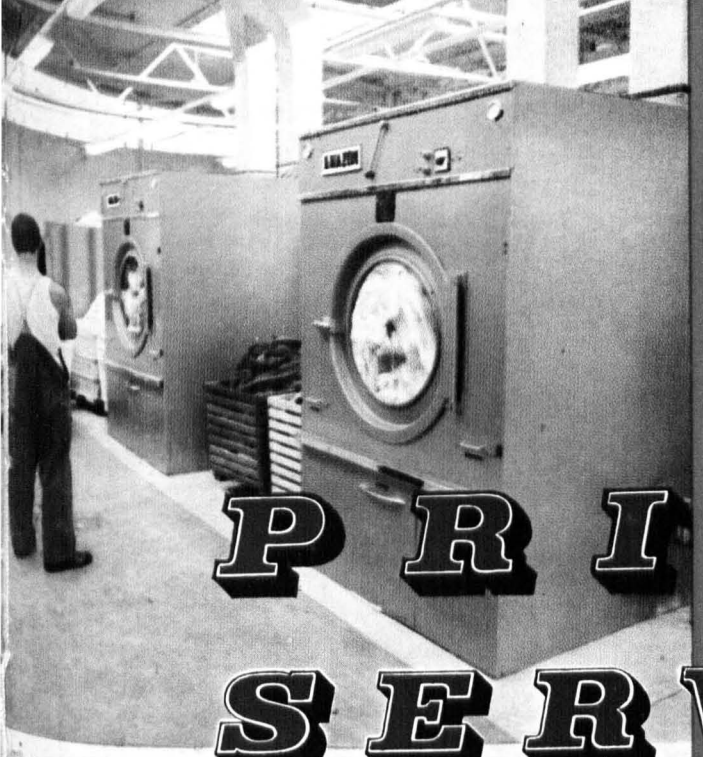

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Featuring
Industries and
Supply

No. 6 new series APRIL 1972

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

IT IS not easy to follow in the footsteps of a Mark Winston (to whose 12 years of creative work for the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL a tribute appears elsewhere in this issue). Future editorials will not be lengthy, but if this one runs to a few more paragraphs than usual, perhaps the reader will be forgiving.

It will be the policy of the new editorial board to continue to commission and present a wide spectrum of views and interests in a paper which can be read with equal profit by all grades of the Prison Service and by social workers, administrators, educators, etc. over a wider field; and one hopes by at least some section of the general public.

We think it may sometimes be useful to have a "theme", and the present number reflects this idea. It is largely taken up with a corporate presentation of the work of the Directorate of Industries and Supply, the "Commissariat" and manufactory of the Prison Department. If this should sound dull, a brief dip into this section should quickly dispel any such impression. Prisoners eat, sleep, wear out clothes, and they also work—though not always as effectively as a rational society ought to expect. There is material in this anthology of articles by a range of contributors which goes to the root of some of the conflicts in the custodial scene. There are other articles, of course, to maintain a balance, such as Ted Williams's follow up on a research started years ago in Lowdham Borstal, and Quinn's thoughtful piece on a variety of experiences of imprisonment.

WHAT IS RELEVANT?

When one tries to decide what is grist to the mill for a journal of the Prison Service, or indeed what are the boundaries of relevance for penal questions anyway, it is like climbing mountains—you reach what seems to be the final peak only to see another loom up behind; and when that too is scaled another has taken its place. The summit seems as far away as ever. The Prison Service itself, though a large and multifarious undertaking, is too small a concept. Like institutions themselves it poses an unnatural barrier which, if it were not blatantly visible in ancient stone or modern red brick, would still exist in the mind. So one can only attempt to scale the peaks as they unfold, hoping at some stage for the wide view, the comprehensive vista, that will reveal convincingly what it is all about—the way in which society chooses to deal with its legal deviants.

From the top, or near it, the view is pretty clearly a political one. The late Douglas Gibson was once asked at a conference why people should be concerned about the plight of prisoners' families when there were many more "deserving" cases of need. He gave the only possible reply—"The allocation of resources by priorities is a matter for government. We must do the best we can for those it is our particular job to help. There is no hierarchy in suffering". And politically, offenders are an unpopular group, helping whom wins few votes.

EDITORIAL—*continued*

Workers in prison therefore sit close enough to the political juggernaut to feel the vibrations—occasionally, as after the Blake affair and its sequels, to be shaken to their foundations.

They are especially vulnerable, since at times of crisis their more therapeutic efforts are likely to be smothered in an access of moral indignation; for public opinion is no more rational in its attitude towards crime than are many criminals themselves in their escapades.

Tough and Tender

Some would argue that this will always be so, and may even be necessary. Most judges and some moralists would appear to subscribe to the view that man's naughtiness can only be kept in check by the existence of powerful physical deterrents, and that the silent majority not only need to see offenders punished for their own greater security, but have a positive right to exact retribution and to experience vicarious suffering if it is "deserved". Along a continuum the world seems to be divided broadly into what Eysenck has dubbed "the tough and the tender-minded". The latter's case (and there are many in the Prison Service, which often seems to surprise outsiders) would be on the lines that there is no real evidence that the deterrent argument works with most offenders, however successful it may be in regulating middle-class consciences; that the only truly effective deterrent is the certainty of being caught, which few offenders expect to be; that retribution is wrong; that establishment figures along with many "honest" citizens tend to close their eyes to the evidence of experience and humanity; that the penal system bears hardest on certain social groups who are already heavily disadvantaged, and cannot defend themselves properly even against the offences with which they are charged, let alone against the total inequity of their life situation; that prison is a sledge-hammer, and an unjustifiably expensive one, for cracking very small nuts.

So politics, philosophy and undistilled emotions mingle, moral positions are taken up, and the wheel turns. Prison is often a compromise, as are the beliefs of those closely involved, and few prison workers are absolutists. One may even feel overall concern for the human condition in the armed robber, and at the same time thoroughly approve the sentence of "life". Moral indignation is no doubt appropriate enough in such cases, but it is not an emotion which can be sustained for 30 years, and this is the unique problem laid to the charge of prisons in the last decade. How do you contain desperate men? How do you communicate with them in such a way as to make existence tolerable to them and their captors? Is dispersal the right answer? What are the questions in this area which have not yet been faced squarely?

The Real Problems—and the "Consumers"

But though this is a bad one, it is not the central problem of the prison. It is widely recognised that prisons are a dumping ground for much human flotsam that could be dealt with more humanely, rationally and cheaply in other ways, and it is encouraging to hear the cogs turning in high places in the search for such alternatives. Much experiment in dealing with the inadequate petty recidivist, the minor dropout and deviant, has taken place behind prison walls or just outside them (see Adrian Arnold's article on Pentonville in our October issue). Many believe that it should be the policy of the Prison Department to foster such alternatives rather than to accept fatalistically the gloomy predictions of "another 10,000 by 1980". We should be emptying some of these terrible old places, they would say, rather than building new ones and thereby creating for posterity a fresh crop of neo-Victorian white elephants. Sir Keith Joseph has recently forecast the disappearance of the large mental hospital within 15 years. People in D.H.S.S. may be cynical about the time scale and some of the community implications, but it is a bold concept. There was much similarity between the attitudes towards and the containment of the "mad and the bad" when these places were built.

This is the age of the sociologist, who looks to forces in society to explain its ills, rather than the "sickness" of the individual. Much light has been thrown on the subject of institutions, particularly "total" ones. We know that prisons fail because they try to cope with social need and preventive custody in the same place at the same time, and with divisive methods. Institutions which are too dichotomous must fail. Conflicting tasks apart, for any therapeutic venture there is an optimum size and scale, and this cannot be decided on economic factors alone. David Sherwood (Prison Service Journal, January 1972) saw the need to divide the hitherto indivisible, though he left certain questions unanswered. It would be tragic indeed if we had learned no better in half a century than to repeat the recipes of our grandfathers at something like 10 times the cost.

Perhaps most important of all is the need to find new ways of dealing with the young aggressive offender, alienated from the main society—without driving him further into rejection. We are not satisfied with the charade of maintaining outmoded systems crushed by the sheer weight of numbers into caricatures of their once virile and effective form. Overcrowding in prisons and borstals is at best useless, at worst obscene. Borstal (but by some other name, please) still has something to offer, given the right people and the right resources. The same may perhaps be claimed, but with less conviction, for the detention centre.

The caring role of staff for youth is potentially as effective as it ever was, but needs new direction, wider operational powers, and the imagination which can only spring from a better understanding of the modern adolescent's needs and attitudes. It is encouraging that we are beginning to turn more and more towards the most reliable source of information about the real facts of delinquency—the delinquents themselves. The methods of the modern youth worker deserve serious study, and we in institutions can learn much from "street corner research". Seebohm is here and we need to anticipate our position. Should the Prison Service continue to provide an "all-age" service? What is the future of the D.C.? How could after-care be made to mean something more than it means to most youngsters at present—commonly a nuisance, at worst a hypocritical ritual?

A Human Reorganisation

Management is the "in" word today. The Prison Department is in the throes of a management reorganisation of sweeping proportions. To some social workers the very word is unacceptable, for it suggests industrial techniques applied mechanistically to essentially "human" fields. But this is an emotional reaction which is not really tenable. Good organisation based on the needs of the undertaking is as vital to the effective running of an institution as is good theoretical training to caseworkers. The danger lies only in a too facile assumption that structure and formal communication systems will of themselves provide the panacea we all hope is just round the corner. Good management is a framework within

EDITORIAL—*continued*

which human relationships can take place with the minimum of hang-ups, it will not dictate the quality of those relationships. Along with a massive investment in restructuring must go a parallel investment in human resources of quality, in selection, training, and inspiration and support of staff.

Management does not preclude the necessity which John Howard saw to "first get a good man for gaoler"—but it can ensure that the man does not find himself having to compromise with his goodness in his working situation in order to survive. Good management in our context should be able to find a place for the zeal of the reformer, the art of the trainer, and the skills of the administrator. If any party in this trinity feels his contribution misplaced or undervalued, management will have failed, however neat it may look on the surface, for it is not in itself an alternative to something else.

The way we use our staffs in penal institutions is perhaps the most crucial question of all, and this raises what we mean by a hierarchical system, and how we interpret the phrase "a disciplined service". There is good evidence to think that a Prison Service which has finally flung off the shackles of the nineteenth century needs to find a new model for its development, especially in staff relations, one that can cope equally well with the type of emergency that calls for swift effective action, and at the same time provides an atmosphere within which flexible and imaginative methods involving a spreading of discretion to lower levels in the organisation can take place.

These are some of the areas, very sketchily set forth, where rapid change seems either to be taking place already or to be imminent. Along with new discoveries in the clinical and social aspects of delinquency, and in the technology of prisons for custody, they are subjects which seem to merit the continued attention of this journal. I hope that as many as possible of our readers will continue to give us the benefit of their experience and views through the media of both articles and correspondence.

MARK WINSTON—an appreciation

Mr. ALAN BAINTON—a member of the Prison Board and Controller of Operations—was governor of Wakefield Prison when the Prison Service Journal came into existence. He contributes this personal appreciation of its first editor

When this note appears Mark Winston will have retired. He was editor of this journal from its beginning. He had two particular qualities for the job.

First he was, as a young man, a reporter on the *Consett Guardian* and knew about such things as cross headings and what readers could be expected to read, and was able to advise those of us who formed the editorial board how to get the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL started.

The second was that quite implausibly he served as an airman gunner during the second world war and, returning from a raid on Germany, was shot down over Holland and spent the rest of the time as a prisoner in the notorious Stalag Luft III. Such prisoner activities as smuggling halfway across Germany a toilet roll on which was written the material for a book determined his basic attitudes towards the content of the work of the Prison Service which, after a spell as a probation officer, he joined in 1950.

Whilst, as far as I know, a moral man, he was not moved by moral absolutes and was able to regard the frailties and anger of prisoners benignly and without astonishment.

As principal of the Staff College he was able to embody these quiet attitudes into his teaching. As editor of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, he was able to gather together expressions of attitudes towards the work of the Service which are best described simply as civilised. There is a great deal of anger about and a great deal depends on our ability to deal with it. Mark Winston made a contribution to our understanding of this and we are grateful to him.

Regime and Post Release

E. V. H. WILLIAMS

E. V. H. Williams graduated in economics, politics and sociology. After two years in the steel industry he joined the Prison Service as a housemaster at Feltham Borstal, and later Lowdham Grange, from where, at the end of the period covered in his study, he was seconded to L.S.E. to take the Diploma in Applied Social Studies. He later served at Wetherby, and for three years at the Staff College as head of the Social Studies Department. A short spell as deputy governor at Ford Prison followed and then, on promotion, to be deputy governor at the newly combined Grendon and Spring Hill Psychiatric Prison

THIS article is built round a follow-up study of a small group of lads released during the calendar years 1959–61 inclusive from Malone House, Lowdham Grange Borstal, for which I was responsible from April 1958 to October 1961. Incidentally, I make no apology for using the term "lads." It is the one I grew up with and seems to me to contain far more feeling of humane concern than the current, antiseptic flavoured "trainees".

The study, being a one-man spare time affair, took until November 1970 to complete, mainly because of the practical difficulties in finding time to do the work, getting the data typed, and figures analysed. It is therefore becoming ancient history and, were it not for the lack of detailed information available to the current study of the treatment of young offenders, would hardly have merited writing up.

The motive for it was a belief that part of the sample studied did rather better on release than expected, and that this result was in major part the product of the regime applied to it. These beliefs rested on the further belief that expectation was itself reliably established by the Mannheim-Wilkins prediction tables.

In the event none of the beliefs is demonstrably true, although it is argued here that neither are they demonstrably false. Once again it seems that one is faced with lack of adequate data; it can only be hoped that, now the difficulties of doing effective research are becoming widely appreciated, adequate resources will be devoted to detailed studies along the same lines. I am convinced that studies must be multi-disciplinary to have a chance of success, and must include careful and ongoing sociological analysis of the institution studied if the effects of its regime are to be gauged accurately. Such studies require description of staff and inmate culture patterns and their interaction and would include investigation of the impact of different organisational structures and management styles, with detailed study of the effect of changes in any of these on the other elements.

THE REGIME

Lowdham Grange at the time was an open borstal having some 270 lads then between 16 years and 21 years. It catered for the younger group, immature both emotionally and physically, intellectually normal to very dull, educationally low normal to grossly retarded. There were, of course, exceptions, and given such a low starting point there were some examples of rapid development, but by and large the population was not well endowed and its attainments did not usually match up to its limited endowment.

Lads were housed in four house blocks, physically separate although connected by a pathway and a semi-underground passage linking the hospital and punishment block at one end with the assembly hall/gymnasium at the other. Each house had five dormitories and half a dozen single rooms, its own dining-room and four other rooms for recreational purposes—in short a well appointed establishment with over 600 acres of land, set in the country on high ground between four small villages. It had two farms employing around 40 to 50 lads, plenty of labouring work from the Works Department, vocational training courses at a rather simple level in painting, bricklaying, carpentry and wood machining and the usual domestic parties. The atmosphere was generally relaxed, the pace was fairly slow.

The governor during all but the last eight months of this period was T. W. H. Hayes, who gave his housemasters considerable freedom, provided he was satisfied that they cared about their charges. His policy was not to deal with the lads' affairs without consulting the housemaster and to encourage and enable housemasters to deal with as much as possible concerning their charges and the administration of their houses themselves, even to the extent of occasionally sending down a Governor's Report form with a note scribbled on it "please look into this and if you can deal with it, do".

Regarding time, we were probably working under near ideal conditions at that stage; the sentence was a nine months to three-year one but we worked on a virtual two-year maximum. This avoided the useless phenomenon of wrestling with lads who, having done three-quarters of their possible maximum, were quite content to do the remainder rather than attempt to reach whatever standards might be set. My experience suggests that the three-quarter limit applies on a two-year sentence and that lads now give up at 18 months whereas previously it was around 27.

Malone House was run on a number of principles. First, that the function of rules and discipline was to run a community of 65 or so efficiently; there should be as few rules as necessary but these should be enforced. Provided lads could cope with this, and all but a very few could, institutional requirements were satisfied and lads got their Training Grade as a result. They qualified for this three months from sentence, which meant that normally they would have been with us a month to six weeks—long enough for them to make up their minds whether to "give it a go" or not and to get over the initial period and so allow the staff to begin to assess the real problems.

Second, our proper job was to try to assess and get the lad to assess, and then do what he could about the

critical parts of his behaviour that landed him in trouble with the law. The chances of progress depended on his wanting both to get out and stay out—I never had anyone admit to wanting neither. It meant looking at attitudes and their roots and trying to overcome them[1].

This was the task during the Training Grade period—a standard period of four months which was virtually the minimum period—special progress could be recognised by acceleration during Senior Training Grade (S.T.G.). The criterion for promotion to Senior Training Grade was that lads had at least attempted to tackle the task. This approach meant that the traditional borstal criteria became irrelevant —prowess or enthusiasm for games or house activities, cleanliness and tidiness, obedience, leadership, or even achievement at work or classes—all these were only relevant if they contributed to the task of changing the faulty reactions to stress which seemed to underlie each individual's criminal activities.

Here, we differed considerably from our colleagues not only at Lowdham but in borstals as a whole at that time. In so far as the ideas themselves were not new, their application as far as I have been able to ascertain was different. The tradition was to set a higher level of institutional performance for S.T.G. and to think about fitness to survive outside when release recommendations had to be made. This was far too late—a lad who was refused a release date had as his main concern to do his "damnedest" to get one at the next monthly board. Long range considerations were too difficult for him at that stage; moreover, if he had got his Training Grade (T.G.) and S.T.G. without delay, he naturally demanded to know, if he had done so well, why the staff were suddenly against him now. The traditional system also led staffs to neglect study of a lad at an early stage, other than in purely institutional terms, and they often had no real knowledge of him when considering release, other than an uncomfortable feeling that he "was not ready".

Our approach was designed to make positive use of the indeterminate element of the sentence. It involved keeping a lad in T.G. until some attempt at progress with the fundamental problems had been made—this involved his discussing himself with staff members and also producing evidence in terms of better performance against whichever specific standards had been set up for him. These might be anything from a more consistent work pattern, or less displays of temper when frustrated, to less manipulation of his parents to achieve his ends. There could be endless variations, depending on each lad's pattern of behaviour and capacity to cope with our demands without becoming confused and overwhelmed. The governor's toleration gave us great freedom—one lad who was willing to test the confidence and clarity with which we held our ideas of him was kept in T.G. for nine months; he stopped attempting to wear us down at eight months and we felt later on that a genuine change had occurred. Another lad was turned down for S.T.G. on the grounds that whilst he was institutionally impeccable, he was not engaged on the task for he had been institutionally impeccable in approved school, on approved school recall, and in a detention centre and we did not feel we had touched him at that stage.

Once he got his S.T.G. a lad could be confident he would not lose it except for really serious misconduct against the community (for example, bullying) and that he would get a recommendation for release, following a successful home leave, at the standard time of four months from promotion, or earlier if we felt that progress had been exceptional. He was encouraged to plan for release and not worry about staff assessment on the assumption that his institutional performance could be taken for granted[2] and, having done some work on his fundamental troubles, he had at least a fighting chance of making good. The important tasks now were to obtain offers of job interviews, set up relations with parents as realistically as possible and to think about using licence constructively as a safety device instead of assuming, as most seemed to initially, that it was a spy system and an imposition, to quote: "I've done the sentence, haven't I?"

This whole approach required training of both staff and lads. Staff were tackled at the monthly house board; these were used to establish a way of looking at lads consistent with the approach. We reviewed every lad each month, first by examining the background of receptions and then formulating ideas about their underlying problems and ways of tackling them. We also spent much effort considering people in T.G. and far less on their seniors. Four house officers each took an interest in one dormitory acting as informal counsellors to the dormitory members. The middle dormitory was reserved, not for receptions, but for lads who were clearly doing longer than their reception peers, and they were usually under the informal care of the two most senior house officers[3].

These two steps were small in today's context but one must remember that traditionally the housemaster did most of the individual work and most officers then saw themselves as being on duty primarily for "discipline" functions.

The lads who had recently arrived at Lowdham came to the housemaster's office as a group once a week during their first month. Our approach was outlined to help them in any way possible. We talked about anything that interested them concerning the house and the institution, relating it all to criteria for progress to release.

Each house board made a note of any lad who, had he been up for promotion to any grade, would not have been recommended for it. I saw him afterwards and it was explained as clearly and concretely as possible why we felt as we did. Thus the lad had maximum opportunity for knowing what we thought of him, and why. He could then estimate fairly precisely his chances of promotion when it became due. My impression was and is, that this did away with much of the anxiety and uncertainty about boards—those who wanted to do well knew how, and those who wanted to rebel knew also.

After each board separate group sessions were held with each newly promoted grade batch, using this meeting to remind them of the tasks of the grade they were now in.

Finally, each month's discharges were together for two sessions, using the licence form as a talking point. It was pointed out to them that probably one in three would be in further trouble and the anxiety created by this fact was used to examine how to use supervision constructively.

I was, of course, available for interviews with lads who wanted to discuss difficulties, or their progress at any stage, and often used opportunities such as a minor adjudication or a request for work change to initiate an examination of attitudes and behaviour. This was not, of course, unique but, linked to the initial assessment and the workings of the house board and grade system, I believe it became much more organised and effective.

THE STUDY

The sample consisted of 104 borstal inmates. These were first classified in accordance with the Mannheim/Wilkins (M./W.) prediction categories ABXCD

The actual outcome in terms of further convictions was then compared with the outcome predicted for those categories by the M./W. prediction tables.

Comparisons were made for:

(a) Total convictions.
(b) Convictions during licence.
(c) Convictions after licence (with follow up periods ranging from two and a half to six and a half years.

The results for all categories showed a very significant difference between actual and predicted outcome. For (a) and (b) conditions, the actual success rate was significantly lower than predicted, and the failure rate correspondingly higher, this trend being particularly marked for the A and B categories—i.e. for the supposedly "best bets".

Comparison (c) showed a change—the AB and X groups were very close to predicted levels; the CD group had a no conviction/conviction ratio of 31:22 against a predicted ratio of 15:38. (However, see below under Discussion.)

The relationship between the M./W. prediction categories and convictions involving further custodial sentences was then looked at (d); the overall result was very close to the predicted one, but within the categories there were apparently significantly different outcomes, the AB's doing worse and the CD's better.

The factor of length of time in borstal was then considered in relation to:

(e) Total convictions.
(f) Convictions during licence.
(g) Convictions after licence.
(h) Prediction category.

No significant relationship was found with any of these factors.

There was, however, a clear relationship between convictions during and convictions after the licence period—in other words, the more convictions during licence, the more convictions afterwards.

Finally, the time of onset of reconviction for all cases reconvicted was examined. It was found that 67 per cent of first reconvictions were within the first 12 months and 100 per cent within three years of release. This again contrasts with the M./W. prediction figures of 50 per cent and 80 per cent respectively. Similar percentages applied to first reconvictions after the end of licence. One possible distorting factor does not seem to have been operating; the range of scores is roughly the same as the range for the normal borstal population—for example, the CD group are not scoring at the upper end of their ranges, nor the AB group at the lower.

DISCUSSION

Nowadays it is accepted that the M./W. prediction tables are not an accurate indicator of expectations. The straightforward inference to draw from my data is that they were no more accurate in 1959–61 (incidentally these lads were part of the first batch for whom predictions were calculated as part of allocation centre procedure). The apparent improvement between licence and post-licence performance is suspect because, to quote a note by Vernon Holloway, principal psychologist, Wormwood Scrubs, on the draft of this paper: "of a recent discovery that the further conviction is from the date of release from borstal, the less it is likely to get into the record". Likewise, the apparent reason for the lack of relationship between observed and predicted frequencies (a large difference in the CD group's performance). can be explained as a statistical artefact, arising from a general improvement in results (whether genuine or not) unrelated to the M./W. correlation between prediction category and percentage expected success.

However, taking the arguments in turn: first, no evidence is known for this period to show that M./W. did not "work" for borstals as a whole. It seems one can discuss the figures from either assumption. Second, those at the borstal after-care unit responsible for maintaining records relating to convictions after the end of licence would dispute the suggested inaccuracy of them, and there are other sources who would testify as to their accuracy.

Thirdly, I understand it is not uncommon for predictive tests to turn out to be forecasting things other than those intended. It was noted in the Prison Service right from the time M./W.'s findings began to be discussed that virtually no weight was given to the possible impact of the institution or of after-care on outcomes. Might it not be that the tables are better at predicting post-*licence* rather than post-*release* results? The implications are both that M./W. may have been more accurate in this respect than is supposed, and that there was a real difference rather than a statistical one in the results, namely the CD group did markedly better and the AB group marginally worse than expected.

If one assumes the first set of assertions to be true, the discussion must stop here. If the second are true, it becomes worthwhile considering the regime on the grounds that some factor(s) in that situation had a critical effect. Since all groups experienced supervision on licence, and the CD group in particular had probably nearly all experienced probation and many of them Home Office approved school licence as well, my thesis would be that the critical difference lay in the impact of the institution on them. The reason for such an impact on the CD group rather than the others cannot be explained here; perhaps it has to do with the enhanced experience of, and possible expectation of, failure at the time of reception. If the regime were particularly suited to this group, it seems reasonable that it should have been less helpful to the AB group than the regimes on which M./W. study was based.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

How can the flavour of the regime be appreciated? It was based on the thesis that one needed an ordered relaxed community in which staff and lads could communicate. Was this achieved? Only seven lads were transferred for disciplinary reasons in these three years, all of them in 1959 when the regime was fairly new and the foundations of a culture which excluded toleration of bullies and racketeers were still being laid. The number of minor reports fell dramatically and we often went for a week or two with none. Governor's reports were very few. The number of absconders per year never exceeded 16 and in 1961 up to the time when I left the establishment (October), there were only two[4]. Morale was high—for example, although no store was set on sport as a reformative influence, the house won the annual sports competition (which depended as much on a high level of participation as on talent) two years out of three, and in one year won every inter-house competition going. Close touch was kept with specialist departments; work instructors, physical education instructor and tutor organiser. As a result there was always a high proportion of Malone House lads on V.T. courses and on Works and they established a general reputation for relative reliability and effort.

These claims cannot now be verified. In any case many of them might have been made by my colleagues in other houses. I believe that they were related to the regime, both the institutional matrix and the house. It would be interesting to have other and better studies of results, and descriptions of methods used, to see if reliable indices of any regime's operational performance can be established and related to outcomes. The whole Service seems badly in need of this kind of information.

To conclude, I am quite certain of the value of one feature of the borstal sentence; its relative indeterminacy. It forces staff at every level to try to know their charges, and to think about their methods of assessment and treatment. At whatever level of sophistication this is done, it arises from the simple fact that a decision either to recommend or not to recommend has to be supportable. The effect on staff attitudes could be seen clearly when groups from borstals and prisons were met during my tour of duty at the Staff College. Possibly the most beneficial effect of the introduction of the parole system for prisoners is to give impetus to the development of similar attitudes among prison staffs.

The other important feature of indeterminacy is its power in motivating inmates to do something about their situation. A certain amount of guilt (encouraged perhaps by prisoners, their families and other pressure groups) has been expressed at levels from the parole board downwards about the anxiety caused to prisoners contemplating their prospects of release on licence. In many cases this is probably the first time that usable anxiety has been generated in them while in prison. While many inmates' reaction is to attempt to manipulate the system ever harder, if their anxiety can be directed (as attempted in the regime described) to self-study and "self-in-the-community" study, the foundations can be laid for real progress towards social maturity.

Thanks are due to Mrs. G. Laycock at Wormwood Scrubs for analysing the data, and to Vernon Holloway for helpful criticism of the first draft. Also to Mr. T. W. H. Hayes for permission to mention him and to him and Mr. F. C. Foster for their encouragement. Not least, my grateful thanks to Mrs. P. Broadbent (Staff College) and Mrs. A. L. Hill (Grendon) for many hours spent transcribing and typing.

FOOTNOTES:

1. I had not then done any social casework training and tackled this process as one of rational examination of behaviour and rational alteration—we could have been more effective if it had been understoood that behaviour makes emotional rather than rational logic.
2. The formal system of inmate leaders had been abolished. All lads from T.G.s upwards were expected to behave responsibly. S.T.G.s were not forgiven as easily for failures in this respect and were used in a limited way to set examples without being especially privileged.
3. Again untraditionally, receptions were not fed into dormitories in ones and twos but whole blocks were fed into the same dormitory so that dormitories were made up of consecutive intakes plus one or two carefully selected S.T.G.s as examples. Thus it was possible to create a culture which could accept the approach outlined and to check it and modify it in any way desired as each dormitory group came to be formed.
4. This has to be taken in context—the establishment was itself ordered and relaxed. The level of absconding throughout the period studied was low—of the order of 50 per annum. Also, the rate of absconding had something to do with sheer stability of regime as well as its motive; this was clear because two colleagues were posted away during the period studied, each of whom had been in charge of his house upwards of four years—in both cases the absconding figure in their last year of office was two, to the best of my memory.
5. Also of the usable sample of 127, 28 (22 per cent) had their licence terminated early for good progress, although six were later re-convicted. This group was too small for separate statistical analysis.

1984 And All That

D. CURTIS

Assistant governor at H.M. Borstal, Hindley. Joined the Service in 1968 after graduating in law at Cambridge

IT WAS 6.30 a.m. all over Britain: 6.30 a.m. in a tiny Liverpool bed-sitter. In the corner of the room something stirred. Frank Edwards was waking up.

"No, not Frank Edwards any more", he reminded himself, as he had to constantly: now that everyone had to have a centrally registered number, to make control of the population easier, he was 439153, no more—no less.

He finally struggled into his clothes cursing inwardly at the now compulsory rising system. To increase productivity, lie-ins were abolished. Not that he would mind that so much but he knew for sure that, what with one thing or another, it would be around 9 o'clock before the production line got under way; so why the hell get up early. Even as he thought this he hurried to get ready. It would not do to be half dressed when the rule enforcers arrived. The nearest thing they had to police, but with a lot more power, the rule enforcers had little patience with laggards. Sure enough as he did up the last button of his shapeless, fitting where it touched, company issue clothing, he heard the rattle of the front door that meant the rule enforcers had arrived. He left his home, and joined the ever-increasing stream of fellow workers on the pedestrian walk to the factory. But before starting work, there was breakfast. Company issue food as shapeless and tasteless as his company issue clothes. Then, just as he had anticipated, interminable delays, until the production line got started. He stood at his job, a drab figure blending in with an even drabber machine, and started to plan his morning. If he went to the toilet at the right times, it would break the morning up just right: must vary his times a bit from yesterday though, or the gaffer would know he was skiving: so what? he knows anyway and couldn't give a damn.

Morning passed about as quickly as an hour in the dentist's chair. Lunch came and went, the food slightly less shapeless than breakfast. Afternoon passed, a doppelganger of morning. Then came knocking-off time, and talking of knocking off, they are doing a bloody security check again: the indignity of prodding and clutching hands—he knew the rule enforcers thought nothing of it, they were only doing a routine job, but although it was a regular occurrence, he still found it humiliating. At last he was through the check, and hurrying back to his bed-sitter, though why he hurried he could not have told you. Hurrying home to spartan comfort and knowledge that he wouldn't go out this evening, he never did. He would sit, and think, and sit, and read, and turn in when the electricity was cut off at 10 o'clock, as it always was. Then to sleep, to sleep perchance to dream: dream of what. What was there to pleasurably anticipate, what was there to hope about? An end perhaps, an end to a society that seemed to depersonalise its members in every way. He wouldn't mind so much if it was done with malice aforethought: at least you could fight them. But there was no malice, just a lack of awareness, a subservience to a bureaucratic steamroller, no perception by the rulers that dehumanising hurt, destroyed, destroyed self-respect, feelings, reactions, a whole individual. But he knew, as his mind drifted into the half-world of approaching sleep, knew that one day, one way or another, at least he would be out of it.

A glimpse of one man's world 1984? No, one prisoner's world 1972!

Readers Write . . .

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

The Role of the Shop Officer

It is in the shop that the modern prison officer really comes into his own, for it is there that the inmate feels more of an equal and less of a subordinate, owing to the fact that here he earns not only his pay but also his self respect. In the shop he feels he can talk with a greater degree of freedom on subjects which he feels are important, to the officer in charge.

The officer is called on to give help, encouragement and opinions on a variety of subjects of such a nature as may affect the inmate's future behaviour and reliance on that officer, who has to combine the general talents of a father confessor, sleuth and relative of the inmate.

Whilst on duty, not only is he asked questions gauged to find out his weaknesses but also questions the answers to which may not only affect the inmate but maybe also the inmate's immediate family. (The wrong answer at this point may break up a marriage or affect an inmate's decision to keep out of trouble in the future.)

The old idea of an officer sitting in the box aloof and distant from the inmates in his charge must, because of the restrictions thus imposed, now be considered totally obsolete, as the only way in which he can give complete coverage of the shop and the duties imposed therein is to roam around talking to and observing the inmates at work. Security can also be improved in this manner, as an escape-minded inmate invariably gets his materials from the shop, but with an officer patrolling the shop, his opportunities to take and conceal any such article must be drastically reduced.

Inmates will constantly ask questions about the outside world, questions of such seeming unimportance as may try the patience of the inexperienced officer, but the officer must realize that the answer to these queries is of indescribable importance to men who, shut away from the outside world, need to know all the little things that are happening in order to draw a graphic mental picture of the thing they miss most in the world, the free outside, this in order to quell the feeling that the world is running away from them while they are tied down, unable to progress with it.

Being confined in a shop every day with nothing but repetitive and uninteresting work to perform leaves a great deal of time to the inmate to think and brood over trivialities which sometimes causes them to erupt either verbally or violently with other inmates or even the officer in charge.

By patrolling the shop and listening instead of just hearing the small confidences given to us by the inmates we may be able to prevent injury, damage or mental upset of a degree that could prove disastrous to the inmate at a later date.

The role of the officer in the shop, although on the face of it an uninspiring and insignificant one can, with a little humanity and understanding, be the most rewarding and rehabilitatively useful role in the prison officer's detail, and the one in which he can best fulfil rule 1 of the prison rules: "To send inmates out better and more useful people than they came in".

Michael S. Harley, Officer,
Shrewsbury.

. . . .

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

I have just finished reading the January '72 edition of the Prison Service Journal.

The article, "Prison as a Last Resort", may well have been both interesting and of some value. Unfortunately I found there was a total loss of communication; Mr. Sherwood chose to show us a lot of new words. He says, "Unable to obtain any empirical evidence of his efficacy . . .". When I read this I wondered what the hell he was talking about. Perhaps if I had not overheard a principal and senior officer saying they also had trouble understanding it I would have put it down to my ignorance.

I think Mr. Sherwood should remember that if he cannot communicate with the officers of the modern Prison Service how is he communicating with all his inmates?

M. Newton,
H.M. Borstal, Morton Hall,
Swinderby, Lincs.

. . . .

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

I read in the last issue of the Journal the letter written by Mr. Selby defining, or rather attempting to define, the words "Training" and "Treatment".

I find his definitions rather diffuse, but I agree with the point he makes that confusion of thought is caused by failure to differentiate between the two words. If I may attempt an improvement on the previous definitions:

> Training is the process of teaching a person to achieve external standards acceptable to an outside body or person.
>
> Treatment is the process of enabling a person to achieve internal standards acceptable to himself.

A logical deduction from these definitions is that treatment is not necessarily concerned with the standards of society and the law, but that training is so concerned.

It may well be unnecessary to add that in any effective programme of rehabilitation it is probable that there would be elements of both training and treatment.

J. S. McCarthy, Governor,
H.M. Prison, North Square,
Dorchester, Dorset.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS JOURNAL

The Editorial Board is happy to consider any original contributions for publication, and particularly welcomes readers' letters on published articles or on any subject which is relevant to the Journal

Introduction to D.I.S.

KEN NEALE

Came to the Home Office from the Diplomatic Service in 1967. Since then he has served in the Prison Department as head of the division responsible for young offenders, women and girls and, at that time, education, when he was also chairman of the Holloway Redevelopment Project. He has been Director of Industries and Supply since June 1970

WE take it as a compliment that the work of the Directorate should feature so prominently in this issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL and we are grateful to the Editorial Board for their interest in our affairs. The scope and increasing complexity of the task of the Directorate will be readily appreciated by readers of the interesting and stimulating articles by the contributors whose credentials will be well known. So, too, will be the purposes for which we exist and the highlights of our activities. But, in contemplating the Directorate's progress with some legitimate satisfaction, we are all too conscious of our shortcomings. None know better than we how much more needs to be done to satisfy our obligations to prisoners, trainees, society and the Department.

In reading the articles those have been my principal reactions and I am reminded of Othello's peroration which, if I may express it in suitably edited terms, included an appeal for fair comment:

> We have done the State some service; and they know it.
> No more of that . . .
> Speak of us as we are;
> Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.

It is useful to have the comprehensive and independent statement collectively made in these articles about the various activities of the Directorate. It would be even more useful if they should stimulate further interest in our work. Recent progress has encouraged us in the firm belief that our major objectives in making a significantly enhanced contribution to the rehabilitative task of the Prison Service are within our capacity. Within the resources available to us it is necessary for the Directorate to maximise this contribution. This is the case for the reorganisation, for the introduction of new techniques and the evolution of the new style of management to which we aspire. All this is demanding; and rewarding. It is for the Directorate to see that it is also effective.

Industry—Penological Purpose

R. D. FAIRN

His name almost a legend in the Prison Service, and equally well known in national and international penological circles, Mr. R. Duncan Fairn crowned a long career in prisons and borstals by becoming Assistant Under Secretary of State. It was the first time that a "practising governor" had achieved high Civil Service rank. He retired in 1967 and became a member of the Parole Board. His active concern for penal affairs continues over a wide range of interests

I AM not sure that I am comfortable with my title. It is true the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines penology as "the scientific study of the prevention and punishment of crime" and gives as a secondary definition, "the science of prison and reformatory management". If the second, with its use of the word science, makes those of us who have been engaged in the business blush, the first recalls for me a remark of Alec Paterson's when, as governor of Rochester Borstal I was recovering in hospital from appendicitis and he made time to visit me: "We don't want a science of hurting people". If this should prompt some uncomfortable thoughts about what society does to offenders against our laws, especially in the squalor of an overcrowded local prison, let me move on to concentrate on "prison and reformatory management" and forget the science.

It is over 45 years since I first went to gaol; I am not quite like my old acquaintance Sean Cavanagh, once the Governor of Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, who, years ago when he was taking me round, said: "you see, Mr. Fairn, I had the great good fortune to begin as a prisoner". I merely went into Wormwood Scrubs as a voluntary teacher of economics—we teachers were all voluntary in those days. As part of my education I saw the workshops of Wormwood Scrubs in that pre-John Lamb era. All you could say about them was that they should have been transported immediately to the Science Museum as industrial relics: any man trained to work in them would necessarily thereby be unfitted to take his place in any factory outside. And, of course, the shops in Wormwood Scrubs in those days were not unique to Britain. My friend John Conrad in his book, *Crime and Its Correction*, begins it with the following paragraph:

> For about 70 years, the life of the California prison at San Quentin was dominated by a jute mill. Huge, dirty, noisy, and dangerous, it kept thousands of inmates busy at labour regarded as hard. As the decades of the twentieth century passed by, it "progressed" from obsolescence to obsoleteness. The

engineering firm in Scotland which built the original machines, discontinued the manufacture of spare parts. The mill, always unique in California, had to become self sufficient to survive. Parts were fabricated in a prison foundry established for the purpose. Inmates were trained in the maintenance of looms the like of which could not be found elsewhere in the western hemisphere. As the years passed, the burlap sacks produced by the mill were priced higher on the retail market than those imported from India, despite the low prison wages. It did not matter that the mill was uneconomic as well as obsolete. It kept inmates busy, if resentful. Its capacity to create secondary work was considered an advantage. In 1951 the mill burned down, in spite of great precautions against fire. The cause of the fire will never be known for sure. In due course, a modern cotton mill replaced it. The new mill incorporates labour-saving devices undreamed of by Scottish loom designers of the Victorian era, but it keeps San Quentin inmates busier than ever.

To jump from the Scrubs shops of 1926 and the ancient mill in California of the 1950s to the great road-sign workshop at Coldingley of the 70s, is to enter a different world. But it is not only the way of the transgressor which is hard.

A perceptive correspondent in *The Times* a few months ago, with a nice sense of humour, on learning that at Chelmsford men were trained in "copper beating", begged leave to doubt if that particular form of industry would make for their rehabilitation! The irony was that he was taken literally by some, which only goes to show how one's best efforts can be misconstrued!

WHY WORK?

But before we get into details of what is done, let us think about the fundamental question: why work? If one looks back at the way in which Elizabeth Fry organised education and work in the Newgate of her day, it is easy to rejoice at the change from the idleness and vice and dirt which she encountered. Unhappily, when in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Du Cane regime got the newly nationalised prison system in its grip, that which was at first an instrument of hope became one of punitive degradation. "Hard bed, hard fare and hard work" was the rule discovered by the Gladstone Committee of 1895, but the real trouble was that the so called hard work was designedly "useless work", sterile, deliberately non-productive, an industrial obscenity. Even the concept of "useful industrial labour", introduced into the Prison Act of 1898, left the stereotype of prison labour unchanged well into the twentieth century—the mail-bag, sewn by hand, eight stitches to the inch. In this bleak industrial landscape, even the quarry at Dartmoor and still more the foundry at Wakefield were bright spots indeed. A first answer to the question was attempted in 1933 by the Salmon Departmental Committee on the Employment of Prisoners, when they wrote: "Continuous and useful employment must be regarded not as a punishment but as an instrument of discipline and reformation". It was this committee which led to the appointment of the first Director of Industries, John Lamb—like so many of us, from Paterson, Roddie Williams and Bateman downwards, an atrocious writer, though he differed from the rest of us in using green ink. Lamb came from outside industry and had to work within the confines of the old prisons, he had to grapple with the difficulties of war, but in little over 20 years he had multiplied the workshops from about 100 to over 250, he had introduced modern machinery, and undaunted by the limitations of space, as at Leeds or Canterbury, he persuaded the Commissioners to knock holes in the walls so that he might build his workshops outside. But I must return to the main question: why work?

The next answer was given in 1961 by the Anson Committee in their report, *Work for Prisoners*, the product of a joint committee of industrialists and trade unionists, presided over by Sir Wilfred Anson, once deputy chairman of Imperial Tobacco. The Anson Committee, in paragraph 23, write as follows: "We believe, first, that the fundamental reason why prisoners should work is that every person should make the best contribution he can to the community; secondly, that suitable work, if properly organised, is a most valuable part of a prisoner's training; and thirdly, that prisoners represent a considerable labour force which ought not to be wasted". It will be noticed that Anson makes no extravagant claims. Work is not *the* most valuable part of training, it is by implication only one, but a valuable part. Surely, here they were wise. It was Archbishop William Temple, in *Mens Creatrix* in 1923 who wrote: "It is definitely undesirable to develop the intellectual powers of a man who has not learnt how to be a member of society. If a man is going to be a villain, in heaven's name let him remain a fool". But it was the same archbishop who in 1940, at Lowdham Grange, then an open prison, said: "Remember, no man is a prisoner and nothing else". If we put Temple and Anson together we may be getting somewhere near the truth. Work is not a cure-all. Devotion to the art class may only make a forger better at his nefarious trade, and one wonders whether training in radio and TV repairs is wisely given to the thief who still persists in his thievery. Unless the heart of a man is reached—what the Quaker would call "that of God" in him—or her!—no amount of efficient industry will do any good. But the community surely wants the skills of its members developed to their fullest potential. Too seldom is the prisoner challenged by human need. Sometimes it happens as a result of natural catastrophe. Some of us recall borstal trainees, years ago, at Gringley Camp and prisoners at Eastchurch working hard to succour people, cattle and chattels in times of flood. And thank God, this sort of thing still happens. Just before Christmas the Nottingham papers reported that prisoners from Sudbury, in their own time and voluntarily, had converted old buildings at a school for the partially deaf into a playroom for handicapped schoolchildren. And I know we have had prisoners from both Pentonville and Holloway in a working party at the Family Service unit in Tower Hamlets with which I am connected.

CONSIDERATE EFFORT

Why should we not use this generous natural capacity to respond to need in our ordinary industrial work? A striking beginning has just been announced as I began to write the first draft of this

note. Stoke Heath Borstal has developed the hobcart, a three-wheeled invalid carriage, self propelled, for children between the ages of three and 12 with mobility problems. After successful trials by the Department of Health and Social Security, the hobcart is on the market for £36, and a colour brochure can be got from Tolworth Tower describing it. One remembers thankfully how the men at Haldon Camp built a boat for an Outward Bound venture and at Christmas-time made toys to send to a nearby school for deprived children: the children rather sweetly replied to "Uncle Haldon".

This train of thought leads me back to what I said earlier about reaching the heart. Neither the Salmon nor the Anson committees really bring out what is the fundamental element in all this business about work: it is not just the work; it is really the kind of person with whom the work is done. Too little regard has been paid, I believe, to the personality of the skilled instructor under whom men work. I can remember, some eight or nine years ago, a very interesting experience at Rochester Borstal. There had been a full inspection by inspectors from the Department of Education and Science. The inspectors wanted to get at what were the most effective agencies within the borstal, and the governor turned over to them, in a private room, unsupervised by staff, some nine or 10 trainees who were within a few days of discharge. The question was put to them: "Now, who has influenced you most in your time in borstal"? One or two, of course, said it was the housemaster, or the matron, but the great majority said the man they turned to most often was the instructor in charge of their industrial training group. There was a man not too far removed from them in general culture; he had both skill and craftsmanship which aroused their admiration; they were with him for upwards of eight hours a day in fair weather and foul and it was therefore natural for them to go to him with their problems and troubles. A similar influence, I am sure, has been exercised by trade assistants and free workmen for years up and down the country and by men working with either prisoners or trainees on our farms: all these situations bring the instructor into a close and continuous relationship with either an individual or with just a small group, and his or her influence within that limited area is incalculable both for good and ill. Governors may come and governors may go but these men and women, the trade instructors, trade assistants, farm managers and workers of various kinds, are in a position to awaken a response in their charges as none else. Some of us can recall the influence of that grand character, Claud Cranswick, now dead, but who for years was the man in charge of the foundry at Wakefield. I know, because I used to see some of the letters he got from men after discharge, what an immense power for good he was.

ORGANISATION FOR PROGRESS

Now, given the purpose, as I have discussed it above, and the men and women I have described as instructors, let me turn to organisation. I confess to being more than somewhat allergic to management systems and controllers. I would not like to see Psalm 8 rewritten as: "Oh Lord our Controller, how excellent is thy name in all the earth", and it was a former colleague in the Service who once told me: "Never run after a girl, a bus, or a new system of business management: there will be another one along in a minute".

But we live in a computer age, alongside of systems analysts and the like, and old squares like me must keep our minds open and await results, remembering that it is by their fruits that ye shall know them. Certainly the test of profitability, recorded in the note of July 1971 sent out by the Director of Industries and Supply is most satisfactory. The streamlining of work done in prison must go on—a process which David Swann began soon after his appointment as chief production engineer, though I see that he is now described as "commercial manager". Some things have had to go. Casting day in the foundry at Wakefield will never again be known by this generation, with all the smoke and excitement and heat and the golden glory of the molten metal as it was poured out of the cauldron. I regret, perhaps on sentimental grounds, the loss of some of the farms—I think especially of the one connected with Shrewsbury Prison, and here I would put in a plea that profitability is not the only test: some of these activities provide an experience difficult to justify in the accounts but of immeasurable value in terms of humanity.

There is clear evidence of progress in the printing shops at places like Maidstone, Leyhill and Blundeston, where I note the introduction of new type-faces as shown by the *Organisation Study* published by the D.I.S. in October 1970, even if I must confess that I think the colour scheme (red and yellow) is not quite up to the standard of the typography.

INDIVIDUAL SKILLS

Although not under the D.I.S. umbrella, the work of the chief architect and his directorate of works must find a place in this note. Immense strides have been made in recent years in using the skills latent in our various establishments in the building of new premises. I was involved in the very first project, the building of Eastwood Park, and saw something of the excellent craftsmanship which good leadership and, may I add, reasonable pay, produced. I seem to remember that by courtesy of the Courts an experienced roof trusser was received just in time, in the same way as before the war the same benevolent judiciary sent along an expert tiler to complete the roof of the present Staff College at Wakefield! More recently, I have seen the new block at Ashwell Prison and have heard of much else. For years we have produced from our carpentry shops pieces of church furniture good enough to stand comparison with that of any craftsman in England—even if I once did have to criticise some of our prie-dieus as having been designed by somebody who had never knelt in prayer!

But with all our organisation, let us never forget the man, the woman, the boy and the girl for whom all this machinery exists. I have just received a Christmas card from a recidivist I once saw in Bristol Prison with a five-year sentence, and properly routed for Dartmoor. After consultation with the governor I made the man a "star" and sent him to Leyhill. There he worked in the tailors' shop, took his City and Guilds, and is now, and has been for many years, a successful master tailor in a cathedral city. This sort of thing can happen and does, but it depends not on machinery but on men.

Planning for Industry

P. R. WALL

Joined the Civil Service in 1938 as a clerical officer at Brixton Prison, and all his service since has been in prisons and borstals (apart from a year in Finance Branch at Head Office) until 1961, when he joined D.I.S. He became the first Prison Department "salesman", eventually taking over the role of sales manager and deputy marketing manager. Now a principal, he is overall planning manager for D.I.S.

MUCH OF what is being done in prison industries today owes its existence to the reports made in 1961 and 1963 by the Advisory Council on the Employment of Prisoners, the chairman of which was Sir Wilfred Anson. Previous recommendations about the work to be undertaken by the inhabitants of penal establishments had been made by the Gladstone Committee in 1895 and the Samuels Committee in 1933 and both committees' reports had been followed by reorganisation, increased activity and efficiency. But the effects are generally accepted to have been short-lived. It is early days to claim that a similar fate will not follow the most recent attempt to ginger up prison industrial organisation but the evidence contained in the recent annual trading accounts indicates that the impetus generated by the reports is being maintained and even increasing. The most likely reason for this lies in the Prison Department's acceptance of the recommendation, properly placed first amongst its fellows, that "the time has come to make and implement a general plan for the satisfactory employment of prisoners . . .". Planning had not been such a feature of the earlier committees' reports and the efforts to improve employment opportunities for inmates had resulted in an haphazard growth of various activities in a multitude of small workshops. This mass of "cottage" industries was difficult to control from headquarters and of little relevance to penal administration. Faced with the recommendation from the Anson Committee and determined that history should not repeat itself, the then Director of Industries and Stores decided to make some fundamental changes in organisation. One of the earliest decisions to be taken was to arrange for a reduction in the total number of workshops and an increase in the average number of inmates in each. This rationalisation into larger units was to result in a greater concentration of management expertise and a heightening of efficiency.

In 1964, when the decision was taken, there were 380 workshops in which 12,000 inmates were employed. In 1971, the number employed had increased to 17,000 but they were employed in 338 workshops only. In one year alone, 66 workshops were closed or changed their use in order to become part of a larger operating unit within the same establishment. The total number of workshops affected in this way since 1967 when the operation began is in excess of 150. This major upheaval was not, however, accompanied by the dire results that many had predicted for it. The reason for this lies in the care with which the plans were made.

As a first step, selected members of the technical and executive grades of the Directorate were seconded from their ordinary duties and instructed to visit a number of establishments. Their purpose was to ascertain local views on the efficacy of the industries carried on at the establishments and ways in which their number might be reduced and concentrated into those commented upon favourably by the Anson Committee. By meeting all the staff concerned with industries at these institutions, they were able to make detailed recommendations as to what was possible in the short term and what might eventually be possible given the availability of certain resources, such as new workshops or additional power and plant. These recommendations were carefully examined and a provisional list drawn up. This list was then the subject of consultation with other parts of the Prison Department with a view to ensuring that the interests of staff and inmates were taken fully into account. By early 1967 the final list was compiled and circulated to all those who were likely to be affected by it.

Fortunately, this operation coincided with one of those apparently inexplicable reductions in the size of the prison population. This was undoubtedly a factor in the very rapid implementation of many of the proposals. By the middle of 1968, however, it was recognised that changing conditions at some of the establishments had rendered the rationalisation proposals less appropriate than at the time they were made. As a result it was decided that there should be a review and early in 1969 revised lists were prepared and agreed. By this time a rapid increase in the size of the prison population was beginning to be felt and the plans for rationalisation had to take second place to meeting the day to day demands of running prison industries. Progress slowed down, but the value of rationalisation had been recognised and biennial reviews will ensure that the plans are regularly updated to meet the current requirements.

The natural sequel to the rationalisation plans was the devising of procedures to enable the various suggestions to be acted upon effectively. In common with the haphazard growth of prison industries there had developed an unplanned and unco-ordinated workshop building activity and it was necessary to institute a method whereby projects could be assessed, agreed and controlled. A small planning co-ordination section was set up in the Directorate to ensure that a real and continuing liaison with the Prison Department's Directorate of Works existed. The main task of this small section was to ensure that workshops were built where and when required and that plant was installed in accordance with the needs of industry. This co-ordinating section proved its worth and following the recommendation of the Prison Department Management Review Team was, in 1971, developed into a Planning Section with wider responsibilities. It now undertakes a more positive planning role, deciding where new workshops are to be built and the nature of the industries to be undertaken in accordance with a five-year plan that is revised annually.

CONGESTED WORK PLACES

Throughout the various penal establishments in England and Wales there existed, and still exists, considerable overcrowding in the workshops. It was recognised that this would never be relieved without the regular injection of money to increase the stock of working space available and it was agreed in 1969 that an annual allowance of approximately £½ million would be spent on the provision of new and better workshops. In order to ensure that this money is used most effectively the industrial management in each of the four regions of the Prison Department is required, during the autumn of each year, to compile a list of establishments at which additional workshops are seen

to be essential. These lists are considered at Regional Works Committees which include a representative from the Directorate's Planning Section. Regional Works Committees are responsible for the preliminary examination of all building projects, not only those concerned with industry, and have to decide whether they are practical and after doing so place them in order of priority. The four building programmes compiled by the Regional Works Committees are then submitted to the division of the Prison Department responsible for the financial management of the building programme. At this stage, as might be expected, it is common to find that the total of the regional bids exceeds the sum of money that can be allocated to the building of workshops and stores. The Planning Section of prison industries then selects a final list endeavouring to maintain a balance between those major and costly schemes designed to bring about a fundamental change in the industrial activity at an establishment and those much smaller projects that would alleviate the situation at the most severely overcrowded institutions. The plans also have to be coupled with those being made to increase the amount of living accommodation available for the higher populations expected in future years.

PLANNED BUILDING

Following agreement of the workshop building projects, the Prison Department prepares a list in which is stated the dates on which the various building operations are planned to start and finish and the date by which prison industries can expect the workshops to be handed over for use. Currently, this building period extends over not less than two years, which means that the list prepared in January 1972 indicated the workshops that will become available, at the earliest, in April 1975. Although this time scale often seems excessively lengthy to those anxious to improve the employment opportunities of the inmates of our penal institutions experience indicates that the problems that are faced by the builders prevent it being shortened significantly.

When this list is received the three Product Group Managers, each of whom is responsible for a number of linked industries, are consulted as to the use to which the new workshops can be put. At this stage, unless there are proposals to introduce woodwork or engineering, it is generally sufficient to indicate the industrial group—clothing and textiles, general products or service industries—which will be responsible for the activity in the new shop. Much more positive decisions are required in the case of woodwork, engineering or laundry as these industries have implications for the design of the building itself. Woodwork demands an extractor plant with its associated cyclone and trunking which may affect the heating requirements. It can also involve the inclusion of an incinerator that may or may not be available to provide supplementary heating. Engineering may demand large equipment, such as stoving ovens, that cannot be accommodated in the 12-foot headroom which is provided as a standard in the new workshops. Laundries, with their need for exceptional supplies of water and means of disposal of effluent, involve discussions with the authorities responsible for supplying these services. A building brief is then prepared by the Product Group concerned. A standard design of workshop has recently been agreed with the Directorate of Works and this will simplify the preparation of these building briefs. Unfortunately, full standardisation is extremely difficult to achieve because of the nature of the sites on which workshops have to be built, many of them being in restricted areas within existing prisons.

Not less than 18 months before the workshop is to be handed over by the builders a firm decision has to be reached about the actual industry to be carried on and, in some cases, even the products of that industry. In coming to that decision a number of considerations have to be borne in mind. Penal institutions are not simply factories and many occupations carried on by ordinary workpeople cannot be undertaken because of the threat they may present to the regime. For instance, ladder-making would be unwelcome at a secure prison, servicing of radios and televisions would be unacceptable at establishments where electronic security devices were in use, and any process involving access to toxic substances, such as acids or poisons, that could be mis-used offensively would almost certainly be barred. It also has to be borne in mind that the primary objective of prison industries is not to make money but to provide a worthwhile industrial experience for as many inmates as possible. Potentially profitable enterprises may have to be vetoed because they absorb too much capital or employ too few inmates.

Even then, not all the activities judged to be suitable for penal conditions can be entered upon. For example, prison industries withdrew wholly from the commercial market in respect of the manufacture of brushes and mats in order to increase the work available to blind workshops. More recently, representations from other industrial associations have resulted in undertakings to limit the production of various articles by prison industries. These undertakings reduce the opportunities open to inmates working in penal workshops, often in occupations that are very useful to the prison administration because of their simplicity and the ease with which the inmates can be instructed in their operation. Quite apart from any formal undertaking that may have been given to individual manufacturers' associations, etc., prison industries always endeavour to avoid taking an undue share in any one market so that the expansion of their activities has the least harmful effect on the interests of law abiding workers. Nothing is more obvious, however, than that anything made in a prison workshop could have been made by honest workmen in an ordinary factory. Everything done by prison industries can be regarded by someone, somewhere, as a threat to his or her livelihood. Yet to yield to every protest would render the task of planning for prison industries an impossible one.

WORK SOURCES

Another factor that has to be borne in mind is the relative ease with which orders can be obtained. Prison industries has a small sales organisation and necessarily must go to those markets where large orders can be obtained. Thus a great deal of work is obtained from Government departments and nationalised industries where standard articles are purchased by competitive tender at fairly regular intervals. Long runs of work also facilitate the task of the supervisors in the workshops and ensure the maintenance of acceptable quality. Although the planned expansion of prison industries' productive capacity makes it necessary for other customers to be obtained, the existing bias towards prison industries' "natural" customers is likely to continue for many years.

The policy of rationalisation also has to be remembered and all new workshops are automatically considered as potential locations for one of the major industries recommended by the Anson Committee—textiles (garment and flat sewing), woodwork, engineering, laundry, weaving and metal recovery—now commonly called the "big six". Other industries are only installed after the

most careful consideration of the benefits and difficulties that they may involve.

Then local factors have to be considered, such as whether staff will be readily available to supervise and instruct the inmates and that the machines to be installed will be easily serviced. As the Anson Committee recommended, industries that tend to be located in certain parts of the country (such as weaving) should be restricted to penal establishments in those areas. Sometimes, market opportunities exert a pressure to ignore this recommendation, but the unhappy experience of setting up a weaving industry at a prison in Worcestershire to meet the needs of an anticipated customer has underlined its wisdom.

The selection also depends in part upon the nature of the inmates to be employed. Where the labour has to be drawn from a rapidly changing population, it is inevitable that very simple work will be favoured, whereas if inmates are likely to stay for lengthier periods more demanding industries can be installed. Links with vocational training are considered and introduced wherever possible in order to ensure that the full value of industrial experience can be developed. Research is now being undertaken to ascertain whether certain classifications of prisoner are more suitable for particular kinds of employment. This line of enquiry, if successful, will give valuable guidance to those concerned with the selection of industries for penal establishments in the future.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Following the decision as to the actual nature of the industry to be carried on in the new workshop, an industrial brief has to be prepared. This will list all the various resources such as staffing, manpower, electricity, heating, plant, etc. that are required for the operation. A simple line chart is then prepared on which are listed and forecast the dates on which the various actions have to be taken if the final "in production" target date is to be achieved. The close liaison that has been built up between the Planning Section of prison industries and the Directorate of Works will, it is hoped, enable accurate dates to be forecast and adjusting action taken if there should be seen to be any delays. Realism in forecasting is a vital ingredient and failure can be all too evident.

The rationalisation plan and the project planning described so far is a long way from the "general plan" envisaged by the Anson Committee. Such a plan would have to look much further ahead than the possibilities offered by the building programme, it would also have to be far more comprehensive than the plans already made for rationalisation. It was decided, therefore, that a Prison Industries Development Plan should be prepared to forecast the future growth over a period of five years. This specifies the resources that will be necessary to achieve annual financial and penological targets. Like all such plans it takes as its basis the current achievement of the organisation and then, by making certain assumptions about the use to which resources can be put and the output to be expected, makes a forecast covering the following five years. Current achievement is measured by the figures supplied to the Management Accountant, these figures being used to monitor the progress towards fulfilment of the plan made in the preceding year. In order to forecast the first year's results the management of each workshop is required to submit a budget in which are itemised the employment opportunities of inmates, staff requirements, the level of output that will be achieved and the expenditure anticipated on overheads and other costs. As with all business predictions of this nature, there can be no certainty that contracts will be negotiated to absorb the forecast output nor that the "profit" margins will continue as before. And, indeed, when individual forecasts are compared with actual performance there are few that do not show differences, some of which are major. But experience of operating this system over the last four years shows that, despite these individual differences, the total forecast by the workshop managers gives a remarkably accurate indication of actual results. These budget totals are examined by the management at headquarters and adjusted as necessary to take into account any short-term changes in plans or any market knowledge of which the field management may not have been aware. By this means all the management involved in prison industries participate in the definition of the short term objective of the next year's results. This involvement is a vital ingredient in the success so far experienced, which may be evidenced by the achievement in 1970–71 of 98 per cent of the forecast sales target.

The provision of working space is the key factor in prison industries' plans for the future and the preparation of the forecast of the next four years' results begins with an examination of the Prison Department's plans for the building of new establishments and the already agreed workshop building programme. Taking into account any proposals for demolitions, sometimes necessary in order to make way for building operations, it is relatively simple to calculate the increases in workshop space that will occur in each of the four years. Also, to a very large extent, it is possible to state positively to what use the space will be put, as the project planning procedure already described will have decided the allocations for those workshops to be expected in the earlier years. But assumptions have to be made in respect of the balance. Up to the present, these assumptions appear to have been borne out by events and will continue in use, although constantly reviewed, until others can take their place.

WORK OPPORTUNITIES

The first responsibility of prison industries is to provide work opportunities for inmates and this is the first calculation that has to be made. Where positive allocations have been made and where new establishments are concerned, the working places are known, but for the balance it is assumed that on average, 100 square feet will be available for each worker. The Development Plans prepared for the years 1971 to 1976 shows that the number of work places is expected to rise from 15,300 to 25,200, the industrially employed proportion of the total population increasing from 40 per cent to 47 per cent thereby.

Concurrently with the increase in the number of operatives, there has to be an increase in the number of supervisors, or instructors. At the present time the ratio of operatives to supervisors is 17 to 1 and estimating future requirements would be simple if the nature of prison industries' activities were to remain constant, but it is recognised that there will be an increase in those industries requiring greater skill and closer supervision, resulting in a reduction in the number of inmates that can be supervised by one instructor. The detailed plans for the workshops to be provided in the earlier years of the planning period give an indication that can be utilised to make the total assessment of the whole.

The same considerations have to be borne in mind when estimating the future expenditure on plant and machinery. Not only is it necessary to assess the cost of equipping the new workshops, but also the cost of re-equipping existing facilities to increase

their efficiency or change their role. This is a process that is likely to accelerate in the future as efforts to improve the quality and reliability of production are made. Once, it was considered the height of sophistication to equip a workshop with a buttonhole machine—now tailors' shops are regularly provided with expensive specialist machines and transporters and other industries have even more complex equipment. The most significant development in this field recently is the installation of a £37,000 Zuckermann punched card controlled longitudinal and transverse working automat in a furniture-making workshop.

OPERATIONAL CONTROL

To control the operation of prison industries there has to be a headquarters staff. Mainly situated at Tolworth Tower, Surbiton, Surrey, about 140 people provide support to the production units. Their functions include marketing, order allocation and workshop loading, quality control, development engineering, management accounting, staff and operative training, personnel management, work-study and planning. As the size and productivity of prison industries increases, so will the need for the support functions grow from their existing modest level. Forecasting this need and its cost is the next factor to be taken into account in planning. As in the case of instructors, much can be deduced from past experience, but the more demanding requirements of the future industrial developments have to be assessed.

Having decided upon the resources that can be expected to be provided, it is then possible to forecast the level of production that can be achieved. Production will, however, be affected by two other factors, the length of the working week and the number of inmates whose activities have been work studied. For more than four years the average working week has remained at 28 hours despite efforts to increase it. As it is generally accepted that this under-employment is thoroughly bad, both financially and more importantly for the inmate who is not experiencing the conditions he may have to face after release, it might be expected to be rectified. But previous efforts having failed over such a long period, improvement has not been taken into account in current plans. If, despite such pessimism, it should occur, no difficulty will be experienced in utilising the additional capacity, however. Work study has been found to increase productivity markedly wherever it has been applied and its effect can be calculated and taken into account. It depends upon the availability of staff to carry out the application and maintain it and cannot be extended as rapidly as is desirable, unfortunately.

PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT

The level and value of production will be affected more fundamentally by the plans to develop the more sophisticated industries, such as woodworking and engineering. The products of these workshops will have a higher average unit price than is currently attained and the increased mechanisation will improve productivity considerably. As these activities develop so their effect on future trading results will increase. But it also has to be recognised that the plans involved a rapid expansion of activities that until the recent past have been on a modest scale. Difficulties and problems are certain to be present in abundance and the optimistic hopes of production management have to be modified before inclusion in the plans.

The future levels of sales having been assessed, the costs inherent in achieving them are calculated, realistic charges being made for the resources provided. The margin between these costs and the value of sales is expected to alter significantly, from a "loss" of £211,000 in 1970–71 to a "profit" of £1,200,000 in 1975–76. The pursuit of profit is not the main object of prison industries, but these figures indicate the contribution that the inmates employed in workshops will be making towards the cost of their upkeep. They also serve as an indication of the efficiency of the organisation and its morale is greatly affected by them.

The total plan is then presented to the Prisons Board and when accepted becomes the chart with which prison industries will endeavour to navigate during the five-year period. But this acceptance does not indicate that the resources, upon which the plan is dependent, will be provided. Under current conditions this could not be so, annual estimates for finance and the Civil Service manpower restrictions taking precedence over the plan. It is, therefore, not so much a plan as a forecast of what might be achieved.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

One day, prison industries might be released from the restrictions that apply to the non-trading Civil Service. After all, some years ago there was talk of a separate financial arrangement being possible and "hiving off" is even more fashionable nowadays. If this should come, planning procedures and commitments similar to the corporate plans of large business organisations will be feasible. But even under present conditions the plan could become more positive. At present its objectives are defined by prison industries and are largely derived from the anticipated increases in resources; its fulfilment being regarded as prison industries' affair. Yet the provision of many of the resources that are essential to the plan is within the control of other organisations who have other contending interests to consider. A proposal has been made for a composite planning procedure for the whole Prison Department that would ensure that the many interests contained within that Department would be properly evaluated and placed in a five-year plan. The prison industries development plan would fit into this framework and would have a greater certainty of attainment.

But even without this large scale plan, which has its practical difficulties, the prison industries development plan could be made more meaningful. The current plan indicates that sales will increase from £7,508,000 to £16,030,000, an annual loss of £211,000 will become a profit of £1,200,000 and the number of inmates will increase from 15,300 (40 per cent of the total population) to 25,200 (47 per cent of those expected to be in custody in 1976). These figures are impressive but they are no more than a forecast based on a limited definition of objectives and assurance of resources. They may be better or worse than the Prison Department need or should expect. How much more important would these figures be if they represented the contribution to be expected from prison industries by the Prison Department, which is responsible for the way in which the inmates in their care will spend the whole of their time in custody. If decisions were taken on the right proportions of inmates who should be engaged in industry, education, maintenance and building operations, domestic and other activities, both generally and in individual establishments it would be possible for prison industries and others to make long-term plans indicating the speed with which these objectives might be attained and the costs of attaining them. Each section could then be reasonably sure of receiving the resources that were necessary for it to carry out its own programme once it had been agreed. For most sections this would be a comfort; for prison industries it is essential.

D.I.S. Looks Ahead

PLASTICS

ARTHUR SQUIRES

Joined the Prison Service in 1946 and was F.O.W. at Lowdham Grange before appointment as technical officer in 1961
Currently supervisor of industries in the south-east region

A NEW IDEA
IS THE GREATEST
STIMULANT
KNOWN TO SCIENCE

If this is true, it is equally true to say that it is difficult to remove old prejudices and suspicions before new ideas can be developed

I SAY this at the very outset because it would be wrong to give the impression that this venture into plastics was readily accepted by the powers that be. Indeed we recognised at the very beginning that surmounting this obstacle would be our first objective, and that if we were to make any progress at all this would have to be done by consultation and the provision of convincing information.

Who are "we" and what was the machinery we were to use? I think it would be interesting to dwell for a moment on these points because they provided the stimulation for the new idea.

THE SUSSEX GROUP

In Sussex there lie, in the shape of a triangle, three prisons. At the apex is Lewes, in the west is Ford and in the east we have Northeye. These three establishments found that, with rationalisation, they were predominantly dependent upon the private sector for work, and it was the need to maximise on this fact that had welded them together into a group comprising the three administration officers, the industrial manager in the area, the regional sales manager and myself. We were to be known as the "Sussex Group" and our objective was to tap the industrial areas within and surrounding the triangle to secure an adequate flow of suitable and profitable work for our men. However, that venture would make an interesting story for another day, but our exposure to local private industry opened our eyes to a new industry—plastics—and the group became the vehicle for consultation and information.

THE IDEA

Real credit goes to the administration officer then at Lewes; the idea originally sprang from his mind. Lewes had been involved in plastic work more than in any other industry, and despite the fact that Lewes had suffered badly as the result of a fire involving plastic products, their enthusiasm was never found wanting.

Why did we think this was the right idea? If we are to be in engineering then we must also be in plastics. Plastic is just another engineering material to be moulded, machined and assembled. It has been said, and I would not disagree, that the volume of plastics produced will equal that of metals within the next decade. Plastics are merely a growing group of synthetic resinous or other substances capable of being moulded. The difference between one plastic and another is brought about by polymerisation, i.e. the chemical union of molecules of the same compound to form a new compound of the same empirical formula but of greater molecular weight. They all possess the common property of mouldability by heat and pressure. They do not possess this property without heating.

There are many ways in which plastic can be worked. It can be calendered to produce film, laminated to produce rigid sheet, extruded into tubes and moulded by compression or injection to produce the large variety of fabricated items we see on the market today. We had to rationalise on the best combination of material and method. Calendering, sheet forming and extrusion were discarded because they were mainly processing operations with little labour content but a lot of plant, and to be viable this plant would need to operate 24 hours a day. This did not therefore fit into our organisation and in rejecting these we also eliminated a number of materials, the biggest of these being the polyvinyls.

COMPRESSION OR INJECTION

What now? We were left with two processes: compression or injection moulding; two different techniques using two different basic materials. The former uses thermosets, i.e. those chemically made up of long-chain molecules

which are linked to a number of neighbours; better recognised perhaps as Bakelite and Melamine which produce such things as ashtrays, electrical accessories, cups, saucers and plates. The latter uses thermoplastics where the long-chain molecules are not chemically joined to each other, and amongst these we have polythene, polypropylene, polystyrene and nylon, producing such items as bottles, bowls, buckets, dustbins, model kits, toys, kitchen canisters, gears and bushes.

The moulding characteristics of each are quite different. With compression moulding, pre-heated and measured pellets of moulding powder are placed in the lower half of a steel mould and the top half brought down onto it. The mould is then heated and the powder made to flow by pressure exerted on the two halves. Injection moulding consists of softening the material in a heated cylinder to a near liquid and then injecting it under high pressure into a mould.

Both methods offer additional work to employ our men by way of "deflashing", it being necessary to add a small excess of powder to ensure that the mould is completely filled and the excess flashes out between the two halves, and "despruing" which is removing the excess material used to link the mould cavities together.

MARKETING

Our choice of injection moulding was therefore made using three criteria, the most suitable method using the most suitable material for the most suitable market.

Marketing had not been forgotten. We considered our own needs and explored a segment of the outside market. Ignoring the bigger items such as bins, bowls, buckets and the like, requiring large machinery to mould, there were immediately some 20 or more small items well within our capability. Similarly we found in outside industry that there was a market for small component, short run work, particularly where this involved any inserts being placed in the mould by hand.

Now we were ready to select the right machine for the job. An evaluation of the equipment on the market was made when three of us visited Interplas, the International Plastics Exhibition held at Olympia in 1969. The field was narrowed to a small number of manufacturers and we were able to settle with confidence on Florin Ltd. (Manumold) as this firm had been tried and proved in a like situation by the County Borough of Barnsley in their bold experiment to create a light industries workshop for physically handicapped people. A visit by two members of the group to see this successful operation finally convinced us that we had made the right choice and, furthermore, that our ideas were sound. A great deal was learnt from this exchange and we were later to see the factory manager from Barnsley join in one of our meetings.

The last contribution before the report could be said to be complete was a costing exercise. This could only be hypothetical, but four items were selected and every endeavour made to be as accurate with our costs and operational times as it was possible to be. The technique used was that of "break-even" analysis which would show clearly the fixed costs plus the variable cost to make a total cost and profit proportionate to the volume of production. This may be more clearly seen by the illustrations shown later.

We had consulted and we had gathered the information, now we were to see what progress could be made in removing the old prejudices and suspicions. In March 1970 the research document was submitted to headquarters for consideration. Our conclusions had been brief. We saw the possibility that a viable industry could be developed. We recognised also that any new technical process has an awful habit of proving troublesome—more troublesome than expected. As one gentleman had said "you may intend moulding cowboys but find only red indians come out". We had to move into the first stage of development and prove the theories now presented on paper. Our recommendations were even more concise, a small sum of money to purchase a machine, a variety of plastic materials, some moulds and a regranulator to rub out our mistakes.

A START IS MADE

May 1970, just two months later, saw the agreement we had waited for. The modest sum was made available and our enthusiasm manifest. Between May and October we had time to think, plan and reflect, during which time we became all the more aware that this was an engineering industry and much rested upon our producing good moulds if we were to eliminate the red indians. It was recognised that a new field was opening up in vocational training particularly that part relating to the manufacture of moulds. Lewes already had a V.T. engineering course and enjoying as we did the whole-hearted enthusiasm of the instructor, we received the blessing of the vocational training officer to work in this field and see what could be produced.

Two products were selected, black trouser buttons which are always on the Department's shopping list, and red shoehorns. The 12-button mould was purchased for £390 and the shoehorn mould was made completely in the V.T. engineers' shop at an approximate cost of £120. I mention this to give you some idea where the production costs and skills really lie.

October 1970 saw the machines on site, one of 1.3 oz. capacity for the smallest items and the other of 2–3 oz. capacity for larger work. Both were capable of accommodating a mould with a maximum size of four inches by six inches.

By February 1971 the shoehorn mould had been made and proved to our satisfaction. Polypropylene was selected as the material to be used and after a few gooey messes and part filled moulds, adjustments to temperature and flow were made and these combined with the right rhythm from the operator, saw production commence on the 17th March. The button mould was also in our hands and producing the goods by the 8th March. The period between the two had been designed to allow for any operational problems to arise.

What had we learnt? We had tasted a production run and tried out the control sheet designed for the job. We learnt that the production cycle times as specified could be improved upon and, by introducing piecework earnings and constant manning, we uplifted the throughput on buttons by 8 per cent and shoehorns by 15 per cent. Labour was allocated on the basis of two men per machine, one being the operator the other despruing. A fifth man worked as a porter and manned the granulator when required.

Costing of both exercises was based on a submitted budget trading account agreed with the Management Accountant. We were now able to calculate actuals and one of the significant facts which emerged was the possibility of reducing the price for further orders. However, I leave you to judge for yourselves by studying the illustrations given.

IMPORTANCE OF MOULDS

Our earlier awareness of the importance of producing good moulds was confirmed. Contacts we had made with mould makers brought us a comprehensive list of all mould makers and designers in the United Kingdom, and, from the point of view of rehabilitating men, it is interesting to note that the majority of these are centred in the area from which Lewes draws its population.

The safety aspect was now open to realistic assessment. The machines received a clean bill of health from the factory inspector, but our lack of knowledge could give rise to dangerous problems. It was, for example, suggested that reprocessed P.V.C. could be used in our machines, but from advice obtained we learnt that P.V.C. emits chloride fumes which are toxic and it would have been necessary to ventilate the machine area with extractor fans.

All material suppliers and in particular B.P. and I.C.I. have been most generous with their technical literature and in sharing their practical knowledge of plastic materials. We need only concern ourselves with price comparisons; the technical service each provides is extremely good.

I would like to think that our mistakes were very few, indeed I never encountered any red indians when I visited Lewes. In fact granulation time was sold to a local firm as we had free capacity at our disposal.

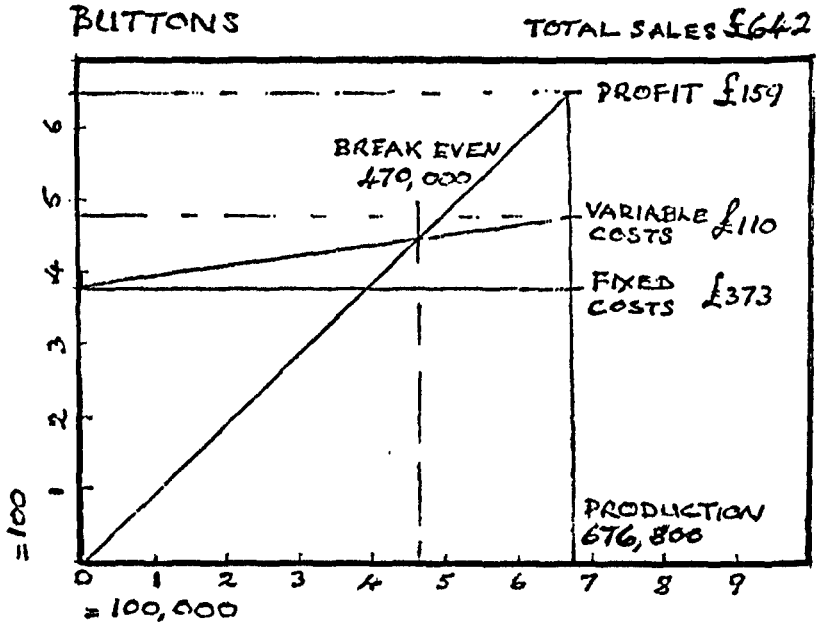
USEFUL TRAINING FOR RELEASE

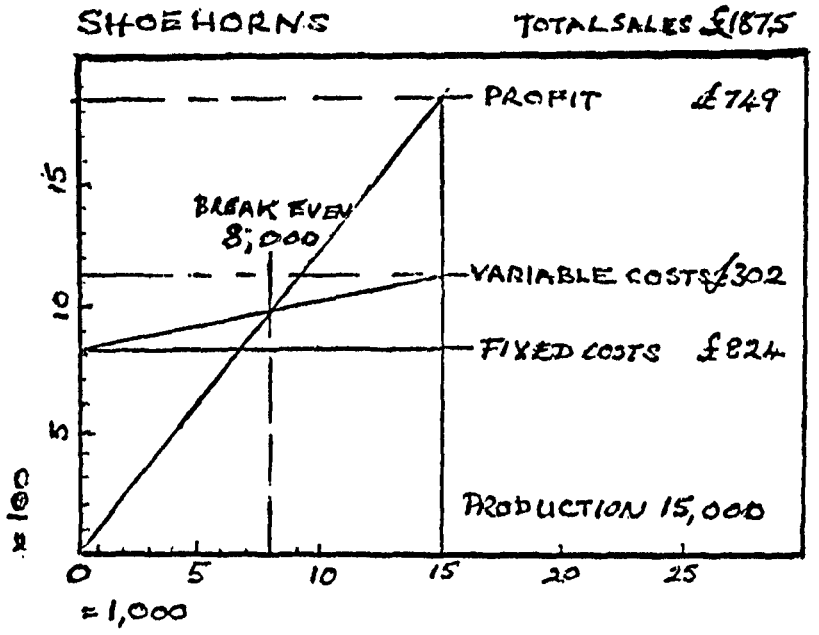
Without a doubt the project has been satisfactory and produced what could be a new and viable prison industry whilst, at the same time, breaking into a field in which there is much modern development. It has been found that the men enjoy working with plastics and there is no lack of volunteers to man the machines. I think that job satisfaction has played a large part in the success, particularly as experience with our machines means that men on discharge could apply to other manufacturers for jobs on injection moulding and will have had some experience. All those involved, and at Lewes in particular, have been most enthusiastic. This enthusiasm was seen to spread to vocational training and works from whom we received constant and willing help in achieving our objective.

We now stand at the threshold of the next phase. A new set of recommendations have been presented. These require more machines, some of a different nature, to widen our range of products, and will employ more men in an organisation structured by staff with mechanical, electrical and hydraulic experience and with the commercial expertise to build up a business.

This will not come overnight. There are restraints placed upon the Department which prevent this and who am I to say that this is not right? The largest of these is the ceiling on staff. Our bid goes in on equal terms with those for other expansions required in industries making much larger contributions to the Department's main objective. Likewise, the same conditions will apply to the financial support we require.

It would be wrong to end this article leaving the reader with an impression that all the steam has now gone. Far from it, the impetus has never been greater than at this very moment. We are at present engaged with a private company who, due to growth within their own organisation, are willing to place their moulding machinery into our hands so that we might produce their requirements in our workshops at Lewes. This venture will give us the wider experience we need. Men are already employed on moulding small components and work is in hand to provide the power distribution, air and cooling water necessary to receive the bulk of the plant. And the enthusiasm grows and grows, extending now into the very heart of Tolworth Tower.





Supplies "By Appointment"

G. E. HART

Thirty-two years' experience. First appointed steward in 1956 and has filled similar posts at Maidstone, Wakefield and Holloway. After time out in A.D.P., returned to the Prison Service as administration officer of Wandsworth

The time has come . . . to talk of many things . . . of shoes and . . . sealing wax, of cabbages and . . .

LEWIS CARROLL.

WHAT IS SUPPLY?

Following the review of the functions and organisation of the Directorate of Prison Industries and Stores during 1970, the review team recommended that the title "Stores" should be dropped and replaced with the more appropriate one of "Supply".

The word supply in this context means all those goods and services which are required to maintain Prison Service establishments, hereafter described generically as prisons. It is now, therefore, more appropriate to say supply than stores but old terminology dies hard and references to stores are bound to arise during this article so I make my apologies now.

Prisons are hungry establishments devouring large quantities of supplies of all kinds and requiring a wide range of services. The annual cost of providing food, clothing, equipment and services is £11½ million. With the present total prison population running at 40,000 inmates, with a projected increase to 50,000 by the end of the decade, it can be seen that the task of servicing the system with an adequate supply of stores is a considerable one, requiring constant application and careful planning for the future. We shall be looking, in the next two sections at the headquarters organisation and the local organisation which together are responsible for the supply function of the Prison Department.

DIRECTORATE OF INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLY

The Prisons Board formulates overall policy but the headquarters organisation directly responsible for supplies is the Supply Group of D.I.S. which is located at Tolworth in Surrey. Under the Supply Manager it is the function of this group to plan, organise and co-ordinate, and to provide an advisory service for establishments. The group is responsible for arranging central and regional contracts, for supplies as varied as prisoners' footwear, officers' uniform, and many items of food, e.g. flour and meat. It is also responsible for liaising with the Department of the Environment for the supply of a large number of items of equipment as varied as knives and forks and soap powder. Within D.I.S. there is a Farms and Gardens section which is responsible for the husbandry of the farms and gardens throughout the Prison Service and the production of vegetables which are then supplied to other institutions. The supply of vegetables from this source runs to the value of about £160,000 a year. The Commercial Group and the Planning and Services Group of D.I.S. are responsible for co-ordination with the Supply Group for the production of those items of clothing and equipment which can be usefully and profitably manufactured in prison workshops. It has been the policy of the Department for many years to manufacture as much of the needs of the Service as it possibly can, both to provide useful work for prisoners and to reduce the cost of providing these items by purchase on the open market. When the review of the functions and organisation of D.I.S. took place in 1970 one of the aims of prison industries was defined in the following terms: "to supply as much of prison needs from internal resources as can be done economically and consistently with the other aims".

The Supply Group necessarily has to supplement the supply of clothing and equipment produced internally by buying on the open market under Government contract procedure. At the moment about three-quarters of all supplies are internally produced and although the optimum has not yet been reached there is a limit beyond which it is not credible to provide further items. A wide range of proprietary items such as razor blades, soap, cleaning materials are never likely to be prison produced but there is continuous consideration being given to ways and means of making the Service more self sufficient.

A new system of central storekeeping has been introduced in the Prison Service over the last two years. All clothing and equipment supplies are accumulated in eight regional stores of the Home Office Supply and Transport Branch which in turn supply prisons on request. This has replaced the former system whereby a stock of all items was carried locally with a three-month reserve. Each prison was formerly responsible for producing its estimates annually and thereafter ordering supplies quarterly. This procedure necessitated a local stores accounting system and regular issues from store. The basic aims of the new system are economy and efficiency; economy in terms of the physical store stocks, economy of local storekeeping and accounting effort and efficiency of overall operation. Local stocks have now been completely run down and the stores ledger has been decently buried.

LOCAL ORGANISATION

One of the responsibilities of the administration officer is to ensure that there is a plentiful supply of clothing and equipment, food, furniture, etc. at all times. He is also responsible for seeing that these items are received in good condition, stored in suitable store-keeping conditions and are fit for issue when required. He is especially responsible for seeing that food issued to the caterer is in first-class condition and in accordance with the standards laid down in the contract. In an establishment such as Wandsworth these responsibilities are the immediate concern of the executive officer in charge of the Supplies Office and his staff of two clerical officers and a clerical assistant. This work is supervised by a higher executive officer and the administration officer discharges his responsibilities by maintaining close checks on stores stock, quality control and by continuous consultation with all concerned. Food is issued against a fixed dietary scale which is laid down by the Prison Department. It is the administration officer's responsibility to ensure that no more and no less than the fixed scale is issued to the caterer.

Fresh food such as meat, fish, milk and vegetables is delivered direct to the kitchen against orders which are placed weekly by the stores clerk. Other non-perishable food such as sugar, tea, and dried vegetables is issued weekly from the Victualling Store to the kitchen. Provisions are acquired from a variety of sources, e.g. tea, corned beef and dried vegetables from the Navy Victualling Department, thus maintaining historic links with the days when the Admiralty provisioned the prison hulks and the naval prison at Dartmoor; meat from central contract; fresh vegetables either from prison sources or from a local supplier under a locally negotiated contract. In addition there are many *ad hoc* purchases of smaller items such as eggs, fresh fruit, condiments, etc. Bread is either baked on the premises as at Wandsworth, or purchased locally, a procedure favoured at smaller establishments.

Each month a list of clothing and equipment requirements is compiled based upon replacement needs and estimated consumption and sent to the regional store. There are approximately 1,500 items of clothing and equipment required to supply the needs of the modern prison. At first, central storekeeping was regarded suspiciously by administration officers who were reluctant to forgo their local store stocks and control, but it has proved to be successful. Local storekeeping was often only as good as the local storemen and their enthusiasm. The regional stores of Supply and Transport have brought to prison storekeeping a professionalism and expertise which it never had. For instance as part of the storekeeping routine S. and T. experts have started to exercise a quality control inspection of the goods under their care; it is thought that this will inevitably lead to a higher standard of prison-made articles which are sent to S. and T. for redistribution.

Printed books and forms for use in the Prison Service are largely supplied by our own printing workshops at Maidstone, Leyhill and Blundeston but there is a great deal of other stationery and stationery supplies acquired direct from Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Office equipment, e.g. photocopiers, typewriters and duplicators are also obtained through H.M.S.O., but office furniture, carpets and certain other furnishings are provided by the local supplies officer of the Department of the Environment.

There is a wide range of services which are related to the supply function and which are dealt with both at D.I.S. and local level. I mention a few of them by way of example, chimney sweeping, laundry and dry-cleaning. Dry-cleaning is either done by local contract or by prison resources. At Wandsworth we have recently opened the first dry-cleaning plant in the country with a catchment area servicing most establishments in the south-east of England.

REFLECTIONS

"Clothing and Equipment" used to be called "Miscellaneous Stores". "Articles in Use" had the more expressive title "Floating Stock". These old terms have a nostalgic ring about them now, they meant a great deal to former generations of administration officers who used to be called stewards, an old and respected title very much in keeping with the Victoriana they had under their charge. The whole paraphernalia of Miscellaneous Stores, with such delightful articles as chamber pots, with or without lids; knives, tin; drawers, calico; and the like, had a strange fascination for my colleagues of yesteryear. Prison storekeeping had a folklore all of its own with Dickensian characters sitting at high stools quilling away in the largest ledgers you ever saw.

The Miscellaneous Stores, or Main Stores as it was usually called, was a veritable curiosity shop wherein storemen and store clerks were wont to spend their days in semi-darkness amidst their miscellanea, counting and checking, hoarding and guarding and occasionally exchanging an item on a strict one for one basis. They succeeded in keeping some items unissued for a quarter of a century, which remained undiscovered until the Central Stores system was recently introduced.

I once knew a storeman, a retired sailor, who could repair anything. Condemned clocks were carefully repaired, saws were resharpened and furniture restored with disastrous storekeeping results. After a year or so he had established two sets of stores, one official and the other his own private collection, which was all very laudable but devastating for the stores clerk. Another gentleman who spent his working hours amid his "pulses" (split peas and beans, etc.) and other rare and exotic food such as pinhead oatmeal and slabs of cocoa, had managed to amass at a rough estimation about 100 years supply of pepper and nutmegs.

The stationery store was an Aladdin's cave, but you needed rather more influence than three rubs on a magic lamp to get a buckshee pencil.

As a young clerical officer it was my daily task to make out the ration ticket (which required the intellectual gymnastics of an Einstein to cope with such scales as sevenths-of-an-ounce of tea), draw the store keys from the steward's box, collect the "red-band" (no such luxuries as storemen then) and proceed to the stores. I dealt with the special and tasty items such as tea and cheese while the "red-band" did the heavy work (potatoes, sugar, etc.). Assisted by a couple of hefty chaps from the kitchen we carried our supplies thereto —I carried the ration ticket—where I was greeted with my morning cup of tea.

All things must inevitably change or pass away and the term Miscellaneous Stores gave way to Clothing and Equipment, Floating Stock became Articles in Use, but was there ever a truer description than Floating Stock? Who amongst us have had the experience of trying to track down a missing grand piano and have given up in despair, knowing that with luck it had probably only been loaned to the local boy scouts. Items such as soup bowls could disappear as if by magic, never to be seen again as soup bowls. I discovered them everywhere, in the engineering vocational training shop filled with nuts and bolts, in the painting V.T. shop containing an assortment of paints and, of course, back in the stores containing buttons and threads. The Main Stores have now disappeared with the advent of the central stores system and in its place we have a Clothing and Equipment Receipt and Issue store which is a pale shadow of its former glory.

During the last 20 years, new stores procedures have proliferated in the Prison Service. Ideas from Organisation and Methods teams have abounded and rebounded in an astonishing manner. Systems of stocktaking have been carefully introduced only to be abandoned a few years later. Failure to appreciate that textbook methods do not work in establishments whose occupants are noted for their legerdemain prowess took a long time to penetrate the O. and M. mind. Happily we have reverted to normality in this respect and are therefore saving thousands of pounds.

THE FUTURE

Looking back not more than 20 years or so, standards of clothing and equipment were lamentably poor; outer garments for men were in coarse cloth which, with the assistance of prison tailoring, quickly became shapeless.

Underclothing and socks were unbelievably bad and the design of many items was two or three decades behind the rest of the world. This state of affairs was a positive detriment to the rehabilitation of inmates.

The position today is that we, as a department, care about the quality and the look of the garments. Outer clothing is regularly dry-cleaned and laundry facilities and techniques are as modern as any in the country. The quality and design is constantly monitored by a Clothing Committee. Many new garments in new materials are either undergoing trials or have successfully passed this stage and are on order. These include such items as cotton/terylene shirts, tee shirts, and cotton poplin pyjamas to replace the winceyette variety. The Department cares too, about the supply position and the declared aims of D.I.S. is to secure an adequate stock of all items sufficient to meet reasonable demands at all times. There is room for a more realistic view of replacement scales, or possibly their abolition altogether. It should not be necessary to impose restrictions on local control other than an auditing process done either at Central Stores or D.I.S. There is general agreement that there should be a personal kit system and the Department is committed to introducing the system into as many establishments as practicable. I am sure this is right and it should be the ultimate aim of each prison to establish such a system. Cell furniture has undergone redesign and there have been trials at three establishments. It comprises a wardrobe, two smaller cupboards (one lockable), a table, a bed and a chair: experiments are currently taking place with a new pattern of furniture for multiple occupation cells—a bed with a retractable upper bunk and folding table and chair.

Officers' uniform is an area which requires some attention for both the quality and supply is far from satisfactory. I understand that D.I.S. are giving this urgent attention and I welcome this for nothing detracts from the image of a uniformed Service more than ill-fitting or unserviceable uniform.

During 1970, the Service went through a bad patch with regard to the supply of certain items of clothing and equipment owing to the unprecedented rise in the prison population. A determined effort by D.I.S. and a great deal of local resourcefulness has enabled us to ride out the storm. There are, of course, still a few sensitive areas but these are receiving close attention. I hear from time to time complaints about D.I.S. but it would be unjust for me either to catalogue them or indeed to quote a specific instance of mismanagement, for who am I to cast stones when local management is often equally culpable. But I would say this, there is a wealth of expertise and experience in prisons on all matters of supply which should be used to the full. When there is a genuine partnership between D.I.S. and local management, crises will be fewer and those which do occur will be dealt with in an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation.

Sydney Smith, in a letter to Lord Murray on 29th September 1843 said: "a comfortable house is a great source of happiness. It ranks after health and a good conscience". We do not strive after happiness for this is not our aim but we are committed to improving the quality of life in material ways in order that the primary function of penal institutions can be achieved.

Farming—The First Industry

J. GRIMSHAW

Joined the Prison Service at Hatfield in 1960 after experience in general farming. Now farm manager at Camp Hill, covering Albany and Parkhurst prisons.

IN SPEAKING of industries, it is common to think in terms of the shop floor and built-up industrial areas within or just outside large towns. Seldom is it realised that, even in this age of computers and the Concorde, agriculture is still the largest single industry in the British Isles, or that it is the most efficient and highly mechanised agricultural industry in the world. It will, therefore, be seen that it is not in the least incongruous that Farms and Gardens are an integral part of the Directorate of Industries and Supply.

"Gardens" were recognised as a form of rehabilitation from the time when P.D. men in their third stage at Camp Hill were housed outside the security perimeter of the prison, where they worked their allotments to widen their monotonous prison diet. This was well before any thought was given to having farming as a prison industry, but from this the seeds were sown and, though germination was slow, from this small beginning evolved the present prison farming industry. When I say "farming" I mean it in the widest sense, to include gardening, forestry and horticulture.

In 1938 the Farms and Gardens gave employment to 500 people, whereas today 11,000 acres of land are under cultivation, with a further 1,100 acres of land utilised for ornamental gardens and sports fields, employing a labour force of 2,732 people.

In looking at the growth of prison farms, one must take into account that much of the land purchased was marginal and required a large labour force as well as a considerable injection of capital to bring it into production. Much of this land was acquired between 1939 and 1945, when utilisation of land for food production was national policy and the cost was not directly related to the profit in a cash sense.

Much of this reclamation work was done manually: woodland areas, never before cultivated, were cleared with spades, axes and winches; marshy areas were drained by the hand digging of ditches and the installation of a piped drainage system; land was levelled by hand—no bulldozers or J.C.B.s—just sweat and toil. I am not defending our failure to use the mechanical equipment then available, but it did provide hard work for the prisoner and at the same time he could see for himself the improvements made by his own effort, even if this was sometimes a reluctant one. It inculcated into him the habit of work. Let's face it, work is a habit, and a fair proportion of the prison population today are individuals who have either never had this habit or for various reasons have lost it. It is only now that the real benefits of all this work is being felt, in a steady increase in our production per acre.

The Farms and Gardens Department's activities are divided into two parts, i.e. general farm, horticultural and forestry work and amenity work.

Amenity work involves maintaining established ornamental grounds and sportsfields, as well as creating them at new establishments. This is important work and every effort must be made to develop these areas in the best possible way.

The environment within the confines of our prison is, of necessity, not an ideal one for either staff or prisoners to work and live in, but where the available land is developed into ornamental and recreational areas a great deal of the

institutional effect can be removed, to the benefit of all. This aspect of Farms and Gardens not only provides satisfying employment for prisoners and trainees, but also helps those involved to feel that the work they do is to the advantage of the prison community as a whole. All bedding plants used are grown within the Service and this amounts to many thousands per year.

The provision of recreational facilities is of great importance, particularly in this day and age of overcrowding, in that it provides an outlet for the surplus energies of prisoners and can create a healthy competitive spirit. Staff are not forgotten, as at many establishments facilities for cricket, football, hockey and bowls are provided for the more energetic and sports-minded officers.

The maintenance and careful landscaping of the "villages", particularly on the open-plan estates, is also given priority. This can be a great asset to the institution by creating a pleasant environment for staff and their families, remembering too that these areas, unlike inside the prisons, are constantly in the public view and it is by this that our standards tend to be judged.

In the past all prison farms were expected to produce the same type of crops, i.e. potatoes, beetroot, cabbages and corn, without the suitability of land and district being taken into account. This attitude has gradually disappeared, as the profitability of it was questioned, together with the effect on prisoners and trainees who often saw their efforts vanish under the plough. Nothing can be more disheartening than to be involved in non-productive work and nothing can be more rewarding than to see one's efforts being harvested in prime condition and good quantity.

Today prison farms have become much more specialised, enabling them to mechanise to suit the reduced number of crops grown and at the same time to become profitable. I believe that the effect on the rehabilitation of a prisoner is at least partially dependent upon his seeing that he is working in a profitable and efficient industry and that he is not working just for the sake of it. All the farms today are run with this in mind.

What effect has this had upon the farms? It has enabled us to follow the modern trend in agriculture, which is specialisation. With the erection of modern milking parlours and modern methods of both grassland and stock husbandry, we are increasing our dairy herds, in some cases by more than 100 per cent, and the same applies to pig numbers. Sheep numbers, on the other hand, have been greatly reduced in favour of beef and dairy cattle. Dartmoor, with 650 sheep, is now the only prison farm with a sizeable flock. This specialisation also includes dietary crops which are grown on suitable land only, with the effect that both production and quality have improved. Much of the hard work has been replaced by machines, making the work more amenable and the resulting crop more profitable.

Horticulture as an industry has three main advantages: firstly, that it is labour intensive and can provide work in all seasons and weather; secondly, it can adjust at relatively short notice to the fluctuations in the labour available; thirdly, it is a profitable proposition supplying fresh produce to the local establishments and for sale locally.

Intensive horticulture is practised at many establishments, with the aim of supplying the local prison(s) and also the local markets. The crops produced are varied and range from salad crops to soft and top fruit. Hollesley Bay Colony is by far the largest of these and produces the majority of fruit grown in the Service. Horticulture is expanding within the Department and new glasshouses are being erected at several establishments, Camp Hill being one of these where a new quarter-acre house, with automatic ventilation and a modern heating system is being built, the object being intensive production of tomatoes and lettuce. Besides these, more and more use is being made of moveable polythene unheated houses for the growing of, for example, cucumbers, late tomatoes and early self-blanching celery. A new project just started is the propagation of thousands of trees and shrubs for the Department of the Environment.

In the past our system of marketing has left much to be desired but, with the public demand for better quality and better packaging, we are improving and more emphasis is being placed on the presentation of the produce to the kitchens and to the wholesaler. Local markets vary widely in their requirements as to the packaging of fruit and vegetables and these requirements are being studied and conformed to, thus producing an article fully competitive in all ways with the other produce in that market. I would like to see this further extended and the origin of the contents clearly marked on the containers. We produce a top quality article to be proud of—why hide our light under a bushel?

At a few establishments forestry work is carried out, the Usk Borstal being the largest. Here there are 120 acres of forest, run to a Forestry Commission approved plan, and a nursery raises a wide range of trees and shrubs both for use in the Service and for sale.

Who are the staff who work on and supervise the running of these farms? The majority are not uniformed staff but are recruited direct from "civilian" farms, experts in their own field, unaware of the rules and regulations related to prison life. However, being basically rural in their upbringing, they quickly adapt themselves to their changed environment and often bring a breath of "fresh air" into the establishments. Officer instructors make up the remainder of the supervisory staff and these are officers who, due to their natural inclinations, choose farming as a career within the officer grade. Some of these officers are from an agricultural background, some have learnt their trade within the Service, but all find the work rewarding beyond their normal discipline duties.

Farms and Gardens have, in my opinion, a very important place in the training and rehabilitation of trainees, even in this, the age of automation and computation. One aspect of training is the running of young farmers'clubs at borstal institutions. This was one of my really enjoyable duties at one stage. The clubs are run on the same lines as "outside", with visits to sugar-beet factories, bacon factories, etc. and organised farm walks to see what other farms are doing. The lads are taught particular skills with both livestock and arable crops and national proficiency tests are taken. The successful participant is issued with a certificate which is nationally recognised and, if required, can be of great help in getting employment after release.

I am not suggesting that many prisoners or trainees will take up agriculture as an occupation on their release, but the benefits, intangible as they may seem, are still there. The care of livestock requires long hours, often in inclement weather conditions, and above all it requires patience and dedication far in excess of anything on the shop floor, these two virtues often being developed in the most unlikely characters. The use and care of modern machinery can be utilised "outside" in many ways, on building sites and motorway developments, for example. Above all, as I have said before, if we can cultivate the habit of doing a day's work, and taking a pride in the result, then we have achieved our main object, that of rehabilitation of the prisoner.

FARMS & GARDENS

Management by Objectives

D. E. FRITH

M.A. (Cantab), qualified as a barrister and served in Naval Intelligence. Engaged on systems analysis before becoming a consultant specialising in productivity bargaining. Concerned recently with the application of management by objectives in the Civil Service environment

IN APRIL, 1971, we were invited as management consultants to assist in the development of a system of management by objectives in the farms and gardens group. Specifically, our brief was to assist managers in defining the aims and objectives of the group and in relating to these the aims, objectives and performance standards for their own particular jobs. In doing so we would need to ensure that the managers concerned were fully trained in the concept, principles and detailed operation of a system of management by objectives which would be specifically tailored to their needs. Above all, we would need to obtain their willing participation in what we were setting out to do and to ensure that the organisation, systems and general managerial environment were conducive to the development of a management style compatible with the type of system which we were to implement.

Neither my colleagues—David Rance and Maurice Clarke—nor I had previously implemented such a system in either a prison or a farming environment so the assignment was both interesting and challenging. During our initial survey we had to ask ourselves if it was possible to set practical objectives for the various grades of staff, objectives which would be sufficiently within their individual control to be meaningful to them and to the group. Having defined their objectives, would it be possible for the management to set quantifiable standards of performance? If these could be set, were the organisation and the systems of communication and management information able to cope with the extra demands that may be placed upon them? Finally, as management by objectives is more an attitude of mind than a specific management technique, there should be the right managerial climate within the group to encourage positive acceptance of the system and to allow it to develop effectively.

The farms and gardens group makes a significant contribution to the penal system as it is responsible for farming some 11,000 acres, spread over 35 individual holdings. In addition, the group maintains 600 acres for recreational facilities and 500 acres of ornamental gardens. Over half a million pounds worth of produce was sold or transferred within the Prison Department in the year ending March 1971. The average daily number of prisoners and trainees employed on work in the farms and gardens during the same period was 2,732.

Approximately 300 supervisory staff are employed in the group, comprising estate hands, foremen, managers and farm and garden instructors, these latter being officers in the uniformed branch. The staff are divided into four regions, each region being the responsibility of a regional farms and gardens manager at Tolworth. Initially the system of management by objectives would affect the small staff of senior management at Tolworth, all farm and garden managers, foremen, instructors and those estate hands in charge of dairy herds. We would, therefore, be concerned with some 200 members of the group.

It seemed appropriate to introduce management by objectives at this stage of the group's development. For many years each holding had been farmed to provide as broad a range of farming activities as possible. More recently the policy has been to rationalise the activities on each holding to ensure that it is farmed in the way most suitable for local conditions. A new method of farm accounting had been introduced in 1969 and a system for assessing the value of amenity work carried out in the farms and gardens had been introduced within the last year. The new trading accounts recorded the group's first ever profit at the end of the financial year 1970–1.

The newly designed farms and gardens programmes, budgets and trading accounts would be of considerable help in setting quantifiable standards of performance and measuring progress towards their achievement.

The managerial climate seemed equally appropriate. We were particularly impressed throughout our initial survey with the morale of those we met and their obvious enthusiasm for the work they were doing. We therefore began the assignment in late April 1971. Maurice Clarke and I, as the outside consultants, were joined by Brian Chaplin and Derek Jones from the E. and O. Division of the Home Office.

Our first major task was to assist the senior management in defining the corporate aims of the group. It had been apparent during the survey that the senior management had a firm understanding of the aims to which they were working even though these aims had not recently been formally agreed and promulgated. The general acceptance of these aims at lower levels of management in the field was more difficult to assess.

It seemed probable that many of the staff of the farms and gardens group had not fully resolved the apparent conflict between running the farms and gardens in order to provide employment and training for prisoners and trainees and running them in order to make a profit. The recent emphasis which had been placed on increasing the profitability of the various enterprises may well have led managers to believe that the aims of the group were changing and that priority was now being given to profit rather than training and rehabilitation.

It was the firm belief of senior management and the management by objectives team that the conflict was more apparent than real. The prime aim of the group is undoubtedly to contribute towards the training and rehabilitation of prisoners and trainees. For this contribution to be fully effective, however, the training and employment provided on farms and gardens should be as up-to-date and realistic as possible. The accepted management, farming and horticultural techniques used in industry are usually profit-orientated and it is these techniques which need to be used if the training and employment is to be carried out in a realistic environment.

The pursuit of profit within the group can contribute to improved rehabilitation provided it is accepted as a means towards the achievement of the prime aim and remains subservient to it. The corporate aims were therefore drawn up, agreed with the Director of Industries and Supply, and published as follows:

The aims of the farms and gardens group within the Directorate of Industries and Supply are to ensure that—

(i) the farms, market gardens, woodlands, lakes and other land attached to the Prison Department throughout England and Wales are managed in accordance with approved farming, horticultural and management techniques in order to provide employment as a contribution to the training and rehabilitation of prisoners and trainees;

(ii) recreational and other amenity areas are managed in accordance with the aim stated in (i) above and, in addition, in order to provide satisfactory facilities for recreation for prisoners, trainees and staff families;

(iii) the ornamental gardens attached to Prison Department establishments are maintained and developed in accordance with the aim stated in (i) above and in order to improve the general environment;

(iv) where possible and consistent with the aims stated above, the farms, gardens and other land are managed profitably.

The publication of the aims of the group was welcomed by farms and gardens staff and by the governors and administration officers at the various establishments. In general, the formal statement was in accordance with what they already believed their aims to be but it helped to clarify the relationship of profit to the rehabilitative aspects of their jobs.

Now that the corporate aims had been clarified and published, the management began to analyse the contribution made by their own jobs towards the common aim and to prepare their management guides.

Beginning with the senior management at Tolworth, the team ran a series of short appreciation courses to explain the requirements of the system. Each member of staff was asked to state the aim of his own particular job in relation to the corporate aims and to analyse the job to determine those aspects which were critical in the achievement of the aim—the key areas.

The main aims of the senior managers on each holding were similar and, not surprisingly, echoed the formal statement of the corporate aims. What the group was aiming to do as a whole, each individual manager was aiming to achieve on his own holding. Thus the typical aim of a farm manager could be expressed as: "to manage the ABC farm and gardens so as to provide employment for prisoners and trainees as a contribution to their training and rehabilitation, and where consistent with this aim, to make a profit". The important aspects of their job—the key areas—were usually concerned with functions such as planning and implementing the annual farm and garden programme, controlling the expenditure in accordance with budget, communicating with superiors, subordinates and other departments, providing managerial and technical supervision, and developing subordinates, prisoners and trainees.

MANAGEMENT GUIDE

Having established the key areas of his job, the manager was required to set the standards of performance which he intended to achieve in each area during the ensuing 12 months. Wherever possible the standards should be quantifiable, positive rather than negative, clearly defined and reasonably achievable. Against each standard he then identified the control data which would measure his progress towards achieving the desired performance. Finally, the manager was asked to make suggestions on how the standard of performance for each area could be raised if action were taken to improve the facilities, system or organisation.

The preparation of each management guide extended over a period of about two weeks. During this period a member of the team assisted the manager by discussing each stage with him and giving advice on the selection of key areas and the setting of standards.

Once the guide had been completed to the manager's satisfaction, a meeting was held with the manager's immediate superior and the guide was discussed in detail. The purpose of this final meeting was to ensure that the superior fully understood and agreed the aim, key areas and performance standards of his subordinate. From the subordinate's point of view this agreement ensured that his superior was committed to the aims and standards he was trying to achieve and was prepared to provide his advice and assistance.

ADEQUATE COMMUNICATIONS

Although the farms and gardens group is functionally responsible for the work of the group staff, the governor in each establishment, through his administration officer, is responsible for the day-to-day work carried out in each farm and garden. Throughout the assignment, the team members, recognising the line management role of governors and administration officers, ensured that they were kept fully informed on the principles of the exercise and on the actual practice within the establishments concerned. This was achieved either through their attendance at appreciation courses or through personal interviews, or both. The team introduced themselves and the aims of the assignment on reaching the establishment concerned and then held meetings with the governor and administration officers, during or at the end of their work in each establishment to discuss the results.

The preparation of management guides and their subsequent agreement by each manager's superior completed the first stage of the assignment.

As had been indicated in the initial survey, the morale of the group was found to be high. The majority of the staff were well satisfied with their jobs and showed considerable enthusiasm for the work they were doing. The overall impression of the team was that there is undoubtedly a positive and increasingly dynamic approach to running the farms and gardens within the group.

At first, staff were a little apprehensive at the introduction of management by objectives. They were unsure of the implications of the system and unsure of their ability to cope with what seemed to be an over-sophisticated system for the eminently practical work in which they were engaged. These doubts were soon allayed once the team had had the opportunity to explain the system in more detail. The internal grapevine also helped to dissipate doubts after the first management guides had been successfully completed. Management by objectives became much more attractive to the staff when it was seen that it could lead to improvements in their farms and gardens.

One of the main problems in preparing the management guides was to set quantifiable standards of performance related to the rehabilitation of prisoners. Despite the difficulties in measuring success in rehabilitation, or even in establishing that it is successful, there was a very definite commitment by farms and gardens staff to this important aspect of their work. Rehabilitation appeared frequently in the key areas in addition to being a part of the main purpose of their job.

The efforts and co-operation of the senior managers at Tolworth and of the governors and administration officers in the establishments were of considerable value to the assignment, particularly their ready appreciation of the principles of management by objectives and the benefits which can be obtained if the principles are properly applied.

TOTAL STAFF INTEREST

In general, we would not expect major benefits to come during the first stage of the assignment as the true value of management by objectives will only be shown as the system and a particular management style develop throughout the group. Nevertheless, we believe that the successful implementation of the first stage has already brought some improvement.

The farms and gardens staff have a much clearer knowledge and understanding of their duties and responsibilities as a result of the exercise. This has been achieved in both the preparation and the agreement of the management guides.

The financial and cost control systems have been explained in much more detail to the farms and gardens staff concerned and have been closely related to the management guides. Such information is now more readily available to the lower levels of management and there is a much greater understanding of the implications and advantages of the control system at all levels of management.

Some individual suggestions have already been implemented in the establishments concerned by line and functional management. Others are due to be implemented as soon as practicable.

Above all, the majority of the staff involved seem glad to have participated in the exercise and have welcomed the opportunity to analyse and discuss their duties and responsibilities with the consultants and with their superiors in a more detailed manner than they have been able to do before.

It is quite common for managers newly introduced to management by objectives to set themselves extremely high standards of performance, often higher than they are able, or have the facilities, to achieve. The farms and gardens staff were no exception to this. The team were more concerned with reducing standards rather than encouraging managers to raise them.

SECOND STAGE

The second, and extremely important, stage of the assignment has still to be implemented. This is the stage, some six to twelve months after the first, when, at a formal meeting arranged for the purpose, the manager and his superior will review the manager's progress towards achieving his aim and his standards of performance. At this review meeting the manager and his superior will consider each key area and assess the degree to which the performance standards have been attained. In each case it will be particularly important to identify the reasons for success or failure and to determine the extent to which the situation can be improved in the future through changes in circumstances, redirection of effort or the provision of further support or training.

Where progress has been achieved, the manager and his superior will need to decide whether the standard of performance should remain or should be raised. Where progress has not been achieved, they should determine the action required to achieve success in the next period or reassess the relevance and feasibility of the standard itself.

These review meetings are in no way an inquest on the past performance of the manager himself. The purpose of the review is to assess the strengths and weaknesses in the work situation and to secure the mutual commitment of the manager and his superior to achieving greater success in the forthcoming months.

The manager will be left at the end of the review meeting with an up-dated management guide and an agreed plan for the specific improvements he has undertaken to achieve and the supporting action his superior has agreed to provide. The new management guide and the plan for improvements must be realistic and be seen to be so by both the managers concerned.

ATTITUDE OF MANAGERS

If this important stage of the assignment and further annual and semi-annual reviews meet with the same spirit of co-operation as has been obtained during the preparation of the management guides, the initial establishment of a system of management by objectives in the farms and gardens group will have been successful. But in the medium and long term the true success and the longer lasting benefits will depend on the attitude of the managers themselves and the effort they expend in maintaining the impetus and effectiveness of the system. This willingness to make management by objectives part of their management style and a positive aid to better and more effective management will in turn depend on the degree to which it is seen to be relevant to the practical problems in the daily work situation.

Our experience so far seems to suggest that the conscious effort of establishing aims, analysing the important aspects of the job and setting achievable standards is as relevant in the Prison Service as in any other work environment.

On a final personal note. At the outset the team expected the assignment to be interesting and challenging. It has proved to be both but in addition it has also been extremely enjoyable. We have had the benefit of spending the summer months in some of the more beautiful parts of the country from Dartmoor to the Lake District and from the Usk Valley to the Sussex Downs. We have seen the aesthetic and the practical advantages of good farming and horticultural practice as well as the problems.

It was with some regret that I removed the wellington boots from my car at the end of the first stage of the assignment. Thanks to a combination of good housekeeping and good weather they were never needed anyway.

Looking After the "Inner Man"

G. MATHEWS

Joined the Service in 1951 and has served at Birmingham, Foston Hall Detention Centre, Send Detention Centre, Wandsworth and, at present, Brixton.

ONE of the many changes that have taken place in the Service recently is the "adoption" of the catering branch by D.I.S. For more years than one cares to remember the dietetic needs of our prison population has been under the watchful eye of the Director of Medical Services. Our association with the medical side is not completely terminated by this change of guardianship. We welcome our new colleagues and look forward to a long and happy partnership.

The Directorate are well acquainted with prisons as a whole and indeed with kitchen equipment in general. Perhaps a little more information concerning catering in prisons would be appreciated.

Mr. P. Stephenson, catering manager, and Mr. D. Nicholson, assistant catering manager are responsible for catering throughout the Service, the organising of catering courses, the transfer and posting of catering officers, visiting establishments up and down the country giving advice and assistance regarding food whenever necessary.

A chief officer II (caterer) takes charge of each large prison kitchen assisted by a principal officer (caterer) and three or four officers (caterers). The number of officers in the larger prisons depend on the size of the prison and the degree of responsibility adjudged to be required. The medium-sized prison has the kitchen staffed by a principal officer and usually two officers. Apart from the very small kitchen such as in detention centres holding around 65 inmates, all other kitchens are staffed by a senior officer and one officer.

Two full training courses are run each year. They last for a period of 13 weeks, commencing in January and September. During the early summer a short course lasting for one month is organised for men training as relief caterers. An effort is made each year to hold at least one refresher course.

Students on the main course are divided into two groups, one group being taught at H.M. Prison, Wakefield, the other at H.M. Prison, Kirkham. After a six-week period the two groups change their teaching location. The six weeks at Wakefield are used to teach the basic arts of cooking and to give instruction on rations, ordering, formation of menus, etc. The kitchen at Kirkham is used for the purpose of teaching some of the mysteries of baking and confectionery.

All students spend the thirteenth week at Wakefield for final instruction and to take part in theoretical and practical examinations. The successful candidates are as far as possible posted to establishments where a chief or principal officer (caterer) is in charge.

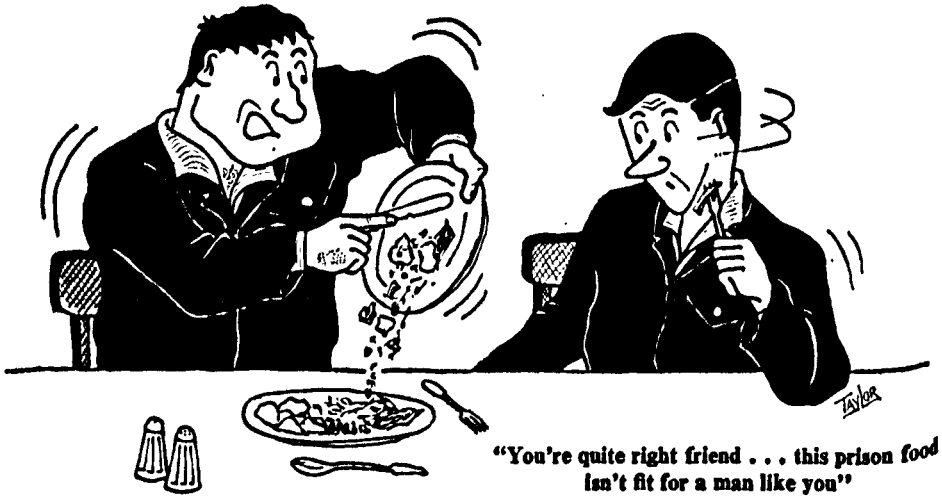
Each Wednesday, a weekly ration sheet is prepared by taking the weekly total population of the establishment, and dividing by seven. This gives a daily average and is the number that the rations are calculated on. The victualling clerk, having completed his or her calculations, then gives instructions for the stores to issue the rations to the kitchen. The larger proportion of fresh vegetables is obtained from our own farms and gardens; dried peas, beans, etc. from Admiralty stores; flour, margarine, sugar, oats are normally obtained through national contracts. Jam and marmalade until recently were made at H.M. Prison, Holloway but owing to rebuilding are now produced at Hollesley Bay.

Approximately 120 establishments, locking up an average figure of 40,000 inmates per day, necessitate something in the region of 120,000 meals to be prepared, cooked and served. These figures do not include a supper-time snack now prepared and issued at all establishments. It is perhaps pertinent to point out at this stage that apart from the trained officer(s) in post, almost all prisoners employed in the kitchens are totally non-skilled! Occasionally one is "lucky" in that a trained chef or cook will fall foul of the law and eventually find his way into one's kitchen.

Over the past 20 years or so the type and variety of food has undergone a complete change. No longer is food "cooked", weighed and then served as one horrible nauseating mess in a cylindrical tin. All meals are now served cafeteria style, each inmate taking his meal away on a very modern and acceptable metal dining tray. The old idea of stews and mince, stews and mince and again stews and mince has long been replaced by roasts, cutlets, steaks, etc. To mention one other old favourite—the Sunday fruit "cake" issued Sunday, swept up Monday—has long since disappeared.

With the present trend towards perfection, both young and the not so very young, catering officers are striving not only to maintain but improve the standard of food. Bakery products now take pride of place on present-day menus. Cream cakes, tarts, buns, etc. far from being a novelty are now an accepted part of the diet.

A cooked breakfast each day, a three course lunch and more often than not a cooked tea meal is now a recognised thing. The giving of choices is slowly becoming the accepted thing, another step forward in prison catering.



"You're quite right friend . . . this prison food isn't fit for a man like you"

A Governor's View

GEOFFREY LISTER

Graduated at Leeds University after Army service and joined the Prison Commission in 1950 as an assistant governor at Portland Borstal and later at Hollesley Bay and Hull, where he was deputy governor. Following a course in Applied Social Studies at L.S.E., he served at Wakefield Prison as deputy governor (training). His first governorship was at Pollington Borstal, followed by a spell at the Staff College as deputy principal. He is now governor of Maidstone Prison

FOR any industrial organisation within a decade to have more than doubled the annual value of its production would not go unnoticed. But for prison industry, with its many constraints, to achieve not only this but to have also broken through to a profit-making situation, is a development of a significance which must surely command our attention.

As a governor, my first reaction is of pleasure and a wish to congratulate a familiar, if formerly somewhat shabby, old friend on his progress and newly acquired status. The second, inevitably, is to seek some accommodation to this change, in relationship to my own task and penal philosophy in general. As a Department our professed aims are containment and treatment; how then is this growing industrial force to be usefully integrated into the complexity of these both contradictory and complementary pursuits?

At the annual Industrial Managers' Conference at Winchester in 1971 the Director said: "There has never been any doubt in my mind so far as D.I.S. is concerned, that it must regard itself as one of the treatment agencies of the Prison Department . . . it is the prime task of the Directorate to contribute to the therapeutic role of the Service". That this was an honest statement of intention there is no doubt, and that it is welcomed by most institution staff is equally true. Let me now, however, try to assess this contention as a current reality for, and I again quote the Director: "It is in the last analysis in the field establishments we succeed or fail in our task, it is on the workshop floor that we are tested".

I think it would be generally accepted that the rationalisation of prison industries into larger units, the extension of the working day and the introduction of modern machinery, have helped increasingly to create an environment more in keeping with outside working conditions and that this is helpful to the rehabilitative process. From that it does not naturally follow, and it would be foolish to pretend, that more than a limited number of prisoners are being prepared for, and are likely to pursue, the same work on discharge. It might, however, more pertinently be claimed that an industrial situation is now emerging more conducive to the possibility of personality growth by offering increasingly relevant and meaningful casework opportunities. One can also go so far as to argue, as compared with other domestic and leisure aspects of life in prison, that it is the industrial situation alone which presents the nearest approximation to an outside reality within the walls and as such is the best therapeutic situation which is available. In a workshop, a prisoner has to learn to come to terms with authority, with production pressures, with the problems of functioning as a member of a team and with coping with monotonous routines. The more productive the project upon which he is engaged the more satisfaction he achieves and the greater his sense of worth. It is perhaps only in terms of reward and work mobility that some might argue that a complete reality is not maintained.

Perhaps we have always known of the learning possibilities within the industrial situation but have tended to neglect them, for until recently the continuity of wing life, with which staff have been most closely identified, has provided the main source of therapeutic material. Now, however, we are faced with the move towards five-day-week working and the growing tendency for governor grade staff and specialists not to work regularly in the evenings and it could be that the focal point of treatment may gradually shift. It might not now be unreasonable to suggest that the industrial workshop could become increasingly the therapeutic workshop. Wings on the other hand might come to deal more appropriately only with information-gathering, administrative matters, the provision of dormitory accommodation and supervised leisure activities. If this is indeed an accurate forecast of a Service-wide trend, then the implications in terms of management structure, communication systems, recruitment, training and development of industrial staff would be considerable. I shall return to this point later but must now consider another aspect of the matter.

TREATMENT OR PROFIT?

There are some who would hold that any organisation which has as one of its main aims the pursuit of profit can never hope to reconcile this fully with attempts to promote the social and personal rehabilitation of prisoners. Indeed it has to be recognised, and properly so, that there are occasions when the meeting of human need must take precedence over the attainment of production targets. But whilst this may be so, I would claim that the creation of wealth within the prison situation is by no means a disreputable objective. In the first instance, if we are to continue to send men and women to prison, providing reasonable demands for humanitarian treatment are met, then the public has a right to expect that this is achieved at minimum cost. I would make the further point that there are also substantial treatment gains which can spring from this objective. As in the community generally, so in the custodial setting there seems to be no reason why the lesson should not similarly be learnt: that education, welfare and medical provision are not merely available as of right but are the consequences of and inevitably reflect, the measure of our productivity. Finally, it can also be argued that a lively, well disciplined workshop striving for greater output will naturally provide a sound framework of reference that is so essential for a man's personal development and security in the penal setting.

As a governor, however, I am concerned not merely with a man's personal security but the broader issue of containment and there are many who would argue that, the more sophisticated prison industry becomes, the greater the threat to this important aspect of our work. Indeed, a well equipped engineering shop for example, can provide a resourceful prisoner with many interesting but officially unwelcome possibilities for enterprise. In answer it can be said that the more active, well organised and productive a shop, the fewer opportunities for such diversions it will offer. If the operation is to be profitable both for the individual

worker and the Department as a whole, there must be proper allocation of work, good supervision and perhaps most importantly, the working area must be orderly and clean. In these respects the pursuit of security and industrial objectives must surely be seen to coincide. "A tidy shop is a safe shop, is a secure shop", might well be adopted as an apt slogan for prison industries.

WHO SHOULD WORK?

It should also not be overlooked that this developing situation presents yet another threat in that it gives rise to anxiety amongst the public; who are perhaps understandably concerned, at a time of considerable unemployment, with our competitive position. The simple argument that prisoners should not take away the livelihood of honest men is a compelling one in these days. Equally powerful, however, is our submission that worthwhile industrial activity is an essential ingredient in the rehabilitative process. It is in my view difficult to believe that any good can come from inhibiting one small part of the economy supposedly in the interests of the whole. Clearly it would be quite wrong to use the Department's special position to gain unfair economic advantage or attempt to seize too large a share of a market in which others were operating. Within these limits, however, I can see no reason why we should not continue to adopt a competitive attitude.

There is perhaps even more justification to do so when one considers our position in relationship to entry into the Common Market. For years continental prison industries, particularly in France and Germany, have been producing goods of high quality for sale on the open market. What possible pretext can there then be for limiting in any way home prison industries when faced with the prospect of continental-made prison products being freely available in the High Street? Indeed one can foresee a time in the perhaps not too far distant future, when we shall be seeking the opportunity of improving the effectiveness of our industrial position still further by rationalising it on a European basis.

No matter how lofty and laudable our aims however, prison industry has no meaning apart from the men and women who are engaged upon it, and it is to the question of human motivation that I would now like to refer.

Though there may be some who would disagree, I would submit that men must work and that in this respect prisoners are no different, except in as much as past experience has distorted their need for this fulfilment. They also, in common with us all, seek a measure of approbation and status, and in the prison setting this can only be conferred officially by allocations to tasks of differing quality and through financial reward. Most governors, therefore, welcome the introduction of modern earning systems which bring both increased production and the opportunity for greater individual remuneration. Though my personal experience in this area is limited, I would make a plea, in as much as a prison population can tolerate it, that the principle of equity be not too keenly pursued. Within an institution the existence of a variety of different pay schemes makes for a more dynamic and interesting situation, more realistic also in terms of working life outside and therefore therapeutically more sound. Of the many pay systems currently in use, provided there is an adequate flow of work, I would particularly commend the smaller interdependent group on piece-rate as offering high production, job satisfaction and excellent opportunities for social learning.

Let me now turn your attention elsewhere, as the question of motivation relates not only to prisoners but also, and more importantly, to institutional industrial staff. There is no doubt, the figures prove the point, that their response to the implications of the reorganisation of D.I.S. at headquarters and in the regions has been excellent and extraordinarily successful. It is equally clear that this quickening of interest will not be sustained over the long term unless a comparable reorganisation takes place at institution level. It is perhaps, therefore, with some justified impatience that the third phase of the management review is awaited.

If the contentions outlined in my earlier paragraphs are sound, then there is an urgent need to upgrade considerably institution industrial management structure, strengthening its significance and links with the governor and the overall task. Governors also will need to accept roles for the industrial manager and workshop staff far different from those which presently exist and create and activate communication systems which permit them to make a proper contribution. Some may still see their task as purely technical and shy away from security and treatment matters, but if prison industry is to realise its full potential and its staff are to become increasingly effective in that growth, then gradually they will need to embrace all three aspects of the task.

THE MAN FOR THE JOB

I would suggest that, as a first step in that direction, the selection of industrial staff must be seen in these broader terms, that we should recruit men who are not merely technically competent but who possess in addition qualities of character in keeping with containment and treatment objectives. For this to be achieved then it would seem necessary to review considerably present procedures. It might be more appropriate, for example, if selection boards were chaired by men whose professionalism was more generic in nature and if selection took place to fill one particular post rather than a wide range of vacancies throughout the Service.

Similarly, though already a start has been made, there is a growing need for more adequate training to include not only refreshment in technical specialisms but to develop an understanding of and encourage greater participation in the total task. Greater opportunities for preferment are also needed to stimulate endeavour in this direction, associated with schemes to facilitate the necessary mobility within the Service. Without such improvements in the selection, training and development of staff, it is difficult to imagine progress being made beyond the point to which present reorganisation has brought us.

EFFICIENT SUPPLY

In my final paragraph I must comment on the supply position which in the past has been such a source of frustration to governors. I would add, however, not as an afterthought, but rather to emphasise the importance of this aspect of the work of D.I.S. It is a truth which I doubt any would dispute, that supply efficiency, particularly in personal items, is perceived by prisoners, and I think it proper here also to mention by staff, as a measure of an organisation's care and regard for them. It is of little avail that we pride ourselves on splendid buildings, elaborate education systems and productive industry if, when the cold weather comes, we cannot supply our men with pullovers or provide speedily an outsize uniform for a newly joined officer. Generally, however, I have little criticism to make in this area and must pay tribute to D.I.S. on a greatly improved supply position. Indeed, we are a far cry from the days of misshapen shirts and shrunken socks and it now seems barely credible that we ever had to pass through a period so sadly symbolised by those punitively abbreviated safety razors.

No Place for Man

P. M. QUINN

Graduated from the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1966 with an LL.B. degree. He went up to Cambridge where, the following year, he obtained a post-graduate diploma in criminology. After that, for a short time, he was with a firm of Manchester solicitors but, becoming more attracted to the social field, left to work at a local authority reception centre.

His interest in law remains although he now feels it must be regarded as a branch of the social sciences rather than an academic discipline in isolation. In 1970 he was awarded a scholarship to the University of Strasbourg where he gained a Diplome de Droit Compare. Later in 1970 he joined the Prison Service, and is now an assistant governor at Hollesley Bay Borstal.

ONE WAS faced with a dilemma when selecting a title for this piece. It could have been called *De Profundis*, for it is indeed a voice "out of the depths". It could have been called *Subjective Impressions of Imprisonment*, but it is more than that. It is a picture of the fundamental effects of deprivation of liberty from the prisoners' viewpoint—from which one will attempt to draw certain conclusions. Perhaps it is too ambitious to hope that this will stimulate change, but one's intention of stimulating thought may be achieved.

Let us consider for a moment the "model prisoner". Who is he? The one who has the least to say for himself, perhaps—the one who slips most easily into the routine, the one who never answers back, who never kicks against authority whether physically or verbally. Consider now the proposition that this man may be the most disturbed and most anxious member of the prison community. It has been suggested that a considerable degree of anxiety and stress may be based on the simple fact of the inability of the person to express his feelings[1]. If we accept this thesis only in part, we know that prisoners, as a class drawn from the more deprived groups of our society, are amongst the least able to express emotion succinctly, precisely. An introverted and repressed man is seldom happy, and yet he is likely to be our "model prisoner".

The following passages have been written by people who have the capacity to express the emotions referred to. Others, remember, are unable to do this.

Take note first, of the frustration emphasised by Wole Soyinka, an African poet who, in common with all the other writers selected, has been imprisoned himself. Note too his bitterness. It is appropriate to ask "Who are the plastic surgeons"?

> Sixteen Paces
> By twenty-three. They hold
> Seige against humanity
> And Truth
> Employing time to drill through
> to his sanity
>
> Schismatic
> Lover of Antigone !
> You will? You will unearth
> Corpses of yester-
> Year? Expose manure of present
> birth
>
> Seal him love
> In that same necropolis
> May his ghost mistress
> Point the classic
> Route to Outsiders' Stygian
> Mysteries
>
> Voyeurs
> They time patrolling for
> The hour upon the throne
> I think they thrill
> To hear the Muse's constipated
> groan
>
> Bulletin:
> He sleeps well, eats
> Well. His doctors note
> No damage
> Our plastic surgeons tend his
> public image.[2]

If one theme has been found to permeate the passages selected it is one of profound frustration at the condition of the prisoner *vis-a-vis* his situation. Richard Lovelace, writing in the seventeenth century, was able to speak of stone walls not making a prison, iron bars not making a cage—almost a cliché today—but prisoners' minds seldom function on so lyrical a level. Traditional balladry portrays the opposite; prison if anything, acts as a glass to magnify existing deprivations. Take for example, one verse from the traditional song of transportation days, "Botany Bay":

> If I had the wings of a turtle dove
> On my sweet pinions I'd fly
> Into the arms of my Polly love
> And there I would lay down and
> die.

Such a theme is preserved through the years in song, in poetry, in writings. Two more examples present themselves.

Oscar Wilde served a term of imprisonment for homosexual offences. He composed *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*[3] on the first level as the history of the execution of one man, a soldier who had killed his wife "the thing he loved". On a second level the work represents Wilde's credo regarding a system which repressed him and glorified only the baser urges of man :

> The vilest deeds, like poison weeds
> Bloom well in prison—air;
> It is only what is good in Man
> That wastes and withers there:
> Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate
> and the Warder is Despair.
> For they starve the little
> frightened child
> Till it weeps both night and day;
> And they scourge the weak, and
> flog the fool,
> And gibe the old and grey
> And some grow mad, and all go
> bad,
> And none a word may say.
> Each narrow cell in which we
> dwell
> Is a foul and dark latrine
> And the fetid breath of living
> Death
> Chokes up each grated screen
> And all but lust, is turned to dust
> In Humanity's machine.

One turns to prose for a second example, having chosen a brief section

of the prison diary of Anthony Grey, the Reuter correspondent imprisoned for some time in China. Grey's imprisonment commenced on 18th August 1967. On 16th September and 3rd October he wrote:

> The weakness and the helplessness of the individual alone has been brought home very forcibly to me and I have turned more to God than ever before. I pray twice every day for deliverance from this. Among things which I have decided are not so important are food and drink. In themselves they are entirely inconsequential. I have subsisted quite well on minimum food.
>
> . . . "Diary of despair." I am writing this sitting propped up on my bunk wearing my dressing gown after eating a meal of boiled fish. I am feeling a little recovered after more than a day of illness . . .
>
> . . . Moans like "this is hell on earth" and "a living death" have escaped my lips. It seems I will never get out of this terrible, awful, prison.
>
> I feel helpless and desperate and at times I feel as though I am on the verge of going crazy. . . . Today I haven't walked at all and the smallness of the cell became almost unbearable in the afternoon. I have remained on my bed reading and thinking and the time has gone very slowly. O God what is to become of me?[4]

One should stress at this point that one is not concerned in this article with the ideology under which the sentence is implemented. One is concerned as stated above, with the simple facts of deprivation of liberty and its effects. Grey's words are a thought-provoking indictment of such deprivation. Reference should also be made to one's earlier point that our own prisons contain anxiety and frustration ridden prisoners who do not have the capacity to communicate in the precise and sensitive manner illustrated here.

The feeling of bitterness is displayed in an untitled poem by Robert Roberts in his book *Imprisoned Tongues*[5]. The work is that of a young man identified only as M.C. in prison for the fourth time after the familiar background of approved school and borstal. Another factor is introduced, for the writer not only expresses his frustrations, but starts to question his condition. He arrives at no adequate conclusion: he cannot rationalise his position. This reacts upon him and, as illustrated later in the work of William Wantling, serves only to rekindle his acrimony.

> Where did it all begin?
> And to what conclusion
> Will it carry me on?
> How great was my sin?
> And worth the wasted
> Hours of golden youth
> Slipping into the stream
> Always flowing behind me
> Dead forever.
> Sometime, somewhere, surely
> I will find a reason,
> A system, an ideal
> Around which to entwine
> My life
> Something to grasp,
> Something which I can
> Clasp hold on to
> I weary at all this waste
> What good can I do?
> What charities,
> To myself, to anyone?
> Anything but the life I knew
> And have known—
> Something worthwhile
> Away from the past
> And corruption.
> Prison
> The tramp, tramp
> Tramp of feet on the ground
> Out and around
> And around
> And the sound
> Of the keys in the lock
> And the beat
> Of the clock, tick-tock
> Tick-tock
> For what?

If a man's intellect ceases to function, imprisonment may become a tolerable condition. Short term goals provide the solution to mental emasculation. The prisoner's assessment of true values becomes distorted and trivia assume importance, not just in day to day affairs . . . .

> . . . The crowd heaved, pushing away so that no one could breathe. To get its skilly. Its lawful skilly.

. . . but also in relation to the world outside. Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his semi-autobiographical novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*[6] (from which the last passage was taken) describes how his central character, Shukhov, who has long since stopped writing letters—what feelings can be expressed in a censored letter, and who little thinks of his wife—it is now too painful, is occupied with thoughts of his own impotence. Delicate memories of home are now forgotten: his thoughts are centred upon the practicality of painting the carpets as was the custom in the kolhozes of his region. Shukhov reflects:

> During his years in prisons and camps he'd lost the habit of planning for the next day, for the year ahead, for supporting his family. The authorities did his thinking for him about everything—it was somehow easier that way. He still had another two summers to serve. But those carpets preyed on his mind.

For Shukhov too, short term goals were of paramount importance. The end of the day was more easily attainable than the end of his sentence:

> How time flew when you were working. That was something he'd often noticed. The days rolled by in the camp—they were over before you could say 'knife'. But the years never rolled by: they never moved a second.

In a state of deprived liberty, man is largely impotent. Constructive thought is of little avail since it seldom has the opportunity of expression. The prisoner becomes depersonalised, confused, introverted, spiteful and uncertain. This is shown in a piece mentioned above by William Wantling, an American who at one time served sentences for drug offences in San Quentin:

> . . . You Pig-Rat, the
> Warden said
> . . . You think you're slick, but
> there's another five thousand
> just like you
> out on the Big Yard
> We'll get you, we
> get 'em all, sooner
> or later
> What makes you think
> you're special—What makes you
> think we won't get
> *you*? heh heh
> Snuffle heh umm . . . .
>
> . . . You won't get me, Warden
> 'cause I'm *not* like those
> others on the Big Yard
> I pity you, you poor squirming
> bundle of nerves, I pity
> you—*but they hate you*
> And pity isn't careless
> Hate is.
>
> It was worth ten days
> in The Hole to see
> his face whiten, his
> lips tighten and tremble
> More than worth it
> The Question is, did
> they get me?[7]

Wantling kicks and fights for his identity—with what result?—that is his question. The same point is made, just as forcefully but the unfortunate Yuli Daniel, a Soviet writer whom, like Solzhenitsyn, has served terms of imprisonment for perhaps dubious reasons. Daniel's poem *The Sentence* expressed the same feelings shown in earlier references. But he shares Wantling's questioning of his situation. Unlike the latter, however, Daniel provides an answer to the question. Note the touch of self-criticism contained in the last line:

You will not be permitted to think
your own thoughts
Or sigh for your home or reject
your diet
You are a lens, an empty sheet
of paper
You have been cast into this
water like a net
Your sadness will absorb all
foreign sadness
Prison will multiply your age
And tired as you are, you must
carry this weight
The lineaments of a foreign
landscape.
May the stinging of your wound
Remind you of other men's
mutilations
Submerged in mankind's destiny
Your destiny is anguish from
now on.
Every day you must rub out the
line
Between the heavy "all men"
and the light "myself"
Every day you must die for those
Whose deaths were silent.
Salt water shall be your drink,
Your bread shall be bitter, you
shall dream no dreams
As long as you see these faces
around you
As long as convicts wear black
uniforms.
Do I accept my sentence?
Yes, I do.[8]

One stated at the outset, that having considered these various passages, one would attempt to draw certain conclusions—to formulate a general argument. That argument may be stated as follows: that as yet we understand very little of the nature of imprisonment and of the factors implicit in its implementation. It is seen by the writers quoted as something destructive—a process one might say, little advanced since the days of transportation. That, and capital punishment remember, were only other ways, and more effective ways, of removing an offender from society. The emphasis now must surely be on integrating him with that society. Imprisonment has been used through the ages to serve many different purposes, and it has failed in those. The problems of recidivism and increasing rates of reported crime indicate that it is failing today in the task we claim to have set for it. Trite phrases, heard from time to time from within the Prison Service, as well as from the general public—phrases such as "they're all volunteers in there" and "we don't think enough of the victim", sadly illustrate the tendency to close the mind to radical thought processes. Do we, for example, truly think we can train a man for freedom and integration in conditions of captivity and isolation? Can he be persuaded to lead a "normal" life after a time when the essence of normality, the interaction with members of the opposite sex, is denied to him? Can we accept the nihilistic attitudes such as those forced upon the writers quoted in this article? One made reference above to the "model prisoner". In the light of the points made by the writers quoted, is it not perhaps a little degrading for society to coerce an individual into this position?

Perhaps we do not *want* to solve the problem. Perhaps the platitudes referred to earlier are society's defences—after all it is a well known proposition that society needs its criminals, if only as yardsticks by which to judge its own morality. Nevertheless, one feels one can only answer the questions posed in the previous paragraph in the affirmative, if one accepts the sole purpose of imprisonment as being to punish. One leaves the topic open for thought at this point, but would conclude with the final passage from Solzhenitsyn's *Ivan Denisovich*. More than any other passage in the book, this seems to reveal for the reader the futility of the concept whereby reality is perverted so that its only cheering effects can be expressed in terms of the negative:

> Shukhov went to sleep fully content. He'd had many strokes of luck that day: they hadn't put him in the cells; they hadn't sent the team to the settlement; he'd pinched a bowl of kasha at dinner; the team leader had fixed the rates well; he'd built a wall and enjoyed doing it; he'd smuggled that bit of hack-saw blade through; he'd earned something from Tsezar in the evening; he'd bought that tobacco. And he hadn't fallen ill. He'd got over it.
>
> A day without a dark cloud. Almost a happy day.
>
> There were three thousand six hundred and fifty three days like that in his stretch. From the first clang of the rail to the last clang of the rail.
>
> The three extra days were for leap years.

FOOTNOTES:

1. By BASIL BERNSTEIN, in his paper *Public Language: Some Sociological Implications of a Linguistic Form.* 1959. B. J. Soc. 10.
2. *Live Burial* by WOLE SOYINKA, published in pamphlet form by Rex Collings Ltd., 62 Brook Street, London W1.
3. Published in the *Everyman's Library* series. Dent.
4. *Hostage in Peking* by ANTHONY GREY. Michael Joseph Ltd.
5. Manchester University Press 1968.
6. Penguin Books.
7. *The Question Is* by WILLIAM WANTLING. Published by Rapp and Whiting Ltd.
8. *Observer*, 13th September 1970. Translated by DAVID BURG and adapted by ADRIAN MITCHELL from Moscow Samizdat.
9. Prison Rule One.

Do officials work for their own convenience, or the welfare of slum children?

In New York, 33,000 children a year are damaged by lead poisoning, which can cause cerebral palsy, retardation or death. This was found to be associated with public housing where lead paint and plaster were flaking off, so that lead was ingested by small children. The Urban League of Rochester, N.Y., discovered a similar problem, but could not persuade officials to act. The article gives a detailed and documented account of the perseverance required by one family (aided by the League) whose child was a victim, in their campaign to secure housing which was safe to live in.

ANDERSON, D. A. Public institutions: their war against the development of black youth. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1971, 41(1), Jan. 65—73.

Looks at Books

LOCAL PRISONS—THE CRISIS IN THE ENGLISH PENAL SYSTEM

RICHARD F. SPARKS

Heinemann, London, 1971. £2.50

THE English prison system is currently under attack for being both harsh and lenient, for being excessively negative and punitive as well as excessively humane and reformist, at the same time over-authoritarian and weakly permissive. Accordingly it is fitting to welcome a factual study of the system, its population and its problems. The problems are not new; although the author of this book may be right that they are moving towards a new crisis level.

Sparks agrees that the main cause of interest in the system by Parliament, penal reformers and the general public is the increase in the prison population. He shows that the overcrowding (nearly 16 per cent excess of population over total capacity in 1967) exists wholly in the entry points to the system—local prisons and remand centres. This is partly because the system will not, or cannot, transfer excess to training prisons, but otherwise because entry is not under the system's control. The system has to take what it is sent. Changes in sentencing policies of the Courts (e.g. longer long sentences for very serious offences) and enactments enabling different Court decisions (e.g. suspended sentences) affect the situation, not always in the sense intended; for instance, suspended sentences resulted in a substantial decrease in receptions under sentence in 1968 but a consequent increase in receptions with longer sentences in subsequent years (because the suspended sentences caught up with the recipients when they "came round again").

The application in this book of mathematical methods of handling the new material indicates an important difference between the sentences of receptions and those of the prison population as a whole. During 1967, 42,674 adult males were received under sentence, of whom at least 70 per cent had received sentences of six months or less. But at the end of the same year only 24.7 per cent of the total prison population were serving such short sentences. The system gradually accumulates longer sentence cases; and because of the association between long sentences and violent and sexual offences (and a shift in sentencing policy towards longer sentences for such offences), it also accumulates long-term violent offenders. This is an aspect of the impending crisis additional to, and separate from, the overcrowding issue.

One does not have to be entirely satisfied with the mathematical methods used here (and the author admits some doubt about certain of his assumptions) to be able to agree on these two crisis elements. Some check on the computations is possible by comparing (although they are not of course wholly comparable) Sparks' figure for the end-of-1967 population and the average population figures for 1968 (table E.2 of Cmnd. 4266, the official statistical table for the year). This shows Sparks to over-estimate the overall population by 5.6 per cent, the excess being 700 in closed and 500 in open training prisons; his figure for local prisons is almost exactly right (only 42 short of the actual 12,282). He also gets the mix a bit wrong: 1,768 too many serving under six months and 377 too few serving over three years. But these latter discrepancies underline the earlier argument by being too conservative about the lengths of sentence.

An aspect of the book one may feel less happy about are the various references to the fact that these general trends lead to substantial population differences in the various training prisons and that this *should* lead to regime and treatment differences but *doesn't*. One reason for this fault in the book is that although it dealt with material up to 1967 and mainly discusses only events external to the system later than that, it was published only in 1971. The delay, makes it already somewhat out of date (we have not, for instance, in the Prison Service, referred to "central prisons" for at least the last five years). There have, too, been some conscious developments in the field of classification and regime construction during the last few years.

Again, it is unsafe to argue for shorter sentences on the research evidence that "there is nothing to suggest that longer sentences are any more effective in preventing reconviction than shorter ones", even though this might help the system out of some of its difficulties. First, because most of the evidence is based on *selected* cases, i.e. people who had been released early rather than late from borstal, people who had been paroled, people who had received shorter rather than longer corrective training sentences. The selection for such early release or shorter sentences was based on estimate or "merit", so that such research evidence usually begs the question. Secondly, and more cogently, because the prison system is the servant of the community and does not otherwise exist in its own right, so that these kinds of weighty consideration are for the community at large, not for the system and its workings. And in serving the community it also aims to serve the interests of the individuals it receives for custody. Were the system ruthless and completely authoritarian it could also be a good deal more efficient in at least the mechanistic sense. That it is not always so is due at least in part to its consideration, where possible, for the condition and circumstances of the individual, including sometimes that it might be better for him to stay in the local rather than go to a training prison.

Perhaps someone will one day paint the overall picture of individualisation of treatment in prison. In the meantime Sparks' account of the system's difficulties must be welcome as a timely warning.

R. COCKETT,
Principal Psychologist,
South-west Region.

TWO GENTLEMEN TO SEE YOU, SIR

The Autobiography of a Villain

VICTOR CARASOV

Gollancz, 1971. £2

THE pen of Victor Carasou is likely to make more impact overnight, to destroy all that this man hated and, both by invective and assault, sought to beat down, than did he in 50 years of suffering and self destruction.

Evolved of a now well recognised background, a disruptive home life

sending him in confusion, fleeing on a stolen bicycle, the immediate punishment for which was five years reform school, served upon a hulk on the Clyde; his ultimate punishment; life with a minimum of 50 years.

The early development of inexplicable temper syndromes, and confused, panicky thinking; always seeking an immediate selfish gratification, led him rapidly into prison and a series of experiences that denude him of human responses until languishing in Broadmoor and Dartmoor alike, he lies snarling at the most intense of his captors' efforts to bring him to heel.

Walton—Barlinnie—Armley—Brixton—Parkhurst—Broadmoor—Portsmouth—Dartmoor—Wandsworth and Maidstone are but some of the institutions who viewed their guest with alarm and decided to "watch this one". Blundeston finally received what was left of Carasov after 45 years of institutional life, and consciously or otherwise decided to make no attempt at breaking his spirit. The positive response was characteristically dramatic.

His description of Parkhurst, Dartmoor and Broadmoor in the late '20s and early '30s are horrific and disturbing. Surely these are not the "good old days" that some, bemused by modern methods, wistfully refer to.

For 45 years, Carasov was the custodians' nightmare. Recalcitrant and unapproachable and yet by his own admission (his reaction to acceptance), longing to be approached; responding to any who dared ignore the obvious and look deeper.

For those whose strategy lies in the "hard line" you'll have to talk some to justify this one. Personally I would think again. Others who are endowed with conscience will find Victor's story haunting a troubled mind, but with ultimate profit. To the theorists; what early wound caused that disfiguring temper? How can the vicious chain of deprivation demanding unlicensed gratification (Carasov so intensely describes), be broken?

BLUNDESTON 1966

When a tired officer and his mates reach the staff rest room, find their pack of cards torn up and the crib board smashed, and are told by the orderly, Carasov, "Yes, I did it, I do not like to see screws enjoying themselves", I, like so many others in his story, almost made the fatal mistake of rejecting, rather than adopting, the more professional stance of seeking to understand. Well done the "Bandmaster", p. 92.

To the "Victors" of this world—don't YELL at us—tell us . . . Good luck!

IVAN PITT,
Senior Officer, Hull.

SOCIAL MATURITY, TRAINING, EXPERIENCE AND RECIDIVISM AMONGST BRITISH BORSTAL BOYS

A. P. SEALY and CHARLOTTE BANKS
British Journal of Criminology, 1971

THE work of Douglas and Marguerite Grant for the California Department of Corrections has attracted attention in penological circles all over the world. Their concept of personality development as proceeding by way of seven "levels of integration", at any one of which a person might suffer "arrested development", seemed to shed light especially on the so-called psychopathic personality, and also to have certain implications for treatment. If the psychopath acts out all his conflicts with authority because he is emotionally incapable of identifying with authority figures and cannot understand any point of view but his own, then treatment which depends upon promoting insights must be profoundly threatening to him. The Grants were able to show that groups of offenders who were deemed to be emotionally "arrested" at levels 1, 2 or 3 (the "psychopathic" groups) actually deteriorated under a counselling regime as distinct from groups at levels 4 or upwards who showed improvement.

Studies on these lines conducted outside America have been few, but that of Michael Craft in Britain five years ago provided some kind of confirmation of the Grants' findings, in that young psychopathic patients on a permissive ward in which group therapy was practised did significantly worse than similar patients in a traditional authoritarian ward, in terms of reconviction rate and various personality indices.

It is of considerable interest, therefore, that a report of another British study, with a bearing on the Californian findings, is now to hand (*British Journal of Criminology*, 1971). Using a scale of social maturity based on the Grants' work, Sealy and Banks were able to rate 200 borstal inmates randomly selected from the intake into classifying centres, and their reconvictions were followed up one year after release. Contrary to expectations, it was found that boys of low to intermediate maturity tended to do better at open than closed borstals. The point must be made, however, that the treatment regimes at open borstals are probably not to be compared with the counselling regimes, instituted by the Grants, which were found so threatening by their own immature subjects.

On the other hand, the relative success of the open borstals with such boys needs a little explaining. Can it really be claimed that they moved emotionally during training from "complete dependence on external controls and rules" to "reliance on internalised controls and awareness of the consequences of one's actions", which would be in accordance with the Grants' understanding of all genuine improvement? Or was it that a number of boys deemed psychopathic, but "really" more mature, had been, in fact, misclassified? The authors themselves express some misgivings on that score, yet other data from their study would not appear to bear out such an interpretation.

These data relate to a different way of grouping borstal regimes by dividing them into three groups according to the quality of their intake in terms of predicted success rates (Mannheim-Wilkins scale). A most interesting finding concerned the respective performances of level 3 and level 4 boys in borstals of these types. Specifically, the level 3 boys were found to do significantly worse in borstals with a moderate quality intake, but they approximated much more closely to the level 4 performance in borstals of high quality intake. This suggests that the classification did indeed discriminate between level 3 and level 4 boys on some sort of reality basis.

For the present, it looks as if the reason why level 3 boys, who are "rule-bound, rigid, conformists and manipulators of regulations and relationships" respond better to establishments with more flexible controls must remain an open question. On theoretical grounds alone, it always did seem that this was the most problematical group to treat, and it is one which would certainly repay further and more detailed investigation.

The general conclusion of this study regarding differential success rates when boys go to borstals of various types can be readily accepted. It is the dividing line between high and low maturity levels that is somewhat blurred, in terms of present theoretical understanding. The findings of Sealy and Banks strongly support the view that

it is boys of high and intermediate social maturity who show most gain from a differential allocation of borstal training. That is to say, the data suggest that the success rate of high maturity boys (level 4 and upwards) is likely to be markedly better if they go to borstals of moderate or high quality intake, whether open or closed, than if they go to borstals of low quality intake. And, likewise, for boys of intermediate maturity (level 3), if they go to open borstals rather than closed, and particularly if they go to borstals of high quality intake.

Dr. Leslie Laycock,

Senior Lecturer and Head of Applied Studies Division in the Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies, Leeds University.

SIZE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION AND WORKER BEHAVIOUR

G. K. Ingham

Cambridge University Press, 1970. £2.50

This book attempts to determine the relationship between the size of an organisation and employee behaviour. Previous experience and common sense seemed to say that larger organisations produced a greater tendency for absenteeism and turnover. Ingham finds a relationship only between size of establishment and absenteeism. Do we find similar patterns in the Prison Service?

The great weakness of this book is the small sample of firms selected. Five were companies of 26 or fewer employees, one had 63, one had 3,000 and one had 5,000. There is a gap between 26 and 3,000—and all our Prison Service establishments would fall within such a gap. Perhaps this is the most disappointing part of the book—it is so incomplete!

On the positive side, however, the responses to structured interviews were revealing. A total of 116 machinists were interviewed by Ingham in eight firms. The findings were fairly conclusive. Larger firms paid higher wages. Smaller firms provided more "non-economic" rewards—more interesting tasks, friendlier peer interactions, more personal relationships with authority figures. It appears that these two important differences were recognised by employees, who selected the firms which matched their expectations. How much of this is relevant to choices made by staff in the Prison Service about first or subsequent postings?

Ingham suggests that having made a conscious move to choose a working environment the worker is well matched emotionally and less likely to change jobs. Smaller firms appear to attract workers who want to "identify"—and this belongingness is increased by the closeness and personal interest of top management.

In summing up Ingham says that most workers, wherever they work, regard their work as a means to an end. Where remuneration is used by management as a recruiting and *controlling* factor—it may not be necessary to worry about size. But if the organisation depends upon commitment then increases in size will be very important. What sort of problems will a new prison of 1,100 souls pose for the management?

P. L. Harrap,

Tutor A.G., Staff College.

SOLEDAD BROTHER—THE PRISON LETTERS OF GEORGE JACKSON

Penguin, 1971. 35p.

Most readers will be aware of the circumstances under which the Soledad Brothers came into being. George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette were charged with the murder of a guard in Soledad Prison. The trial of Drumgo and Cluchette was due to open on 13th December 1971, but George Jackson was shot and killed at San Quentin on 21st August 1971. Through this case and that of Angela Davis the whole question of justice for the under-privileged, particularly the black under-privileged, in the U.S.A., has been intensified.

Soledad Brother is a collection of letters written by George Jackson from prison. The letters have been praised and damned, but the book has not been ignored.

The dividing line between the socially deprived delinquent and the violent social revolutionary fighting for a cause has been smudged and blurred in such a way as to create real confusion about which is which. Paradoxically, this confusion has been created to a great extent by the strident and articulate writing of George Jackson. As a self-taught revolutionary whose development took place in the circumscribed environment of a prison, he learnt every lesson.

There is no doubt his writing carries impact. Even when he is not using the protest jargon of the '60s the words are simple, expressive and have the supple sting of a whiplash. There is a Bunyanesque quality about his writing which will cause the serious reader to stop and ponder. The author will arouse anger in everyone who reads his letters. The reader will be angry with him, angry for him and angry because of him. But most of all the reader will experience the anger of impotence, whether he is politically of the extreme right, extreme left or moderate middle; or even if he is non-political. And all for different reasons. Jackson and his cause have this effect and established society has not learnt to deal with such phenomena. Neither has radical society learnt to handle it, to channel it in a more socially acceptable and, therefore, more productive fashion. In such circumstances extremes of reaction and polarisation of attitudes are inevitable. *Soledad Brother* suggests that George Jackson recognised this and continually returned to underline it with a singleness of purpose which is almost frightening in its intensity and obsession.

However, like all writing of its kind, it does not maintain an even excellence which a more disciplined writer would have achieved. For example, one could not imagine Trotsky, when banished, writing to his wife Krupskaya in some of the terms used by Jackson when writing to his lawyer. Making due allowance for the difference in time, place, circumstances and the society, it is perhaps the most self-revealing and self-damaging comment on his claim to be a social revolutionary rather than a social delinquent.

Some of the reports in reputable newspapers since this affair came to light have been extremely critical of custodial treatment in the U.S.A. It is perhaps here that the custodial agencies in this country have most to learn from these events. Twenty-five years ago when Soledad was opened, it was "regarded as the most progressive prison in the world's most enlightened penal system".

It would appear that euphemisms such as correctional officers for guards; training facility for prison; adjustment centre for punishment wing, have obscured the fact that confusion of purpose existed between state administrators and prison management. It is also apparent that a serious gulf existed

between senior and subordinate staff, and the roles they were expected to play did not conform to their own view of these roles. Communication seems not only to have broken down between inmates and staff but between staff and staff. The result is that Soledad lost direction and became demoralised. In such circumstances certain happenings were inevitable. George Jackson was one.

Cressey (a resident of California) once stated: "The prison is a microcosm of the society which created it . . .". The country which produced Cressey also produced George Jackson.

These are the elements of an unremitting, sombre Greek tragedy. Indeed Brecht's duologue: "Happy are the people who produce such a hero; unhappy are the people who need such a hero ", sums it up.

W. PERRIE,

Governor, Long Lartin.

THE ENGLISH JUDGE

HENRY CECIL

Stevens and Sons, 1971. £1.75

ALTHOUGH the Courts he describes have been altered very considerably by the Courts Act, 1971, Henry Cecil's discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the English judiciary remains well worth reading. It must be remembered that the contents were originally delivered as a series of lectures under the auspices of the Hamlyn Trust, which probably accounts for the rather staccato style to be found in certain passages; but both the specialist and the general reader will find the book interesting, informative and enjoyable.

From the pages of this study, the English judge emerges with credit. It is a pity that the author felt himself unable to contrast and compare our system of judicial appointments with the Continental practice of divorcing the judiciary entirely from the rest of the legal profession and making life on the Bench a career in itself; it is the writer's belief that such a comparison would have strengthened the conclusion which emerges from the book, that this country is fortunate in its judges. One would also have welcomed a comparison with the appointment and judicial behaviour of judges in the United States.

On the question of whether High Court appointments should remain restricted to members of the Bar, the author is uncompromising. He argues that the preservation of a tradition of unimpeachable integrity is an overriding reason for restricting selection to a field of about 200–300 persons who, through practice at the Bar, have become known both to their colleagues and to many of the High Court judges, thus making it virtually impossible for anyone whose standard of integrity was not high enough to be selected. He is uneasy about the Beeching Commission recommendation that solicitors should be eligible for appointment as circuit judges. All this will be anathema to those who seek not only to make solicitors eligible for any judicial office, but also to bring about the fusion of the two branches of the legal profession.

At a time when the revision of Judges' Rules is once more being discussed, Mr. Cecil's examination of this question is highly relevant. He sees no reason why, provided that no improper pressure is brought to bear, a man suspected of having committed a crime should not be asked questions about that crime and why his refusal to answer questions should not be given in evidence. As a safeguard against improper pressure he suggests that a person thought to be able to give information about a crime should be taken before a justice of the peace and required to answer any questions, even though incriminating. No other statement by an accused, with certain closely-defined exceptions, should be admissible. This, of course, is not a new concept in British law. It was (and doubtless still is) a requirement of the Indian Penal Code that no admission of guilt should be admissible in evidence unless made before a magistrate and, until the creation of regular police forces in the mid-nineteenth century, justices of the peace regularly undertook the interrogation of suspects. Having come this far, Mr Cecil's views on the possibility of introducing a *juge d'instruction* (an examining magistrate who decides if there is a case) on the Continental pattern into the police system would have been welcome.

A proposal which will particularly interest Prison Service readers is that which suggests that sentences should either be passed or reviewed by a panel, of which some of the members would be non-lawyers. Although it has been mooted many times before, such a scheme generally finds more favour with social workers than with lawyers. Mr. Cecil says: "Before a satisfactory sentence can be passed there ought to be many interviews between the prisoner and one or more members of the panel, so that they can understand what makes him tick the wrong way . . . . It must be a slow process". He does not mention, however, how long the process will take, and whether the majority of offenders will be on bail or in custody while it is taking place. The time between conviction and sentence is one of considerable anxiety both for the prisoner and for his family; hope of acquittal has gone, and the one concern becomes "What am I going to get?" We are rightly concerned about the length of time it takes for a man to come to trial; we should be careful that, in our desire to prevent the passing of inappropriate sentences, we do not add to this time of anxiety a further period of even greater anxiety.

Members of the Service who are engaged in Court work are strongly recommended to read this book; those who are preparing themselves for the promotion examination will find in it, apart from the information it contains, a useful lesson in presenting a large theme within a small compass; and all will discover something to provoke thought and excite discussion.

W. BRISTER,

Governor of H.M. Remand Centre, Ashford.

CRIME AND ITS TREATMENT

J. B. MAYS

Longmans, 1970. 75p. (paper back)

THE opening sentences of the foreword of this book read: "This book attempts to perform a well-nigh impossible task. It seeks within the compass of some 50,000 words to deal with the nature of crime and to examine the various forms of treatment that in modern Britain have been devised to cope with and contain it".

The author, John Baron Mays, a professor of social science at Liverpool University, acknowledges from the start the enormity of the subject, and as this book is only one of a series and written merely as an introductory text, it should be read with that in mind.

The introduction deals with the definition of the subject, crime and morality and crime recording. This is

easy reading and, what is more important from an introductory point of view, written by someone who appears to have "both feet on the ground".

The basis of this chapter and the following four chapters on "Trends and Patterns", the "Sociology of Crime", "Crime and Social Class" and the "Socialisation Process and Crime", is included in the social studies side of the course for new prison officers at Wakefield, but as this course also includes a multitude of other aspects of prison work and comes at a time when the new officer is subjected to a great many pressures, it is realised that much of the information imparted at this stage of training is only superficially absorbed, and without the practical experience to which it may be related and may even be rejected. This book, at a later stage, could well be used to reinforce and whet the appetite for further development and training in this important area.

Chapter six deals with the "Aims of the Penal System", breaking them down into punishment, reform, social defence and crime as a social process. This is an interesting chapter, simply explained, which could, I feel, provide the stimulus for some beneficial discussion periods as "In-service" training.

The chapters on the "Treatment of Offenders", and "New Trends" I found disappointing. Both are somewhat outdated, giving the impression of being written without too much knowledge of the present penal system. Some slight inaccuracy also occurs, but this apart, there is still plenty of good sound information which, if coupled with previous chapters, could be used to good effect by officers preparing for promotion, be it to the uniform grade or governor grade.

Throughout the book, the author has the knack of posing questions, half answering them and then appearing to "sit on the fence". This to me is the value of the book, it is not "wrapped up" in psychological or sociological jargon. It slightly provokes, constructively criticises, but above all, makes the reader think and encourages a thirst for further reading on the subject (which the author has thoughtfully recommended).

Some of the slight criticism concerning treatment in penal establishments is in many ways justified, but the inference that we stand still and only move when the big hand of society (or the sociologist) reaches over the wall to push, is just not true.

It is true that many, and indeed most moves, in the treatment field are made that way, but with our present "candy-floss" society not all are good, and some of those made from within often have much to commend them. Generally a book well worth a place in prison libraries and reasonably priced at 75p.

F. E. C. JONES,

Chief Officer, H.M. Borstal, Only.

CLIENT WORKER TRANSACTIONS

WILLIAM JORDAN

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970. £2.25

THIS book is small, compact and extremely readable. It puts forward an interesting way of using client/worker relationships in the treatment of the client's problems. William Jordan argues that the client's social problems are often created by their ability to affect the way in which people behave towards them, and this is naturally expressed in their relationship with the social worker. An emotional transaction takes place, in which the client hands over to the worker some part of himself which he cannot bear, so that the worker becomes depressed and as confused by the problem as the client. The book contains excellent examples of such transactions, which all workers who have contact with deviants, delinquents or ex-offenders will easily recognise from their own experience. It is helpful in suggesting ways in which responses to these situations can be analysed in psychological terms and in social work methods. Social workers are already aware of the theory of transference and counter-transference, and some use this understanding in their work, but this book sharpens the awareness of these situations.

The first chapter deals with the significance of a statutory body established to provide a public service to the community and help to individuals in trouble. Mr. Jordan suggests that an agency providing such a service does not characteristically deal with clients' social problems in the way in which their conflicts are really best expressed. These conflicts are often related to internalised parent figures and infantile emotional needs. Emotional transactions set up between client and worker during the process of offering help with social problems correspond to the internal conflicts and are similar in some respects to the relationship between patient and analyst. The example used by the writer in this first chapter illustrates very well the transfer of feelings from client to worker and the sense of helplessness and guilt arising from the worker's inability to provide an immediate solution to the problem presented. Overwhelmed by a fear that the client will have committed suicide, he visits again the following day to find the client looking quite well and obviously having slept much better than he did.

The second part of the chapter is concerned with defensive manoeuvres and transactions and Mr. Jordan illustrates this with an example of the way in which clients get the worker to act out unwanted parts of themselves. This theory is not new to caseworkers, but in the second chapter of the book, with the use of material from the Institute of Marital Studies, he illustrates the way in which there is unconscious communication from one partner to another in which one is made to carry a double dose of the unwanted feelings of the other. This transmission of feelings is illustrated by an interesting account of the work of a 1912 probationer experimenting with drugs who eventually settled for a positive and more satisfying existence. The author describes in detail the young man's relationship with the probation officer, with its content of problems caused by the loss of his father at a very early age.

The third chapter begins with a criticism of the analogy drawn between social work and medicine, with the social worker acting as a treatment agent through the use of his expertise and the client providing the symptoms. The chapter is concerned with the behaviour of disruptive clients, and shows that many of these clients invite rejection by threats, cajoling, incessant and unrealistic demands on the social worker, who becomes exhausted and angry and retreats from the relationship. He suggests that such a situation can be resolved by the worker relating to the client in such a way that he can then hold on to his own disturbance and not project it on to others.

This short book is particularly helpful to those using the one-to-one relationship.

Miss K. BROWN,

Assistant Principal Probation Officer, Inner London Probation Service and formerly Senior Welfare Officer, H.M. Prison, Holloway.

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