

JANUARY 1972

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new series

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

AMERICAN VISITS

GEORGE WILSON & GEORGE MUNTON

Inside San Quentin and Washington's "Brixton".

"REHABILITATIVE AGENCY CLOSED"

DAVID SHERWOOD

What are the alternatives to prison?

VOLUNTARY PRISON

LESLIE SMART

Is a Home (or a home) the place for old lags?

RECIDIVISTS ANONYMOUS

D. F. MORIARTY

Gamblers? Maybe! Alcoholics? Maybe! Repeaters? — YES.

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“WHILE THERE’S LIFE”

CATHY of “Cathy Come Home” and “Edna, the Inebriate Woman”, though mere characters in semi-documentaries, are familiar figures to our women colleagues. The young girl in need of a home and the older woman, wandering, but unwilling to be called vagrant, probably in need of a Home, are as real to social workers as are the ladies of “Coronation Street”, the recent “death” of one of whom caused almost as much comment as the “death” of Grace Archer some years ago.

TV characters can be written out, as the phrase has it. You cannot write out of life the homeless girl, the drunk, the pimp or prostitute, or indeed anyone, criminal or cleric, nun or nymphomaniac. They are all real, and although we can ignore them, and often do, they do not go away. They remain and their problems worsen; even if a deal of attention is paid to them, they do not always respond. Give Cathy a home and she may be a success. She is probably more likely to succeed than Edna who is older and likely to erupt and disrupt even in the most caring Home in suburbia which could be persuaded to tolerate her. Edna and Cathy are but two symbols of a small but not so silent minority—people in trouble.

The rest, dubbed the Silent Majority and told to stand up and be counted, see the forces of law and order as their selected representatives paid to deal with the troubled and troublesome minority.

At this time, it may be appropriate for the forces of law and order to remind our employers that while we have always recognised the ever present problems of Cathy and Edna (and tried to solve them) we are now faced with another minority group beside whom the Train Robbers fade into comparative innocence . . . the new “lifers”.

A visitor to San Quentin records in this issue how “some lifers have no hope of ever being released and so have little to lose by further violence”. This separation of hope from life contradicts the old adage.

The Journal does not take sides, we merely wish to remind all concerned that the Prison Service was always pretty adept at dealing with the Cathy and Edna group (and their male friends) and while they were with us, for relatively short spells, both we and they copied.

Nowadays there is a much longer list of persons serving very long sentences—coming very near to the American pattern. The law no longer “writes out” the worst troublemakers. What are our plans for men and women who live without too much hope?



GEORGE MUNTON (left) hospital officer (S.E.N.) who joined the Prison Service in 1947, has served in prisons, detention centre and borstal. Now a Hospital Principal Officer at Grendon at the time of writing he is awaiting a posting as Chief Officer.

GEOFFREY WILSON (right) who has been a Prison Visitor for 30 years attached to Leeds Prison attended a part-time course of study for three years at the University of Leeds and was awarded a University Extension Certificate in Criminology. Actively interested in helping ex-prisoners and a Committee member and past-chairman of the Harrogate Branch of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, he is a Voluntary Associate of the West Riding of Yorkshire Probation and Aftercare Service.



Prison Visitor, Hospital Officer look at San Quentin, with its Death Row, and Washington Jails' attack on Drug Problem

WHILST ON HOLIDAY in California, American friends, knowing of my interest in prisons as a prison visitor, obtained permission for me to tour the California State Prison at San Quentin. The letter from the Warden authorising my visit stated that I must be appropriately attired; i.e. extreme modes of dress would not be considered suitable and I must not wear blue or black jeans.

I was delayed on my journey to the prison by a traffic jam several miles long, caused by a very old Ford truck completely blocking the entry to a narrow bridge on the Highway a few miles from San Quentin. The Ford truck was one of the earliest models and was loaded with household furniture and all the belongings of a family moving house. It was piled "sky-high" and the chassis had collapsed under the strain and the load leaned perilously. It reminded me of the story "Grapes of Wrath" in which a very hazardous journey was made across California in a similar truck and carrying all the worldly possessions of a family seeking a new life elsewhere. The Highway was eventually cleared to allow single line traffic, so that I arrived just in time for my appointment at San Quentin.

My first surprise was the beautiful location of the prison. It is situated in

Marin County, across the Golden Gate bridge and overlooks the bay of San Francisco. I expected to see a grim fortress-like building, but it looks like a fairly new hospital—not a prison built in 1852 and the oldest of Californian prisons. It houses some of America's toughest criminals and has a grim reputation but it does not look at all forbidding and has no great iron doors or gates at the entrance so common in our British prisons.

I entered the rather plush reception office at the side of the factory-type entrance gates and produced the letter from the Warden. I was welcomed by a prison officer (in California they are called guards or correctional officers) and asked to sign the Visitors' book. I was then requested to empty my pockets of all metal articles including coins. The officer was most interested in my tin of Whiskey tobacco and said, "I thought you drank whisky in Britain and did not know you smoked it". It puzzled him and he shook his head as if to say "you English are funny people". I then walked through a ray which would have detected any metal objects, i.e. revolver, knife, etc., concealed on my person and I was then handed back the articles from my pockets, including the Whiskey tobacco. The back of my left hand was then stamped with an almost invisible dye and I was warned

not to wash this off or otherwise I would not be allowed to leave the prison. When I did leave my left hand was placed under a ray and a bright purple patch of the dye was clearly visible and so I was permitted to leave.

After completing the formalities to enter the prison, I left the reception office and walked along a wide drive through an area of flower beds and was introduced to the sergeant in an office in the main buildings and he acted as my guide on the tour of the prison. In the prison service in California they have ranks similar to the army.

The sergeant before taking me round gave me some facts about San Quentin. It houses about 3,500 prisoners and is a close-medium security prison with a maximum-security prison within the prison. This is the well known "Death Row", the "condemned" cells on the top storey of one of the central blocks. On the day of my visit there were 67 condemned men in the "Death Row" including the assassin of Senator Edward Kennedy. Since 1938 there has been a total of 194 executions including four women but there have been none since November 1967 as all executions have been stayed since that date. This is due to legal arguments regarding the constitutionality of the death penalty, which are still proceeding.

Johnny Cash's "Hate" Record

My tour commenced, rather to my surprise, with a visit to the lethal gas execution chamber. It is in a small room and up to 60 people may be present at an execution; it must be very crowded when an execution takes place. There were 58 present at the last execution.

The gas chamber is a metal and glass cubicle like a kiosk and contains two heavy wood chairs secured to the floor and each chair is fitted with arm and leg straps to hold down the prisoner(s) to be executed. There have been double executions in the past.

The lever releasing the lethal gas is operated outside the room and the condemned person in the gas chamber dies in three to ten seconds. The average length of time from sentence to execution is more than two years and Caryl Chessman was in the condemned cells for 12 years before he was executed.

I did not linger in the gas chamber as it is very depressing and I was glad to leave.

I was then taken to see the cell blocks and the cells looked a little smaller than those in our prisons and the doors are not solid but have bars; the inmates have a clear view of the corridor. It may be an advantage in some ways but prisoners have not the same privacy as in our prisons.

I was interested to see that every cell has a flush toilet which has replaced the wretched cell bucket and there are not more than two inmates to each cell. They did experiment having three men to a cell but this proved to be unsatisfactory.

The cells are in rows of 35 and each row can be electrically locked by one switch. They face a solid wall and on this is a platform which the guards can mount in the event of trouble and command the entire row of cells with their rifles. The guards can be quickly armed but their guns are not in view except in the event of trouble. In San Quentin a couple of years ago, I was told there was a serious race riot involving 2,000 prisoners and many were injured, both guards and prisoners.

The prisoners do not eat in their cells but in three large dining halls which each seat about 500 men and as there are more than 3,000 prisoners it is

necessary to have two "sittings" at each meal.

The dining tables are securely clamped to the floor and from the central support are arms on which wood seats are firmly secured. The walls of the dining halls are covered by large murals of historic scenes painted by prisoners and they are excellent.

I visited the large kitchens which are very clean and tidy and saw specimen menus of meals served. The meals appear to be similar to those provided in our prisons making allowance for the American tastes in food.

It is in the dining halls that trouble sometimes starts and that is why the tables and seats are immovable. It is my impression there is more violence in American prisons than in ours and every year several prisoners are killed or seriously injured in fights. The reason for this may be that some prisoners sentenced to "life" have no hope of ever being released and so have little to lose by further violence.

The extent of industry in San Quentin impressed me. There is a large cotton mill which produces approximately 1,200,000 of cloth annually for State use and a large furniture factory producing office and school furniture. Other major industries include a detergent blending plant, clothing factory and dry cleaning plant.

I was surprised to learn that prisoners are not compelled to work but if they choose not to do so they receive no wages. Under their "earnings scheme" prisoners can earn from 30p to about £3 a week according to the job they do. They also have vocational trade training classes for about 350 inmates in 17 different trades or crafts, which include auto mechanics, plumbing, typesetting, bookbinding, decorating, etc.

The vocational programme is guided by a trade advisory committee composed of citizen volunteers representing both management and labour. In addition to advising on training standards they assist in establishing criteria for the selection of students and professional instructors and assistance on job placement on discharge. I understand that managements of outside industries render great service in providing jobs for men on leaving prison.

The spiritual needs of the prisoners are met by two full time Protestant chaplains, two full time Catholic chaplains and a part time Jewish chaplain, and assistance from visiting clergymen who live in the surrounding areas. There is a Protestant church, a Catholic church and a synagogue and they are all modern and beautifully designed. They have a very large gymnasium which is also used for concerts, film shows, etc.

At the end of my extensive tour of the prison my guide said that the Warden Associate would like to see me and I was taken to his office. I enjoyed a most interesting chat with him and found that many of their problems are similar to our own in Britain. They are greatly concerned about violence of some young people today and he felt that television must share some part of the blame. I did see violence on the television screens whilst I was in California but heard no swearing and the television programmes are not obsessed with sex as they appear to be in Britain.

I mentioned my surprise that prisoners are not compelled to work and the Warden explained that it was difficult to provide sufficient work and so they could not compel a prisoner to work when they were unable to provide it. They can only produce for Government and State agencies, as in Britain, and so the amount of work available is limited.

The Warden mentioned that a television team from Britain had recently made a film in San Quentin with Johnny Cash and they were surprised they had been permitted so freely into the prison. At that time I did not know anything about Johnny Cash but when I returned to England I saw this film on our television. I learned that Johnny Cash is one of America's leading entertainers and he gave a show in the magnificent gymnasium in San Quentin which I have already mentioned. One song he sang was "San Quentin, I hate every inch of you" and it can be imagined how this was received by the prisoners there.

It was most interesting to me to see the scenes of San Quentin which I had so recently visited. I recognised some of the guards I met and Johnny Cash

'Lifer's' £4,000 from Art Work

at the reception office having his hand stamped with the dye and wondered if he washed it off before he left the prison. He received a tremendous reception from the vast audience in the gymnasium where his concert was held. There is now on sale in Britain an LP record "Johnny Cash in San Quentin".

My impression of San Quentin is that it is not as grim as its reputation and I noticed the absence of the "prison smell". I think that it is too large. With a population of 3,500 there must be lack of individual consideration.

I was most fortunate in having as my escort Mr. Brandt, a friend of my American hosts. He is a sergeant at the Facility and has been an officer at the Facility for 16 years. He has a great knowledge of the Facility and I am most grateful to him for the trouble he took to show me round.

The Medical Facility

The California Medical Facility is located at Vacaville about 60 miles from San Francisco. It is situated in the beautiful open country of California just off Interstate Highway 80 and is one of the adult penal institutions of the California Department of Corrections, but different from them in that the primary emphasis is on psychiatric diagnosis and treatment and care for adult male prisoners who are mentally ill, grossly mentally defective or deteriorated, or suffering from serious emotional and character disorders.

One section of the institution houses the Department of Corrections Northern Reception-Guidance Centre. Ultra-modern in design and built at a cost of more than £8,000,000 it has 1,450 beds in the hospital and 670 beds in the Reception-Guidance Centre with a staff of about 500. It covers many acres of ground with adequate playing fields, pleasant gardens and lawns and is set amongst hills burnt brown by the hot sun. It has several large buildings and has sense of spaciousness which does not look like a prison. The

corridors are long and straight, featureless and sterile and reminiscent of a large hospital. One corridor I walked along is more than a quarter of a mile long.

The entrance hall is large and airy with highly polished floors and there are glass counters and showcases displaying paintings, leather goods and handicrafts, etc., all made by prisoners and which are for sale to visitors. The proceeds are shared between the prisoner and a welfare fund. The prisoner receives 75 per cent of which 20 per cent is retained in his account for use on discharge. The balance of 25 per cent of the sale price goes to the welfare fund to provide shows and the recreation programme. I understand that a "life" prisoner there is a first class artist and receives as much as £4,000 for his pictures in a year. He has no hope of ever being released and so the money can be of little value to him.

The atmosphere on entering the institution is that of a reception lobby in a large, modern hotel. As I toured the institution this impression was dispelled by the many locked doors and gates which had to be unlocked to permit my entry into the various blocks. Passage through one entrance usually permitted access into a barred enclosure and a second door had to be unlocked to pass into the block and two doors cannot be opened at the same time. Many of the gates and doors are electrically operated.

There was one section or unit I was not permitted to enter as it houses aggressive and difficult inmates and is known as the Stress Assessment Unit.

An important part of the Facility is the Northern Reception-Guidance Centre which in addition to providing diagnosis of all men committed from the 47 northern counties of California, also receives all parole violators. All newly committed offenders undergo initial processing, usually for about six weeks. The staff compile a complete personal history of each inmate, incorporating information from many sources including the police, school officials, family members and friends. Personality, aptitude and intelligence

tests are made. There is a thorough review of criminal history and a series of personal interviews which provide clues to personal attitudes and probable behaviour patterns. If it appears necessary, a special psychiatric evaluation is made. Following the initial reception-diagnosis process, inmates are assigned to the institution judged best suited to their individual requirements.

Many of the inmates in the hospital are men who have been transferred to the Medical Facility for psychiatric observation, examination and/or treatment. The majority participate in group psychotherapy and each man attends at least two sessions a week, with each session lasting about an hour. In addition to the group psychotherapy, treatment also includes the use of milieu therapy, intensive individual control and treatment, electric convulsive therapy and aversive conditioning.

I was impressed with the large and well-equipped occupational therapy section where the men are engaged in such physical activities as the making of ceramics, woodworking, painting, weaving, etc., and I saw excellent examples of their work. Another activity is a large farm for breeding, hatching and developing game birds for release to designated areas for sportsmen.

I met an Englishman during my tour who is a sergeant in the prison service and has a responsible position at the Facility in charge of a complete unit. He was at one time in the Burnley police force but has been in California for many years now. He was delighted to have a chat with me and to hear about England. He has been home on holiday several times but says that he prefers to live in California as his pay as a prison officer is far higher than that of the prison service in England. I understand that the salary range for prison officers in California is about £250 to £300 per month with good prospects of promotion. In case any of my readers draw a false impression I must emphasise that the cost of living is much higher in California than in Britain. Still, even taking this into account, the standard of pay is much higher in California compared with Britain.

George Munton visits "Community Centers" and Washington's "Brixton"

WHILST VISITING my daughter in Washington DC I took the opportunity of visiting two "Community Centers" and Washington Jail, in the city, and the Lorton Complex, located about 20 miles out.

Dr Du Pont, the Medical Director, explained a new scheme they had recently put into operation, designed to lower the very high incidence (he said it was 65 per cent) of hard drugs addiction in the present prison population. Three months ago they opened four "Community Centers" in the city; these are dwelling houses bought by the Department and converted, at very low cost, to accommodate about 20 patients each, with a staff of six comprising one superintendent and three male assistants, one clerk and one nurse, both of whom were female, and all of them negro. It was explained that the employment of negroes on this scheme is preferable to the employment of whites, as the centre patients were about 99 per cent negro, the whole of the DC prison population is 91 per cent negro, and the Department feel this removes any chance of colour prejudice and they have a better understanding of the negro problems. Also on the staff of one of the centres was an ex-drug addict whom, they said, had an even greater insight into the problems to be overcome, and they were contemplating having at least one in each centre. Each patient is selected by Dr Du Pont, about 90 per cent of them transferred from the various gaols on a special type of parole and the remainder are sent directly from the Courts on a suspended sentence. If they do not conform they are without any warning whisked away to gaol, i.e. ghosted.

Patients in the centres are required to take suitable jobs of work and each

morning they leave for work, just as they would if living at home. No food is served in the centres so each patient is given enough money each day to buy his food in a restaurant, this means they are out from early morning until early evening. When they return their urine is tested for the presence of drugs and if negative they are given their methedon in orange juice; it is mixed with orange juice so that, when appropriate, the methedon can be gradually withdrawn from an unsuspecting patient until he is getting only the orange juice. This treatment is reinforced with group psychotherapy each evening.

Each patient pays over his salary cheque to the superintendent who gives him back enough money each day for food, fares and cigarettes. The remainder, after deductions for his bed and treatment, is saved for him and given to him on discharge in the form of a bank pass book.

The success of this project has yet to be evaluated, but it is significant that another seven centres are being sought in the city.

Washington Jail is very similar to Brixton prison in that it holds all the remand and trial prisoners for the DC area, and has a small cadre of fairly short term men for essential work details. Its main difference is that it has the means of carrying out executions, though they have not been used for 13 years. It has an average roll of 1,200 inmates, with an average daily turnover of 250. It is 130 years old but has been equipped with electronic locks and a sophisticated alarm system. The average wait of an inmate for trial after committal is five months.

The Lorton Complex covers a huge area and consists of a maximum

security gaol, a medium security gaol that is very similar to Grendon in its concept but covers a much bigger area and houses about 1,500 inmates, who have a much more comprehensive work programme which results in all the inmates being fully employed. There is a woman's gaol and a comparatively large farm employing short term inmates in open conditions. A short term closed prison there, that used to house mostly alcoholics, has been taken over by the Health Department as an alcoholic treatment centre as the District of Columbia no longer sends alcoholics to gaol.

The maximum security gaol is an impressive place, bristling with gun-towers and electronic devices guarding a population of hard-core long term inmates. The emphasis is solely on security with all the attendant problems of violent inmate reaction to the rigid regime it necessitates. I did not see the inside of this gaol as the Warden, I was told, did not encourage visitors.

The medium security gaol is surrounded by a double wire fence topped with barbed wire, with gun-towers placed at all the strategic points. I was told the guards in them did not shoot at an escaper but aimed to miss, and that if a guard shot at and hit an inmate there would "be hell to pay." It was said that everyone knew this, including the inmates, so I fail to see what point there is in arming the perimeter guards.

Group and individual psychotherapy, occupational therapy, methedon and most of the tranquilising drugs are employed in the treatment situation. The regime was fairly permissive, inmates being allowed to find their own way to and from their work areas. Most of the inmates were negro drug addicts. The superintendent was negro and so were most of the administrative staff. The medical staff were some of each colour. The guards were mostly white. Whilst there I sat in on a group session that had also been joined by a college professor, his wife and six of his students. It was interesting in that the problems discussed were basic to both our cultures, yet dealt with quite differently, their approach was much more of an emotional one, rather than a thought-out solution, they tended to get all excited about the first emotional response to a problem, it made things quite exciting but rather impractical. There seemed to be a lot less of the "I hate all screws" cry. This was perhaps because of the fact that no

uniformed guards attend group therapy sessions, they just guard. The groups are composed of the therapist, the inmates and any visitors that care to attend, and I was told there are many. However, outside of the treatment situation in the world of the guards, reality has to be faced, and there is much friction between guard and inmate, so much so that assaults, escapes and attempted escapes are an accepted part of the regime, in spite of the gun-towers. I was told that recidivism was fairly high and expected to remain so until the drug problem was solved.

One unit of the Department the Deputy Director told me about, but I did not see, was an open reformatory being run by a combine of voluntary social workers. It seems these groups of people stated publicly that they could and would, if given the chance, run a reformatory with far better results than the Department of Corrections were getting. They were so persistent and, I suspect, influential that one year ago they were given this open reformatory to manage on their own. It is still supplied with all its needs by the Department and that is all. The staffing, administration and the policy-making is handled entirely by the group and I was told that to date they are doing a grand job, so much so that the Department is looking for other fields in which they could be used.

Groups for Good

These groups of non-professionals that form themselves into societies for the something of this, or a movement for the other of that, are a great force in Washington, and do a considerable amount of good work, for instance one society runs, and what is more, finances, Half Way Houses for ex-mental patients, and is now talking seriously of starting one for the ex-drug addict. They seem to have a very highly developed sense of civic responsibility and are prepared to do rather than talk. By they, I mean most of what is called the middle class American.

In all I had a very rewarding experience, and hope that this report provides some information and a little interest in my two days' worth of impressions of the Department of Corrections, Washington DC.



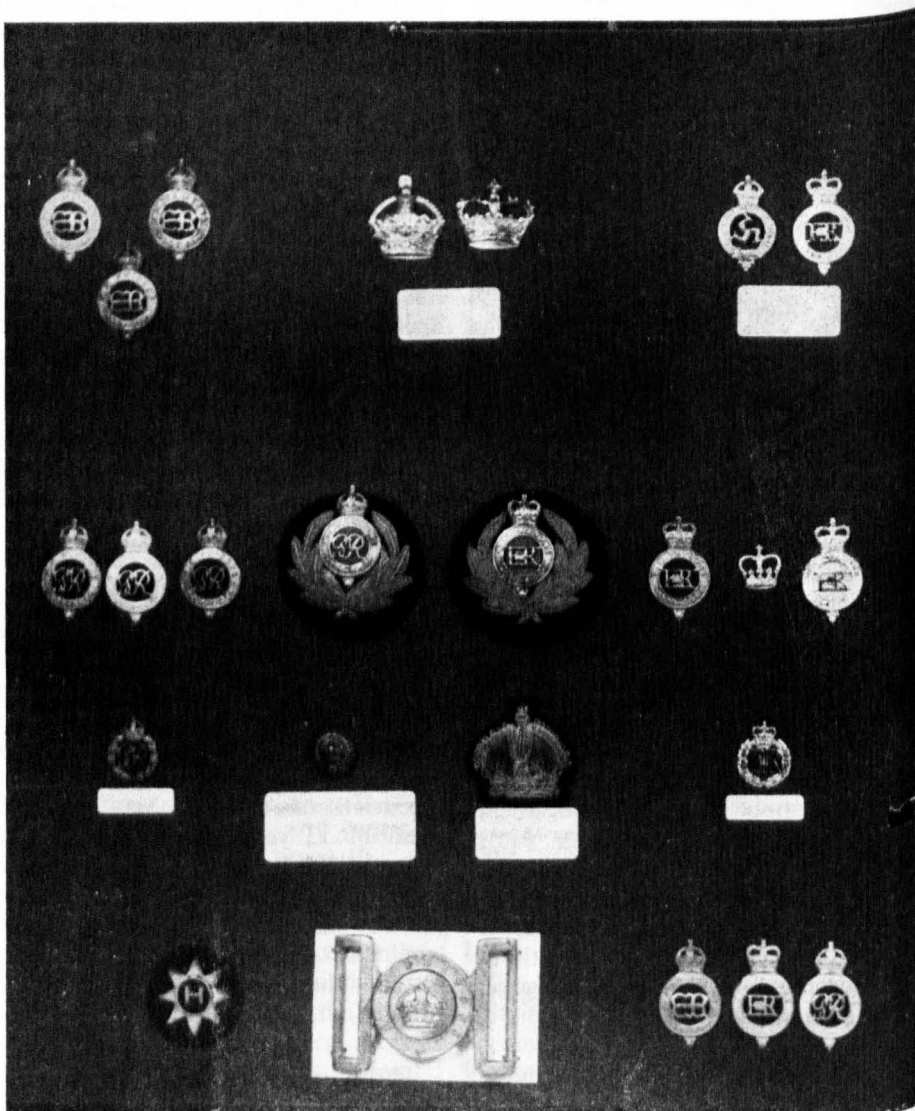
PRISON PEOPLE from all over the world visit prison officer M.G. Ewing's home near Brixton prison, to see his collection of military insignia because a special section of his 9,500 items contain caps and button badges from prison services in Europe, the United States and Japan. This, Mr. Ewing's "Number One" collection, has taken over four years to complete and is regarded by experts of Societes Militaires as the largest of its kind in Europe and the largest privately owned collection in the world. Over 100

Insignia Mania

countries are represented and contact between Mr. Ewing and the prison authorities concerned has been maintained with the help of friends (six languages are called for) and libraries in Lambeth and Manchester, where Mr. Ewing formerly served.

Additionally, he has a V I P section with 400 newsworthy items, including 29 Victoria Cross holders, all represented by personal badges or ribbons authenticated by the owner or family; some 600 purely military insignia complete Mr. Ewing's personal museum, mounted on some 65 boards. Of particular interest to prison staff are items from the U S S R and the French penal battalions of the Napoleonic era.

Mr. Ewing welcomes visitors (by prior arrangement) and through his hobby, which he calls Insignia Mania, has made friends all over the world.



Danish Approach to Staff Training

Bent Paludan-Müller

A lawyer turned prison governor is now Director of Training of Personnel in the Danish Prison Administration.

IN AN article in the July 1971 issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL Robert Foren asks: "Is there a Social Work role for Prison Officers?" Mr. Foren recommends that prison officers should be trained not only to assist the prison social worker but also assume some of his functions. Mr. Foren quotes Mr. Driscoll who in an article in the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL has referred to the fact "that everybody keeps saying the prison custodial staff need to be much more involved in therapeutic and rehabilitative work with prisoners, but nobody ever seems to do anything about it".

Judging by the numerous citations, a universal problem seems to be how to involve the prison officer on the landing in therapeutical work with inmates. It is certainly a problem which faces us in Denmark.

In all Danish prisons fully trained social workers are employed. In an average prison holding 100-150 inmates, two or three professional social workers are employed with supporting staff of at least two typists and one student social worker. The principal task for the social workers in the prisons is to prepare the individual inmate for release, be it on final discharge or on "probation", (i.e. after-care) which counts for 90 per cent of all releases. This preparation is initiated immediately after admittance to the prison and may even have been started in the remand prison. It includes contacts and in many cases visits to the inmate's family, contacts with previous and future employers, the reorganisation of economic problems supplying of clothes, etc. In some prisons, it even includes the supervision of those conditionally released.

The workload of the professional prison social worker is considerable and is growing. For a long time the social workers have been asking for more personnel. However, social workers have been difficult to find since the demand for social workers

has been growing in all areas: in the hospitals, the child welfare institutions, in the homes for the aged, in the social welfare offices and even in industry. The schools for social workers have not been capable of producing sufficient candidates to meet the demand.

Prison officers make contacts more easily

Against this background, the growing demand from prison officers for new roles led to an experiment some years ago where in some prisons, selected officers were assigned to the social workers' office and were employed as assistants to the social workers. At first they were used for routine work such as making up the initial social report making sure that health insurance and trade union membership was in order, escorting inmates into town to buy clothes, visit families and so on. It was soon noticed that the prison officers made easier contacts with the inmates and their relatives than the professional social workers. It was easier for them to obtain the confidence of the inmates for they "spoke each others language". But the officers soon felt the lack of theoretical knowledge.

After some experiments the Central School for Prison Personnel (in Denmark there is only one school for all prison employees, not as in England one for all staff and two for officers) arranged a special course for this group of prison officers together with some senior officers who were leaders of partly independent sections. Some local jailers were also included. The course is extended over two years giving about 600 hours of sessions in psychology, civics, social law, civil law, group-counselling psychiatry and social case work.

Trained officers leave for Better Jobs

The officers felt that they have benefited from the course. The fact that some have later left the prison

service for better positions in the social welfare offices and the after-care organisation gives the training a better status for despite the regrettable loss of well-trained officers, it is very important for recruits as well as for the older personnel to realise that the training offered by the prison service is recognised beyond the service.

Another course has been started and besides prison officers, local jailers and senior officers, clerical staff from the after care agency has been included which also gives the course a broader membership who bring a wider perspective. But besides the training of this selected group of prison officers, the syllabus of the initial course for basic grade officers at the Central Training School has been modified to include some of the subject matter taught on this special course. However, the description of the initial training course goes beyond the scope of this article.

OF INTEREST TO PROBATION OFFICERS

Social Casework in Detention Centres

This article by Colin Fishwick, formerly a senior probation officer in Staffordshire and now at Birmingham Polytechnic, is an important contribution to the understanding of the social worker's role in the institutional setting. It covers three main areas: firstly, some of the adjustments necessary from field to institutional casework practice; secondly, aspects of the role of the social caseworker in detention centres, and finally, some of the ways in which the setting requires a high level of professional functioning.

Although this article is addressed primarily to probation officers, it will be of value to all those concerned with social work in penal setting, not only in the understanding of the role of the professional social worker, but also in clarifying some of the effects of the institution, both positive and negative, on work with the individual inmates.

Other items of interest in this issue include an account of the Leicester Anchor Club for ex-prisoners (formed nine years ago) three pieces from clients (from prison, from a probation hostel and on parole), and a brief item called "The Quality of Caring" about the self-rejection of homeless prisoners.

COLIN FISHWICK in *Probation* (Vol. 17 No. 2) July 1971 A.D.M.

NAT. DAILY XY 19ZZ Page 25

Rehabilitative Agency Closed

OUR REPORTER

IN a dramatic announcement to the Commons, the Home Secretary announced that with effect from today, all Prison Service establishments would cease to function as a rehabilitative agency and would be solely custodial.

The announcement was greeted by loud cheers from the Government benches and cries of "resign" from the Opposition.

ALTHOUGH THIS "extract" from a newspaper is entirely imaginary and any reference to real people coincidental the effect of such a pronouncement and its implications would be far-reaching and I believe beneficial.

The dilemma which has faced the prison service almost from its inception has been the conflicting objectives of rehabilitation and custody. The difficulties created by the dilemma have become progressively worse as the more articulate part of society has become more philanthropic whilst the "silent majority" have in many ways demonstrated its belief in the efficacy of the more punitive approach. The effects of this dilemma are far reaching and mitigate against a responsible progressive and meaningful approach to the treatment of crime in this country.

When faced with the dilemma created by two conflicting objectives the dilemma is resolved by discarding one of the objectives. If we were to discard our custodial role then we would cease to exist because you cannot, by definition, have a prison service which is non-custodial. Therefore I propose that we discard Rule 1 and all that this implies. The impact of this move would be felt in the Courts, by the probation service and would cause a radical re-thinking in the prison service.

At the present time Courts are able to use the same institution to punish

and to train or treat. (One wonders at the cynicism born in many a young offender's heart when in consecutive hearings he is told that "the next time you appear before this Court you will be sent away to detention centre/borstal"—a threat and "the Court have decided to give you a chance to receive training/treatment and have

this would require massive expenditure on provision of facilities and staff it would seem to be a more positive use of money than pouring it into such negative projects as new prisons. It must be remembered that the present building programme (with one or two exceptions) is to provide *additional* places and each new prison cell is a

Prison as a Last Resort

therefore committed you to detention centre/borstal"—a chance.) In dealing with the adult offenders the same kind of double-think is perpetuated with ever increasing cynicism and bitterness "agin' the system." If the Courts (of all status) were advised that prisons were solely custodial and should be used for persons so depraved and amoral as to constitute a serious

monument to society's inability to deal with the real causes of its pervading dishonesty. Prisons essentially are a last resort, when all else has failed.

The concept of community care, its staffing, building requirements and other necessities is beyond the scope of this article but could well provide the basis of another article—dare I suggest by one of the penal reform bodies.

However, one feels community care should be founded in the belief that man is the product of his genetic make-up and his total life experience. Whilst in our present state of knowledge the genetic make-up may be unalterable, his environmental experience is alterable. The interchange between the individual and his environment is a dynamic on-going process which brings about change in the individual as he adjusts and responds to the stimuli around him. As his social environment produces the majority of the stimuli—e.g. "reference groups"—it would seem imperative to treat the individual within the social environment in which he lives. Neither the environment nor the individual can be altered without the other. Indeed it can be argued that they are both one at the same time.



DAVID SHERWOOD
Assistant Governor in charge of Thorp Arch Remand Centre, joined the Prison Service in 1961 and has served as an officer at Lowdham Grange and Blundeston and as Assistant Governor at Gartree and Wakefield.

threat to other persons or the well-being of society as a whole—then they would be forced to seek positive alternatives (which at the moment do not exist).

It follows that alternatives would have to be provided. The restriction on persons eligible for imprisonment would reduce drastically the number of prison places required. The proposed expenditure on new establishments which we are told will rise to an unprecedented £100 millions during the next ten years could be diverted to community-care projects where the emphasis could be on the rehabilitation of the man and his environment (in the widest sense of the term). Whilst

What of the prison service?

The effects of the present dichotomy within the service are in part obvious but many effects are insidious and unobserved. The new entrant to the prison service takes seriously the high ideals either of his own beliefs or those fed to him. That reality falls short of these ideals becomes all too soon painfully obvious and the person soon reaches a state of cognitive dissonance, leading to a sapping of energies and initiative. Deeply committed because of personal responsibilities the now not so new entrant retreats into self-deception and in the face of objective evidence to the contrary believes he must be "doing

something good" or the even more dangerous delusion "at least I am not doing any harm". Unable to admit that some people are untreatable he welcomes every new innovation as a panacea—only to sink further into disillusionment and eventually cynicism. Unable to obtain any empirical evidence of his efficacy, he turns to those areas of his work which are easily measurable (clean toilets, reports (content immaterial) on time, etc.). How many of us have seen the keen young officer, full of ideals, reduced to anxiety about the state of the chamber pots?

The prisoner, too, is victim. Mention has already been made of the effect of court sentencing pronouncement. The discrepancy between the official view and the reality of prison life must leave many a prisoner laughing up his sleeve at best and bitterly disillusioned at worst. This can only create a negative attitude towards any "reform" attempted.

To remove the dilemma would reduce, if not altogether remove, these effects. The service in its new form would have one broad type of person to deal with, and this person would be under no illusion as to why he was in prison. I can see nothing morally wrong in honestly stating to a person that the society which he has offended cannot tolerate his behaviour and that it is considered necessary therefore to remove him from society. Society has a responsibility to maintain the order upon which the well-being of all (including the offender) of its members depends. It is too easy to remember the offender and forget the victims or potential victims.

Many theories are idealistic in so far as they fail to take account of reality and practicalities. It is a fact that we have, and in the present system are likely to have for some time, more than 40,000 prisoners. There are more than 14,000 people employed by the Prison Department. What happens to these people? The country cannot afford, in economic terms, the vast sums involved in community care. I believe that none of these present insurmountable problems. The prison population would, through normal discharge plus the new sentencing policy, become stable (in number terms) and consist of the suggested category in about five years. Staff could transfer to the Community Care Service, allowing those who see their vocation in rehabilitative work to

remain in such work. Finance could be diverted from the Prison Service, which would no longer need such vast sums, to Community Care. When one remembers it costs approximately £20 to keep a man in prison where his contribution is nil, it would seem economic sense to spend £20 keeping him out when his contribution would at least be positive.

The result would be a service totally unlike that which exists today and before the critics start slamming this article for putting the prison service back 200 years, let them remember that the Service is a product of a lot of inconsistent thinking caused by society's inability to provide meaningful alternatives. Borstals, detention centres and other primarily training agencies have been added to a system which was basically punitive and custodial. Innovations such as case-work, group counselling, induction units, O & C units, pre-release units, specialists, e.g. psychologist, welfare officers, have been introduced to alleviate the harmful effects of imprisonment on persons who do not require imprisonment. If a person is trainable/treatable is it not illogical to lock him away in order to bring about this change? I find it disturbing that influential interest groups spend time and money demanding minor reforms of a system which requires radical surgery. The patient may be unrecognisable but he would be fit to carry out an assigned and definite task.

Relieved of its statutory duty "to teach them to lead a good and useful life" the service could concentrate on providing secure conditions in which normal humanitarian considerations would be the sole criteria for the provision of facilities. This is not a plea to "bang 'em up and flog 'em". It is a plea for a rationalisation of the whole crime treatment system so that only those who *have* to be locked up arrive in prisons.

What is suggested is that the rehabilitative function of the prison service be taken over by a community care service which would have the resources to rehabilitate the man and his environment. Prisons would be the last resort open to a Court, and the message would be clear and simple: "Your behaviour is intolerable as it constitutes a threat to others".

Society is facing a crisis situation. The answer does not lie in building more and more prisons.

CLIPS from publications about penal matters selected by Martin Wright, Director of the Howard League for Penal Reform, and A. D. Morrison, Probation Adviser at the Staff College, Wakefield

The case for probation is summarised by a senior probation officer. He cites some of the figures for recidivism which highlight the ineffectiveness of imprisonment, and lists what probation officers could do: better pre-sentence reports—given more probation officers and a longer remand period. The remand period itself might be used for constructive work. Probation officers could give advice *during* the Court proceedings, to ensure that the defendant secured fair treatment. And a brief is given of the California probation subsidy programme.

READ, G. A future for probation. *J.P. and Loc. Govt. Rev.*, 1971, April 17, 269-271.

M.W.

Ex-prisoners: who (after-) cares?

Professor Morris gives a provocative account of where we are and how we got there. Victorian charity lasted till the Maxwell report (1953), and the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders. There are possibilities in the present set-up, with professional probation and aftercare officers and volunteers, but the work needs considerable expansion; Morris would like to see some aftercare provided by social service departments, and advocates more mutual help by ex-offenders.

MORRIS, T. Aftercare in the seventies. (*NACRO papers*, No. 6), 125 Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11: NACRO 1971.

M.W.

Treatment of the Offender in the United Kingdom

Members of the service who met Mr. Wayne P. Jackson during his tour of Britain on a Churchill Fellowship in 1970, will be interested to read his account of his visit published in *Federal Probation*. For the most part, it is a factual and reasonably accurate description of the probation and aftercare service, the prison service, and the police, and he makes interesting comparisons with the American services. His section on institutions includes a relatively long description of Coldingly and he comments also the home leave system which he found to be "another unique facet of their correctional scheme not found in American prison programmes."

A.D.M.

WAYNE P. JACKSON in *Federal Probation* (Vol. XXXV No. 2) June 1971.

Voluntary Prison

Principal Officer Leslie Smart, tutor at the Officers' Training School, Wakefield former Seaforth Highlander, has served in borstal and open and closed prisons says "Going to prison could be different from being sent there."

I HAVE always felt that there is a place within society today for some form of "Voluntary Prison". A place where the recidivist would be able to find all those things which our penal system gives him, and for which he finds it necessary to commit offences in order to obtain.

The sort of things he gets from the present penal system which he cannot get in a free society are:

- (a) It offers him:
 - i. A reasonable standard of living
 - ii. A warm bed
 - iii. Reasonable food,
 - iv. Good dry clothing
 - v. A little work
 - vi. A smoke, and
 - vii. Friendship
- (b) The system demands:
 - i. He stays for the currency of his sentence and
 - ii. That he behaves in a reasonable manner.

2. ACCOMMODATION

The type of establishment I have in mind is the ex-services camp, which could be made comfortable. The area would need to be fairly large for a number of reasons, some of which are

- a. An agricultural area for growing necessary food
- b. The raising of livestock
- c. The provision of small unit workshops
- d. An area for the provision of staff housing

3. STAFFING

There would be no problem in staffing the Voluntary Prison since there would always be sufficient staff of the right calibre available.

- a. Many prison officers who on retirement are faced with the age old problem of finding accommodation and work. An offer of both in an environment which they know and like would be a great incentive.
- b. There would be no shortage of suitable staff required because like the recidivist, the ex-officer finds it extremely difficult to adjust to "normal" civilian life.
- c. Over the years the officer has learned to carry out a role which he likes, a "caring role". Which entails looking after people and difficult people at that. He has made many lasting, and had many meaningful, relationships with inmates al-

though he would be the last person to admit this.

- d. Through the specialist experience which he has, he would have the advantage of knowing the type of person with whom he would be dealing.

The "residents" would prefer to be looked after by ex-members of prison staff. Some people may shake their heads and say "this is not so". But those who like me have had the experience of working with recidivists will have heard them say "I can talk to you, you understand me". After all the prisoner and the officer come from the same working class culture and therefore have many more things in common and therefore less barriers to break down in order to communicate with one another.

As an example of this kind of relationship, I remember an old recidivist who over many years had never been out of custody for more than a six months period at any one time, was discharged the last time in June 1969. After being out for a year (and to my knowledge he is still out) he made a 5,000 mile journey in order to show me a completed National Insurance Card, the first one in his life at 59 years of age. Will people see him as a success even if he falls down again, I wonder?

4. SELECTION OF RESIDENTS

I would see the selection procedure as being one of "self-selection". On discharge from prison an eligible resident, (it would have to be decided at what stage a recidivist would be termed as eligible) would be given the opportunity of asking for a travel warrant to the "Voluntary Prison" and at the same time the "requirements" would be explained to him. It would be pointed out that if he felt like committing an offence in order to get back into prison, it might be the right thing to do, to refrain from the escapade and use his ticket to travel to the Voluntary Unit.

5. ADVANTAGES TO SOCIETY

Some of the advantages that society would derive from the system,

- a. These recidivists would not be blocking the judicial system, thus allowing the Courts to get on with their work.



- b. They would not be using valuable secure cellular accommodation in closed prisons or space which could be used more effectively in open prisons.

- c. The system would save a lot of misery and suffering to those many recidivists who have nowhere to go on discharge

- d. It would save the cost involved looking after them in one way or another:

- i. Social Security Benefits
- ii. Cost of keeping them in prison, about £24.00 per week

- iii. Valuable police and prison service time and manpower allowing these services to carry out their more important role.

- e. The residents would be given a sense of responsibility within a "controlled" free society, where they would be required to:

- i. Work for a living; most recidivists are quite capable of a good day's work under supervision.

- ii. Be responsible for the day to day running of their own affairs.

- iii. Learn to live with other people in a responsible atmosphere.

6. DISADVANTAGE

The only real disadvantage that I can see is that the recidivist may become so dependant on the system that it may not be able to cope with the numbers. But surely it is better to cope with them responsibly, than to allow them to vegetate and block up the already overcrowded prison system.

7. CONCLUSION

The establishment of some form of voluntary prison in my estimation could do nothing but good. It would enable people to live in comparative comfort, whilst learning to live in society, not off it. It would enable a recidivist to regain his self respect and give him the privilege of learning to support himself and not be a burden upon society. At the same time it would enable ex-prison staff to re-adjust to normal civilian life whilst carrying out a task they know and enjoy.



D. F. Moriarty is 27 years of age and has been in the Prison Service for five years. Before joining the Service he was employed in a shipping office and immediately prior to joining was working for the G.P.O. as an overseas telegraphist. Apart from one week's detachment to both the Probation Service and to H.M.P. Grendon, his service has all been at Pentonville

AT A TIME when we are hearing more of voluntary organisations such as Alcoholics Anonymous and the Samaritans, many readers may not know that there is a prisoner self-help organisation "Recidivists Anonymous", which is just ten years old.

In the September 1961 issue of "Better Times" (Wandsworth), Recidivists Anonymous made its first appearance. The author of the article (P S) suggested the formation of a group of ex-prisoners to help prisoners become ex-prisoners. In November 1961 a group under the heading of "Religion and Rehabilitation" met for the first time. Its purpose was to help further the rehabilitation schemes already in H and K wings. The purpose was to contribute generally to the rehabilitation of the prisoner on discharge by finding jobs, accommodation, etc. They believe that rehabilitation should begin from the moment a man is convicted. The group believed that by helping your fellow man you were also helping yourself. The next step was the marriage of the two ideas. The marriage was successful and the R A was born and a lusty child it is.

The members of R A believe that rehabilitation is 90 per cent self-help and only 10 per cent aid. They also believe by successfully rehabilitating themselves they will act as an example to other prisoners. This is important because the successful ex-prisoner is confronted by the same problems as the would-be ex-prisoners and it must act as a spur. The group also believes that ex-prisoners can be of more practical help than can any welfare

Recidivists Anonymous

society. The group is not questioning the valuable and good work that these societies do, but they do realise the limitations of these societies and one of the group's aims is to co-operate, and help bridge the gap.

THE AIM OF THE R A

1. Successful rehabilitation by self-help.
2. To help in the rehabilitation of fellow-prisoners.
3. To co-operate and further the rehabilitation schemes that are already in question.
4. To link up with a parent organisation outside the prison so that the group's work can be carried on by ex-prisoners under the guidance of people of impeccable character.
5. To do voluntary work whilst still in prison for such organisations as Old People's Homes, the Blind and Spastic Children, by making toys, recording books and other activities permitted by the Governor.
6. To help ex-prisoners to find jobs and accommodation.
7. To give friendship and the hospitality of our homes.
8. To found a hostel that will give ex-prisoners the feeling of being wanted. The hostel will be run on a profit-making basis.
9. To start a voluntary fund whereby practical financial aid can be given to a prisoner's family in time of need.
10. To be available 24 hours a day to any ex-prisoner and to demonstrate that, where given an opportunity, ex-prisoners can become useful and valuable citizens. As a principal officer put it clearly: "When a group is concerned only with prison conditions it has an 'inner purpose' and becomes self-centred and introspective. When it becomes concerned with the lives of its members after release, and with the lot of other ex-prisoners and their families, it gains an 'outer purpose' and in that way, by helping others, en-

riches itself". This was the beginning of R A.

The group approached the late Roy Brooks the estate agent with a view to buying a house where prisoners could live immediately after discharge. Brooks' appeal for a house for ex-prisoners was taken up by John Whitney a television film producer who together with Hugh Pierce now head of B.B.C. local broadcasting set up the Recidivists Anonymous Fellowship Trust early in 1964. Brooks found a condemned wreck of a house in Acton for £300. Home Office permission was obtained for four prisoners to leave Wandsworth each weekend to work on the house. In 15 months with help from outside members and sometimes their wives, who came along to cook the Sunday lunch the house was transformed and the local council duly took it off the condemned list.

By this time the outside Group had become structured with its own committee running the activities supported by members as a whole. Liaison was maintained between the "Inside" and "Outside" groups, and joint decisions arrived at, sometimes only after considerable time and heated argument.

The House at Acton became the centre for the meetings and where discussions often went into the small hours. In late 1964 the R A spent a lot of their time discussing the general question of penal reform, and on the 16th February 1965 they submitted written evidence to the Royal Commission on Penal Reform under Lord Amory. The evidence was prepared and written by three serving prisoners in Wandsworth. It was submitted to both "Inside and Outside" groups for amendment and discussion. It was the first ever official record of a group of prisoners' views about the penal system.

It was also a remarkably coherent and progressive document. "We are convinced," it said "that the existing penal system reached only through a hotch potch of expediences, is incapable of providing a solution to the rising tide of crime and its attendant

problems." The numerous suggestions for prison reform in the document were based on the unanswerable view that if you shut a criminal up in a prison and do nothing to maximise his self respect and his ability to help him face the problems of fitting back into the community, the only certain consequence is that he is almost bound to return to prison. On June 16th of the same year six members, three from the inside and three from the outside group appeared before the Commission.

RA members on the outside began working towards the aims of the Fellowship. Employers were found who were willing to give jobs to men on release. Accommodation was sought, others made themselves available as someone that a man fresh from prison could simply talk to, and who could share the practical problems which loom so large in a man's first few days of freedom. In 1968 the House at Acton was eventually compulsorily purchased for £3,000 this money together with a loan of £3,000 went towards a larger property in Ealing. Pentonville provided the working parties.

AIMS FOR 1972

That the next year should be more positive than ever before, was the feeling that charged the management committee at their first meeting shortly after the 1971 Annual General Meeting. This year's committee consists of a film producer, a prison officer, a principal probation officer, a senior probation officer, an ex-prison governor, a company director and of course several ex-inmates. A more positive approach was indicated to us by a paper which was submitted and read by a Prison Department psychologist. This designated four independent management areas each with its own responsibility. A committee was elected to lead each area group and was able to select its own aides.

The four areas were:

1. Groups—"inside" and "outside" groups;
2. Premises—office and hostel accommodation;
3. The House at Ealing—RA hostel;
4. A Project Team—new ventures and developments.

The general success of the four

teams only four months after the AGM, seems to indicate a forward movement. We have already established a new inside group at Eastchurch prison. It is hoped that a group will be starting in Maidstone shortly: if this is the case much will be due to the dogged determination of an ex-secretary inmate of the Chelmsford group who has been transferred to Maidstone. As well as these we have also the Pentonville groups, meeting twice weekly as a large business meeting and the smaller discussion groups which take place on Saturday afternoons.

It is the aim of the premises team to find office accommodation from which a 24 hour service is available to provide help and encouragement to anyone who wants help. These offices would also serve as an employment bureaux, where a list of sympathetic employers would be kept. An accommodation bureaux would be available along with any useful address which a man might need, including Probation offices, Ministry of Social Security offices, legal advisers, etc.

The House at Ealing is where the work of the RA is mainly done. Its good name owes much to Dick and Jessie Garratt the wardens who are regarded in very high esteem by everybody who goes to the house. There is an extremely good family atmosphere in the house for the 12

men who on the average are staying there. The residents are encouraged to help one another and to shoulder their responsibilities.

The Project Team covers all nature of things. We have recently advertised for our first full time paid administrator. His job will be to co-ordinate all the group functions and generally to deal with day to day running of the RA. We have also taken over responsibility for a youth group which was running in Islington. Its leader had to leave London and rather than close the group we decided to take over until such time as the premises in which the group were meeting were demolished under rehousing projects. This we believe is RA really acting in a positive and purposeful manner. A group of people in Liverpool have asked to join RA and have offered us facilities in that city. We hope to purchase another house for use as a hostel. At this moment we have just issued an appeal for money. Naturally as a registered charity this is something we are always short of, and hope that we can start counting the money as it comes in. From this I hope it can be seen that something useful is being done. More official support is needed, and greater financial support is needed. If we can get both of these two most important things, then much more can be accomplished. But that's another story for a later date.

Readers write . . .

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal

Sir,

I refer to Mr. B. Chilvers' article "A Re-assessment of Borstal" which appeared in your October 1971 issue.

As one reads through the article a steady feeling of despondency descends as it becomes more and more apparent that Mr. Chilvers, after many years experience, is only able to advocate for the future a bigger and better dose of what has gone before in the borstal system.

Mr. Chilvers gives the impression in his article, that he has at the back of his mind the notion of an ideal *social* state to which we should all be striving and that in this idyllic land our trainees will by some means or other show greater understanding and insight into their problems, and thus become model citizens. It could be argued that the ideal mile is run in 0 seconds. That it is an impossibility does not deter a steady army of athletes from attempting to achieve an impossibility. In the borstal situation it seems to me, staff are only too willing to fall into this trap. I would

suggest that we would be better employed recognising and preserving the status quo in borstals, rather than in vague attempts to change those in our care into reflections of our personal conception of a middle-class life-style.

The insularity of many borstal staff from the world of reality is perhaps never more clearly illustrated than in Mr. Chilvers' suggestion that inmates should be taught regular work habits by subjecting them to tasks which test their physical and emotional limitations to the full. Assuming that as a result of this treatment a regular work pattern is established. It is a cruel deception to re-introduce the inmate into a society in which it is unlikely that he will be given the opportunity to practice his newly-acquired perseverance. The more so if the inmate returns to an economically depressed area where he will probably be placed well below the non-delinquent 15-year-old school leaver on any unskilled employment list.

Would it not be more honest to explore with the inmate, and try and gain his acceptance of the frustrations and indifference with which he is bound to meet when he is released and goes in search of employment? Would the time perhaps be better spent in borstals teaching inmates not how to work but how to get a job in the first place? One of the primary reasons I think so many young men are returning to borstals is that they are turned out of their institutions with high expectations of employment only to have these frustrated and crushed when they approach prospective employers. In these situations the inmates' role is confirmed and reinforced by society. The security of borstal is inviting.

Mr. Chilvers bases much of his philosophy upon the assumption that 95 per cent (his figure, not mine) of inmates aspire to his own professed middle-class status. May not the reality of the situation be that the vast proportion of our clients do not hold these aspirations towards middle-class respectability and thus our efforts to encourage social mobility and change in social status (invariably upwards) be met with the derision they so richly deserve. There seemed nothing in the article to suggest that the cultural norms of many of our clients are entirely different from our own—or does Mr. Chilvers equate

"different" with "undesirable" or "lower"?

Mr. Chilvers writes with the pen of prescriptive paternalism. However benevolent it is, this approach must of necessity imply that we are the experts, that we know what is best for him, and that he must have certain things done to him to facilitate a "cure". We even insist that he enjoys it.

But the sad fact is that increasing numbers of ex-inmates of the system know that we are not experts, that we do not very often know what is best for him, and very rarely do the things which happen to him whilst in custody have much bearing on keeping him out of trouble in the future.

Is it any wonder that inmates quickly become disillusioned and cynical about a system which propagates such fallacious arrogance? Developments such as Mr. Chilvers would like to see are merely products of therapeutic enthusiasm.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect about this article is its almost total lack of recognition that the inmate has a really valuable part to play in his own right. The impression is given that the inmate is very much on the receiving end of a sophisticated piece of therapeutic machinery, with little or no say in how the levers are pulled or by whom.

Is it not time we stemmed the flow of verbage *to* and *about* those in our care, and started to *listen* instead? Then perhaps we would learn what they really need in terms of help and support rather than what we think they *ought* to want. It is a saddening experience to realise that we have hardly progressed at all since the introduction of borstal training, and that we have learned even less.

JOHN E. ALDRIDGE-GOULT
Assistant Governor II
H.M.B.I. Everthorpe.

THE EDITOR
Prison Service Journal
Sir,

I am sure that I am not alone in wishing to congratulate Mr. Bernard Chilvers in his silver jubilee year of borstal service on his thought-provoking "Reassessment of Borstal". All of his proposals carry the hallmark of undimmed idealism tempered by mature experience. The following comments

are made from a slightly different viewpoint and will not, I trust, be taken in any way as seeking to detract from what Mr. Chilvers has written.

I feel there may be a danger that a reader unfamiliar with the borstal service would gain the impression that every borstal establishment functions on insightlessly anachronistic lines. Such an impression would be most unfair to many of his colleagues, and indeed to Mr. Chilvers himself, who are working very hard to incorporate the best of modern thought into their treatment and training programmes. Whilst he has outlined in some detail an ideal pattern of medical practice in the borstal service, it seems rather strange (or to use his own term "anachronistic") that Mr. Chilvers has made no reference whatever to psychiatry and the contribution that it can make to the whole concept of borstal training. The article rightly lays great stress on relationships and on family casework, but fails to put these items on the doctor's list, rather relegating them entirely to the self-trained "staff therapist".

We are receiving an increasing number of trainees who are quite incapable, because of psychological damage, disturbance or disability, of responding in the desired fashion to the best of Mr. Chilvers' proposals. For these trainees there are infinitely higher priority demands for medical attention than, for instance, the regulation of their bowels, important as that may be. Any new look at borstal training must, in my view, include not only medical check out and hygiene instruction but close involvement of the medical officer and psychiatrist in the planning and management of the establishment, in staff training, in therapy at all relevant points, in family casework and in organising aftercare. A symbiotic and mutually potentiating relationship between the managerial and medical departments, between the governor and the medical officer, in every aspect of the total effort, is not only possible but surely essential to any modern view of the treatment of the young offender.

N. F. W. HOWORTH
Medical Officer
H.M. Borstal
Rochester, Kent.

ALASTAIR J. S. WALKER, Assistant Governor, Wormwood Scrubs, is our new man on TV, Press and Radio Coverage

The Media and the Message

Alan Rayfield who started this popular feature, hands over.

He is now Deputy Governor at the Verne.



ATTACKS, ALTERNATIVES, the annual report and the Oz trial, have kept prisons on the front pages of most papers in recent months. Radical Attacks on Prison may have been an *ad hoc* organisation set up in order to play games with smoke bombs in Waterloo station but violence is such a popular means of self-expression these days, especially in Ulster, and the U S A, that one cannot be entirely certain about the matter. I would not care to advise betting men about its future. Both the *Guardian* and *Time Out* have reported the organisation's removal of a model prison from the "People in Prison" exhibition in Waterloo station. The model cost £80 and the organisation gave it the rather feeble name of Ivor Scaped. Some people may think that we should not talk about such seemingly childish pranks, but it is unlikely that the exhibition would have got any publicity at all in the *Guardian* without the help of Radical Attacks' men and their smoke bomb. *Time Out* is possibly not acceptable reading for many in the service, but there is at least one dog handler who reads it. And if a dog handler is not disturbed by the mildest of underground papers, there is no reason why the rest of us should be worried. In order to avoid confusion in the provinces, it should be made clear that *Time Out* is basically concerned with events in London. The *Daily Telegraph* gave a factual account of this exhibition. A local recruiting drive was conducted in the London evening papers while the exhibition was at Waterloo. If Feltham and Ashford are included in London, the range of establishments in the capital is sufficient to give anyone a varied career without experiencing what Marx so rightly called the idiocy of rural life. The official adverts strongly suggested that a purely metropolitan career will, in future, be open to officers. Let us hope that this attractive prospect will also be open to the Governor grades.

Radical Alternatives to Prison is presumably a peaceful and not even slightly belligerent organisation. Its biggest piece of publicity so far has been an article by its founder, Miss R. Kane, which appeared in *New Society*. "Inside the Scrubs, the Psychiatric Failure" was the clear title of the article. Miss Kane is vividly remembered in Scrubs by her many friends and enemies and her article caused the staff to indulge in panic buying of *New Society*. At the gate my copy of the *New Statesman* was seized by mistake. The gatekeeper said that the Governor had taken his copy and had not yet returned it. A social worker claimed that the gatekeeper had taken her copy and had not yet returned it. Another social worker had not yet returned one of my copies and a dog is supposed to have eaten the other. Miss Kane begins her article splendidly by saying that her appointment as a psychiatric social worker at Scrubs was unjustified, since she had no relevant qualifications. After that honest start, we are given a series of anecdotal case histories. One of the best concerns Philip, aged 38, who had a suicidal history and what Miss Kane calls a "sexual condition". According to Miss Kane, a visiting psychiatrist described Philip as "not ill, merely a weak, passive personality, easily bored to tears, absence of backbone is the real problem." We should be grateful for such an honest expression of prejudice and dislike. Dangers arise when psychiatrists hide their condemnations behind the language of pseudo sophistication and describe someone as inadequate and immature and suffering from a personality defect instead of lacking backbone. Both types of language simply mean that the psychiatrist has a low opinion of the patient. The article gives the impression that Miss Kane is likely to be confused about this point but as vast numbers of other people are as well, we should perhaps not blame her too severely.

The best point in Miss Kane's article is her remark that, "there is an urgent need for psychiatric social workers and occupational therapists". It would be a good idea to establish a hospital social work department with a staff of three people who should preferably be qualified psychiatric social workers. Some borstal boys in the hospital require hours of attention in addition to what they already receive from the hospital staff, the allocation centre staff and visiting Anglican Franciscan friars. Such a department could also devote some of its attention to the hospital staff who sometimes lack training in interviewing techniques amongst other things. The idea that medical people can learn anything from social workers is not exactly popular in medical circles. But even medical attitudes can be changed. The establishment of an occupational therapy department would simply fill an unfortunate gap. Boredom is a big problem in any prison which should be kept out of prison hospitals. Miss Kane aimed at many targets, but ignored two of the most important, staff contacts with the non-prison medical world and the hospital building. Prison doctors need to be given opportunities to have spells of work in hospitals outside prison. Hospital officers should really be trained outside the prison system. Whenever one begins to criticise their training, one is told that some hospital officers are S R Ns. The only possible reply to that is that all should be. The hospital building at Scrubs is at present being refurbished and a new operating theatre is being built. Perhaps my views on refurbishing are somewhat jaundiced because when I ask borstal boys if they are feeling suicidal or speak to their parents on the 'phone I often have to shout to make myself heard above the

noise of the engine which drives a hoist carrying building materials for cell refurbishing. The hospital will certainly be greatly improved by the refurbishing programme, but it will probably not stand comparison with the hospital in the new Holloway and that would seem to be an unfortunate state of affairs.

The annual report received a lot of attention in the *Times*. First there was a fair and succinct summary of it. The official view was well and clearly expressed. This issue which contained the summary also contained an article on the report by Mr. Bernard Levin, who called it a "depressing work". He went on to say in his usual style that, "the report is full of breathless discoveries akin to the fact that Christmas comes but once a year!" His main point is "that imprisonment has demonstrably failed—it has failed totally. The prison population continues to increase and so does crime." He does not make sufficient allowance for the inevitable multiple authorship of official reports. And along with his main point one must remember that the general population is also increasing, so from what he says it does not necessarily follow that one is dealing with an increase in crime in the generally accepted meaning of the phrase. Yet one cannot deny that he has a point. There is a possible reply which one may or may not find convincing. Once I heard it expressed by a principal in the Scottish office who was speaking informally at a reception held in the bizarre atmosphere of a University Department of Social Anthropology. He said that prisons are successful because, apart from those who escape, they prevent their inmates from committing crimes during the period of their sentence. It is all a matter of how important one thinks the consequences of action are. If one thinks that they are not important one will side with the Scottish Office man but if one thinks they are important one will have to side with Mr. Levin.

A few days later the *Times* published an article under the title "Why prisoners sometimes prefer solitary". The subtitle was "Reflections on the Prison Department's Report for 1970". It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that our Press Office may have helped with this article, since its author, Mr. Peter Evans, spends most of his time quoting from an article in the *Prison Officers' Magazine* which was written by one

of our officers, Mr. R. F. Bunker, who is to be congratulated on having in effect written to the *Times*. Mr. Bunker writes in a serious prison style and he described how he "had occasion during an evening patrol to visit an inmate in his cell in order to administer medical treatment. This inmate was sat up in bed, situated behind the door, reading a book. He was attired in pyjamas, his bedding clean and tidy and he impressed me as being a clean young man". That poor chap had to share a cell with two others and beside the bed of one of them there was "a chamber pot full of urine with matchsticks and sputum floating on the surface. This, to him, was a convenient spittoon and ashtray". The article from this Journal quoted by Mr. Evans was written by Mr. F. B. O'Friel, Deputy Governor of Onley borstal, who reminds us of a very important fact about prison history when he writes: "Even today we have no more operational establishments than the Prison Commissioners took over on 1 April 1878. In the same century, the population of England and Wales has doubled!" The report received attention in *New Society*.

A Lone Voice

Tostig wrote about it in his Current Account column. Anyone who has met Tostig at social work parties in South London knows that he is a voice crying in the barren wilderness of the humane confusions which are social work. Only a few social workers have his ability to see social work's multitudinous absurdities. He has the social insight into social work which most social workers lack entirely. Writing of the report, he says, "dealing with prison staff, the report only half describes the dilemma of under-recruitment. It does not say that many officers are dopey from the endless unavoidable overtime they need to do in order to make sense of their salaries and, in looking at welfare, there seems to be no recognition that therapy has, in many respects, replaced bread and water as a way of keeping the inmates quiet". Since that passage was written, officers' wages have increased considerably and Governors and Assistant Governors are now the paupers of the prison world. But the point about therapy is still valid. We encourage our inmates to ventilate their feelings about their problems in the hope that they will not notice that nothing can be done about many of them until they are released. One borstal boy I knew saw

the truth of the situation and stormed out of my office shouting, "you're hopeless, you don't do anything. You just sit there and talk". Another inmate said, "you're being very nice but it doesn't make any difference, it doesn't alter anything". Luckily for us most inmates are not as perceptive as these two.

The three men of Oz came among us briefly, but despite the shortness of their stay, they managed to achieve a sensible minor alteration to prison regulations. It would be a help if prison staff could achieve similar results as quickly and as easily. Their departure from Scrubs led to a Press conference at which they said a number of fairly striking things such as "we stink" and "the screws are almost human". Not nearly enough attention is paid to the subject of smell in prison. The deodorised society in which we live makes smell, like death, a taboo subject. In the days when I was a warden of a student house, one of my medical students told me that he had expected to be disturbed by the sights of clinical work. But in fact he found the smells much worse than the sights. Prison gives us all valuable lessons in social realism and part of that realism is olfactory. Clearly the Oz men experienced that aspect of prison at once for they said that all they had to do in their cell was sit around and smell their socks. Boredom in prisons is not merely dangerous and demoralising, it is also smelly. One of the wing governors in Scrubs was described at the Press conference as "a very pleasant man". As soon as I read that in the papers I rushed off to express my surprise and congratulations to one of my colleagues. He pointed out that the Oz men had never entered his wing and suggested that possibly my knowledge of Scrubs needed some urgent attention. Once I understood my mistake, I was no longer surprised because the man described by the Oz men as a very pleasant man is in fact very pleasant. The best comment made by the Oz men draws our attention to an extremely unfortunate aspect of prison life. It is most appropriate to quote it from the *Guardian* which gave it as, "It was always much easier to get Right Wing papers like the *Telegraph* and the *Express*, than the *Guardian*. Prisoners are very Conservative people who think that Enoch Powell should be Prime Minister".

Institutionalisation

N. G. SILK

THE PRISON SERVICE, by its very nature, is extremely insular and introspective, and although we are slowly moving from this attitude, the whole setup is very prone to institutionalisation in all its aspects. I will give you an experience of my own, while on detached duty at Parkhurst, some 15 years ago. On Saturday afternoon the inmates were taken to the compound for a cricket match between two wings—of those not playing cricket, some watched and some tended their little gardens. About 70 of us were deployed at double arm intervals around the inside of the wall. During the afternoon it began to rain quite heavily, but the game went on—the gardens were still tended—the staff got wet—but no one thought of making a decision to return to the wings—or if it was thought of, no one had the authority to do so. There we all were, in the pouring rain, waiting for a visit from an A.G. II. so that permission might be asked to return to the wings.

What a state of affairs, that some 200 men, both staff and inmates, had to get soaking wet because no one could give an order without reference to higher authority—presumably because it was never envisaged that someone, other than a governor grade should ever think. Thank heavens that we are gradually moving away from such situations.

There are still establishments where, let one member of the staff think that he may have a better way of dealing with a situation or inmate than the time honoured, I won't say "official", although it may be quasi official, and have its origins in the dim and distant past, and he is immediately jumped on by his peers, and more than likely by his superiors for attempting to "rock the boat"—for having the effrontery to believe that he may have something to offer to the system.

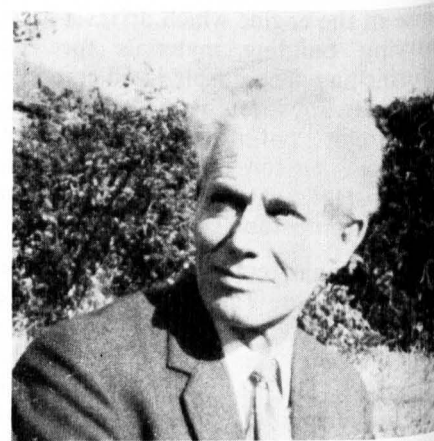
We become intolerant of each other at work and to a certain extent intolerant of others outside; this intolerance leads to greater insularity, and a greater dependence on each other, and so the breeding of institutionalisation is perpetuated.

I must admit that the general public has very little conception of the role of prison staffs and does very little to ever understand them. This leads to us being looked upon as strange beings, beyond the pale. In general the staff's inability to communicate with the public engenders this belief and more insularity is built up.

To counteract this to some degree, I suggest that it is necessary to introduce occasional injections into the set up—new methods of treatment, new philosophies. This must be done to keep alive the individualism of staffs and to stimulate those very personal qualities which produced the efficiency in the first place.

This can be accomplished to some degree, I feel, by frequent changes of job and locale. Further to this, I feel that five to seven years in any establishment is long enough; except under exceptional circumstances no officer should serve longer than this at any station.

There must be frequent opportuni-



Principal officer at Aldington since 1967. Norman Silk is ex-Royal Navy (1935-1949) and joined the Prison Service at Canterbury in 1950. He was at Portland Borstal for seven years.

ties of meetings and discussions with other branches, not only in the service but outside, even if this does no more than give an inkling of how the other half lives.

There must be some degree of freedom, freedom of thought and freedom of action. Most important in this context, must there be freedom to experiment. Occasionally there must be opportunity to take responsibility and therefore to exercise initiative in less familiar situations.

Looks at Books

Our reviewers include:

ANDREW FYFFE, Deputy Governor, Risley Remand Centre.
 PETER ATHERTON, Assistant Governor, Lowdham Grange Borstal.
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 PAUL WHITEHOUSE, Tutor, Technical Studies Department, Staff College, Wakefield.
 BERNARD MARCUS, Principal Psychologist, Grendon Prison.
 A. J. PEARSON, Assistant Governor, Parkhurst Prison.
 DAVID HAXBY, Lecturer, Social Administration, University of York.
 Dr. P. M. SMITH-MOORHOUSE, Medical Officer, Wakefield Prison.
 ANDREW RUTHERFORD, Deputy Governor, Everthorpe Borstal.

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ORGANISATIONS

DANIEL KATZ and ROBERT L. KAHN
 John Wiley and Sons Inc.

ONE aspect of environmental pollution which has not received as much attention as it deserves is the proliferation in

the last decade of books, pamphlets, articles, do-it-yourself manuals and kits, and leadership-without-tears tracts, on the techniques of management. Most of this junk is harmless if piled up and left alone, but it is exceedingly dangerous when it comes into contact with the average harassed manager who wants, or who has been told by his masters to

find, instant solutions to the problems which are bugging his organisation and pushing him towards his first coronary or to depressive illness. All this material is a rehash of the primitive scientific management cult of half a century ago. It is churned out by insensitive but clever and personable whizz-kids of the managerial revolution, by plausible panacea peddlers with a gift of the gab who exploit the managerially forlorn by offering simple mechanistic solutions to intractable problems, and by consultant-type managerial call girls who offer always the appearance but never the reality, always the slick and sophisticated techniques but never the relationships. They promise virile achievement to the managerially impotent who, however, keep coming out by the same doors as in they went, only temporarily feeling better because they have managed to do something, but no more able, in the long run, to cope more competently with their ongoing problems.

It is good, therefore, for a discriminating—if somewhat jaded—reader of managerial literature to be able to recommend a book which he would rather have had the wit and the sensitivity to write than the temerity to review. Such a book is *The Social Psychology of Organisations*. Katz and Kahn have done their homework, and offer a well constructed springboard from which the reader can jump with confidence into the profound—but infinitely practical—depths of the only schools of managerial theory and practice which have—this reviewer believes—any relevance to our real condition. These are the *open-systems* and *socio-technical* schools represented at their best and most practical by the late A. K. Rice and Miller, Trist and Bamforth.

How does one review a book of such depth and such wide range? By paraphrasing any of its content one is bound to distort. The book looks at organisational structure, decision and policy-making, the nature of power, authority and leadership, roles, innovation and change. Above all, however, it draws our attention to the open systems and socio-technical theories of organisation. With apologies to Katz and Kahn, and with the sincere hope that readers of this review will be encouraged to read the book rather than to judge it by my treatment of it, I would describe these theories in this way:

Open Systems. People do not exist on their own as persons. Nor do they exist only in face to face relationships with other individuals. People exist as persons

only through a complex series of relationships within and between groups both small and large. Growth of personality can take place only when the individual is dynamically engaged with this complex environment of other people. This engagement has both conscious and unconscious elements. Similarly, organisations of people do not exist on their own. They exist as functioning organisations only in relationship to other organisations and to society as a whole. There are both conscious and unconscious elements in these relationships. Organisations can only remain viable and develop when they are engaged dynamically with the complex environment of other organisations and of the whole of the society within which they function. The organisation is more like an organism than like a machine and can maintain and develop its viability only by engaging in a kind of osmotic relationship with its environment. The structures which make this interchange possible can now be described and developed in practice. Both the individual and the organisation die when they cease to engage in active interchange with their environment. Organisations can survive and develop only when they are engaged in such active interchange.

Socio-technical. While the basic stuff of organisational viability is people, technology must be reckoned with. I use the word technology here in its widest sense. In the Prison Service, for example, Vee schemes and closed circuit television, regionalisation and dogs, uniforms and bell scales and control rooms are all pieces of technology. Technologies affect the relationships, the attitudes, the behaviour, of people in organisations. Every new bit of technology changes the human situation, and people change technologies by their attitude towards their use. They can use them for achieving organisational objectives or anti-organisational objectives, or they can neutralise their effective use if they distrust them or fear them. Effective management must understand that every bit of new technology changes the human situation in organisations, and must understand the nature of the change so produced. The Prison Service, post-Mountbatten is, in a *social* sense, in the sense of human attitudes, behaviour, and relationships, a changed organisation because of changes in technology. One suspects, however, that management is little conscious of the profound and significant social change which has taken place. There is evidence that management behaves as though the new

technologies had simply been grafted on to the human structure without the structure having become, in the process, a radically different *kind* of structure. If the nature of this *unplanned* change is not recognised, there is then a danger that management, in trying consciously to plan a change, as at present, may try to change what no longer exists, what has *already* changed, and so be thrown into confusion and frustration. Socio-technical and open systems understanding begins to enable management to perceive, and to predict within limits, the social effects of technology and the effects on technology of the attitudes and behaviour patterns of people. Without this understanding, management becomes more mystified and more irritated by what *appears* to be the irrational behaviour of people in the organisation, and more frustrated, and more liable to return to authoritarianism and rule books, and to fighting yesterday's battles. The behaviour which management sees as irrational, because of incomplete understanding of the social situation in the organisation, is not irrational at all.

In their chapter on types of organisations, the writers identify enterprises which are productive or economic (factories, etc.), those which provide a maintenance function (schools, hospitals, etc.), those which are political, those which are adaptive, and others. They rightly place prisons firmly in the political area but draw attention to the dilemma of the existence also of a non-accountable maintenance function (rehabilitation). This reviewer must have heard hundreds of people in the Prison Service deny the political function of the penal system. "If only the politicians would stop interfering we could get on with the job". This is a strange misperception of objectives which inhibits realistic understanding of the penal task and prevents effective change-oriented behavior. The authors point out also that rehabilitation is much more expensive than repression, a political reality of some relevance at this point in time. "The negative aspect of political systems", say the authors, "is the penal institution".

The Civil Service has come late into the managerial revolution. With typical thoroughness it seems to have begun at the beginning. It appears to be evaluating the techniques of scientific management—such things as organisation and method, management by objectives, work study, job descriptions and appraisals, staffing profiles, manpower utilisations, surveys and the like. However useful these techniques may be as aids to

management, they all have one thing in common, they ignore the social realities of the organisation. They look fine, logical, precise, easy. However, sensitive management knows that it *utilises* people at its peril. People can be mobilised, or enabled, or even organised, but if management tries to utilise people, to behave as though they were a collection of individual *things*, then management is in lumber.

It may be traditional thoroughness which seems to have sent the Civil Service back to try to live the life of the early scientific managerial church. It may, however, simply be that the political demand to achieve low-cost high efficiency now, or at the latest tomorrow, is throwing the Civil Service into the arms of the techniques-of-management call girls, responsive to their promises of instant fulfilment. While the techniques, without compassion, without love, without understanding, without relationship, may give the appearance of being a problem-solving process, the client is likely to find that he is caught up in a process of trying to solve repetitively, the same problems by recourse to ever more bizarre techniques.

It is when techniques are claimed to be management instead of simply *aids* to management, and when they overlay and suffocate the human side of enterprise that terrible dangers arise. I believe that these terrible dangers *are* facing us. This book is about the nature of the human resource in organisations. It is about the achievement of interpersonal competence in the pursuit of organisational objectives. It is about the ground of organisational effectiveness, that ground being people, enabled by mature management to find freedom in achieving goals within a framework of positive, creative, relationships. It is only for a management which recognises this ground and has begun to develop an effective human structure upon it, that techniques can possibly be useful. This book is about people, but it is also about efficiency or, rather, *effectiveness*, which is not the same.

Throw away your management-without-tears manuals on techniques. Do it the difficult way. There are no short cuts to mature organisation. It is going to be a long, hard, road. Read Katz and Kahn and then go on, as they suggest you do, to Rice and Miller, Trist and Bamforth and to such others as Allport, Likert, Argys and McGregor. There is a wealth of practical and tested wisdom for us to discover and to use and to develop, before the misuse of techniques kills us off.

A.A.F.

THE RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT OF DISTURBED AND DELINQUENT BOYS

R. F. SPARKS and R. G. HOOD

University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology

IT is generally assumed that the combination of theoretical thought and practical experience with respect to most presenting problems should indicate an integrated and positive approach to the solution of these problems. This is the assumption that forms the basis of the Cropwood conferences which are designed to "enable the people who do the work in the administration of the criminal law and the treatment of offenders to spend time at the institute, individually or in groups, considering problems that face them in their day-to-day responsibilities" (Leon Radzinowicz).

This particular publication contains those papers that were presented to a conference consisting of approved school headmasters and those academics, consultants and administrators involved in the treatment of offenders generally. The papers cover the major aspects of the structure of the approved school and similar institutions: treatment, maladjustment, absconding, education, therapeutic methods and organisation.

Although the papers were primarily concerned with approved schools, favourable comparisons can be made, both directly and indirectly, with the major elements of the borstal system. Hence the papers are of positive relevance to all workers in the latter field.

Four papers, in particular, appear to be very appropriate to work in our own institutions. Pamela Mason's paper on the nature of the approved school population and its implications for treatment considers the wide range of the needs of the young offender and the importance of classifying these needs into groups and, as a consequence, developing specific types of institutions to deal with the varying problems.

R. Percival considers the problem of the persistent absconders and seriously disruptive boys in institutions. His analysis of young offenders transferred to approved school special units is particularly interesting, and, although not conclusive in terms of the success of this treatment, it does stimulate thought towards the future development of special units.

A paper on the limits of therapeutic methods prepared by W. Lumsden Wal-

ker is possibly the most appropriate to the borstal system. He emphasises that therapy exists at three different levels, from the individual work by the therapist through staff-inmate relationships not requiring any depth of interpretation to a process of identification with staff by the young offender. The effectiveness of any institution is counteracted by the existing problems of overpopulation in penal institutions, insufficient staff training and cultural differences between the therapist and the offender. Dr. Walker suggests that the efficient use of staff and case conferences can reduce these limitations to some extent and his ideas on staff involvement offer much to our service with its problem of the efficient use of staff resources.

Finally Howard Jones' paper on organisational and group factors in institutions compares the bureaucratic and decentralised models of institutional structures. He emphasises the dangers of inflexibility with respect to organisations suggesting that certain delinquent groups will respond positively to one model and not the other. However, a residual group exists whose needs are not catered for by one model alone and a combination of the adult-centred and offender-centred approaches is necessary.

This publication should be of interest to all people in the Prison Service involved in the treatment of young offenders. It raises those immediate problems that must be solved to ensure the future of borstal institutions and makes positive indications of the types of development that should take place. It also emphasises the need to increase the role of the psychiatrist in penal institutions not only as an individual therapist but also as a consultant to all members of staff offering advice with respect to their individual cases.

P.A.

RACE COMMUNITY AND CONFLICT

JOHN REX and ROBERT MOORE

Oxford University Press—for the Institute of Race Relations. 1697. £2.50

FOLLOWING his retirement, Lt. Colonel R. A. Shebbeare, who had been Governor of Shrewsbury prison, was quoted in the Press as being very concerned about the problems caused by the presence in his prison of a significant number of prisoners of various ethnic backgrounds. His words were used to support the ideas of restricting immigration and encouraging repatriation but not to examine the

difficulties that have to be faced in our institutions now.

Psychologists tell us that prejudice may be understood in terms of the individual personality. They see it as one attitude typically adopted by what they describe as the authoritarian personality. However, Rex and Moore argue that when prejudiced behaviour occurs not amongst a minority but in a large number of people who have not shown such feelings before and is expressed in the actions of representative authorities, a psychological explanation is inadequate and it is necessary to look at the social situation of the community as a whole. They suggest in their study of Sparkbrook, Birmingham, in the mid-1960's that the conflict within that community may have appeared to be about race but was in fact about scarcity, the housing shortage.

In the last 40 years Sparkbrook has changed. It was a respectable, middle-class part of town built for the merchants and professional people of the late 19th century and having within it the town seat of the Lloyds Bank family. It has become a decaying, squalid zone comprising multi-occupied lodging houses in which a transient population lives. These "twilight zones" have become a feature of all our large industrial towns where the middle-classes have tended to move further out from the centre as the competition for space with commercial and industrial interests pushes up the land values and makes the area less agreeable. Bombing during the war contributed to the decline of this part of Birmingham. The large, spacious Victorian houses which were no longer suited to the smaller families of later generations lent themselves to development as apartments: the basic fabric of the houses still being sufficiently good to avoid being condemned for slum clearance. Birmingham has continued to be a prosperous industrial city over many years and the increasing demand for labour attracted at first young English couples and itinerant Irish and subsequently European and coloured workers who were willing to move to wherever the search for work took them. They needed single room accommodation to rent cheaply and this the lodging houses of Sparkbrook could provide. But such an area also tended to become anonymous, lacking a sense of community and common values outside the immediate households. This drew those who did not conform to the conventional morality of the more stable parts of

the city: unmarried mothers, addicts, discharged prisoners and the lonely.

Reacting to this situation, the authorities determined to prevent the spread of these lodging houses to the other similar areas which ringed the centre of Birmingham. But access to housing was already a problem for the immigrant. There had always been a general housing shortage, it is perhaps only our awareness of the problem that vacillates. Building societies preferred to make loans to family men who had been in stable employment for some time. When exceptions were made to this rule, the deposit and rate of interest were high. Council houses were allocated only to those who had satisfied a five year residential qualification, for the most part without regard to the standard of housing the applicant was living in. This qualification was unlikely to be satisfied by immigrants as they were essentially mobile workers looking for the highest pay so that they could either send money home or pay for the passage of the family to join them in England. The last on, first off system used to meet redundancy at work tended to increase their rate of job change and consequently lessen still further their chances of council housing.

Furthermore, future building plans of private developers and local authorities were based on providing family accommodation, not for single men or less conventional households. The immigrant had neither sufficient money to attract the speculative builder nor the voting power to influence the council who determined housing priorities.

Although the housing requirements of this group of people were ignored by the legitimate sources of housing supply, their labour was still essential to the needs of the city. The situation was one in which an *entrepreneur* of ability could make quick profits and in London this role was assumed by Perce Rackman. There was no landlord of his ability in Birmingham and the process of conversion went on piecemeal. The first landlords were local residents but they were quickly followed by immigrants who in the process of housing themselves could not but provide rented housing for others. They provided "the safety net beneath the safety net of the welfare state."

Little hope of improving the situation was offered to the residents in Sparkbrook and they reacted to the low value that seemed to be placed on their needs and, by implication, themselves by forming small "colonies" within the community to bolster their own self-

esteem. The writers observed how for the Irish the Catholic Church was a focal point in their lives not only as a religious centre but also a social centre with a distinctive Irish atmosphere. The Asians adapted well, drawing upon their obligations to each other as fellow villagers and showing some business enterprise and acumen. The majority of the residents, the English, tended to romanticise about the golden days of Sparkbrook although it was unlikely that they would have had direct experience of such times.

This reaction must have seemed to justify and reinforce the prejudices about the undesirability of immigrants and it would appear that such feelings must have clouded the real issues. Furthermore the occasional prosecution of landlords for over-crowding did nothing to alleviate the problems but served merely to inflame emotions.

Rex and Moore suggest two factors which prevented the district being completely torn by racial conflict, the universal agreement by the residents of Sparkbrook that the cause of their problems was the small group of tinkers and the development of the Sparkbrook Association which provided a formal structure to which all groups could work together to press the authorities for help to improve conditions and which was in some measure successful in doing so.

I understand that members of the Advisory Council have invited staff to comment on problems that have arisen which may be related to racial tension but have had little response. The subject is a difficult one to discuss because it tends to arouse strong feelings and is associated with other strongly held beliefs. You will find this book concise and logical in its argument and you may find it interesting and stimulating in its subject.

J.S.

A FIRST COURSE IN TECHNICAL WRITING

J. MITCHELL

Chapman and Hall. £1.50

THE declared intentions of this book are firstly, to cover "all aspects of the City and Guilds of London Institute Technical Writing Certificate Course" and secondly, "to provide a general introduction to the subject for a wide variety of students." The book should prove of interest to all those in the service preparing for written examinations where English is featured, and to all those faced by report writing of all

kinds who feel their knowledge of technique is rusty.

Mr. Mitchell seeks to dispel the image so often projected at school of report writing in particular—and English in general—as a dull, unimaginative subject full of irrelevant mysteries such as clausal analysis and split infinitives. Even many text books suffer from the same approach and are unable to sustain any real interest beyond the first few pages. This book does not set out to provide a complete and authoritative guide to English grammar, for which other books are recommended. Instead he attempts to demonstrate, always with great interest, and sometimes with humour, the main ingredients of good communication which he defines at the outset as “the art of passing on to others the information they need in a form they can understand.”

The author realises, as do most teachers of English, that one of the main obstacles to the development of real interest in report writing, is motivation. In the first section he explores the reasons for the development of reports and explores the vast areas today in which written communications are required—“it is not unusual for senior engineers to have to spend a third of their time, and often more, in written communications of one kind or another.”

From motivation he goes on to examine the various sources from which the writer may need to extract information, for “the man who knows it all will never make a good writer nor will the man who is too lazy to check his facts.” One particularly good feature of this section is a very clear exposition of the organisation of libraries. But perhaps the most valuable chapter in this section is that dealing with note-taking. For those suddenly finding themselves faced for the first time required to take notes at lectures, conferences, meetings or perhaps even interviews, note-taking is a difficult task as so often the notes mean little or nothing when reviewed several days later. Good notes, the author claims should be (a) an aid to study; (b) an aide-memoire and (c) a help towards orderly thinking and arrangement.” The system Mr. Mitchell suggests is simple, clear and learned with the minimum of practice. The structure he advocates for note-taking is basically the same as that which he proposes for reports or even talks and lectures. For those who have not yet developed a clear, reliable system of note-taking, the system has much to commend it—

indeed it may be of considerable interest to the more experienced note-takers.

In the section on “The Written Word” the author attempts to alleviate many of the anxieties which beset the apprehensive writer, such as the conflict that often exists between formal and colloquial English, counselling that usage should generally be the guide. Precision in writing and sentence and paragraph structure are dealt with briefly, but simply and relevantly and there is a very entertaining chapter on “Jargon and Officialese” which deals with the problem that “many who write for the public are slaves to jargon and once they have picked up the phrases they roll them out automatically and thus save themselves the trouble of having to think a bit harder.”

But all this is only the prologue to the main section of the book—report writing. Mr. Mitchell starts with the premise that “a good report enhances the prestige of all who are associated with it. A bad report is as smoke in the nostrils of those who have to read it.” He establishes five clear stages in the writing of a report and gives clear examples of each stage. Generally the examples apply the principles to the fuller, more comprehensive reports, but the reader should not be deterred by this, as the principles can be easily applied to almost all reports required in the prison service. The emphasis is on a very clear presentation which enables quick reference to any key point, and on the logical flow and development of ideas. Of particular interest is the chapter on the review of the report. Regrettably, because of the many constraints which are placed on those writing reports, this stage of the report rarely receives the attention it deserves. The author suggests a simple but effective check list which can be modified to meet any needs. For good measure there are also short chapters on reports of inspections, visits and interviews, and on the writing of memos and notices. The book concludes with a glossary of English usage, which contains a catalogue of most common errors.

The reader would be wrong to think that at long last we have a book on “Report Writing Without Tears.” While Mr. Mitchell has been largely successful in stimulating interest, and in demonstrating simple processes, he has not yet discovered a short cut which will produce instant report-writers. “We cannot learn to write from a text-book or from advice, though these may undoubtedly help; we have to write and go on writing.” The exercises he

provides are often novel, stimulating and very relevant.

For those who lack confidence in the writing of reports, and even for those who abound in confidence, but are perhaps unaware of the bad habits they have developed, this is an excellent book, always functional, eminently readable, often entertaining, and full of sound advice.

P.W.

RESPONSIBILITY

JONATHAN GLOVER

Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1970.
£2.25

THE author's aim in this book is really two-fold: first, the defence of determinism—the determinist claim is that all human behaviour is determined by causal laws; obviously any psychologist—and the reader should perhaps know that this reviewer is a psychologist—has a vested interest in this belief, which amounts to staking a claim for the scientific status of psychology. Human behaviour is as much subject to rational scientific explanation as is any other class of events in the universe. If, causal laws are much less firmly established in this field than in the other sciences, this is purely a matter of technology, because psychology is a comparatively young science: there is no “in principle” unknowability or non-causality in this field.

Secondly, there is a popular belief that the ascertainment of determinism, with its corollary, the denial of free will, is a denial of commonly held moral attitudes, and hence undermines the concept of responsibility. The importance of this concept to all those working in the penal field hardly needs labouring. Mr. Glover aims to show that belief in determinism is compatible with beliefs about responsibility; that we can uphold determinism as an intelligible thesis and still retain our beliefs about responsibility.

It is necessary, first, for the author to establish the case for determinism. He does this by arguing that it is an empirical hypothesis that we have no grounds for rejecting. This is not easy. The view that all behaviour is governed by causal laws could be refuted only by the discovery of an uncaused event. But such a discovery would clearly be countered by the convinced determinist with the argument that there is a cause as yet undiscovered. But by so doing he makes determinism unfalsifiable, and hence, scientifically speaking, vacuous. Glover gets over this difficulty by

suggesting we abandon the demand that all empirical statements be falsifiable, substituting the more liberal requirement that they be testable, i.e. verifiable or falsifiable. He goes on by arguing that verifiability of the determinist thesis can be undertaken along analogous lines to the understanding of the working of a computer whose internal workings were unknown to us—we would simply note a regularity in relationships between input and output. On the issue of predictability of human behaviour, a key issue in the libertarian-determinist argument. Glover is able to show that difficulties in the way of predictions are in principle no greater than those encountered in the physical sciences.

So far so good—but once the intelligibility of determinism is accepted, difficulties arise, or at least people think difficulties arise, about the use of moral language. It is argued that if moral type behaviour is causally determined, then it no longer becomes appropriate to pass moral judgement on it (e.g. "he was responsible" "he was to blame," etc.); since, if determinism is true, I do not have the capacity to take any action except the one predictable on the basis of causal laws. But this metaphysical type argument Glover counters by language based on dispositional concepts. I may have performed such and such an action, but this does not mean that I lacked the capacity to do otherwise. Imagine, for example, two men in a pub—one has dropped in for a casual pint, the other is an alcoholic. Clearly they have in fact both made the decision to come to the pub and have acted on it. But it would sound surprising to say that they are alike in their lack of capacity to have done otherwise, and Glover argues that blaming people is reasonable when they could have done otherwise. This argument seems to be an extension of the Aristotelian view that blame is unreasonable when the individual acted in ignorance or under constraint—an extension because he includes the sort of inner constraints that diminish one's capabilities. This sort of thinking will, of course, be familiar to psychologists.

In effect, the book is a discussion of the circumstances in which it may be appropriate to use value judgements on people's behaviour. The author seems to be saying that an agent is responsible for his actions in those cases where the argument "he could not help it" cannot be sustained. This, of course, is a familiar conclusion, but the book is nevertheless a useful one in establishing

that it is verbal usage—which in the final analysis means social usage—which provides the appropriate tool for the analysis of moral judgements. Moral judgements are in effect hunches—presumably based on experience—of what is most likely to be socially useful.

There is no need to make a mystery of the free will determinist issue. The truth of determinism can be tested empirically as, in the long run, can the validity of moral judgements. To the present reviewer this is a welcome conclusion.

B.M.

THE PUNITIVE OBSESSION

GILES PLAYFAIR

Gollancz, 1970. £2.48

GILES PLAYFAIR sets out to give an "unvarnished history of the English prison system" (his sub title). The blurb on the dust cover boldly declares that it will be an important contribution to the process of re-thinking the present system. In the event, what he has produced is a sadly uneven survey of the deterrent theory, a review of English prison history from the late 18th century until the Gladstone Committee, and a critical survey of the situation from the 1920's onwards. All in all it is a teasing and depressing examination of the problem. It falls short of answering many of the perennial questions in penology and covers ground well worked at greater depth and with more profit by others.

The renewed attack on the deterrent theory is prompted by Mr. Playfair's belief that we should be engaged in a "frantic search for a better defence against a mounting crime wave than punitive imprisonment." This he believes has been a ghastly failure for 150 years, and yet we still cannot rid ourselves of the "deterrent superstition or punitive obsession." Mr. Playfair illustrates his belief by a review of the bitter and lengthy argument about the abolition of the death penalty. He then goes on to assert that the very arguments used against abolition have been used to stifle change in other areas of the penal system. Change has thus been erratic and painfully slow throughout.

One does not necessarily quarrel with this thesis. One simply wishes that we could accept the view recently repeated by Louis Blom-Cooper that "deterrence by punishment is unproved and unprovable." The discussion about objectives and methods could then become more profitable. But one has to admit that the value of this re-

statement of the anti deterrent view is that it comes at a time when the pro deterrent lobby is very vocal. If proof is needed that this is so, then the applause which greeted the views of the senior Scotland Yard officers following the tragic murder of two policemen demonstrates all too clearly that the battle is not yet won.

Mr. Playfair's second objective is to demonstrate that killing offenders is not the only way of attempting to deter potential law breakers. The bulk of the book is therefore given over to a description of the various horrors awaiting convicted prisoners during the last century and a half. He treats us to a variety of horrific glimpses of the hulks, the silent system, salvation by religion, reformation by work and so on. To aid him in this task, Mr. Playfair has drawn on an assortment of documentary evidence, ranging from the prosaic pronouncements of Royal Commissions, the more scholarly works of people like the Webbs, through to the engaging reminiscences of retired administrators, governors and ex-prisoners.

Some interesting generalisations and some saddening (or amusing, depending on one's disposition) reflections that things don't change much emerge. For instance, Mr. Playfair observes that Millbank was regarded as a failure less than 30 years after completion. Yet this failed to serve as a warning to subsequent administrations that pouring good money after bad is no recipe for success. How often has this sentiment been expressed? How often have the lessons been ignored? We are also reminded that the hulk system, "intended as merely a stop gap measure," lasted for nearly a century. How often have such temporary expedients become absolute necessities and enshrined in the folk lore of penal practice?

For those of us rash enough to think that contemporary thought and practice are bold new ventures into the unknown, Mr. Playfair produces some disconcerting evidence which sets us back on our heels. There is, for instance, his account of Bentham's security measures for the Panopticon which reveal a staggering similarity to some of Mountbatten's more publicised recommendations. Bentham favoured good perimeter lighting, crude wall defences, guard dogs and as a final refinement, a large ditch surrounding the perimeter. Mr. Playfair contents himself with the observation that "one may be sure that if television had existed in his day, Bentham would have been no less alive than Mount-

batten was in 1966 to its potential value in prison security." And who, having read this book, will believe that conjugal visits are a startling and hazardous innovation? In the hulks, it seems, they did these things in fine style, for "if a prisoner had a lady guest, he could retire with her to the smoking room where they would be undisturbed." Such laxity gave rise to the fear, since repeated in other words, that the visits "provided an easy way of smuggling money and contraband aboard." Parole is a 20th century version of the ticket of leave system, which rewarded sustained good behaviour. But now we talk about operant conditioning. And so it goes on.

The final section of this book deals primarily with 20th century practice. It is in this section that one looks for the "important contribution" claimed by the publishers. But I fear one looks in vain. One doubts that those within and outside the prison service will gain much help in resolving the very real conflicts that present themselves. Mr. Playfair is, one suspects, a "Patersonian" and pays proper regard to Paterson's impact. Sadly, this leads him to throw overboard many of the post Paterson developments without sufficient critical examination.

The Mountbatten Report incurs Mr. Playfair's displeasure in unabated form. For him it was a panic inspired exercise, carried out by a man who had "no apparent qualifications for conducting it." Worse still, the recommendations were slavishly implemented, with the exception of the costliest—a purpose built prison at Alvington. In this instance, Mr. Playfair, in his impatience to castigate the big, bad amateur who saves us from impending doom, fails to develop two valuable themes. One is the ever present notion of crisis management with which we apparently have to live. The other is the parsimony of central government in failing to provide the tools for what he regards as an exceedingly difficult task. And what, incidentally, of Radzinowicz? There is no mention of his contribution at all.

Another interesting idea which is not adequately explored is the change perceived by Mr. Playfair that penal administrators have moved from authoritarianism to paternalism. In support of his argument, Mr. Playfair draws heavily on an interview published in the Hull prison magazine between the editor and the then governor and the handout prepared at Blundeston when it first opened. Yet while this

is noted as a possible way of beginning to bridge the gap between rulers and ruled, it fails to satisfy because we should be making the effort to train all staff as social workers. And so with this bold statement we are off on another tack which is not discussed in any depth.

In a number of other areas, Mr. Playfair is equally disheartened but not very constructive. He believes the prison system to be ill equipped to tackle such thorny problems as the expressed intention to widen the range of choice open to long term prisoners, ameliorating the discomforts of imprisonment because we are hidebound by outdated and inappropriate rules, improving the lot of those detained in grossly overcrowded local prisons and training people for freedom under conditions of "prescribed periods" of captivity.

Overall one feels that in the first two parts of this book, Mr. Playfair, the cool but interested observer, has presented us with a catalogue of past errors. All the irritation and frustration break out in the third part, and Mr. Playfair, the sad but resilient campaigner against contemporary folly, has a field day. Much as one might share in Mr. Playfair's fury, it is hardly a basis on which to build the "important contribution" so hopefully proclaimed by his publisher.

A.J.P.

NON-CUSTODIAL AND SEMI-CUSTODIAL PENALTIES

A Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System. H.M.S.O. 55p. It is now more than a year since the publication of this report, prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of Lady Wootton. Interest has focussed on the proposals for community service, and a Home Office working party has been established to examine these proposals, but there has been no evident haste to introduce legislation, even to enable a number of pilot projects to be launched.

The community service proposals were given a mixed reception by probation officers. Some argued that there was little cause to believe that doing good works for the community, under court order, would do good for the offenders. There seemed, in addition, to be a reluctance to involve the probation service in the administration of judicial penalties. These functions were seen as incompatible with the view of probation as a social work service,

"a further push in the direction of a more overtly controlling penal service to the courts."

Personally, I would not be prepared to put such faith in arguments from principle. The opportunity for service may have little significance for most offenders, but the measure may prove successful for reasons which have not been anticipated. In any case, whether a measure works is a question capable of being empirically tested. We do not have such a wealth of ideas on the treatment of offenders that we can afford to reject them because they offend the self-image of some probation officers. A few properly evaluated pilot projects could answer a lot of questions and save a lot of fruitless argument. If the measure can be used with no less success than custodial treatment, its development will be justified.

What is important, however, is to ensure that this new form of treatment as and when it is introduced, should be applied to offenders who would otherwise have received a custodial sentence. The danger can be seen in the experience we now have of the use made of suspended sentences. It was intended that courts should use a suspended sentence only when imprisonment had been determined as the appropriate form of disposal. In practice the new sentence drew more people from the existing categories of non-custodial penalty, mainly fines and to a lesser extent probation, than from imprisonment. The risk with all the Wootton proposals is that they will merely provide a greater range of non-custodial penalties for those who might already have been dealt with in the community, but will not really provide alternatives to custodial sentences, which the committee defined as its primary task.

What the committee did not tackle is the need to devise ways of influencing or controlling sentencing policy. This is not such a novel idea. The Californian probation subsidy schemes rest on the idea that finance is made available to develop community treatment programmes in return for a deliberate reduction in committals to custody by the courts. If community service, on Wootton lines, is to succeed, courts must concurrently be required to reduce their committal rates. It would be quite possible to set limits to the use of imprisonment, and the principle involved is not revolutionary; courts are already required to ensure a vacancy exists before sending youths to a detention centre. Space does not permit developing these ideas here, but we

would do well to reflect that the overcrowding of the prisons is caused not only by the increase in the number of offenders brought before the courts, but also by the decisions of the courts when dealing with those offenders.

There are other proposals in this report which are in danger of being lost. The case for the establishment of an enforcement office, to be concerned with the collection of overdue fines and civil debts, is indisputable. An attendance centre to deal primarily with traffic offenders could be established without legislation. Efforts should be made to establish schemes of week-end or intermittent detention on an experimental basis.

The Wootton report has pointed to the need for experiment, through pilot schemes with built-in research and evaluation. It has incidentally shown how difficult such experiments are to initiate within the rigid limits imposed by present legislation. Should we now be devising a penal system which can operate much more flexibly through ministerial discretion or the use of statutory instrument?

D.A.H.

HABITUAL DRUNKEN OFFENDERS

Report of the Working Party. H.M.S.O.
1971. £1.20

THIS White Paper is indeed timely and the members of the committee who furnished it are to be congratulated on the depth to which they have reviewed this whole problem. Until very recently, knowledge of drunken offenders, alcoholics, problem drinkers and excessive drinkers has been in the hands of too few people. This review gives the facts critically and fairly reviewed so that anybody reading it must realise the enormity of the task which they undertook.

The Criminal Justice Act of 1967 removed the penalty of imprisonment for "drunk and disorderly." This section of the Act could only be implemented when the Home Secretary was satisfied that suitable community treatment facilities were available as an alternative. A working party was constituted and deliberated this point and cases of drunkenness including the alcoholic who offends as well as the offender who becomes an alcoholic. The present White Paper is a result of three years study.

The problems are clearly defined and also explained. There is a review of the legal aspects of drunkenness which then goes on to look at the size of the prob-

lem. The estimated numbers involved are given as between 2,000 and 5,000 annually. These figures relate very closely to those previously published in this Journal. It must be remembered that those include simple drunkenness as well as chronic alcoholics who commit offences of a more serious nature and who will still require treatment within prisons.

The working party has interpreted its terms of reference very broadly in keeping with modern views. Views on alcoholism, problem drinkers and excessive drinkers are clearly given and are well worth reading by anybody involved in any form of social work, but it is especially relevant to anyone working within the prison service. It affirms that the earlier treatment is initiated the less frequently will these unfortunate individuals require prison sentences. It also points out the failure of prisons in the past to help or act as a deterrent, thereby underlying the importance of incorporating some treatment programme within the framework of prisons.

The exact nature of the problem is discussed, and the related problems of background and personality difficulties, with all their social implications. The report offers a number of practical recommendations, which are spelt out in some detail. These centre round the need for habitual drunkenness to be considered and treated as a social and medical problem. To this end, a co-ordinated system of treatment is felt to be essential. Thus, improved co-operation is urged between the various interested social agencies, the courts, the police, the prisons and the probation service, in dealing with habitual drunken offenders. In some cases this may involve changes in conventional attitudes towards such offenders. Ways of making best use of the various voluntary and official resources are then explored.

Treatment proposals include a need-related expansion of community facilities, in particular hostels and non-residential centres, both having access to adequate medical and health services. Some views on the management and staffing of such hostels are given, attention being paid to special related problems, such as vagrancy and women offenders, as well as to different regimes appropriate to dealing with them.

The need for detoxification centres, and the use of these to be made by police in dealing with drunken offenders is explained, as well as the role of these centres in the treatment process

as therapeutic rather than punitive in purpose. As elsewhere in the report, actual figures of estimated need are offered, and city areas with the heaviest problem of drunkenness specified.

The question of compulsion in the use of such treatment facilities as the report outlines is considered, though no clear recommendation in advance of the setting up of such facilities is felt to be appropriate. Finally, the report describes the areas specially requiring research, and recommends the building-in of research into all therapeutic endeavours.

Altogether the report gives very interesting reading for anybody involved in this field. When it is realised that approximately one-third of all convicted people are alcoholics, the importance of this work to members of the service will be appreciated. The section on the prison service shows that we are concerned with this problem in several establishments but there is a need for much greater staff awareness of the subject.

It is only to be hoped that it doesn't take another three years to implement the deliberations of this committee. Some of the constructive suggestions for the future development of treatment services, both within the prison service and within the community are interesting, valid and urgently required.

The appendices given in full cover a large section of the report, about one-third in total, and give details of how and where the evidence came from, and as to which places were visited by the panel. They also give an historical background with a summary in tabular form of the police evidence, of the extent and nature of the problem. There are also four specific research projects reported in full. The relationship of the proposals to the Mental Health Act 1959 are given and an account of a hostel experiment, namely the Rathcoole Experiment giving its first three years of working.

P.M.S.-M.

DEVIANCE: THE INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE Text and Readings in the Sociology of Deviance

EARL RUBINGTON and
MARTIN S. WEINBERG

The Macmillan Company, 1968. \$8.95

BECOMING DEVIANT

DAVID MATZA

Prentice-Hall, 1969. £3

CRIMINAL behaviour is usually viewed in rather static terms as something inherent

to the individual or situation. Sociologists who adhere to the interactionist approach insist that criminal behaviour and deviancy in general should be seen as a process. The interactionist approach widens the focus from the offender group to include those involved in official apprehension, judgement, classification and treatment. These latter individuals are, in the words of Matza, the "agents of signification". Their activities are assumed to be as important in the shaping of deviant behaviour as the actions of those people who are labelled deviant. The clearest statements of this perspective come from the west coast of the United States. British sociologists are, however, becoming increasingly taken with what is sometimes termed the "West Coast Two-step".

Rubington and Weinberg's volume is one of a number of readings from the interactionist school, and it has the advantage of being published in this country at a reasonable price. Some of the authors, such as Cressey and Goffman, will be known to readers of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL. Others are less well known here and particular note should be taken of the brief essay by Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies" which is essential reading for those concerned with minimising degradation within the penal system.

Having tuned into the interactionist perspective the reader may feel ready for Matza's *Becoming Deviant*. It is not easy reading and a second effort may be required. This was my experience even after 15 months in a west coast sociology department, which had on its staff five of the contributors to Rubington and Weinberg. (It was not always, incidentally, the most comfortable of places for an agent of signification to work!) *Becoming Deviant* is important at two levels. Firstly, in its contribution to sociological thinking, especially in raising hypotheses as to how the individual actually comes to view himself as deviant. Matza develops his argument within the context of crime and generally avoids the marginal deviant areas so popular with many interactionists. It is also important in its implications for the penal system. In the early sections of the book Matza contrasts the naturalistic and the correctional perspectives of criminal behaviour. His preference is clearly for the former and he suggests that if only it could be adopted we would be able to appreciate the real essence of crime. The correctional perspective, he claims, prevents us from doing this. This is in some ways rather like saying that the problem with the study of major fires is the ex-

tinguishing perspective. If only people could be persuaded to stand back and enjoy the blaze!

Matza does make an important contribution in drawing attention to the correctional perspective and the way it has led the individual to be labelled and typed in ways that make it increasingly difficult for him to develop strategies that might lead to alternative self-conceptions and behaviour. The perspective has also involved an over-emphasis on the individual at the expense of the official arrangements that surround him. It is this signification of criminality and its acceptance by the individual, Matza suggests, that is all important in the process of becoming a criminal. He highlights the importance of power relationships between the individual and the agents of signification in the determination of how particular situations are defined. "Being authoritative is the most superficial feature of authority. Dressed that way, rehearsed or trained in its tone of voice, inculcated in its essential part in commanding respect, the agent of signification appears. . . . In shocked discovery, the subject now concretely understands that there are serious people who really go around building their lives around his activities—stopping him, correcting him, devoted to him. They keep record on the course of his life, even develop theories about how he got to be that way. So confident are they of their unity with the rest of society, so secure of their essential legitimacy, that they can summon or command his presence, move him against his will, set terms on which he may try to continue living in civil society, do, in short, almost anything of which only the mightiest of men are capable. "Matza comments caustically on the way in which criminology became separated from its political context. "Among their most notable accomplishments, the criminological positivists succeeded in what would seem the impossible. They separated the study of crime from the working and theory of the state."

At this stage of its development the interactionists' contribution adds up to

a perspective rather than a theory, and there has been little effort to provide empirical support for the numerous assertions made. Many of these assertions would be difficult to test given the current range of methodology. A few of the assertions would appear to be testable. One such example is provided by Rubington and Weinberg in their introduction: "The greater the social distance between typer and the person singled out for typing, the broader and quicker it may be applied". On the whole, however, as with much psycho-analytical writing it is within the realm of speculative assertion rather than empirically testable theory. (It should be noted, incidentally, how close the interactionists are to analysts Ruth Eissler and Ronald Laing.)

It is too early to contemplate large scale implementation of these ideas within the official system. The perspective has certainly left its impression on the 1969 Children and Young Persons' Act in this country, and rather more directly on the Youth Service Bureau Act of 1968 in California (these bureaux provide alternative ways to the established ways of handling young offenders and have among their stated goals the avoidance of both stigma and labelling). The contribution of the interactionist perspective is in the many insightful cautions that it provides. For example, Matza's distinction between incidental and methodical suspicion is vitally important in an understanding by prison staff (who are above suspicion, except on an incidental basis) of the reality facing ex-prisoners (who are known to the police and are methodically suspected); it warns those who are inclined to develop and act upon delinquent typologies; and it brings out very clearly the implications of the power differentials within the penal system and how these are of crucial importance in the way that situations are defined. The interactionist perspective does not have as much to say as its adherents would insist, but it does contain much of importance for the people within the penal system at both ends of the process of signification.

A.R.

WITH this January issue MARK WINSTON retires as Editor, a post he has held since the Journal's inception 12 years ago. An Appreciation of his service to the P.S.J. will appear in the April issue.

Meantime, any correspondence or contributions for April and subsequent numbers should be sent direct to David Atkinson at H.M. Borstal, Hewell Grange, Redditch, Worcs.

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