediacy of release. To say we have succeeded would be a travesty, considering that 15 of the 50 people a day are still leaving with nowhere to go and no one to meet them. All one can say is that we are on the right road at last, making slow but painful strides in the right direction.

The second task was seen as selection and transfer of all prisoners suitable for open or closed training prisons in the area. We have many problems associated with this task, but we have been pursuing these elsewhere and therefore I do not propose to pursue them here.

The third task was: "For the remainder to assess and treat their problems both in prison and on release, so that they will not need to return to prison". To carry out this task, six concepts were considered useful and requisite:

1. Interaction with free society.
2. The use of all human resources (both staff and prisoner) to carry out the task.
3. Opportunities for individual self-control and responsible social control by prisoners with realistic rewards and penalties, as opposed to rigid control from without.
4. As far as is compatible with security the basing of decisions on what is "normal" in everyday life outside, to reduce the artificial nature of prison life.
5. Development of relationships through open communication.
6. Independence of managers in specialist areas, wings and activities.

These concepts had a three-page commentary, which was issued to all staff and each new staff member on joining.

The next part of this paper is really a commentary in more detail of the attempt to carry this out in the three years since.

The role of the short-term prison especially must be seen as an extension of free society, not excluded from it. We must, I believe, be the hostel end of the prison process. The main feature is immense liaison (this is what

Links with Outside

Seebohm was saying), liaison with community resources, local authorities, community ventures, voluntary associates, (especially female), clinics, hostels, employers, the Probation Service, Cyrenian and Simon communities, Alcoholics and Gamblers Anonymous, the Alcoholics Recovery Project with Tim Cook in South London, etc. This means 50 visiting probation officers and their ilk a day; this means our own uniformed staff office with principal, senior, and basic grade officers just liaising with outside bodies; they are called public relations, treatment liaison, hostel and employment P.O.s; and we have but made a beginning! It is quite clear that welfare officers must be but consultants to the uniformed staff who must carry out the "welfare" which includes the specific ongoing case-work and group-work and the essential liaison; we need 20 staff on this liaison area alone. Head Office circular 130/67 defined the welfare officer only as the focal point of social work and the P.O.A. resolution of 1964 on "the modern role of the prison officer" means just this too; we need bold decisions about institutional management now, to start moving ahead.

"Time" to think

It means, therefore, opportunities for immense staff involvement in "prison treatment"—with feelings and commitment if possible—feelings are facts and dangerous if ignored, whether from staff or inmates. The first major change was the creation of meaningful interviews and group work in an induction process, rather than the old fashioned reception board. This induction now has been extended to all, even those serving one month. Short-term imprisonment can be seen simply as time to come to terms with one's feelings and to think "on the threshold of abstinence", as Kessel and Walton called it in their book on "Alcoholism"; time to think without drink, drugs, gambling, the pressure of family, gang, debts, or just time to lick one's wounds. *We* must provide this opportunity. This means time to talk, talk and more talk in a purposeful setting about their specific form of compulsion, whether this is petty theft or whatever. This means in a crowded prison, I consider, group work in the main—and probably the most encouraging aspect of the inspectorate's report was to question the validity of the assumption that work, especially in the so-called rag shop or the mail-bag shops, was of cardinal importance; therefore group work takes place increasingly during the day, rather than in staff overtime in the evening, when both staff and inmate are weakest. Thus, we have a variety of groups, including those vital induction groups, T.A.D.A., epileptics, rule 43, homeless, malicious damage, unemployment groups, probation officer groups, and voluntary associate groups, apart from multiple heterogenous groups and apart from true psycho-therapeutic groups with visiting consultants.

Groups . . . or nothing?

The real aim of this group work is not psycho-analytical at all, but just learning basic social skills in a positive way, seeing that others have similar problems and therefore losing that hopeless self-pity and resentment, and gaining skills instead in helping one's peers, making positive social contributions and therefore gaining some feeling of identity oneself—as well as a friend, a home and other basic necessities as a rule. In this way the whole ethos of the prison can slowly change, whilst remembering that the alternative to groups is so often nothing at all.

Anons unlimited

Linked with this we have up to 50 inmates going out in parties at weekends to do social work for charitable ventures under the supervision of a responsible citizen—all pro-social and purposeful involvement in the community. We are also in the process of arranging for paraplegics from Stoke Mandeville to show them how to play table-tennis, basketball, gymnastics—self-pity doesn't have a chance against such competition! We also have visitors' groups with inmates coming forward voluntarily; visiting days are Tuesdays and Thursdays; in fact we try to ensure that no visitor visits without joining an inmate group also. Then there are the anonymous groups, Alcoholics, Gamblers and Recidivists Anonymous, where numbers of ex-inmates are regularly visiting to show how it can be done; it is this R.A. group which is probably the most promising, being essentially the self-help group with its own hostels, outside and inside organisation and most directly concerned with staff/inmate development—where people are accepted for what they are and who they are, not just as things to be moulded; this is therefore another opportunity for creativity; the inmate group leader is working full-time for this group assisting with hostel liaison and employment, apart from internal administration of the group; no group, however, can take place without a staff volunteer leader, which is also of course good staff training, whilst each group leader and outside member meet together with inmate group leaders and a governor grade afterwards to discuss their group and future developments. The outside group members (again especially female and expenses paid) include J.P.s (even eight stipendiaries have taken groups, one having taken an alcoholics group, T.A.D.A. group and a general group), sociology lectures, hospital therapists, as well as members of more radical organisations and ex-inmates; this is clearly of assistance and training for the former group and a means to positive, purposeful involvement for the latter, whilst furthering the use of community resources. It is so very encouraging to find J.P.s stating they had no idea how intelligent and pleasant the "dossers" can be. Likewise we are increasingly using full-time voluntary workers (board, lodgings and expenses paid), for a month at a time to assist in developing areas, as has been used so successfully in the more progressive mental and subnormal hospitals, whilst voluntary associates are multiplying fast through N.A.C.R.O.'s services; but the ex-inmate, who is not drinking today, the T.A.D.A. man who has grown up, the ex-petty thief and even the ex-paederast, now living with a woman, are the "enablers" and very valuable in this context.

More and more "Groups" Accumulated visits for short-termers More staff involvement

The next move is a drugs group, we hope, in liaison with an ex-inmates' hostel "Phoenix House" and, as soon as possible, wives groups, which is a weak area with us still. Likewise as so often in "local" prisons, there is so little done at week-ends beyond, say, religious worship and a film; we are in the process of changing this and with the help of the tutor organiser we should be able to start week-end schools, equally as good as the Army provided, from our "University in Adversity", as my long-term prison was called in Nigeria!

The important principle is that the short-term sentence must be seen as the beginning of something to be continued in society on release; the links with a hostel, A.A., employment, education, etc. outside must be made before release as far as possible and short-term (day) parole is the means to this end. Indeed it is hoped shortly to consider a scheme for accumulated visits for short-termers, say nine-month and 12-month sentences, whereby such visits can be exchanged for a day or overnight at home, or more appropriately, at the prospective hostel. One can but hope that the long-term hostel scheme, which is so much more appropriate to short-termers, will mean short-term imprisonment, will be week-ends and evenings soon, so that the social failure can maintain what tenuous social ties he has. I agree that therapeutic community concepts in a prison setting can be confusing, but there are so many aspects that can be applied in terms more familiar to us, and the self-help aspect is the most promising.

The fear of contamination is minimal, when positive measures are applied, while the old-fashioned discipline is quite inept. How can one talk of riots, when elected inmates are "manipulated" into pro-social roles, when the most active anti-social inmate is using his energy in helping another inmate to read and write (and 25 per cent in the prison are seen to need remedial education); certainly the other preventive aspect about such mass expression was to let them sit down on exercise in the summer at least.

New roles for staff

What does all this mean in management terms? First of all it means new roles for staff not only in the welfare sense, nor only as hospital officers and T.A.s, but as hospital officers marriage guidance counsellors, as induction and classification staff, as a legal aid office, which itself has worked wonders in Pentonville, and especially as after-care agents with the after-care clinic outside for the interested members from their groups to report back (c.f. the Grendon outpost); ours is called the Penrose crypt after Mrs. Rose, the instigator, and Pentonville; one would hope also soon to envisage day and week-end parole home from long-term prisons with the staff member of their choice as in Hersted-vester—the better alternative surely to conjugal visits; there is such tremendous wastage of staff potential still in English prisons. Training must not be of T. S. Eliot's kind, "being made to do something you don't want and for which you have no aptitude"; there must be both selection and self-selection. Indeed one hopes soon that female staff will be made available in social failure prisons, not to mention mixed inmate populations, in line with many locked wards in mental hospitals with patent success.

Adrian Arnold is an M.A. (Cantab) and ex-Indian Army with a wide and varied experience including Usk Borstal, Goudhurst Detention Centre, two remand centres (Ashford and Risley) and Grendon Prison as deputy governor. He has had two tours overseas, the first as commandant of a detention camp and the youth prison in Cyprus during the E.O.K.A. troubles and as superintendent of an open prison in the Northern Region of Nigeria, where he also built and opened the first borstal. "Has (he says) doubtful claim to fame" in a distinction in Abnormal Psychology from London University and lectures there in criminology also with the extra-mural department. He is now governor of Huntercombe Borstal. It is, however, as deputy governor of Pentonville Prison, coupled with work during a research year earlier on prison management and treatment as Simon Fellow at Manchester University that he writes today. He has toured prisons and hospitals in Africa, Canada, India, the United States and most countries in Europe and here he writes about the development of short term imprisonment, being interested in the use of community resources and especially concerned with alternatives to imprisonment for social failure

More and more training

What then is good staff training? I consider three weeks a year per officer is minimal, surely. At present we attempt to achieve one week per year; this includes a week at a probation office for some—now 58 staff have been—appearance at as many national regional conferences as possible (especially N.A.C.R.O., Cyrenians hostel, wardens, alcoholism, drugs, etc., etc.) and courses such as the Grubb Institute and Tavistock (at least evening courses); but the best training is in regular meetings of staff at a variety of levels with fullest interdisciplinary liaison; it is this latter aspect that can still be greatly improved, I fear, although case conferences on the wings have begun once again; only in this way can the whole man be treated; another very useful training area are the two-week internal group training courses (full day, except for early morning unlock and returning in the evening for locking-up again); these to take place at least every other month, and staff seminars weekly in the comfort of the V.C. room with coffee provided; discussion groups with outside and inside speakers, say, during the lunch-hour. All this at Pentonville requires six staff available for training daily after unlock.

The kind of questions being asked are: "Why is a man withdrawn and socially isolate"? We discuss the now well-understood path to such isolation

and can discuss the meaning of anomie, of increasing social dependency in prison and the means to avoiding this. One does not have to go to certificate of criminology classes for this, although it helps—and 22 staff are now on London University courses of this kind or similar. It is really a wonderful lesson, when they find out the simple answer to the aggressive inmate—that he is in fact as a rule defensive or inadequate; they cannot understand why it took so long to be told that understanding and a group, rather than the punishment block or "the ghost train", are the real answers so often. This we find is equally applicable to those applying for rule 43 and virtual isolation; instead he is encouraged to join a mature group, who are willing to look at their problems and it works in all but the rarest case; purposeful maturation takes the place of isolation and deterioration in a man, who is so often the most immature of them all both socially and sexually. Sociology teaches us such simple expedients; it teaches us also typical reactions to imprisonment, in fact, Goffman's "Asylums" is almost enough; it teaches us that we ourselves can as often cause as many disruptions in prison by our own ineptitude. Psycho/social skills and a bit of management theory are the real staff skills required in this modern prison system; there are so many techniques for change of behaviour and attitudes available today, if only we would look.

Other management aspects include the early building into the prison structure of newly won training/treatment schedules. It was said by our youngest assistant governor on arrival that the real fault in Pentonville was that the group and visitors' programme was a virtuoso performance by the deputy governor; it could be said that that was necessary at the beginning, but it had gone on too long and I give the present governor all credit for quickly incorporating all those piecemeal and time-consuming procedures into the structure of Pentonville—and incidentally off my back! This specialist office also now has independence of management and do the job far better than I could in isolation. Certainly we are moving fast from 9: 1 management (in the idiom of Blake and Mouton) to 9: 9 management, where delegation with consultation is pursued hard down to inmate level; where I am proud to say I do not know one-tenth of what goes on in Pentonville; who can know the sum total of interpersonal human relationships with 1,200 inmates and 300 staff? What we are attempting to do is to find out, in the words of the management review team, the organisational structure and management methods appropriate to the needs of our specific prison. I think one of the most useful changes in this respect was the establishment of the acting up to principal by senior officers early this year; at last no longer does a P.O. act for another P.O. when he is away; instead all P.O.s have their own function and the S.O. acts up in his absence. This has certainly established some independence in management at a local specialist wing level.

However, probably the most vital management aspect is continuity of governor grades and above all the governor himself. If short-term imprisonment is a matter of meaningful liaison with multiple outside organisations being cemented and maintained, then a continual change of governor can bring so much promising work quickly to nought. There is also the variety of H.Q. personnel and regional office staff, in addition. How can a new governor grade in these largest institutions come to terms with this multiple liaison outside, when he needs a year to come to terms with himself and other heads of department, not to mention basic grade staff ability inside; when the staff themselves have to come to terms with him; it takes a year to find one's own identity in these circumstances, let alone follow a purposeful institutional role 'twixt multiple conflicts of considerable magnitude. What other organisation of similar size can afford changes of governor and chief officer every year? The Council of Europe recommendation is that the maximum number of governor grade transfers per year must be one in five; this is, I repeat, maximum. As I see it, governors should be in post for a minimum of five years, whatever the promotion structure, or we have nothing but management by exigencies. Certainly it can be said that the newly proposed job appraisal interviews have little chance of meaningful success, if the governor himself is but trying to come to terms with the present and prospective purpose of his establishment, let alone the nature of regimes and staff roles and functions within that establishment.

What then about the regional aspects of short-term prisons? It is quite clear to me that there should be one large short-term prison in each region and that short-term work needs a specific of its own. It seems quite clear to me also that inclusion of "trials", men with deportation orders, etc., cut completely across this specific; here we are in Pentonville with 1,200 social failures, hardly a decent crook in the place, and yet we are a category "B" prison; we could take 18-month sentences and less, if we must keep out 1,200; but let the higher category unconvicted men go elsewhere and call us "C" or even "D" category; in those circumstances we could cut down our staff radically or better still use the staff more purposely and run it as a hostel. This is, surely, our proper place in the prison syndrome.

Adrian Arnold sums up

Finally let it be said quite clearly that in my opinion there has been gross misrepresentation of the value of short-term imprisonment. There are many still who say that you cannot do aught with a man in prison in less than two or three years; this, I, and now many staff at Pentonville, consider is rubbish. There is certainly a great deal of harm done to a man (and his family) in prison over two or three years; this harmful effect is minimal in three or six months and a great deal can be done for a man in that time, if the staff and inmate resources are properly used, if the priorities are properly set and purposeful skills employed with reasonable intensity; we are not talking about a permissive regime—on the contrary, a closely controlled regime, where people must learn to be active both physically and mentally. I trust the numbers in prison will reduce dramatically in the near future, that those serving short-term imprisonment will no longer be society's social failures, but that short-term imprisonment will be seen for what it is, the most effective and purposeful sentence.

Readers write about . . .

Leadership Training "Humanising"

To The Editor,
Prison Service Journal.

LEADERSHIP

If the whole question of leadership as a primary function of management is examined in any depth, four propositions can be made:

That leadership is a regular part of the management job.

That leadership has a marked effect on results.

That leadership has more to do with situations than personalities.

That leadership can be taught.

Persistent distrust of these four propositions has hindered managers in their role as leaders in this field.

A definition of leadership can be obtained by using the work of many well-known authorities. A list of desirable traits to be looked for in selection of leaders includes integrity, superior intelligence and knowledge, human sympathy, tough mindedness and self awareness.

Training for leadership should consist of at least two elements—building the right climate; and organising specific training courses. Such courses should include the study of human behaviour, development of personality, communications, and the different styles of leadership. This last subject, "Styles of Leadership", should be examined in great detail, with particular emphasis on the variables which determine the type of leadership that different situations require.

Good leadership generates enthusiasm which is little affected by changes of environment. The ability to appraise and evaluate any situation and to find solutions whilst still maintaining leadership is an ideal that is rarely achieved in our field of work.

H. Tellwright,
Training Principal Officer,
H.M. Prison,
Gartree.

To The Editor,
Prison Service Journal.

TREATMENT AND TRAINING

A curious omission in the White Paper *People in Prison* is a definition of the words "treatment and training". Not only are they not defined but they are sometimes used interchangeably. This reflects the confusion in the Prison Service but fails to take the opportunity to lead which is so admirably provided by the clarity of thought and expression in the rest of the document.

There is danger in not analysing, exactly, what is meant by words in common use; they become debased clichès that represent flabby hopes rather than realistic action. This is particularly true of treatment and training —unless they are properly defined they cannot be carried out other than minimally. An accurate definition is, at least, the base for effective action.

The embarrassment caused by loose thinking and failure to define commonly used terms was felt by a small sub-group which met, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ogier, during the Governors' Conference in July 1970, for their task was to provide a definition of these very words "treatment and training". They haunted us as we tentatively argued and faced our own confusion. However, there emerged through the fog and just on time, a definition which, when presented, provoked intense critical discussion, yet survived.

It is my intention, in this short letter, to offer an opportunity to duplicate this argument on a wider basis. Members of the Service should be able to analyse their own concepts and feel encouraged to criticise what is offered. Changes and improvements should be made by writing to the Prison Service Journal, using it as a forum of debate.

Here then, offered for sacrifice are—

Treatment (used as non-medical terminology)—is the process by which the total community identifies and utilises, to their greatest extent, the positive and useful aspects of the total resources.

Training—is a specific programme designed for and with the prisoner, with positive concern for his individual needs and its purpose and use validated.

M. F. G. Selby
Staff Training Development Officer,
Prison Department,
Home Office.

To The Editor,
Prison Service Journal.
Sir,

Having read—for the second time—the article by Mr. Herschel A. Prins, I do feel moved to paper. Although not mentioned by the Journal, this was the text of a talk given at Keele University at the Probation Officers' Conference, and was published as a paper and circulated to the Probation Service—and social workers—later.

Really one must take exception to Mr. Prins' comments that the Probation Service has—he hopes—provided a "humanising" influence on the penal system. Obviously Mr. Prins has not really considered our own great prison reformers. He has not considered the early—not to mention current—housemasters. He has not considered that "humanising" was going on in the Prison Service before the Probation Service was born. Equally in the paragraph referring to Courts and the community, I cannot really see that the Prison Service can really be considered to be inward looking and inner-directed. The very basis of today's penal establishment is to fit the offender for an outside life. We must accept that we are far from successful —though what is success—but then neither is any other social casework agency (64 per cent of boys sent to detention have been on probation at least once).

Great strides have been made over the past years within the prison system. Some have been because of contact with other agencies and organisations, but much has been within our own training system.

I would not wish to argue the merits of either service with the Probation Service, who do a difficult job under generally trying conditions—but there seems to be a tendency today to allow other people to tell us how good they are without blowing our own trumpet a bit.

"Say something often enough and it is soon believed." I think that this is becoming true for some members of our Service who are beginning to believe all that these other people are saying about us.

Is it not about time we hit back a bit?

Keith E. Inns, A.G. II,
H.M. Detention Centre,
Whatton,
Nottingham.

Books about Growing Up, Locking Up, Crime Exploding, Teaching Borstal Lads, Social Work, Sentencing . . . even BUREAUCRACY . . .

discussed by . . .

MARY ELLIS, Medical Officer, Feltham Borstal.
DONALD LONG, Chief Officer, Long Lartin Prison.
DENIS B. FAWCETT, Principal Officer, Birmingham Prison.
ALAN ROBERTON, Governor, Leyhill Prison.
E. R. E. SKELTON, Assistant Governor, Social Studies Department, Staff College, Wakefield.
DAVID HAXBY, Lecturer in Criminology, University of York.
MARK BEESON, Lecturer, Extra-Mural Department, University of Leeds.

ADOLESCENCE AND SOCIAL WORK

A. L. LAYCOCK

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970. £1.25

THIS small but very compact book deals with the many theories of behaviour in admirably concise fashion, relating them to case work in general and work with adolescents in particular. To encompass the ideas of such varied theorists as Freud and Lewin, Margaret Mead and Carl Rogers and many others in 106 pages is no small feat, and whilst much is necessarily left out, the essence of their ideas is completely presented and related to the context of social work with the adolescent. As Leslie Laycock comments in his opening chapter "theories of adolescence abound, but their implications for the practice of social work have often, as a historical fact, never been drawn". His book goes a long way to filling this gap.

He divides the book into three main parts: theories stressing internal determinants of behaviour, those stressing external determinants, and theories which rely on an interaction of the two; under each theorist he highlights those aspects of their work which apply to the adolescent and concludes each chapter with a wider comment bringing into focus and perspective the various ideas expressed—with their relevance for the social work practitioner.

There is now such a wealth of research material on attitudes and clinical data that a theorist can usually find data to support whichever side of an argument he is presenting; thus in discussing the views of Musgrove the comment is made "British findings do not seem to bear out certain American reports which allege widespread adolescent rejection of parental values and guidance". But there is a body of research in America which "proves" quite the contrary. Perhaps it is all too easy to draw conclusions from research into one particular group, e.g. secondary school boys or co-educational school children or disturbed children attending child guidance clinics and apply it, quite inappropriately, in a wider context, it is important to remember that the clients of the social worker form only a small portion of the population. Yet sometimes, amidst the welter of theory and ideas relevant to the disturbed, a sentence stands out which is relevant to all. Such a one is Margaret Mead's "The children must be taught how to think, not what to think". The author has included several such *bons mots*, indeed he has included some of his own, e.g. "The social worker must be Janus-headed—facing the client's past where it has left some legacy to the present, facing the client's future, where its demands for change are clear"; his turn of phrase often enlivens without ever irritating.

What relevance and usefulness has this book for the Prison Service? A great deal in my view and not only for assistant governors in training; it could well be used for officer training in the young offender establishments—though in this context a glossary of terms would add considerably to its value; words like introjection, libido and biogenetic can be not only incomprehensible but sufficient to frighten the would-be reader from pursuing his reading. And since the psycho-analytic contributions come first, other material much more easily comprehended, would not be read. In this context the paragraphs on group work with adolescents late in chapter two are excellent and prison personnel reading the section on operant conditioning would immediately recognise its relevance to borstal training.

This book would have been easier to read and assimilate if more examples were given; one excellent example clearly illustrated the point made, more such would have increased its length but made it more telling.

The bibliography is a useful guide to further reading though I think the omission of Winnicott's work is a pity and the reference to Weiner's work should be supplemented by details of his "Psychological Disturbance in Adolescence", published late last year.

It will be apparent that the criticisms of this book are all minor ones. To pay 65p is a small price for such a competent book.

M.E.

LOCK 'EM UP AND COUNT 'EM

FRANK NORMAN

Knight and Co. London, 1970. £1.25

THROUGH the years many books have been written by ex-inmates and ex-prison officials portraying their prison experiences and emotional feelings, interlaced with vivid pictures of punitive maltreatment.

Our first impression when reading the foreword of *Lock 'em up and count 'em* was that this was yet another variation on the same theme. After all, a common ingredient of this book as far as one can see that all the contributors are no longer associated with prisons from within. Even the author has been away from prison long enough to claim the tag "layman".

It is only when one looks at the book as a whole that a real picture of compassion and understanding emerges. Frank Norman has brought together a fine balance of penal experience encompassing a whole field from the inmate at one end of the scale to the then Minister of State at the other. With just as varied opinions, from the hysterical "burn the prisons down" to the sober statement of fact that prisons must develop hand in glove with the community at large.

To a man, this body of experience has recognised the fundamental need of inmate/officer relationships as a basis for ongoing rehabilitation, but unfortunately the author has not found it necessary to elicit the views of the prison officer. Strange this!

There are, of course, many inaccuracies in this book, but to get bogged down with these would be to the detriment of the many fine beliefs and feelings of its contributors. Beliefs which by their very simplicity are so important to those attempting to grasp the complexities of prison treatment.

This book is a must in the library of any penal thinker or reformer.

D.L.

THE CRIME EXPLOSION

PETER GLADSTONE SMITH

MacDonald and Co., 1970. £1.75

PETER GLADSTONE SMITH is crime correspondent with the *Sunday Telegraph.* Briefed to cover the subject of crime thoroughly and from every aspect it is evident from this, his first book, that he has in large measure succeeded. Written with the easy and readable style of the journalist, the book reveals a wide personal experience and the evident use of extensive research.

Books about crime and criminals are many and varied. But seldom is one written which exposes crime to such a wide extent; and on a scale compared to which the Great Train Robbery pales into insignificance. The harvest reaped from big scale forgery, for example, exceeds that of other crime many times over.

The author focuses the reader's attention to the rise of organised crime, from pre-war race track gangs to the Krays and Richardsons of the '60s. To the rising incidence of drug peddling and smuggling. And to the danger, only narrowly averted a year or two ago, of the Mafia gaining a foothold in Britain in both gaming and the trafficking of drugs. Although the threat was resisted we are reminded that there is still no room for complacency.

Stress is lain on the importance of law and order forces keeping ahead of the criminal in matters scientific and technological. A national police force, already accepted in principle, is advocated, adequately equipped with trained personnel in the use of firearms and helicopters, together with a national drugs squad. The author strongly criticises business firms who accept losses through theft simply through fear of bad publicity; firms who should be brought to task for allowing crime to continue whilst relying on insurance to erode their sense of responsibility.

Turning to the penal system in Britain, Mr. Smith supports the principles of reformation and rehabilitation, but criticises the amount of treatment and training which is given. For example, he rejects the argument that it would not be economical to pay a prisoner a full industrial wage from which they would be required to support their families. The author points out that it seems to him no more than a matter of book-keeping between Government departments; prisoners' families are already supported from public funds, why not from inmates' wages, thus adding much to their self-respect and sense of responsibility.

Very long sentences are the outcome of large scale organised crime. The author recognises that the Prison Service, although rightly committed to rehabilitation, will have its patience and persistence severely strained in the pursuance of these principles when dealing with the long-term prisoner. He reminds us of a great deal that we already know. That the prison paralyses initiative; that the offender must be given something to put in the place of his criminality; and that we, and society, should not forget how great a deprivation is loss of liberty. Mr. Smith does not pretend to know the answers to the problems of rehabilitation, but he does suggest that half-hearted measures are no longer acceptable in our present society.

One ray of hope, perhaps, the author predicts an early release on licence for most, if not all, very long term prisoners even the Moors murderers. He believes that this will be the result of the change in public attitude to prisoners, and to the fact that many people will still be in prison when a new generation takes over that does not remember their crimes. Perhaps Mr. Smith reveals a certain *naivete* in his assumption. But clearly he believes that there is an inherent danger of destroying the man who is locked away for an appalling number of years, a danger of which our Service is well aware.

Prevention is better than cure, says the author. He believes all teenagers should be called up for a period of compulsory social service. This to bring them "face to face with social obligations", and a recovery of respect for the rule of law. Basically, that is what the book is all about. Peter Gladstone Smith aims it at a permissive society which, as he so rightly points out, is almost impressed by people who get away with it. If we are to believe Mr. Smith, it's amazing how many do.

D.B.F.

THE EDUCATION OF BORSTAL BOYS

ERICA STRATTA

Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1970. £2.50

QUESTIONING our past, uncertain of the present, operating under very heavy pressures, the state of the borstal system cannot be a happy one. Were an awareness of our own deficiencies not enough, a rising rate of reconviction and a constant criticism might discourage any Panglossian tendencies. Thus situated we might hope for, and would certainly welcome, any help and guidance from those expert in the various areas in our field. We should have wisdom enough no longer to expect magic but have perhaps some right to be offered possible lines of development to meet the demands currently made on us. If this is our expectation and our hope then no glad cries can greet Dr. Stratta's book.

I am no expert in research or research methods but the book seems to move into its task in an uneasy way. Though Dr. Stratta acknowledges in a later section (p. 166) that responses in the borstal situation may be inhibited she seems to have made no allowance for bias in looking at the questionnaire replies. The interpretation of these replies seems to be highly subjective, seeking to confirm the author's own views rather than to establish objective knowledge. That, if it be true, leads to a major contradiction in the book. Dr. Stratta is severe, and justifiably so, about "middle class concepts" of the needs of delinquents but it is a questionable advance to replace these with an "intellectual-academic" concept.

The view of education throughout the book, though Dr. Stratta makes courteous bows in other directions, seems a narrow one. Unless the borstal experience is seen as a dynamic whole and dealt with in these terms then many activities, including education, are likely to remain superficial and external ornaments. Only if there is a serious, co-operative effort on the part of everyone involved to find impact and meaning and to encourage participation in the whole experience can any of it have any content that has lasting value. It ought to be a sad reflection for Dr. Stratta that borstal, in her terms of measurement, was much more successful when education, again in her terms, was sporadic, casual and non-professional. I am not suggesting that this is so or that we should look romantically backwards but the Stratta measuring rod as used in this book might well indicate this.

Education of Borstal Boys—incidentally another contradiction for the author deplores the use of "boys" or "lads" —offers little really except a number of generalisations, none of which are new. There should be more imaginative personnel who should have "time to show each that they have a sympathetic awareness". No one would quarrel with that but there are genuine administrative problems in the way of its achievement. In her request for a tutor organisers' career structure which is both jam-laden and edible, for the employment of more teachers and for the wider involvement of educational staff, sometimes in areas where they have no manifest skill, there is an air of unreality. Borstal boys and staff are part of a public system and, though they may have a fair amount of internal freedom, public attitudes will

determine and limit much of what they can do.

The sadness of the book is that at odd moments Dr. Stratta shows that she is sensitive to our real problems. She nods briefly to participation, has perceptive passages on the working through of personal difficulties and the challenge of ongoing discussion but with none of these does she do anything. Though she wishes to offer content she seems to finish up with imposition and a structure which increases the weight of the official machine. When change in the disposition of authority is a basic social problem, adding solid bricks to the bureaucratic framework is doubtfully wise.

Harsh judgement perhaps but one has some right, I fancy, to expect a more positive and constructive contribution from someone who has seen something of the field and has ventured a book on it.

A.R.

SOCIAL WORK WITH GROUPS

M. K. McCULLOUGH and PETER J. ELY

Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1968. 40p.

THIS "Library of Social Work" book is written in two parts. The division reflects the authors' view of the current position in social group-work, which they see as an essentially practical situation in which "theoretical views of group-work emerge from situations but the character of the work heavily influences the application of any theory". The first six chapters are devoted to practical aspects and descriptive accounts of group-work in the field. Chapters seven and eight are used to present theory and a guide to further reading. In setting out to be an introduction to the practice of group-work, the book is aimed primarily at social work students although the authors suggest that experienced social case-workers intending to extend their working practice into the field of group-work may also find it of interest. With the student readership in mind technical terminology and theoretical concepts are deliberately avoided in the first part.

The examination in the first chapter of some of the practical issues such as settings, types of group-work, numbers of members, frequency of meetings, length of sessions and numbers of meetings will be particularly useful to those thinking of working with groups for the first time. Many basic points are covered but more discussion would have been welcome on the important areas of selection, preparation and recording. Although stress is correctly laid on the need for systematic recording, more emphasis may have been given to the need for supervision as an aid to learning.

In the second chapter the authors point to the complexities of group interaction and indicate that their description "is of necessity simplified and incomplete". The complex nature of group-work is in fact underlined in the discussion of the role of the worker in the group. At one point reference is made to the unstructured nature of the group and the non-directiveness and permissiveness of the worker. Later, the worker is described as feeding "into the group those points which he feels will help the group to keep to its task and to clarify what it is doing".

The section on interpretive comment and clarification and the variety of ways these terms are used in social work is useful and serves to illustrate further the complex nature of the worker's relationship to the group and the high degree of sensitivity and awareness required. The point is well made that the therapeutic value of interpretive comment depends on appropriateness as well as accuracy.

Chapter three deals with the interaction of group members. Seating positions, self appointed leaders, scapegoating, sub-groups are all briefly discussed, as is the ability of the group to share the supporting, clarifying and enabling functions of the worker.

The chapter on group-work in institutions is somewhat disappointing in that the authors appear to assume that group-work in institutions is mainly carried on by "outside" social workers and although this is undoubtedly true in many cases, it ignores the extensive experience of group-work in penal establishments by full-time members of staff.

Some of the differences which are encountered in group-work in the institutional situation are pointed out and attention is drawn to the pervasive nature of the method and the way in which it can be threatening to a rigid organisation. The emphasis, however, seems to be on the negative aspects and the use of groups and group process as a positive force for institutional change, improved communications and staff development, is largely ignored. This is not to minimise the difficulties to which the authors refer but to point to the positive forces which often go unrecognised. As is indicated by the authors, similar difficulties face the case-worker in the institution, but many of these problems arise due to failure to recognise the differences in working in the institutional situation.

A useful point is made on the need for the institutional worker to see the client in a one-to-one interview situation as well as in the group. This, of course, is a situation which the full-time staff member is unable to avoid but one which often presents both the new group-worker and the clients with difficulties. The authors point to the discovery that one situation can "feed" the other. This discovery is not confined to work in institutions. Other social work agencies with a traditionally case-work approach have recognised on the introduction of group-work, the complementary nature of the two methods, albeit creating the need for more effective communication when more than one worker is involved.

The chapter on groups in social work education is excellent and is recommended for all staff involved in the training and supervision of others as well as for students "on the receiving end". Part two of the book introduces the reader briefly to the work of Stock Whitaker and Leiberman, Slavson, Bion, Foulkes and Ezriel; and the final chapter presents an extremely useful suggested reading list and bibliography.

Essentially this small volume is, what it sets out to be, an introduction to social group-work and as such it is a useful "first reader".

Its main value lies perhaps in the many pieces of practical information it presents and its use as a pointer to further reading and study.

E.R.S.

SENTENCING IN A RATIONAL SOCIETY

NIGEL WALKER

Allen Lane. The Penguin Press. £2.50

NIGEL WALKER has written a stimulating, highly readable book which should be of interest not only to sentencers, but to all who are concerned in the treatment of offenders. He begins by examining the aims of a penal system. He would label himself a "reductivist", that is someone whose aim is "to reduce the frequency of the types of behaviour prohibited by the criminal law". The practical policies to be followed must be effective ways of pursuing this aim, but they will also be tempered by economic considerations—that is, a recognition that certain very effective policies might be too expensive to implement, and that where a choice of policies is possible the economic reductivist will ask which policy is likely to yield the biggest reduction in prohibited behaviour for the investment of money or manpower. Walker also recognises limits set by humanity—certain policies, which might be very effective, would have to be

rejected if they imposed suffering of an unacceptable degree.

Taking this essentially pragmatic and humane standpoint, he examines the aims, assumptions and practices of sentencers, and asks what changes it would be rational to introduce so that the sentencing of offenders might make the greatest impact on the reduction of recidivism. This is a stimulating approach, which culminates in a number of proposals. He wishes to distinguish custodial sentences which are corrective from those which are precautionary (i.e. for the protection of the public), and to set upper and lower limits to all sentences, with discretion to prison staffs to determine the release date. He also makes suggestions for controlling the discretion of the Courts in the choice of sentence, and proposes a special "sentencing authority" to undertake certain tasks, including a degree of experimentation with new types of penal measure. Walker claims his proposals would result in a system "not intolerably severe or unrealistically lenient", but less ambiguous and illogical than our present one.

In a central chapter, Walker argues that sentencers should adopt a strategic approach to their task. By this he means that they should make use of the known reconviction rates associated with different types of sentence and different groups of offenders, and make a choice, or sequence of choices, which has the greatest probability of producing successful outcomes. He argues that a diagnostic approach is of little help to a sentencer in the present state of our knowledge about what is likely to be an effective sentence for any particular offender.

It is difficult to quarrel with Walker's approach but the solutions he proposes for sentencers rely very heavily on the data about reconviction produced by Dr. W. H. Hammond and published in the annex to "The Sentence of the Court" (H.M.S.O. 1964 and 1969). It is perhaps worth giving some further consideration, therefore, to the value of this data.

In general, Hammond's data show that whilst, for persons of any particular age group and criminal record, discharges and fines did better than expectation, probation did worse, and did particularly badly with first offenders, for whom generally the fine was the most effective form of disposal. A possible explanation of these variations, which both Hammond and Walker recognise, is that they do not reflect (or do not *merely* reflect) the effectiveness of the method chosen, but rather the selection of offenders. Sentencing practice may be taking into account variables which have not been allowed for in calculating the expectations: the low reconviction rates following discharges may only reflect the skill of the Courts in selecting good prospects.

Walker, however, discounts the selection process as a possible explanation for the poor results ascribed to probation. "If we wished to put it forward, we should have to suggest that Courts tend to use probation for the sort of offender who is least likely to go straight. This is not the way, however, in which Courts seem to think they use probation, nor is it the way in which probation officers seem to advise them to use it. Both Courts and probation officers seem to regard probation as the measure of choice for the offender who is not a sophisticated or hardened criminal and whose circumstances offer some hope of reform without drastic penalties."

Walker gives no evidence for these assumptions about how Courts and probation officers choose probation cases, but is it really so absurd to suppose that in a fair proportion of cases, there is some deliberate selection of first offenders who are *bad* risks? The reasoning is not difficult to follow: "this offender appears to have problems (social and/or psychological) which make him a poor risk for the future unless he receives help or support now. A fine or discharge would therefore be inappropriate. We wish to avoid institutional treatment if at all possible, so we will make a probation order".

This kind of picture is compatible with the figures produced in the Home Office study of Middlesex probation area (H.M.S.O. 1966) which show that many probationers (about half of the sample) achieve high success rates although receiving only nominal supervision, but in other cases the success rate is lower in spite of more effort from the officers. Various explanations are possible. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that the latter were poor risk cases, most of whom failed in spite of, and not because of, the officers' efforts. A student recently investigated which features of a case might lead a probation officer to recommend supervision in a juvenile case and found that the greater the number of adverse features in the child's family and social environment, the more likely the officer was to think supervision the appropriate form of disposal. The sample in this enquiry was very small, but the finding is suggestive.

But let us assume that Walker is right, and that the "selective" explanation does not account for the disappointing probation results. Is it justifiable to make suggestions to sentencers about a strategic approach to sentencing based on Hammond's data? Hammond's main sample, on which most of the comparisons are based, consists of all offenders convicted in the Metropolitan Police District in 1957. (The other samples either relate to Scotland in 1947 or England and Wales in 1932—hardly relevant samples for statements about probation in 1969!) Whilst it may be reasonable to suppose that the effect of a fine or a discharge is much the same whether imposed in London or Newcastle, the results of probation must be related to the distinctive features of the Probation Service in the London area at that time. Is there any evidence that it was functioning well or badly, was under stress or in good heart, and how did it compare with the rest of the country? Some of the special problems of the London Probation Service at that time are recorded in chapter eight of the Morison Committee's report (March 1962, Cmnd. 1650). The report said: "The London area is among those offering the least congenial conditions to probation officers". The report recommended radical changes in the administration of the London service which were subsequently implemented. Other features distinguishing London probation from probation elsewhere are documented for the year 1961 in the Home Office study "Trends and Regional Comparisons in Probation". For example, although the "breakdown rate" for London probation orders during the period of the order was much the same as the national figure for all regions, London made the greatest use of one-year orders and the least use of probation as a proportion of all persons found guilty of indictable offences. The use of probation by the higher Courts in London was particularly low. Thus, from a more selective use of probation, London was getting the same failure rate in, on average, a shorter period of supervision!

There are then some good reasons for not wanting to devise a strategy on the basis of Hammond's sample. But let us go a bit further with Walker. His suggestion is that the fine rather than probation, should be regarded as the measure of choice for the first offender. This, he says, "is, of course, contrary to the traditional assumptions of the Probation Service". Evidence is now available, from Martin Davies' study "Probationers in their Social Environment" (not published when Walker was writing), that indicates Walker's comment is already out of date. Of a sample of 507 probationers aged 17–21 placed on probation in 1964, only 37.7 per cent were first offenders. Of course what we really need to prove the point is a sample of first offenders, but it is at last clear that the Probation Service is far from being

concerned mainly with first offenders.

In order to make some substantial criticism, these paragraphs have been directed mainly to one particular type of disposal, probation. Imprisonment might be subject to less regional variation in the quality of the service, but is the London prisoner typical, and was the Prison Service as a whole, in 1957, producing better or worse results than today? These and other points need to be made.

In summary then, it is no doubt right to try to devise a rational approach to sentencing, but the information on which to base such an approach is at present lacking. The indices which compare the results of sentences with expectation are at present too crude and based on samples which are too restricted geographically and already too out of date. Moreover we need indices which can take account of social and environmental stress on offenders—and Martin Davies' steps towards developing a stress score give some hope that this may be possible in the not too distant future.

These comments on a particular aspect of this book should not divert attention from the overall value of Walker's essay. The incisive way in which he challenges so many accepted views on the aims and operation of the penal system should be a stimulus to much rethinking.

D.H.

BUREAUCRACY

MARTIN ALBROW

London, Pall Mall, 1970. £1.50
Paperback: London, Macmillan. 60p

FOR 20 years now I've not knowingly uttered the word "bureaucracy", or at least, not with any conviction that I've known what I was talking about. Every time I've been aware of the word beginning to take form in my mouth, I've spat it out.

At the same time, I've been very much aware of this hole in my vocabulary. There are a host of other words in the same hole, and a host more which tremble on the brink. And, thinking about my best friends, I think I notice a kind of a cough, a kind of groping about in dark areas of the mind before they come out with small talk about "bureaucracy", administration, officials, ideology, democracy, accountability, "the free world", decentralisation, and, dare I say it, management.

I know a lot of other people, mind you, who go on about all this sort of stuff without ever seeming at a loss, without ever staring at the ceiling, without ever having to pull faces at themselves to keep their bearings. But I can't say that I find these people natural company. I need a drink at my elbow to make them bearable, to be able to endure my knowing that they don't need me.

So here I am, mooning about with this secret knowledge that there's a great big hollow, ringing cave in my brain where other people seem to have solid working stuff. They have the world taped, while I stagger from calamity to calamity.

When I saw reviews of a little book on bureaucracy, especially when the reviews were very favourable, a bell rang in the cave in my head and I know that this was a book that I had to read—and there's no better way of making yourself read a book than finding that you've got to review it. There are lots of ways of not making yourself read a book!

Well, whether you use the word "bureaucracy" or not, you cannot avoid hearing it. When it is used, as Albrow shows, it stirs up the muddy bottom of the pool in which live notions like professionalism, commitment, ideology, democracy, organisation, power and authority, of which Bakunin said: "All exercise of authority perverts. All submission to authority humiliates".

What Albrow's book does is to provide a guide to the way the word "bureaucracy" has developed and been used over the last two centuries. While doing this, Albrow shows up tremendous shifts in the meaning of the word which often undermine any possibility of understanding between those who use it and take the word leagues from the original meaning. More important, perhaps, Albrow makes all kinds of connections between this one word and the state of the world. It wouldn't be too much to say that the incredible division between East and West, the "betrayal" of the Soviet revolution, the ice-pick buried in Trotsky's skull, the permanent promise of a liberal revival—all these stem from disputes over bureaucracy. The concept is at the heart of man's subjection to his society—political, religious, professional, legislative and so on. Yet there is a kind of conspiracy of muddle from which, I suspect, we don't really want to be rescued. That will be the only explanation if Albrow's book isn't widely read.

What's bureaucracy

"Symptoms of bureaucracy include over-devotion to precedent, proliferation of forms, duplication of effort and departmentalism." (pp. 89–90.)

Bureaucracy is "an organisation that cannot correct its behaviour by learning from its errors". (Crozier, p. 90.)

"Privileged persons divorced from the people and standing *above* the people. That is the essence of bureaucracy." (Lenin.) (p. 73.)

"Herring . . . argues that 'bureaucracy' has become an emotional stereotype meaning only 'that-aspect-of-administration-which-is-disliked-by-those-who-are-adversely-affected'." (p. 81.)

Or, more analytically, a writer of 1846 is said to have: "found that bureaucracy had a variety of connotations, depending on which social group was uttering the complaint. The privileged classes complained of loss of privileges, the commercial classes of interference in commerce, artisans of paper work, scientists of ignorance, statesmen of delay. Behind all these expressions of complaint lay a common idea of bureaucracy as 'the false conception of the tasks of the state, implemented by a numerous . . . body of professional officials' ". (p. 29.)

Nothing in the book told me whether the Prison Service, within the Home Office, within the Civil Service, under "Yesterday's Men", is a bureaucracy. But the quotes above have a certain familiar ring about them, reminiscent of the running crisis of faith in Head Office which Prison Service staff have sometimes been heard to utter. And this crisis of faith is sustained by an everlasting hope that "changes at the top", or "changes in administration" ought to make things better, despite the fact that it is hard to find anyone who remembers any changes which have brought improvement.

Certainly there is an impression that a lot of "top-time" is devoted to burrowing into questions about how "the organisation" works and how it ought to work. And these enquiries are carried on to the accompaniment of a barrage of comment from "outsiders" who are convinced that the Prison Service hasn't a hope of working successfully. These people delight in shooting shaft after shaft into the apparently insensible "smersh" outfit which is supposed to run the show.

So, by my reckoning, a lot of people in the Prison Service and a lot of those who take an interest in what goes on inside it could do with a quiet think about bureaucracy even if, like me, they avoid the word. Martin Albrow's book provides a chance to do this. It provides a damned good chance; the best we're likely to get in our lifetime. It gives us a chance to get the word back into our vocabularies, refined, sharpened—indeed clarified. This is our only protection from the feeling that we're subjected to the vision that Le Play had in 1864 in which bureaucracy "meant the dissemi-

nation of authority among minor officials, absorbed in details, intent upon complicating business, and suppressing initiative in others". (p. 30.)

It is a protection which entitles us to ask those who talk knowingly about the organisation to "talk so we can understand" and to face the implications of the policies they claim to embrace.

What the book does

The book is disarmingly short, disarmingly modest, disarmingly simple, except perhaps for chapter five, which is tightly argued and a bit encyclopaedic. Even here, though, the author knows what he is doing, acknowledging that what he has outlined is complex.

The first chapter outlines the historical origins of the concept, ncluding the quaint British faith that ibureaucracy was something which other societies engendered and endured and from which Britain was somehow magically immune. It was John Stuart Mill, almost alone, who worried about the incursions which bureaucracy was bound to make on democracy. In the second and third chapters Albrow sketches the context in which Weber wrote, erecting a marvellously analytical model of bureaucracy in his study while being threatened by the real thing in Prussia, getting hung up on the *idea* of bureaucracy as rational and efficient but almost sunk in the fact of bureaucracy being anything but.

In the fourth chapter, Albrow brings in Marx, for whom bureaucracy was more or less incidental as a feature of society, a derivative of the economic system and not a directing force in society in its own right. This ideological plank was the one Lenin was perforce required to walk when it fell to his lot to take responsibility for administering the government of the Soviets. Inevitably he fell off, to be followed by Stalin—a result of social change overtaking the context of Marx's original thinking. The rifts between Stalin and Tito and, ironically, between Tito and Djilas were effectively about how to manage the emerging bureaucracies in their societies.

Along with this development went the contrary growth of Fascism, particularly under Mussolini, pledged to efficiency, serviced by a grossly exaggerated bureaucracy, some of whom duly found themselves on trial for their participation. With these ramifications to the concept of bureaucracy, who can dare say that the issue is one to leave sleeping?

Chapter five, the difficult one, sets out to present seven different concepts of bureaucracy which can be distinguished in present-day concerns. One approaches bureaucracy as a rational and efficient organisation toward some "end". From this standpoint there is nothing pejorative in the term. A second approach on the other hand, identifies bureaucracy as "rule by officials", officials being those empowered to give orders and required to achieve results. This introduces the idea of power, reminding one of the quote that it is characteristic of societies that those who have the power lack sensitivity and that those who have sensitivity lack power. A fourth line looks at bureaucracy as public administration. This is an approach which conveniently ignores the dangers of the abuse of power and suited the Fascists down to the ground. The fifth angle takes bureaucracy as administration by officials. I'm not acute enough to see how this differs from Albrows' *rule* by officials, but I'm sure it must do.

It is perhaps the sixth perspective which is probably of greatest importance at the moment. This identifies bureaucracy with the organisation, with the threat of total deference to "management". Here, Albrow quietly—perhaps much too quietly—reminds us that: "facts of organisational structure are not unambiguous data, to be recorded by anyone who might care to observe, but abstract and elusive phenomena which depend on interpretative inventiveness". (p. 102.)

The seventh and last perspective which Albrow sorts out is that which sees *modern society* as bureaucracy or, as he prefers it, the other way about. This I found a challenging idea, and I have to give it to Albrow that if anyone can talk about modern society as a democracy, then they have to face the fact that they're obliged to think about it being a bureaucracy instead or as well.

Chapter six is short and sweet, with a closing section which looks for the remedies to bureauracy. This raises questions about the selection and terms of duty of officials, harking back to an earlier comment that: "In the formulation and interpretation of policy the official is expected to make use of the best sources of information and maintain contact with all levels of the public". (p. 112.)

In worldly terms, we have learnt, surely, that this is a naive expectation, a pious hope, but one about which the more insightful social scientists are becoming more and more excited.

Chapter seven, the last, is a fitting conclusion, in which Albrow shows that it isn't enough to be just a bit better informed about what a whole load of mostly dead folk meant when they talked about bureaucracy. We have to refine the terms we use, and Albrow's comments are very appropriate for those of us who often go off half-cock about social scientists inventing all sorts of new words which we have to pretend to understand. The history of the term bureauracy is a history of muddle precisely because we've failed to invent new and more precise words and we've gone on pretending that we understand each other.

This is a short book and that is a forgivable thing. Naturally, it is possible to quarrel about what is left out. And certainly, Albrow could have been a bit more open—both to the radicals, the anarchists in particular, and to the worthies like Karl Popper who doesn't even get a mention. But if the book is seen as a start for those of us who've scarcely got our heads out of the womb, the rest—will follow.

While applauding this particular author, it has to be said that great credit must also go to the publishers, who have launched a series on "Key Concepts in Political Science", aimed toward the citizen who isn't content to have the world roll over him. Albrow's book was the first. Two others already available and quite as promising are John Plamenatz's *Ideology* and Brian Chapman's *Police State*. Anyone with student children could do with buying them as presents and reading them before handing them over.

M.B.

BIG "G" AND LITTLE "g"

Arriving for duty, an assistant governor found this notice attached to a new gas cooker:

IMPORTANT

This Appliance must not be used until the Governor has been set to give the correct gas pressure after following installation procedure as given on the instruction leaflet.

The instructions make it clear that the governor (now demoted to non-capital letters) is accessible only after certain screws have been removed and it is essential when replacing governor parts to ensure that all nuts and screws are tightened sufficiently.

Copies may be obtained from

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

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