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new series

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

JOYCE WILLIAMS

- **SENIOR ATTENDANCE CENTRES** — *a neglected alternative*

J. E. THOMAS

- **KILLED ON DUTY** — *an analysis of murders of British prison staff*

S. R. FRAGER

- **THE PRISON SYSTEM** — *criminal negligence? An American looks at criminal justice*

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

A FAIRY STORY

Prince Charming and his faithful retinue had carried the Glass Slipper of Reform up and down the length and breadth of the kingdom. Many were the gloomy fortresses, the pretentious mansions they had visited, legion were the Ugly Sisters who struggled to cram their swollen feet into the slipper without success. As night fell, the weary prince came upon a humble dwelling, where lived in penury an ancient warder. This honest man had a comely daughter, who waited upon the prince with modesty and grace, and after they had supped, "Try on the slipper, wench", commanded he. She did so, and it fitted perfectly—well, as near as no matter. "Our quest is over!" exclaimed the prince, and turning to the worthy loon enquired: "How long have you dwelt here and by whose authority do you conduct your business?" "Twenty-five years, sire", came the answer, "and by your own edict was this place established". "Bless my soul", quoth the prince, embracing the pretty daughter, "'tis a wise monarch who knows his own enactments!"

Apologies for this feeble diversion, but there is at times a fairy-tale quality about the actions of our administrators. How else can one account for a failure to make use of existing facilities at a time when all places of custody are under increasing pressure, and there is an acknowledged need to find effective alternatives? It is justly a matter of concern that too many people are being locked up, before and after sentence, in circumstances which appear to offer a poor return on outlay in terms of deterrence, and a negligible one in terms of corrective treatment. Both within and without the Prison Service there is much debate about the proper use of scarce resources, the scarcest of which are trained and highly motivated personnel. For many years we have paid lip-service to the statement that "after-care begins on the day a man enters the institution". Now it is "through-care", the concept of institutional and community treatment as one continuous process; governors and principal probation officers, co-directors in a joint planning operation. Fine, so long as we are not going to rob Peter to pay Paul.

The treatment resource in the community is the probation office, undermanned and overloaded, the more so as a result of the policy of appointing probation officers as welfare officers in prisons (and soon, maybe, in borstals).

The treatment resources in prisons are the said welfare officers, the specialists and traditionally the assistant governor, whose role has always been something of a battlefield. (In borstals, the housemaster is a more identifiable animal, though perhaps not for much longer.) It is said that he is to become more a manager, less a case-worker. There is enormous confusion about this statement. But in all conscience, if he is to manage anything, surely it must be treatment—i.e. the prison's contribution to "through-care", however it be defined? This is not then so much a change of role as a shift in emphasis, from first-hand problem-solving towards the deployment and support of staff in this area. The

EDITORIAL—continued

assistant governor who sees himself as an "administrator" of non-personal issues, and the probation officer whose attitude retains elements of professional arrogance, are wrong. They should both be concerned with making better use of the largest untapped source of trainable and (mostly) willing rehabilitative material available—the prison and borstal officer.

There is no logical reason why prison personnel should not be concerned in the prevention of custody, or the community social worker in its administration, though there are practical constraints in both areas. The senior attendance centre, which is the subject of our main article this month, is not only a study in neglect but a case in point. Mrs. Williams considers that prison staff, with their "very considerable skills in controlling and influencing young men" would be most effective in this situation. Perhaps we could coin a new word—how about "pre-care"? Of course senior attendance centres are not the philosopher's stone that is going to turn all our dross into gold. But they have, *prima facie*, a contribution to make, and a particularly attractive one in our time. Let us explore its potential.

A prison chief officer was once heard to remark that there was less chance of his meeting an untimely end, or even serious injury, in the course of his work, than if he had been a traffic warden. A female welfare officer said much the same thing when she commented: "I feel safer, and know I *am* safer in a prison of 600 men (including convicted murderers and rapists) than walking home through the back streets on a Friday night".

Prisons are sometimes tense, most contain some very unpleasant individuals, but English prisons on the whole are not violent places. This fact ought to worry Lombrosians (if there are any left) and all those who rejoice in stereotypes, be it of cauliflower-eared thugs or grim-faced warders. People, once you know them, and whatever they may have done once or more than once, obstinately refuse to behave according to other people's prejudices. "Teddy" Thomas's scholarly little research in this number makes the point very clearly, and provides a useful antidote to popular Press hysterics.



Joyce Williams, who has been a Justice of the Peace since 1954, is deputy chairman of Hampstead Court and chairman of Chelsea Juvenile Court. She is a member of the Board of Visitors for Wormwood Scrubs Prison and Feltham Borstal, and formerly served in the same capacity at Grendon Prison from its opening until last year. She was chairman of the Visiting Committee for Holloway Prison from 1957 to 1969. She is hon. secretary of the Inner London Branch of the Magistrates Association, and a member of the association's Treatment of Offenders Committee; a member of the Council of the Howard League, and of the Inner London Probation and After-care Committee. Mrs. Williams is married to a physician and has a grown up family—one son and two daughters

A Cinderella among Sentences

A Study of Senior Attendance Centres

JOYCE WILLIAMS

Ignorance of their purpose—even of their existence—is widespread among magistrates, their clerks, Court staff and probation officers: and the centres are too often misunderstood and mis-used

THIS indictment of the sentencing policy of colleagues emerged from a study undertaken during 1971 by a working party of lay justices in London. Courts varied in the use made of Saturday afternoon attendance for men aged 17 years and under 21, and there were seemingly random variations in the type of offence and type of offender for whom orders were made. In addition, statutory requirements were not infrequently overlooked so that orders were invalid and the youth went scot free.

This state of affairs, at a time when borstals and detention centres are overcrowded and working under pressure is, to put it mildly, astonishingly British. For the exploration of other forms of non-custodial penalties requiring new legislation is being pursued in various quarters and many interesting and lively schemes are under consideration. Under the Criminal Justice Bill 1971, Community Service Orders for up to

240 hours are to be available, initially in five experimental areas, and day attendance centres are to be developed.

The working party consisted of eight justices from different Courts in the catchment area for the Greenwich centre, (four from Inner London and four from South-east London) six of them also having experience of regular use of junior attendance centres in their capacity as Juvenile Court chairmen. Members of the Manchester Branch of the Magistrates' Association were invited to make a comparable assessment of the regime at the Manchester centre, and its use by the Courts, but were not then able to do so. Two London justices have visited this centre in consequence, and been provided with extensive information about it which has been incorporated. The report of the working party, with an appendix of all statistics available, was sent to the Home Secretary in December 1971, also to the Advisory Council on the Penal System's

enquiry on young offenders to which oral evidence has since been given. Early in January 1972 the report was released, got gratifyingly interested Press coverage (including a front page article and leader in *The Times*) and radio and television interviews were given. Many requests for the report have since been received, from a variety of learned societies, libraries, university departments, etc., as well as individual lawyers, criminologists and magistrates. Oblivion to the existence of senior attendance centres is now rather less than total.

AVAILABLE SINCE 1948—AND STILL "EXPERIMENTAL"

This non-custodial penalty of deprivation of leisure is available to the Courts under legislation of nearly a quarter of a century ago (Criminal Justice Act 1948), but it was not until 1957 after the White Paper on "Alternatives to Short Term Imprisonment", that the Manchester centre was opened "as an experiment". In 1972, only two centres exist for the age range 17 years and under 21, with very restricted catchment areas, a second centre at Greenwich having opened in 1963. Consequently it is not surprising that many of the 19,000 Justices of the Peace in England and Wales, and the staffs of their Courts, have no working knowledge of attendance centres for young men.

Manchester uses premises rented from the police—currently part of the Police Cadet Training School, with a large hall, an office with telephone, storage space and showers, etc. Officers in charge have been successive principal officers from the boys' wing at Strangeways, with other staff from the prison, all in uniform with the exception of the clerical officer. The Greenwich centre is in a church hall with comparable facilities, with a police inspector and police wearing mufti to run it. Thus, the scope of the initial "experiment" was extended in 1963. But since then, apart from local interest in Manchester, very little attention has been paid to the work of the centres, which seem not to have been properly documented or evaluated by the Home Office as is shown by the paucity of statistics available for the appendix to the report. The power to make an attendance centre order for young men has been restricted to two small areas—thus it would be possible for Manchester United supporters convicted following hooliganism at a match to be unable to attend for a

series of Saturdays, while Liverpool fans would "get away with only a fine" in the Manchester Court! Yet junior attendance centres for younger boys of 12 and under 17 years, also empowered by the Criminal Justice Act 1948, have proliferated and there is now a network of 61 over the country and the age range for orders was lowered to 10 years in 1963.

DETERRENCE—PLUS

Deprivation of leisure on a sequence of Saturday afternoons can, it is obvious, make a considerable impact on young men and should also have a deterrent effect on their peers. Courts can order anything between 12 hours and 24 hours and must specify time, date and place of first attendance. Sessions normally last from 2 to 4 p.m. (though staff attend from 1.30 to 4.30 p.m.) and before leaving, the youth signs a form detailing when next required to attend and retains a copy. While at the centre, schemes of approved occupation and instruction, with periods for physical education, aim at maintaining firm discipline and educating the youths in proper use of leisure. At the Manchester centre the premises are scrubbed and cleaned by new entrants, periodically redecorated, and small groups receive instruction on traffic law, map reading, etc. A first-aid class enables a hospital officer to stimulate discussion on hygiene, V.D. and sex problems. Groups combine for P.E. sessions in kit provided, having changed on arrival into boiler suits and plimsolls. For many lads the quiet authority of experienced prison officers in uniform must be a salutary experience, and problems of discipline at the centre are very rare. Each lad is interviewed personally by the officer in charge on reception and at the final attendance. At Greenwich, police officers in mufti organise a similar regime—half of the 40–50 boys attending doing P.E. for half of the session, and then subdividing for instruction groups, which include highway code, motor-bike maintenance, etc. Rambling premises add to problems of supervision and control. But the sanctions of keeping the youth half an hour longer at the end of the session, or of allocating a "less agreeable task" are rarely used. Lateness—a continuing problem—can be dealt with by sending the youth away without counting time towards the total hours. This was not often done, as regular attendance was found hard to enforce for London youths.

INCONSISTENCY WEAKENS SANCTIONS

Breach of attendance centre rules or absence without special permission or a medical certificate, if persistent, can result in the offender being taken before the Court—which can then deal with him for the original offence. However, a series of 39 such cases at Greenwich indicated an unrealistically lenient approach by the Courts. Of persistent non-attenders 13 had the original order to continue, 10 went to detention centre, seven were fined, three had a fresh A.C.O. (one of which was invalid!) two to borstal, two probation, one conditional discharge and one order revoked. In the reception interview given to groups attending for the first time, the inspector warns that the attendance centre order may be their last chance to avoid a detention or borstal. The way in which bad attenders are dealt with if returned to Court all too often seems to affect casual absences from others in succeeding weeks.

Magistrates' Courts are empowered to make an attendance centre order for offences which are "imprisonable", that is when, but for statutory restrictions on young offenders, there is power to impose imprisonment, or for failure to comply with a requirement of a probation order. The latter we found was rarely used in spite of its considerable advantage of doing something positive while allowing supervision to continue. Use by the Courts in the catchment area varied widely, some in London making regular orders, while others (even some very near the centre) had made very few or none since 1963. Courts situated within an 11-mile radius from Manchester used the centre, and seemed better informed of the requirements; and most made fairly regular use of orders, although the average attendance and total orders were rather lower than in London.

Statutory restrictions on making orders were also found to be inadequately complied with by some Courts: at the Greenwich centre on a Saturday in March 1972, two out of seven new receptions could not be retained as the orders were invalid. The effect of this flouting of Court orders on young men who then go free, with no power for any alternative sentence to be imposed, is to be deplored. The new power for magistrates to rectify mistakes in sentencing covered in section 29 of the Criminal Justice Bill applies only to the day on which the order is made, so vigilance of Court staff before the papers are served may prevent some inoperative orders.

The power to make attendance centre orders under the Criminal Justice Act 1948, section 19, for persons under 21 years exists only if a Magistrates Court has been notified that a centre is available to it for persons of his class and description, is reasonably accessible to him, and "any other circumstances". He must not have been previously sentenced to imprisonment, borstal training, detention centre or approved school. In practice, junior afternoon Saturday orders made before the age of 14 years can be overlooked in sentencing in an adult Court, in which they will not be included in findings of guilt when antecedents are given by the police. Such remote H.O.A.S. experience is by no means likely to have so institutionalised a man of 20 that curtailment of Saturday leisure would not have a salutary effect. Accordingly, and anticipating increasing future complications from care orders for juveniles, our report recommended that any form of institutional treatment before the age of 15 years should not invalidate a senior attendance order. The Courts are also, before making an order, required to be sure that the youth's employment does not include Saturday afternoons. It is suggested that when "second jobs" and casual work at week-ends are uprooted, the Courts should exercise careful discretion—and must also bear in mind that unreasonably high expenses for travel to the centre might cause hardship. We have also recommended that Crown Courts should be empowered, after a trial, to make an attendance centre order. It seems anomalous that this single sentence in the range available in England and Wales is not available to them except on appeal or when a man is committed for sentence from a Magistrates' Court under section 56 Criminal Justice Act 1967 or under section 28 of the M.C.A. 1952 (a recommendation for borstal training). In such circumstances, if a custodial sentence is not imposed, and several charges are to be dealt with, an attendance centre order could be a useful penalty.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFAULTERS

The report also recommends simplifying and rationalising the documentation at centres, from which the statistics department of the Home Office currently requires information on an identical form on the personal history of young men of 20 and boys of 10 years! Details must be entered at the first visit—a range of sections covers conduct at school, attendance, etc.—yet *no* questions are asked of young

men regarding age of leaving school or any detail of jobs and reasons for leaving them. Indeed, attendance centre index of statistics, prepared annually at Tolworth Tower, have 61 junior centres plus two senior centres listed together in each of the tables. Yet sections dealing with breakdown of circumstances of terminating an order—which include dealing with non-attendance—omit details from senior centres. Non-attendance is relatively rare in junior centres for the under 14s, slightly less so for those of 14 and under 17 years in junior centres—and yet in senior centres, particularly Greenwich, it is a considerable and a time consuming problem.

commending it the working party noted the continuous service of Mr. D. A. Jones, of Strangeways, who has assisted with the clerical work since the centre opened. A series of simple and clear forms have been devised and agreed locally for requesting details of previous convictions from the police, for warning non-attenders, and for applying to the Court for a summons should it be necessary. At Greenwich, the police inspector makes a series of personal visits to check C.R.O. files and goes to the Court to lay on information for a warrant for the all-too-frequent non-attenders. This, and copying details on to individual cards and into his register, takes up many hours during the week.



Practical example is the best form of training

Table IX2 of the Criminal Statistics for 1969 and 1970 respectively shows that proceedings were taken for failure to comply with regulations at senior centres in 23 cases (total orders 149) and 18 cases (total of 143) whereas the total for all ages (junior centres included) was 75 (of 5,546 orders) in 1969, and 78 (6,050 orders) in 1970.

Attendance at Manchester is less of a problem, possibly because the centre is open each week rather than alternate Saturdays.

Record-keeping at the Manchester centre was simple and effective, and in

REMUNERATION, TRAINING AND SUPPORT FOR STAFF

Staff at all centres are volunteers and receive reasonable payment for each session (slightly over £5 for the officer in charge—approximately £4.50 for the others). Our report recommends that the administrative allowance for the o/c now calculated in boy/hours attended was an unnecessary quibble (for it is the non-attender and the late-comer who increase the work) and we commended a generous and more broadly based administrative allowance relative to the

size of the turnover. We recommended also that travelling allowances should be claimed—and that training sessions for staff should from time to time be arranged, with similar fees and expenses. The officer in charge should be encouraged to suggest the form such training might usefully take. In any case, copies of relevant literature should be provided from Head Office, as appropriate—or photocopies of relevant papers of H.M.S.O. publications, e.g. statistics.

It seems incomprehensible that a police inspector can be put in charge of a senior centre without any oversight or support or any visits from the Prison Department. In September 1969, this

information that the staff at Manchester take for granted. Staff of both centres might well profit by a visit to a local junior centre—with full emoluments and travelling expenses of course. And the information gained by a mere magistrate in a day at the boys' wing in Strangeways and a long afternoon at the attendance centre could surely justify a comparable excursion for the officer in charge at Greenwich—and perhaps a reciprocal visit to the Metropolis by Principal Officer Turner of Manchester Centre? Few know and fewer care about the devoted commitment of the pioneering staff of the only two senior centres: they could usefully be enabled to meet and discuss sug-

tudes for preventive work with young men. To be effective, the regular commitment is formidable, on top of a busy job.

The Manchester centre is open 40 times a year, i.e. every Saturday except the last in the month, so that a 24-hour order of two-hour sessions can be completed within four months. At Greenwich there are 26 sessions, on alternate Saturdays (which include bank holidays) so that orders take longer to complete, the situation being worsened by difficult enforcement of attendances when excuses and confusion about the dates proliferate. This is offset by staff having the alternate Saturday free. But in practice orders longer than 12 hours are not advocated there because of the considerable span of weeks needed to complete them. At Manchester, by contrast, the staff welcome 24-hour orders which "give them time to influence the young man". The Manchester team are enthusiastic and devoted, and cope with weekly opening by each having a good working arrangement with a possible substitute. P.E.I.'s and instructors are covered in this way. Senior Hospital Officer Robinson and Mr. Mead, senior trade instructor at Strangeways, have many years' experience at the centre, and the latter can deputise for the officer in charge, Principal Officer Turner, should it be necessary. Having criticised the neglect of the Greenwich centre, it was noted with envy that the Strangeways governor or his deputy call regularly at their centre, and that the Regional Director takes an active interest in it. Local magistrates have paid visits over the years and the centre is well known and regularly used in the area. At Greenwich (at least before the working party paid visits) the visitors' book was virtually blank, and supervision negligible. Since the report was issued, centres have more in the roll—and parties of visitors are asking to come: a mixed blessing, unless sentencing practice improves consequentially.



A class receiving instruction in first-aid

was found to be the situation—and following criticism the Regional Director did visit Greenwich, and has since given more guidance. It emerged also that none of the Greenwich staff had ever been inside a remand centre or a detention centre—and by a great deal of personal initiative and much correspondence the inspector was allowed to arrange a visit for his team. As this was to Latchmere—then a detention centre with a typical regime—the possibility of police warnings to wayward youths at Greenwich on possible future penalties might have been rosy! But the chance to visit was greatly valued, as background

gested improvements.

To the magistrates of the working party, extension of the centres to other large urban areas is logical and desirable—for the Courts desperately need additions to the range of sentences they can impose. Yet the fact remains that deprivation of Saturday afternoon leisure for the offender puts a further burden on Saturday duty for prison officers and police, who already serve the public seven days a week, and colleagues must cover Saturday duties for centre staff. If the centres are to be extended to other areas, the goodwill of all is needed—not just those with apti-

NEW LEGISLATION—OR MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF AN EXISTING FACILITY?

In the Report of the Advisory Council on Penal Reform on Non-Custodial and Semi-Custodial Penalties, Lady Wootton's committee recommended that the setting up of further senior attendance centres should be deferred until the practicability of schemes for community service have been explored. Clauses of the new Criminal Justice Bill empower setting

up schemes in five experimental areas. Enforcement of attendances for up to 240 hours could produce problems there too! But an adequate and parallel evaluation of senior attendance centres, which have, until now, been under-used and never properly assessed is surely appropriate, particularly as legislation for them already exists. How much can and should be expected of a regime involving attendance, possibly on six occasions only, for two-hour periods? Planners might be indulging in unrealistic dreams. Our report suggests a flexible approach encouraging local initiative and expertise to widen the range and scope of instruction groups. Occasional sessions could be taken by visitors—perhaps some by women—and group discussion might be tried. The officer in charge could be supported by the equivalent of a board of visitors for the centre, to involve local trade unionists, employers, educationists, etc. and a few magistrates. This could be of value, particularly to promote experiments in the range and scope of day attendance, which might be extended to an older age-group or for specific offenders (e.g. traffic). The successful involvement of local committees in New Zealand has done much to foster the proliferation there of periodic week-end detention and day attendance centres for adults.

It is inappropriate to expect too elaborate a regime or complicated record keeping. The essence of the order is deprivation of leisure, and the staff should be given scope to devise reasonable means of employing the hours spent at the centre. P.E. sessions—in which several smaller groups combine—should continue to take up about half the session, for they are generally enjoyed in spite of excuses commonly made on reception of “not being fit”. Our report recommends that as an alternative to requiring a youth to have a doctor’s certificate, on the next occasion to substantiate his complaint there should be power for the officer in charge (or the Court making the order) to require examination by a police surgeon.

VANDALS—YES: ADDICTS—NO

The report advocates that drug takers should not be sent to attendance centres, where they can be devious and disruptive. It commends that more use should be made of orders for offences of vandalism and hooliganism. (More than one centre in large cities would enable gangs to be split up.) Orders are better made early in criminality, and should be

used more frequently for fine default and for breach of probation. They are useful also for major motoring offences, particularly where several derive from the same incident and to fine adequately on all would be unreasonable or where disqualification from driving is not ordered because of the nature of the young man’s work.

The Wootton Report had suggested an experimental centre just for traffic offenders and we ventilated the possibility that this could be set up at Greenwich. However, after much discussion we considered it would be inappropriate to make an A.C.O. for offences *not* imprisonable (e.g. speeding, careless driving if first offence, parking, precedence at zebra crossing, traffic signs and stop signs, defective brakes, steering or tyres, no road fund licence, etc.) at a time when by introduction of suspended sentences and consideration of non-custodial penalties the trend is *against* deprivation of liberty. The inspector at Greenwich—who works in the traffic division of the Metropolitan Police considered the centre would be more effective for lads of mixed offences and had found, in any case, that instruction on vehicle maintenance and driving was valuable and interesting for the majority of this age group, whatever their offence.

Orders made at Greenwich to 1971, were for theft in nearly 40 per cent of cases, motoring offences in just over 20 per cent, violence in less than 10 per cent, and for malicious damage and drunkenness less than 6 per cent. Manchester, by contrast, had orders for drunkenness more frequently.

An up-to-date circular to the Courts would be of value in improving the use made of attendance centre orders, and stress their powers and the restrictions on making an order. Courts could also be encouraged to have the defendant wait while papers are prepared, so that the order and the instructions for attendance are served on him personally. The date of first attendance should allow time for the relevant papers to reach the officer in charge before the first attendance, effective enforcement of attendance is then more likely. And the need for strict enforcement by the Court should the youth be brought back for failure to comply with regulations should be stressed. London Courts could usefully receive information when the attendance is completed, as is now done at Manchester. And a single annual report from Greenwich for Courts in the catchment area could keep justices in touch with current problems and promote more effective

use of the centre. The Manchester officer in charge prepares a comprehensive annual report, which is submitted to the prison governor and gives an admirable survey of the work done.

CHEAPER THAN PRISON—BUT A PROPER TASK FOR THE PRISON OFFICER

Treatment of offenders in the future may well change, and some aspects of the future for juveniles under the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 remain uncertain until intermediate treatment comes into force. It is not impossible that junior attendance centres will be discontinued—and if so, use of the same premises (mostly schools) and of some or all of the staff of the centres, could usefully be transferred to senior centres. The present contribution of the Prison Service is a single attendance centre—notably well run and effective. The failure to extend the influence of prison officers to centres in other areas is curious and enigmatic, for they have considerable potential. Recent studies by T. C. N. Gibbens and Suzanne Dell, and by A. K. Bottomsley have criticised magistrates who have remanded defendants in custody for reports and who have not subsequently given a custodial sentence. It is claimed that some magistrates remand “to give a taste of inside”. Nevertheless, those with knowledge of remand centres and local prisons know well that a brief sojourn there can produce a genuine change of outlook and an appraisal of personal problems and responsibilities so that the imposing of a non-custodial penalty is feasible. Overcrowding apart, the cost of custody can be considerable and its effectiveness must be continuously questioned. A remand costs not far short of £30 per week and detention centre well over £20 a week—whereas the *total cost* of an attendance centre order is estimated at less than £8. Prison staff may be desperately overworked within their institutions, but if more of them would volunteer to start and man new attendance centres on Saturday afternoons their very considerable skills in controlling and influencing young men might be most effectively used. The offenders would remain in the community, work to support themselves and have no problems of after-care and rehabilitation comparable to those inevitable on leaving an institution. To influence attitudes is uphill work within a custodial setting, with an inmate subculture promoting hardening of attitudes to staff. Relatively brief attendances, while life outside continues, do

not breed such mistrust and dislike of those in authority. Opportunities for constructive and preventive work can then exist. Attendance centres are simple, cheap to run, require a small staff and premises widely available in schools or clubs. They have the added advantage of not (as is likely with community service) being dependent on the overstretched Probation Service for their organisation. To be properly effective, senior attendance centres must be available in all large urban areas, their expansion and development properly evaluated, and the Courts be sufficiently knowledgeable to use them as an early deterrent measure.

Senior Attendance Centres

Report of Working Party

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS

General

1. The number of senior attendance centres should be increased. There should be one in every large centre of population, and several in big cities (para. 9).
2. Greater use should be made of senior attendance centres for those found guilty of vandalism and hooliganism; for certain breaches of probation; for traffic

offenders (paras. 14, 15). But drug offenders should not be sent (para. 17).

3. Every effort should be made to inform magistrates and others about senior attendance centres (para. 11). Higher Courts should also be allowed to initiate senior attendance centre orders (para. 12). Although senior attendance centres are not suitable for youths with bad records, a boy who has been to a junior approved school should not on that account alone be debarred from senior attendance centre training (para. 16). A senior attendance centre order is not a fine and should not entail financial hardship (para. 18).

4. Senior attendance centres and their staff should have closer links with the Home Office (para. 6), with senior officers of the police and prison services (para. 30) and with the community in which they are established (paras. 6, 32). The question of senior attendance centre statistics and reports should be reassessed (paras. 6, 27).

5. The deprivation of liberty for a limited period remains one of the chief objectives of the senior attendance centre. But practical classes and, where viable, community service, should be encouraged; so should a wide range of instructors and lecturers (paras. 28, 29).

Staff

6. The opportunities for voluntary work in senior attendance centres should be publicised with a view to obtaining more staff with a wider background of experience (para. 35). They should be given opportunities for training (para. 36).

7. The regular staff should be supplemented by occasional instructors including women, perhaps drawn from local voluntary organisations (para. 32).

8. The officer in charge of a senior attendance centre should be paid a flat rate administration allowance, irrespective of the numbers in his centre (para. 34). A clerical assistant should be on the establishment. Staff should be entitled to a mileage allowance or reimbursement of fares (para. 33).

Administration

9. A number of administrative measures aimed at improving attendance records are proposed. These include discretionary orders for medical examination (para. 19), improved process for bringing non-attenders to Court (para. 23) and guidance to the Courts on dealing with them (para. 24). Changes in documentation aimed at obtaining more information more quickly are also proposed (paras. 22, 26, 27).

JOHN CAMPBELL McINTYRE MATHESON, died at his home in Cheshire on 2nd February 1972 at the age of 79.

Born in 1892 he was educated at Hutcheon's Grammar School, Glasgow and, on leaving school, entered Glasgow University to study medicine. However, when World War I broke out he immediately joined the Army as a combatant officer and he served in the Cameron Highlanders until 1918. He was awarded the D.S.O. and mentioned in despatches on no less than four occasions and he retired with the rank of major having been severely wounded. He returned to his medical studies at Glasgow and graduated M.B.Ch.B. in 1922. He then worked at The Glasgow Royal Mental Hospital, Gartnavel, leaving a year later to take up general practice in Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire. He was elected to the town council in 1924 and gave up his practice in 1929 when he was appointed medical officer in the Prison Medical Service. He served first at Wormwood Scrubs and then Maidstone Prison and in 1935 he was appointed governor class I and medical officer to Holloway Prison. He remained in this post during the difficult war years and in 1945 transferred to Camp Hill Prison, Isle of Wight and then Parkhurst Prison as governor class I. In 1947 he was appointed senior medical officer to Brixton Prison where he remained until he retired in 1958. He was elected president of the Medico-Legal Society for the years 1953-4, the first serving prison medical officer to be so elected and he obtained merit promotion to the rank of principal medical officer in 1954. He was the first medical officer in the Prison Medical Service to gain such promotion and it was at Brixton Prison that he made his impact on forensic psychiatry. Indeed it can be said that during his years there he became a legend, not only in the Service but also at the Central Criminal Court and other Assize Courts in the country. In 1958 he was awarded the C.B.E. and he retired shortly afterwards.

Courageous to a degree he made light of his severe physical disabilities, which would in fact have deterred many another and during his many arduous years at Brixton he carried out his work cheerfully and fully. A man of great charm and dignity he was a distinguished forensic psychiatrist, whose professional expertise and experience were widely acknowledged by those fortunate enough to work with him.

Following his retirement in 1958 he lived quietly with his family in Hertfordshire and finally in Cheshire where he died in February 1972.

Soldier and general practitioner, town councillor and prison governor, medical officer and forensic psychiatrist, he fulfilled all these varying roles with authority and distinction. He was in fact a truly remarkable man who was honoured by his country in peace as well as in war and it was quite in the nature of things that he should have such a truly remarkable career.

He is survived by his wife, daughter and two sons who are both doctors.

I.A.A.

Articles for Publication

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W.R.V.S. PRISON WELFARE AND AFTER-CARE NORTH-WEST REGION



Service— Not Selves

MRS. FREDA ZINKIN

Those who read the W.R.V.S. notices published on the inside covers of Nos. 4 and 5 in our present series, could scarcely fail to be impressed by the range of activities listed

The Editorial Board thought that an article, expounding on some of the services undertaken, would have a general appeal and sought the help of the Publication Relations Branch of W.R.V.S. There follows the first fruits of this approach and, if its publication leads to a demand for more—whether this be for more articles or for more services in our establishments—we feel sure that this remarkable organisation will respond as it ever has, in peace and in war, by quietly getting on with the job without fuss

IT is a source of great surprise to many members of the public and indeed to many social workers that the Women's Royal Voluntary Service is actively engaged in prison and after-care work and has been for over 20 years.

Somehow, W.R.V.S. is associated with work for children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled but never with prisoners and their families.

The thought never seems to occur that prisoners have the same family problems as other people and that these problems are usually aggravated by the fact that a member of the family is serving some form of custodial sentence. If W.R.V.S. has some useful contribution to make to people and families in need, it must follow logically that they can and should offer the same help to prisoners and their families.

Throughout the country, W.R.V.S. members, working with the local prisons and local Probation Service, offer their help and support in many different ways. In some parts of the north-west region, W.R.V.S. members are working with the Probation Service in Crown Courts and Magistrates Courts, comforting and advising families of men who have received a custodial sentence and, where necessary and appropriate, visiting and offering help to these families for the duration of the sentence.

Many prisoners, however, have no families and for them release from prison may be more difficult and fearful than serving the sentence. To cater

Mrs. Freda Zinkin, an active member since 1959, ran the W.R.V.S. hostel for aged offenders in Manchester when she took up prison welfare and after-care work there in 1962. She has been prison welfare organiser for W.R.V.S. north-western region since 1968

for this need W.R.V.S. run a hostel residential club for the elderly, homeless ex-offender who is basically so institutionalised that without sheltered accommodation and care he cannot function "outside".

This hostel, opened in 1967, is fulfilling the need and it is interesting to note that some of the men have been in residence over two years despite the fact that their records show that previously they were rarely at liberty for more than a few months.

Contact with the families of men in prison has taught us that many wives dread the visit to the prison. The unfamiliar and often grim surroundings add to the tension and strain they are already feeling with the result that the visit is often a disappointing failure for both partners. In many prisons W.R.V.S. have opened canteens and tea bars, not only to serve much needed refreshments but also to lighten the atmosphere and make the visiting rooms more like a cafe.

Rooms have been opened in the prison where children can be left to play under supervision, so that husband and wife can have more chance to discuss important matters without interruption and many wives have expressed their gratitude for this service. In one prison where W.R.V.S. give a regular pre-release talk to the men, the men too have expressed gratitude for the things which have been done to make visiting so much pleasanter for their families.



W.R.V.S. Canteen in Manchester Prison

KILLED ON DUTY

An analysis of murders of English Prison Service Staff since 1850

(DR.) J. E. THOMAS

ALTHOUGH it was in 1877 that the entire prison system was taken over by the central government, there had been a convict service since 1850. Since this latter year marks the beginning of a national prison service, it is an appropriate starting point for this account. The purpose of this article is to add to the very slight body of knowledge about the history of prison staff, which is insignificant compared with the considerable amount which has been written about prisoners.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of murders of prison staff is how few there have been, compared with totals in other countries. There have been eight altogether. Scrutiny of the details reveals some interesting facts. First, there have been no murders at all in local prisons and there have been none in *prisons* for 100 years. The three offences committed in this century were all against borstal staff. Next, no less than half the total were committed at Portland. Thirdly, the motive for most murders was not escape, but revenge, usually with no chance at all of avoiding capture. Two murderers, both borstal boys, committed their offences in an effort to escape, and one other as a result of an attempt to sexually assault a borstal matron. Finally, no female officer in the women's service has ever been murdered. Other points of interest will emerge as each case is considered.

The first member of staff of the new centralised service to be murdered was assistant surgeon Hope on the *Stirling Castle* hulk at Portsmouth in 1856. He had ordered that a convict, Thomas Jones, should leave the sick bay and return to normal work. Jones lay in wait for the surgeon, and attacked him, beating him about the head. He gave himself up immediately. This murder was possibly the most unequivocally deliberate of all. Jones who, according to *The Times*, was "cool and collected" and "rather a superior or intellectual man", told the chaplain: "I did it without a pang", and further, expressed regret that he had not killed the surgeon

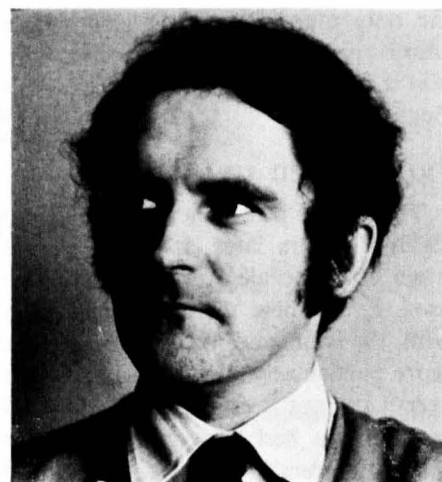
and chief warder as well.¹ He was executed.

On 8th September 1862, the first of the Portland murders took place. At that time Portland was a convict prison, taking long-term men, who were employed on public works. There was no association except at work, and then there was an armed guard which sometimes shot and killed prisoners. In spite of such rigorous supervision, a convict called Edwin Preedy succeeded in stabbing shoemaker warder Charles Evans in the throat, causing almost instant death.² Preedy was hanged. This offence was discussed in *The Times* where the view was expressed that "convicts are not men to be safely trifled with . . . there are many at Portland who would think very little of trying to murder any warder who they thought had ill-treated them". "Thought" is a crucial word, since it emerged that Preedy believed, wrongly, that warder Evans, "one of the quietest and least active of the officers", had placed him on report.³

"THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE"

There was a convict prison at Chatham in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Prisoners hated it, and nicknamed it "the slaughterhouse". Irish political prisoners were especially troublesome, there was continual unrest, and several major inquiries were held. In 1866 a prisoner who had just returned from the punishment cells was breaking stones in a party supervised by warder James Boyle, the officer who had reported him. The prisoner, James Fletcher, hit Boyle on the head with a sledge-hammer, and the warder died at once. The only defence offered by the prisoner was that another man had committed a similar offence and Boyle had not reported him.⁴ He was executed.

Portland was in the news again in March 1869 when an assistant warder, Joseph Trevitt, was killed by convict Jonah Dethridge. Trevitt, described as



Dr. J. E. ("Teddy") Thomas took an Oxford M.A. in English and then worked for the Colonial Office in Northern Rhodesia—inter alia in prisons there. He joined the Prison Service in 1960, served as an assistant governor at Feltham and later at the Staff College, Wakefield where he tutored several staff courses. He gained two further academic honours—a B.Sc. (London) in sociology and a D.Phil. (York), the first to be awarded there in social administration. He left the Service to become staff tutor in social studies at the Department of Adult Education, Hull University. In 1971 he was awarded the first Imperial Relations Trust Bursary to study and lecture on adult education in India, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand. He still lectures at Wakefield and keeps in touch with his many friends in the Prison Service. His new book, "The English Prison Officer Since 1850", has recently been published and will no doubt be widely read in prison circles. (We shall be reviewing it in our next issue.)

a "quiet, well-conducted officer" was supervising a stone-breaking party when Dethridge attacked him with a pickaxe, after an argument between the two. The convict struck him on the back of the head and in the neck, and was stopped from carrying on by other convicts and a warder with a drawn cutlass. This intervention by prisoners is a matter to which I will return. In spite of it, Trevitt died, and Dethridge was executed at Dorchester.⁵

Just a year later, in April 1870, another Portland officer, assistant warder Bly, was severely injured by blows from a shovel wielded by Thomas Ratcliffe. The officer died in June, and the convict was executed in August. An unusual feature of this case was that Ratcliffe, before his execution, asked to see the governor of Portland and, in the governor's words, he expressed "deep remorse" for what he had done.⁶ He is

the only murderer of a prison officer who is reported as having done so. This was the last murder of an officer in an English prison.

FRUSTRATED UNIONISM

There were no further murders until 1920, 50 years later. It was a period when staff morale was at a very low level. Everywhere there was disillusion with the war and its aftermath, but more particularly staff were angry that every attempt to form a meaningful trade union had been prevented. The *Prison Officers' Magazine*, which had been published since 1910, was still an "underground" publication, which staff concealed. In 1919, the outlawed National Union of Police and Prison Officers had called a strike which had resulted in 68 officers from Wormwood Scrubs, and six from Birmingham, being dismissed. Prisons were being closed, promotion prospects were worse than they had been for years, and pay levels were the subject of much bitterness. The programme of reforms since 1895, especially in borstal, was strongly resisted by the uniformed staff, who felt they were carrying the greatest strain.

It was against this background that warder Edward Adams was murdered by a borstal boy, Frederick Cullender alias Smith, at Rochester. Smith was very troublesome. He was frequently punished, had been birched and was once again in the punishment cells. He asked the officer if he could do some cleaning work. Warder Adams agreed, and while he was writing at the desk, the boy hit him on the head with a scrubbing brush. He took the keys, and released another boy called Scutt, who in fact was caught at once. Smith climbed the wall and was caught in a farm half an hour later. Warder Adams had died, and both boys were tried for his murder. Scutt was acquitted, but Smith was sentenced to death. His appeal was dismissed, but he was reprieved.⁷

The inquest jury was extremely critical of the way Rochester was administered, whilst the staff determined on some kind of collective protest. However, there was a change of governor, and Lt.-Col. Rich took over. Rich, in his autobiography,⁸ was very critical of the lack of "discipline" at Rochester. He also reveals that Smith was so unsuitable for borstal that it had

been arranged that he should be sent to prison, a process that had been halted, as Rich describes with some disgust, because a "certain high official" had interviewed Smith, and decided to give him another chance. Rich's reputation amongst staff was high, and he managed to pacify the Rochester officers, even though he expressed the opinion that Smith did not intend to kill warder Adams.

NOT WORTH REPORTING

Low morale amongst staff was not raised by a report⁹ shortly afterwards, in 1923, which, as well as refusing a pay claim, set out figures to show that prison work was less dangerous than that of railwaymen, miners, quarrymen, Metropolitan policemen, or even factory workers.

But perhaps the most significant circumstance of this murder was that it was not deemed worthy of a note in the Prison Commissioners' Annual Report. Nor was the next, which occurred at Nottingham, which was a borstal at the time, in 1948. In November of that year a borstal boy called Kenneth Strickson was cleaning the chapel under the supervision of one of the matrons, Mrs. Irene Phillips. Some time later he reported to a member of staff that he had killed her. That he intended to do so emerged from a statement to another inmate in which he said he was going to "have a go" at the matron and if she screamed "I should cosh her on the head". This extremely violent murder was committed by a lad who was described by staff as "quiet and well-behaved", "normal", with "no suspicion of violence". A medical officer was asked to comment on an E.E.G. test on Strickson, and gave his opinion that there was "nothing wrong" with him. There was no other material for a defence, and Strickson was executed in March 1949.¹⁰

The 1965 murder of officer Derek Lambert by R. K. Maxwell at Portland borstal, is too recent to need description or comment.

GOOD RELATIONSHIPS ARE NOTHING NEW

It can be seen, therefore, that the record of the ultimate in violence against staff is very slight. Why should this be so? It is extremely difficult to be sure, and the most that can be advanced as explanations are a number of propo-

sitions. It may be that our society, at all levels, including the delinquent, is less ready than some others to resort to extreme violence as a means of resolving even very difficult personal problems. But it is also possible to argue that on the whole, at a personal level, relationships between staff and inmates are very much closer and more workable than some investigations would claim. There is an especial need in this respect to challenge the stereotype of the severe Victorian officer bearing heavily upon the prisoners. It can be seen very clearly from autobiographies of Victorian prisoners that relationships were surprisingly close. This is further evidenced by the concrete and plentiful examples of prisoners helping officers in difficulty. To the attempt to save warder Trevitt in 1869, can be added many others, such as that of the two prisoners, at about the same time, who saved an officer from drowning, or the occasion at Chatham when an officer who had a fit was carried back to the prison by his party of long sentence convicts, even though he had on him a large sum of money. In some ways these incidents, and others like them, although less dramatic, are a better indicator of the nature of staff/inmate relationships than the murders of staff, tragic and regrettable as these most certainly were.

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1. *The Times*, 12th February 1856.
2. Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons 1862, p. 124.
3. *The Times*, 26th December 1862.
4. Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons 1866, p. 149.
5. Details of this offence can be found in the appendices to the evidence submitted to the Departmental Committee on Prisons (The Gladstone Committee) 1895.
6. Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons 1870, p. 117.
7. There is an account of this murder in the *Chatham Standard*, 14th December 1971, as part of a series on "Medway Crimes".
8. *Recollections of a Prison Governor* by Lt.-Col. C. E. F. Rich, pub. Hurst and Blackett 1932.
9. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into the Pay and Conditions of Service at the Prison and Borstal Institutions, etc. Cmd. 1959, 1923 (The Stanhope Committee).
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The Prison System

An Example of Criminal Negligence

STANLEY R. FRAGER, PH.D.

Los Angeles County Probation Department Staff

IN VISITING prisons and institutions in Britain, Scotland, Wales, Ceylon and Australia, I was struck with the similarities and consistency in the problems and needs of penal reform.

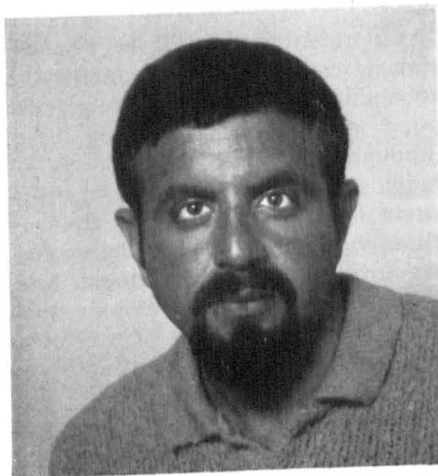
As in the United States, there is great ignorance about the results of putting people in institutions, and further, there is little being done to reverse a hopeless record of failures.

In some of our poorer communities and poor States, large reform schools and similar institutions have become "warehouses" of youth who might grow and develop more positive attitudes to life if given the opportunity. In order to reduce the tremendous mass of youth involved in crime, we will initially have to make tremendously greater efforts with our very young and primary schoolchildren.

It is not a difficult task to pin-point those areas which have high rates of juvenile delinquency. It is in these areas that a concentrated effort in such programmes as child care centres, improved health services, and other youth-orientated programmes must be intensified. These are the areas where our best teachers need to be doing their work, where our best efforts and best resources should go rather than the inexperienced and poorly-trained instructors too often found there. In these areas, we will have to provide opportunities such as job corps and vocational job training in order to reach the thousands of youngsters who will not otherwise be diverted out of the juvenile justice system. Not until we make inroads into our pre-delinquency problem will we see significant results at later stages. Following are some of my perceptions about the causes and results of our negligence in penal reform and crime prevention.

THE CAUSE

An interesting survey (Lemert, 1968) of 15-20 correctional institutions showed that about 30 per cent of their inmates were children admitted for conduct that would not have been judged criminal if committed by adults. Similar studies show that almost 50 per



Designated as a 1971 Winston Churchill Fellow, Dr. Frager spent four months in studying and observing prison systems throughout Great Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations. This article is a reflection of some of the learning gained in his travels

cent of approximately 10,000 children in State and local detention programmes had no record of criminal acts (Lemert, 1968). An additional way of diverting such children in need requires treatment through social service agencies or through the Department of Education. In Scotland, for example, delinquent children through 17 years of age are treated completely by the Department of Social Services. In such diverse places as New Jersey and Scotland, they define youth problems primarily as educational ones, to be dealt with in the context of the school system (Lemert, 1968). Many of the Scandinavian countries also treat delinquent problems as educational problems to be dealt with outside the Juvenile Court system.

Recently, I visited a detention centre in Southern England. The governor of the institution explained to me carefully how "we" see they brush their teeth every evening and "we" put them in bed, etc. I think that the young men in the detention centre chose to brush their teeth in the light of the repercussions that would have immediately followed if they had not brushed their teeth, and carried out the other direc-

tions of staff. Unfortunately, numerous studies in the area of behavioural psychology have shown us that when there is a delay in the aversive stimuli or the reinforcement, the power of suggestion loses its effect. So, while young men will brush their teeth every day in order to avoid the unpleasant results that would immediately follow if they didn't, once they return to their home setting the probability of their continuing to do so is slight.

DETERRENCE OR INSTITUTIONALISATION?

The concept that prison or detention is so aversive that it will become a deterrent to future criminal activity has already been substantially disproved; what instead happens is institutionalisation.

The result of "institutionalisation" is the process of alienating the inmate or youngster from the outside community. There is an undermining of any feeling of self-confidence or self-respect. Institutionalisation means also a loss of the ability to make decisions and act independently, which is the inevitable effect of confinement in any institution.

Crowther (*Annals*, 1969), in her report on the California Correctional System, which is considered very progressive, found that the length of prison confinement made no difference either in deterring the community from the commission of crimes or in reforming individual prisoners. There was no evidence that severe penalties deterred crime any more efficiently than less severe penalties. There was some evidence to indicate that the critical elements in successful rehabilitation varied according to the type of individual and the type of offence.

In Britain, 70 per cent of the young men under 21 years of age in borstals later commit further crimes, and what is even worse is that 75 per cent of the men in British prisons have already previously served five sentences. Over and over again we see the failure of our penal system, yet do little or nothing to change it! The governor of one of these

prisons spoke of men being sent there as "damaged". He went further to say that the *most* he could hope for was that when the man had served his sentence, he would leave the prison not any more "damaged" than the condition in which he came. That this should be the most that could be hoped for, is a pitiful situation.

Therefore, relying on longer and harsher sentences for prisoners, inhumane and degrading treatment, and severe punishments for young men, is not only inhumane, but in terms of recidivism, does not work.

A CONTRADICTION

An English warden explained that magistrates in his district were sending him an ever increasing number of inmates while, at the same time, publicly praising him for incorporating an intensive work furlough and home furlough programme. He was somewhat angry, because if the public and the Courts were accepting his sending inmates home, why were they sending them to prison in the first place? In addition to this, prison administrators are faced with many other problems. Williams (1969) points out some of the dilemmas of the administrator as a result of Judges not knowing what can be expected to happen to the offender when he has been committed to prison:

... that the decision to commit him is essentially negative; an admission of failure on his part and on ours, if only in the sense that we cannot think of a more constructive means of coping with him.

The problem, then, for the prison administrator is almost intolerable. He is conscious of all these conflicting expectations. He has no control over the policy of the Courts in committing men to prison, and thus, no means of selecting those offenders for whom imprisonment might possibly be made into a constructive experience. He must administer a system that is overcrowded and starved of adequate finance to replace antique, obsolete buildings or to increase the number of staff. Given these circumstances, the institutional administrator has concentrated upon the problem of establishing an efficient and humane system of management. Within this framework, he has sought to confine and restrict the aims of the institution; firstly, to provide adequate security, as a means of protecting the

community; secondly, to endeavour to incorporate some sort of training or treatment in the hope of effecting the reformation of at least some inmates.

I think there is a public pressure to have "punishment" for misdeeds while at the same time there is awareness of the ineffectiveness and destructiveness of our prison system. If our main objective is to reduce further involvement in criminal acts, then punishment is not a useful tool in and of itself.

As a probation officer, I feel I have a primary responsibility in reducing the probability of recidivism among those young people placed in my care. Although there are many ways of "judging" success with regard to delinquency (Conrad, 1969), I feel that my primary obligation is in stopping further involvement in delinquent acts. Although a Court ward or prisoner may leave the institution with "better communication with his parents, a more constant attitude towards school and authority figures, and a greater increase in impulse controls", I feel that if he then involves himself in criminal activity I have basically failed in my primary obligation of assisting him in those areas which brought him to the institution in the first place. It may well be that improved communications and positive regard for authority figures are necessary ingredients in successful readjustment to the community setting, but in fact, the number one criterion of success is the degree to which the young person is further involved in delinquent activities. The inevitable result of continued delinquent behaviour is placement in a prison.

THE RESULT

The permanence and ineffectiveness of our penal system is obvious. In many prisons today it is typical for there to be huge walls, armed guards, and extraordinary precautionary methods to restrain prisoners from the periphery. Meanwhile, inside the prison, there often exists a jungle. Basically, there is a tremendous amount of fear and violence, as most wardens, governors, etc., devote their energies to preventing riots and extreme outbreaks of behaviour. Meaningless and irrelevant work when it is available is the best that most prisons of the world offer. More often than not there is little in the way of meaningful work or constructive education available. It is a known fact that recidivism—that is the repeating of crime by known criminals who have already been prosecuted—can be cut in half. If only one-half of the repeated

crime that is now occurring could be eliminated, society would be free of 40 per cent of all serious crime. Early prison and detention was basically a matter of vengeance. The "crime of punishment", as Karl Menninger has pointed out, is the responsibility of *all* society and contributes to subsequent criminal acts inflicted upon the very people who are trying to protect themselves. The use of institutions to punish is often rewarded by more crime.

Although we have some idea of the success (or failure) of our prison system with adults, with the exception of a few experimental programmes, we have very little knowledge of whether programmes of rehabilitation are succeeding or failing. (An excellent review of the *few* studies that have been done and the problems involved in the evaluation of delinquency can be found in Simon's *Prediction Methods in Criminology* (1971).) (See also Empey, 1960.) A case for *criminal* negligence on the part of penologists, Judges, and those involved in the administration of juvenile justice could be made for the fault of not knowing the result of programmes that involve thousands of men.

BY GUESS AND BY GOD

It seems incomprehensible that so many people could be involved in so many programmes without any idea of what effect these programmes are having. It is as if a physician prescribed medicine and practiced medicine on patients but never looked further or followed up the effect his medications were having upon his patients. Or, to borrow from a business model, it is like the businessman who has no idea whether he is making a profit or loss. This would be unthinkable in medicine or business and yet we do it daily with thousands of young lives. A doctor who is prescribing medicines that are succeeding, knows when to cut back on dosage or to follow-up with additional measures. In the same fashion a businessman, if he is making a profit, has the opportunity to pour more funds back into his business and to expand his potential or to increase his effectiveness. If he is constantly losing money, he will stop and try alternate methods. It would seem reasonable that with adequate information of which programmes are succeeding and to what degree of effectiveness, we would be in a position to put more money and resources into those programmes which are succeeding in reducing recidivism and in eliminating those programmes which fail.

At present, there is a preponderance of Judges and magistrates who have little

idea as to what effect their decisions are having upon the people they are sentencing. In addition to this, there is little appreciation or understanding by many people in the juvenile justice and adult correctional system of the deprivations, poverty, and lack of opportunity in the poor and under-privileged areas of their community. There is obviously a need for education and information throughout all levels of the justice process. There are many instances of young men and adolescents being sent to closed institutions, because of a lack of half-way homes, foster homes, and other types of less drastic placements.

There is no question about the relationship of crime and poor education coupled with unemployment, poor health and inadequate housing. As Ramsay Clark, former U.S. Attorney General writes:

In every major city in the United States, you will find that two-thirds of the arrests take place among only about 2 per cent of the population.

The solutions for our slums, for racism and crime itself in mass society, are basically economic. If we are to control crime, we must undertake a massive effort to rebuild our cities and ourselves, to

improve the human condition, to educate, employ, house and make healthy. And with the vastness of our growth and the immensity of change we must move urgently.

There is a constant problem in low-economic and less-opportunity areas and, therefore, those who live in areas which do little to assist in a positive environment also fail in providing opportunity and choices for rehabilitation and growth. There can be little social justice where there is poverty.

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fore he has to rob and steal to get money, and according to the degree of urgency with which the drug is needed, so vary the crimes, ascending the scale from shoplifting to mugging and murder.

The Department of Corrections decided that it was time something new was tried to break this vicious circle, and they have aimed at first curing the criminal addicts already in and coming into custody. Hence the "community centre" project.

The community centre is a large, fairly old house, bought by the department and converted, at very low cost, to accommodate about 20 patients. Each house has a staff of 6, one superintendent, three male assistants, a clerk and a nurse, both women. One of the male assistants in one of the centres is an ex-drug addict; the assumption is that he has a greater insight into the problems of his charges. It is hoped to be able to employ at least one ex-addict in each of the centres. Also, as 91 per cent of the patients in the four centres are negro, only negroes are employed to administer them. Therefore, the staff not only have the required skills, they also have a far greater knowledge of their patients' environmental background than any white staff could have.

Patients are selected for the centres by the Medical Director's Department. About 90 per cent are transferred from the prisons on a special type of parole, and the remainder are sent directly from the Courts on a suspended sentence. If they do not conform to the treatment situation the parole is revoked or the sentence implemented and the offender is whisked off to prison without any warning. Whilst in the centre all patients are required to take suitable jobs of work in the outside community, found for them by the department, and each morning leave the centre for work just as if they were living at home. Meals are not served in the centre, so each patient is given enough money each morning to pay for restaurant meals, fares and cigarettes. This means they are away from the centre from early morning until returning in the early evening, when they go directly to the

Addicts

Let Them Help Themselves

GEORGE O. MUNTON

Hospital Principal Officer at Grendon Psychiatric Prison

THE insidious cult of drug-taking is spreading like a malignant growth in too high a proportion of our youth. An unhappy thought, unless something is done very soon, and very positively, to arrest it. The last Home Secretary made a start by lightening the penalties for the drug user and weighting the penalties for the malevolent pusher. But once the cancer has become rooted in our society it will take a deal more than surrounding it with penalties to uproot it.

Whilst visiting recently the Washing-

ton, D.C. Department of Corrections, I discovered that they are faced now with a drug problem that may well be ours in the very near future, if we do no more about it than we are now doing.

Of the Washington prison population, 65 per cent are addicted to the hard drugs, and significantly, they are in custody mainly for crimes other than, or in addition to, drug possession. The addict must have the money to buy his drugs and because of his addiction cannot hold down a regular job there-

one-room clinic, where their urine is tested for the presence of drugs; a quick and simple procedure, and if the test is negative they are given their daily dose of the morphine substitute methadone, in orange juice. This method is used so that a steadily decreasing dose of methadone may be given, without the patient being aware of the fact that his dose was being reduced, until ultimately he is getting only orange juice, thus weaning him from the substitute for the hard drug to which he was addicted. This physical treatment is reinforced by evening sessions of group psychotherapy.

Salary cheques earned by the patients are handed over to the superintendent who, after having deducted enough to cover the cost of the daily hand-out, accommodation and treatment charges, banks the remainder in the patient's name. The patient gets this amount on discharge in the form of a bank pass book. This way the patient feels he has a stake in his own salvation, and contributing toward the cost of his treatment makes him a little less likely to waste it. He is shown that he can hold down a job along with the average citizen, and the system enables all those involved in the treatment situation to evaluate progress in a much nearer to natural environment than prison could ever be. For where there is no temptation how can resistance to it be assessed?

An added advantage to the project is its very low cost. It was estimated that a patient could be treated in a centre for only one-eighth of the cost of keeping him in prison, where little or no good can be done for a drug addict. The success rate has yet to be statistically evaluated, as when I was looking at the project it had had only four months trial. But this seemed to be sufficiently encouraging to the department for, I was told, they were seeking seven more suitable dwelling-houses to convert into community centres, and I am sure that by now they are functional.

Could we not take a little heed of what is happening in Washington and use their response to a desperate situation to, perhaps, prevent our own situation from becoming as desperate?

Cry of the Neck Ringed Penal Warbler

Come! Hail the Phoenix.

My song sounds sweeter
Sung in five feet, over crowded
metre.

And if, by chance, these lines you
care repeat
Mind the need to Stress
All outriding feet.

Once upon a long ago time, on crime
De Terrent said,
Sleep 'em all in one bed
Together.
The mad, the sad and the bad.

Stop, said Reform, in all humanity
Bedlam and Prison must always be
A separate entity:
But, tell me:
How do you expiate
Expendiency?

But look, the penal dawn came inching
up.
We sang Resurgam, kindness filled
our cup.
Shining like angels
We sprinkled Gold dust
On every man.
It was pure—Stardust.

Now we're methodised, nearly maxi-
mised,
Even role structured wind is utilised.
Strange new words communicate and
Confuse.
Even computers no longer
Amuse.

Socio-technic change is now the thing
And, singing hallowed songs of six-
pence, fling
Praise at computered
Evaluation.
Which is better than
Annihilation.

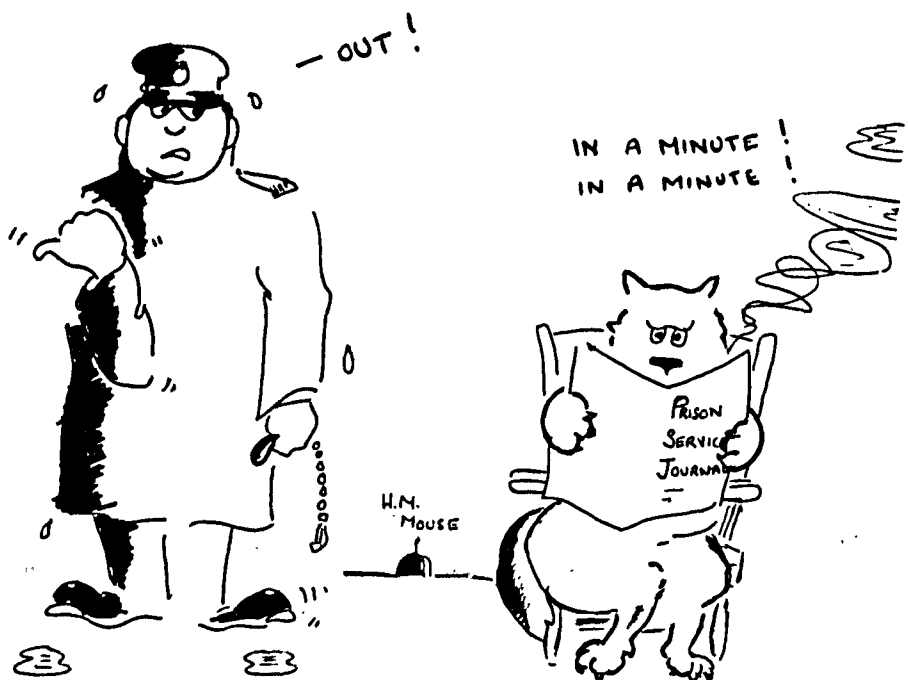
These lines will make more sense if
read
Objectively, or
Standing on your head.
Or when some abstract thought is
tread
Far from our penal watershed.
High flying birds will make their mark
when led
To motivate a seminar instead.

Now, before third stage magic words
are said
It might, in blindfold silence, best be
read
Reverently, or
When you're very dead.

Or better still
Awake
In one Large bed.

Crying, with the sad
The mad
And the bad.

ALAN ap RICHARDS



Development from Humane Containment Towards Meaningful Treatment

VICTOR POPE



Victor Pope, assistant governor in charge of the life sentence and first offender wing, H. M. Prison, Aylesbury. Mr. Pope, a former warrant officer in the Army Air Corps, spent four years as a probation officer in the City of Coventry and joined the Prison Service in 1968. He has served at Wakefield and Northallerton

RECENT comment by a Judge and a Learned Recorder have suggested a way of thinking about an extension of the present penal system that indicates a trend toward making the punishment fit the crime rather than make the criminal fit the society. The offender would perform a useful task but may have difficulty in adjusting his mind to giving a willing performance.

THE MOBILE OPEN PRISON

In looking for an alternative form of treatment and in going some way to meeting the request for a labour corps I put forward the suggestion of the mobile open prison.

In Australia if you were to ask for the town of Lakewood you would be told: "Well, the last time I saw it it was about 12 miles up the track". You see it moves.

Here we have a community that lives in prefabricated units that fit to the flat cars of the national railway. Each unit can be extended upwards or outwards but still fits into the pre-arranged area for travel. The line is laid and heads into the timber area.

The units are unloaded and the community is set up. Timber in the area is cut and the time arrives for the community to move. Each unit reloads and is transported to the next working area. Within one week children sit at the same desks in the same classrooms and the shopkeeper serves his customers over the same counter. The town has a

postal address, its own councils and its own identity.

Adapt this scheme to that of a mobile open prison and a number of difficulties are overcome. Work could be undertaken on roads, canals and railways, all of which would contribute towards the national economy.

The siting of the prison would perhaps be more acceptable if local residents realised that it was not there to stay. Land could probably be rented, possibly for a maximum period of two years.

Staffing could be a problem but I know that there would be a certain enthusiasm for the idea. (This results from putting out tentative enquiries and receiving very positive replies.)

THE PRISON VILLAGE

As an alternative to the overcrowded prison I suggest the prison village.

It may be that a village of prefabricated units could be set up and become a self supporting unit. This already exists in the standard open prison. However, there could be room to extend the plan.

When a prisoner reaches the final stage of his sentence he could be sent to the village. Here he would be accepted as a member of an established community with its own factories and rural industries, chapel, public house and post office. Here he would be expected to take part in the life of the community.

It would have its own council, sanitation services and all the trappings of local government. In the factories he would earn a full wage. Most prized of all would be his own house. He would be told that he was expected to maintain it and the ground around it. In this house he would be taught household management and to provide for himself. Daily he would be faced with the normal problems of community living such as National Insurance, taxation and civic responsibility.

At the week-end he could be visited by his family and they could stay. (Would this solve the vexed problem of the conjugal visit?) I believe we could return to society a more self-sufficient man, equipped to lead the "good and useful life" of rule one.

The public house would certainly give those who undergo treatment for alcoholism a realistic chance to confirm their treatment, and those who have treated them a controlled follow-up period in which to assess the result.

Treatment has many facets and I feel that we often lose our way simply because there are no demarcation lines and consequently "who does what and why" is lost, and doubt is cast upon those who do not train, rehabilitate, punish, treat, chastise and raise again the fallen all under one roof.

THE THREE STAGE PRISON

Perhaps a solution lies in the three stage prison. Each would have its separate role. Punishment, training and rehabilitation. Basically we need a prison, a training centre and hostel. In the first we need a period where the debt demanded by society is paid. The regime need be no harsher than our present system allows. In the second stage the training really begins and courses are planned to prepare the prisoner for his entry back into society. This is the stage when he is taught to pay his way, attend to his social obligations, and take his trade training courses. From here he would progress to the hostel.

Throughout these three stages the objective of each stage is clear and meaningful. It allows for specialist training and planning to be concentrated in each specific area, and for resources of specialist groups to be applied unhindered by the restrictions that necessarily surround the type of establishment that looks only to security.

The "Pool Experiment"

A study by M. Williams, senior psychologist, Wormwood Scrubs, of "Pool Allocation" of borstal boys in the period 1964-7. (This is a revision of a paper read to the British Association in 1970.)

INTRODUCTION

THE borstal system in England and Wales contains two major administrative elements: the borstal institutions and two allocation centres. Every offender sentenced to borstal training goes first to the allocation centre, and then on to a selected borstal. The purpose of this procedure is described in the White Paper, *People in Prison*: "The staff of an allocation centre make an assessment of each young offender, taking account of his background before sentence, his mental and intellectual ability, his age, his degree of criminal sophistication and the likelihood of his seeking or taking an opportunity to abscond. The offender then goes to one of the training borstals, which aim to provide a range of regimes to deal with the various types of offender".

Explicit in this arrangement is the notion that borstal trainees should be segregated to receive separate borstal experience, and furthermore, that by this process, overall penal success will be increased. This notion is an attractive one. But its implementation has necessarily preceded scientific investigation of the efficacy of specific combinations of types of offender and types of regime. It is an empirical problem to identify and test the effects of such combinations and one requiring the experimental manipulation of the allocations of trainees to borstal regimes. The experiment about to be described is such an attempt.

THE EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The experiment took advantage of the fact that there existed three open borstals, of roughly equal size, exemplifying three important approaches to the treatment of the young offender. They may be conveniently labelled as a "casework" regime, a "group counselling" regime and a "traditional" regime. The definition in depth of these regimes was not attempted, but descriptions of them are available (Fisher 1967). They represented comparatively sophisticated developments of ideas current in the Prison Service, but, of course, reflected to some degree individual attempts to translate them into existing practise. The normally high staff turnover, how-

ever, which generates great changes in regimes, was considerably reduced, although the initial intention to prevent any staff changes during the experiment was in the event not possible. Normal borstal rules held in all three institutions; the indeterminate sentence was maintained throughout, with individual achievements being related to promotion through the various grades.

The role of the allocation staff in the experiment was to select a pool of young offenders considered suitable for open conditions. This would automatically exclude both sexual and violent offenders (unless there were very unusual circumstances), as well as the more criminally experienced. Added constraints on eligibility for this pool were two-fold: the age range was from 16 to 18½ years, and the intellectual ability had to be in the upper 70 per cent of the borstal population. The effect of the latter was to exclude illiterates and dull-normals, rather than to select abnormally intelligent offenders. Hence, the final experimental sample was drawn from the younger, brighter and less criminally sophisticated of the total borstal population.

Having been selected for the pool, the trainee was interviewed by a prison psychologist, and this interview, along with the normal prison documentation, provided the material for standardised individual assessments. Personality tests were also given (in the form of questionnaires), quite independently of the psychologist's ratings. Finally, and only after this procedure had been completed, the trainee was randomly allocated to one of the three training institutions.

THE SAMPLE

Random allocation of trainees began in February 1964, and continued until June 1967. The main sample was of those allocated from January 1965, until May 1966, inclusive. This group was isolated (for the whole of its time in pool borstals) from non-random allocations. It represents, in other words, the effect of the "treatments" on pure samples of randomly-selected trainees. In all, it contained 613 members, but three were released on appeal, leaving a total of 610. In Table I, the destinations and rates of transfer for this sample are set out.

TABLE I

Allocated to	No.	Percentage	No. of Transfers
"Groupwork"	219	35.9	30
"Traditional"	197	32.3	32
"Casework"	196	31.8	44

It is evident from this table that the sample was considerably reduced by the loss (17.4 per cent) due to transfers out. Furthermore, the slight initial differences in institutional representation were increased (albeit marginally) by differential loss through transfers. Some policy difference was evident here: the "casework" borstal tended to have a higher rate of absconding, and this contributed to the higher rate of transfers. The "traditional" borstal had a much lower rate of absconding, but provided a comparatively large number of transfers for disciplinary reasons.

CRITERION OF FAILURE

Borstal after-care records provided information on the events subsequent to each boy's discharge. In particular, all reconvictions, together with date of occurrence and final Court decision, were noted. This information was analysed in different ways, but experience showed that different measures of failure were highly correlated, so the criterion of failure adopted in the following results is any reconviction within two years of release. Although this ignores the seriousness of subsequent offending, it has the merit of objectivity as an index of borstal effectiveness.

THE RESULTS: THE WHOLE SAMPLE

The amount of data generated by this experimental approach was considerable, and analysis is under way. The results presented here are a summary of some preliminary findings, considered to be of particular interest to those working in the field. Within 12 months of release, 49.8 per cent of the 610 had been reconvicted at least once, and by the end of two years the figure was 62.6 per cent. This is a high figure, but it must be borne in mind that this is from the widest definition of failure.

The rates of failure for those who were transferred, and those who remained in the pool, were contrasted. For the former, a failure rate of 78.3 per cent demonstrated just how poor is the prognosis for these early failures in open conditions. With these removed, the failure rate of the remainder dropped slightly, to 59.3 per cent.

The transfers out may be subdivided into two further groups, with ultimate failure rates: for discipline reasons 82.8 per cent, for absconding 76.6 per cent. Not only were the transfers out high risk failures; they also failed much more quickly (as indeed they had in open borstal conditions). Within nine months of discharge, 56 per cent of them were reconvicted at least once.

THE RESULTS: THE THREE INSTITUTIONS

The failure rates of the groups who remained throughout in their receiving institution (i.e., 504 of the 610 allocated) are set out in Table II. The better success rate of the "casework" borstal would have occurred by chance alone less than once in 20 such experiments. Table II, shows the percentage failure at the end of two years. It reveals that the comparative success of the "casework" borstal was not due to the higher rate of transfers from this institution *per se*: the difference is sustained if the total allocated is used (610 trainees), instead of the total less the transfers out (504 trainees).

TABLE II

Per cent failing of	"Case-work"	"Traditional"	"Group Counselling"
Total allocated	55.15	66.49	65.75
Total less transfers	50.66	63.03	62.96

The difference is also sustained if more stringent measures of failure are adopted. For example, taking failure as a custodial sentence, or two or more non-custodial sentences; then the final rates of failure are: "casework" 42.0 per cent; "group counselling" 55.03 per cent; "traditional" 52.7 per cent.

COMMENT

The aim of the pool experiment was to discover whether certain types of borstal trainee would be more suited to one kind of borstal experience than another. So far, such an interaction between type of boy and type of regime has not been clearly demonstrated. It is a little disconcerting for allocation purposes that one institution seems to have done marginally better than the other two with all types of boy. Indeed, evidence is growing that in so far as any interaction is present, it is in the direction opposite to that predicted: the traditional regime seems to have succeeded slightly more with boys rated as most disturbed, and the casework regime with those rated least disturbed. However, the effect is only very marginal. Overall, the dominant impression is that the institutions all succeed with the same kind of boy, and the higher success rate of casework regime has not been restricted to a particular sub-type.

REFERENCE

FISHER, ROBERT M. "The assessment of the effects on English borstal boys of different correctional training and treatment programmes." Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of London, 1967.

A STUDY OF THE INMATES OF THE PENTONVILLE PRE-RELEASE EMPLOYMENT SCHEME

June 1969-June 1970

by Miss Z. L. Whitlock, formerly psychologist at Pentonville. (Abstract of Chief Psychologist (CP) Report B2.)

A study was made of prisoners who make up the population of Pentonville pre-release employment scheme. The sample taken was a year's intake who arrived and departed between June 1969 and June 1970.

The aim was to describe the population and discover variables which differentiate between failures and successes. In fact few of the variables considered were found to do this, the only significant differences were associated with marital status and stability of marital relationships. Men who have or have had a permanent relationship with a woman are much more likely to succeed on the scheme than unattached men.

Other findings were:

- (1) An uneven distribution of different kinds of failure (i.e. absconding, rearrests and removals from the scheme) in relation to time actually spent on the scheme.
- (2) Differences between failure behaviour of this sample, the total population of the scheme since it was started and other hostel schemes.
- (3) Length of stay in jobs after release.
- (4) Rate of further convictions after release.

Conclusions are drawn from the results and suggestions made about the treatment needs of "hostellers".

Readers Write . . .

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

By definition the Prison Service is a small but widely dispersed service. The Journal could do more to provide an area for communication between colleagues who by the nature of the Service lose touch. I would like to see space given to interesting developments in special service fields such as welfare and education, and particularly to the further education facilities available to staff, especially uniformed staff. Rele-

vant to the latter it would be useful to learn of the current activities in this sphere. Above all I would make an earnest plea for brevity in all and every article published in future. Far too many articles become verbose and too frequently resemble official reports and/or circulars. In short I would like to feel the Journal to be the medium through which it were possible to discover "what's going on" in the 100 or so "other islands" of the Service.

A. W. WREN,
*Education Officer,
H.M. Prison, Grendon.*

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

PRISON MEALS

May I please quote from your April 1972 issue. On page 7 I read: "... before starting work there was breakfast. Company issue food as shapeless and tasteless as his company issue clothes . . . Lunch came and went, the food slightly less shapeless than breakfast . . . one prisoner's world 1972".

On page xviii of the D.I.S. Supplement I read: "... the present trend towards perfection. . . A cooked breakfast each day, a three course lunch and more often than not a cooked tea. The giving of choices is slowly becoming the accepted thing".

Is one permitted to ask which of your contributors is misinformed or alternatively who is pulling whose leg?

J. MASHEDER,
Board of Visitors, Kirkham Prison.

A notice that used to hang—perhaps still does—on the wall in E wing at Portland read: "There is your story, there is my story, and there is the truth!" I guess this still applies.—Ed.

TO THE EDITOR
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

A CORRECTION

The review of the paperback, *Soledad Brother*, describes Krupskaya as Trosky's wife. This is a misprint—Krupskaya was Lenin's widow. The parallel I was trying to draw in my review of the book was between Trotsky writing to Krupskaya from exile seeking to enlist her aid for his cause, and George Jackson writing to Mrs. Fay Stender.

The contrast in styles is noteworthy.

W. PERRIE,
Governor, Long Lartin.

We apologise!—Ed.

The Idea of a Professional Institute

7
July 1972

SOME time ago a charitable foundation, wishing to devote a sum of money to some purpose designed to improve the prison system and to promote a better public understanding of its objectives, invited several people including members of the Prison Department to meet with the trustees to examine how this aim might be achieved. It seemed to those who attended this meeting that the most effective contribution towards prison reform would necessarily come through the development of skills and understanding of members of the Prison Service and an informal committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Peterson to examine in what way this development might best be aided.

The Committee accepted that perhaps the greatest need in the Prison Service at present is that its members, recognising the potential value and importance of their individual and collective role, should be given greater opportunities of enlarging their knowledge and understanding of penal matters and, moreover, should have enhanced opportunities of engaging the interest of other services and of the public at large in what the Prison Service is attempting to do and the problems it faces.

The committee, whilst recognising the important role that training plays in the Prison Service, came to the conclusion that valuable support might be afforded by the foundation of a professional institute for those working in the Prison Service.

The aims of the institute were seen as being:

- (a) To improve the standing of the Prison Service in the eyes of the general public; and to provide opportunities for the general public to discover and discuss the problems of the Prison Service.
- (b) To provide common ground where, irrespective of rank, all members of the Prison Service in the United Kingdom may share their professional experience.
- (c) To provide educational opportunities not already available.

(d) To stimulate the interest and concern of those who work in related fields.

(e) To establish a centre for the dissemination of information relating to institutional work in this and other countries.

In order to achieve these aims the institute might:

(a) Organise conferences, discussions, debates, lectures, visits, having in mind both the regional and national interests of its members. Certain of these conferences would be open to the general public.

(b) Facilitate access to information of interest to members. The institute would be a centre from which knowledge of new developments at home and abroad could be made available. It would, in turn, make use of professional centres of information.

(c) Correspond with like-minded organisations at home and abroad.

The institute would not concern itself with pay, allowances, conditions of service of its members which are the proper concern of the respective staff associations.

Membership of the institute would be open to all who work in Prison Department establishments in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland.

Although the foundation would be prepared to underwrite the capital and running costs of the institute, including a very small permanent staff and an office for up to three years, it would be necessary to ensure that the continuing expense would be met from membership fees. If sufficient people would undertake to pay £3 per year or 25p per month it would be possible to make a start.

At this stage it is appropriate to seek the views of members of the Service and to invite comments upon the committee's preliminary thoughts including suggestions as to other ways in which the foundation's aims may be better achieved.

The committee, therefore, with the approval of the foundation, invites comments and suggestions as entries to a competition. The writers of the three

entries judged by the foundation to be the most practical and original will receive prizes of £20, £10, and £5 respectively and their names will be published in the *Prison Service Journal* and the *Prison Officers' Association Magazine*.

Entries (marked "Competition") should be sent to The Secretary, Bishop Creighton House, 378 Lillie Road, Fulham, London, SW6/7PH, to arrive not later than 30th September 1972.

In any event the submission of views on this project, whether as part of the competition or not, will be of the greatest value in assessing the views of the Service as a whole.

RECONVICTION AFTER TREATMENT AT GRENDON

A study of reconvictions of men released from Grendon in 1964, 1965, and 1966, by Mrs. M. Newton, senior psychologist, Oxford. (Abstract of Chief Psychologist (CP) Report B1.)

Summary

A follow-up study of reconvictions was done on all men who were released from Grendon Prison in 1964, 1965 and 1966. A number of different analyses were carried out on this data, which have made use of follow-up periods of one to five years. Reconviction rate was measured in terms of any conviction within the follow-up period. Reconviction rates were compared with those of corrective trainees, psychiatric patients at H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, and with those derived from prediction tables. The Grendon sample was also divided according to length of stay and circumstances of leaving, i.e. transferred or released. Number and seriousness of convictions were compared for equal periods before and after the Grendon sentence and corresponding behaviour noted for a matched sample of men at H.M. Prison, Oxford. Change in the nature of offences was also noted for both of these samples.

None of the analyses have produced convincing evidence that reconviction rates are generally lower as a result of treatment, although one comparison (with corrective trainees), yields one significant positive result out of the three samples studied. The "before" and "after" results are superficially encouraging; however, the very similar results obtained for prisoners at Oxford suggest that these should not be interpreted as evidence of improvement following treatment.

The Way Back

Three "Case-Histories" in Rehabilitation

ANN LEE

Some while ago we published an article by a leading midlands industrialist describing his experiences of ex-prisoners as factory workers.

Mrs. Ann Lee reports on a very different "experiment"—an attempt to settle ex-offenders in forestry work in a fairly isolated small community. When the idea first came to her, Mrs. Lee wrote to Hugh Klare, then secretary of the Howard League, who put her in touch with Bromley Davenport, north-east regional organiser for N.A.C.R.O., and the rest followed.

DURING the winter of 1970, various prison welfare officers were told that we had several vacancies for young married men to work as woodmen on a private estate.

In due course, the names of several men who might be suitable, and who were shortly due to be released, were sent to us. We particularly asked that their wives should attend the interview too, because this is a very isolated country district and we felt that it was very important for them to understand the sort of life they might expect to lead and to see the cottage they would live in.

We eventually engaged three couples, Mr. and Mrs. A, B and C, who started work during February and March 1971.

Mr. and Mrs. A came for their interview with our local probation officer. Mr. A was allowed parole for one night to enable him to get here. The nature of the job was very fully explained to him, as it was in both other cases. This, we felt, was very important, because the work of a woodman on a private estate can be lonely as he is one of a small work force and monotonous at times, because it involves a considerable amount of hand weeding, dyking and planting and not all the work can be done by machines. Mr. and Mrs. A were shown their cottage and had a short drive round the district.

Mr. B was not allowed out of prison for his interview, so we met him there in the presence of his welfare officer and his wife, who had been brought specially from her home to see us. His civilian supervisor, the prison governor and chief officer also saw us briefly and spoke well of his work. Mrs. B was very anxious to be able to have a home ready for her husband on his release, so the prison welfare officer drove her over, with her small boy, to see the cottage we intended to put them into. On this occasion she met our schoolmistress

and discussed her son's entry into school, Sunday school, etc. This cottage was being modernised and, due to circumstances beyond our control, was not ready when Mr. B was released, so for the first three months this family was placed in another. Again the prison welfare officer brought Mrs. B and her child here just before her husband left prison and on his release he was brought here to join them.

Mr. and Mrs. C were the last couple to come. In every case the Probation and Welfare Services went to enormous trouble to help and to try to smooth out any difficulties.

Right from the start, the A's and the C's seemed to be in continuous financial trouble. I think this may partly be due to the fact that the decimal currency had just begun and made settling down even more complicated. It soon became apparent that Mr. A was not going to be satisfactory and, unfortunately, after two months he was arrested for theft and returned to prison.

Mr. B and Mr. C caused considerable trouble for some time by prolonged and unjustified absenteeism, generally triggered off by some minor domestic upset or imagined slight at work. After a time, this irresponsible behaviour began to influence their workmates and they both finally received a severe warning, after which a slight improvement was noticed. Mr. C came to talk to me about his work one evening and I did my best to sort out his problems concerning it, but a few days later he gave notice and is now, I believe, working in a mine.

Mr. B, now installed in the cottage originally intended for him, is still here and there has been a marked improvement in his attitude during the past few weeks. He is helping to coach a boys' football team in the village. Mrs. B has joined a young wives' club and is doing a little hairdressing for her neighbours

and has obtained a part-time morning domestic job. Their little boy has started school.

AFTERTHOUGHTS

I think we made a mistake in engaging three ex-offenders within a few weeks of one another. It would have been much easier to absorb one man into the staff, rather than several. When any difficulties or small problems arose they tended to "gang-up" and magnify them out of all proportion.

Our estate agent and foreman forester were both prisoners of war for some years, so might be expected to have a sympathetic understanding of resettlement problems. Both did everything possible to help these families in many ways unconnected with the actual job, providing them with adequate clothing for heavy out-door work, finding them bicycles, getting doctors when necessary and, on at least one occasion, driving the husband to the local town to get supplies when his wife was ill.

To sum up, I think it is essential that a prospective employer should have full details of a man's past history, because this enables him to understand and to help with the inevitable problems which arise in this situation. The employer may need to exercise tolerance, but the man must make strenuous efforts to help himself and learn to rely on himself rather than expecting the welfare services to support him continuously. I think it fair to say that an employer who takes on an ex-offender is prepared to help in any way he can, but he will not want a disturbing influence to upset his other men.

In each of these three cases, the husbands stated that they preferred a job where they would be working with only a very few other people. All the wives gave their husbands as much support and encouragement as possible, were most anxious for them to settle down and were prepared to accept life in a country district. Mrs. C was very upset when her husband decided to leave us.

I very much hope that Mr. and Mrs. B will continue the readjustment started during the past few months and have a worthwhile future together with their son.

POSTSCRIPT. This account was written some months ago, but Mrs. Lee tells me that "Mr. B" is still holding on and not in trouble in the legal sense, though still far from being completely settled. Her story illustrates not only the disabling effects of prison, but some of the basic inadequacies common to many small-time offenders, which make them so difficult to help.

Looks at Books

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY IN BRITAIN—SOCIOLOGICAL READINGS

W. G. CARSON and PAUL WILES eds.
Martin Robertson and Co., 1971

£1.15

THIS is not a book for the beginner. But if the reader has some acquaintance with the approach and the jargon, the readings are likely to prove a valuable foundation for the serious study of current sociological enquiry into criminal behaviour in Britain.

The editors have the merit of knowing what they are trying to do and why, and they convey this in excellently written introductions to the three sections of the book. Briefly, the editors felt it was time that current British writing on the subject was presented in a coherent context. They chose to do this by considering their subject in relation to its own historical origins and in relation to classic American theories about the social roots of criminality. Most of the later extracts and articles are focused on juvenile delinquency because this reflects post-war social concern about the subject and the considerable emphasis placed upon it in post-war sociological studies of crime. The editors accept this, whilst pointing out that "the traditional belief that the juvenile delinquent of today is the hardened and persistent adult criminal of tomorrow" is a myth.

The first section deals with indigenous studies, and is the shortest—47 pages of the total 258 pages. The introduction sketches the social background of nineteenth century Britain, in particular rapid urbanisation and political change. The articles begin with Engels' "Crime and the Condition of the Working Class". They include a study by Pike, published in 1876, of the relationship between crime and immigration which has a very contemporary flavour, although his concern was with the Irish. It puts our fears and prejudices helpfully into perspective. Mayhew's frankness comes over as well as ever in another article. The last two reflect respectively ideas current in the 1920s about poverty's relationship to crime (Sir Cyril Burt) and in the 1930s about unem-

ployment's (from an early book by Herman Mannheim).

Section B is the longest, 126 pages. It is entirely concerned with juvenile delinquency. The lengthy introduction provides a compact review of the development of major American ideas from the Chicago school through Merton, Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin to Matza. I found this somewhat indigestible—American sociologists are notorious for torturing the English language beyond all imagination—but it is clearly necessary to comprehend their ideas to follow the mainly very readable English studies which form the section. Sainsbury, on suicide in London in relation to the classic "interstitial" theory of social breakdown, and Downes' examination of the degree to which subcultural theories fail to fit British delinquency patterns are particularly interesting. Hargreaves' study of the distribution of delinquent attitudes and behaviour in a secondary modern school has some important implications for institutional management.

The section ends with a specially written, immensely stimulating critique by Robert Witkin of some basic assumptions about behaviour underlying any sociological investigation. His argument goes a long way to destroying the concept of "subculture" as a useful category for study, and certainly destroys the possibility of relying on it as a major explanatory device.

The introduction of the last section, 96 pages, follows up Witkin's critique by arguing for more study of the sociology of law than of offenders, and for looking at the impact of methods of social control on individuals. After a well presented demonstration by Wiles of the statistical difficulties involved in studying any social phenomena at all, Carson looks at the differential impact of controls via the way factory legislation is enforced in comparison with other criminal legislation. There is a fascinating parallel with the functions of rule enforcement in penal institutions, and with the methods of probation, summed up on page 201, section 3. L. T. Wilkins on "The Deviance Amplifying System" has much relevance to institutional management, both internally and when considering regimes'

effectiveness in relation to the realities of the outside world. That it is easier to observe its effects and study its parameters inside than out is shown by Cohen's study of the mods and rockers episode in our adolescent social history. And once again a school study, this time of the differential influence on delinquency rates among a group of schools in a locality, rang many bells for me.

The technical production of the book is below expectations for an academic work and I was exasperated by a series of spelling and punctuation mistakes. I made a detailed check on page 64 and found only two. Thereafter there seemed to be less, apart from a monumental confusion by the typesetter at a critical point in Witkin's paper which has eventually resulted in the issue of an erratum slip, the second of two corrections running to seven lines of print. That apart, the book is rewarding reading.

E. V. H. WILLIAMS,
Deputy Governor, Grendon.

CONTEMPT OF COURT

ALFRED HINDS

Panther paperback, 1966. 40p

MR. HINDS' book *Contempt of Court*, first published in 1966 and now published as a paperback by Panther, loses nothing of its impact in the passage of time.

For many of my colleagues, it will no doubt be a nostalgic trip back into the late 50s and early 60s, an era when the Prison Service was grappling with change. Mr. Hinds' pen indelibly recreates the atmosphere of those days. His long-fought battle with the Establishment, Police Commissioners and the law itself are cleverly written.

Mr. Hinds emerges as a resourceful, intelligent man ready to use his wits, or seize any opportunity to challenge what he considered to be his wrongful conviction in the Maples robbery of 1953.

His escapes from Nottingham and Chelmsford are a reflection of his resourcefulness. In order to bring public opinion down on his side, he decided to escape, but in as legal a manner as possible by letting other inmates blaze the trail, while he just followed in their wake; a stratagem that Mr. Hinds eventually used effectively to further his case.

His last escape, from the Law Courts, shows again an indomitable side of this man, willing to risk all in his attempt to get his case reviewed. The escape itself

will be remembered for its audacity and simplicity. Once away from legal custody and in Ireland, Mr. Hinds demonstrated his abilities by turning into a successful businessman whose interests range from property owner, builder and car dealer in the export trade. His story at this point is humorous, lively and portrays the dangers of living on a razor's edge, and has the ring of a spy thriller story, complete with secret ink, codes and numbered telephone kiosks to be rung at certain times by Mrs. Hinds.

Throughout his book one must continuously admire Mr. Hinds' never-flagging optimism and sheer fortitude in the face of problems to which many lesser characters would have capitulated.

In his concluding paragraph Mr. Hinds says that his quarrel was not with justice but with the men who dispense it. But then I suppose justice is what we get when the decision is in our favour.

D. O. MOORE,
Principal Officer Tutor,
Wakefield O.T.S.

A CURE OF DELINQUENTS

ROBERT W. SHIELDS

Heineman, 1962. £1.50

and

CARE AND TREATMENT IN A PLANNED ENVIRONMENT

H.M.S.O., 1970. 60p

EACH of the books under review is concerned with the institutional care and treatment of disturbed and delinquent children.

A Cure of Delinquents . . . The Treatment of Maladjustment is a new edition of the book originally published by Dr. Shields in 1962. It is an account of his work as psychotherapist at Bredinghurst from 1948-59. Following the Children's Act of 1948 and the official recognition of "maladjustment", the London County Council decided to develop an experimental regime for maladjusted boys at Bredinghurst School in Peckham, South London. The basic assumptions underlying the regime were: first, that the environment had failed the maladjusted child and that an alternative must be provided; secondly, that as well as being difficult and almost certainly delinquent, the maladjusted child is also unhappy; and thirdly, that maladjusted behaviour is the outward and visible symptom of unconscious,

intra-psychic confusion and conflict. It was decided, therefore, to combine a full psychiatric team with the more usual residential school staff and thus provide for psychotherapy in a stable, supportive environment.

In the event, only about half of the boys were involved in full psychotherapy but Dr. Shields' influence clearly extended throughout the whole school, giving it a psychiatric orientation.

The approach is uncompromisingly psycho-analytical and the greater part of the book requires either some familiarity with the language or a handy psychological dictionary. It is not really possible to do justice in a few words to an account of the etiology and treatment of maladjustment which takes Dr. Shields most of the book to develop. He asserts that the environment really *has* failed the maladjusted child whose subsequent behaviour must be understood in terms of a dynamic, dysfunctional interaction in which the child attempts to regain what was lost and also cope with his very confused feelings. Characteristically the child is too quickly and traumatically weaned, feels rejected and misses out a vital stage of development in which, normally, the loving, nurturing mother enables the child to integrate conflicting, instinctual impulses and to become aware of himself as a distinct, total personality. In defence the child is impelled either to over-evaluate material things and to be greedy for them in compensation for what he has lost, or to indulge in destructive, hypermanic or aggressive behaviour thus forcing the environment to take notice of him and mitigate his feelings of unreality.

If really effective help is to be given to maladjusted children it is asserted they must be enabled to regress to the point at which the environment traumatically failed them and to rebuild from that point. The child may expect of the environment which claims to want to help, that he be permitted to regress in mood and behaviour to infantile, oral and anal kinds of behaviour. Further, he will expect the environment and in particular the therapist, both to accept and to survive his demanding, frustrating and often very aggressive behaviour. Dr. Shields insists that the regression must be psycho-physical, it must be acted-out, not merely verbalised. It is a corollary of this that maladjustment is better treated when the child is young and, therefore, less strong and less potentially dangerous to treatment staff.

Regimes which are predicted upon

regimental control and conformity, moralising or impersonal, detached "professionalism" are thus unlikely to achieve more than superficial behaviour change.

The child's acting-out and testing-out is confirmation that he still believes in the ability of the environment to help him. If maladjusted behaviour is in itself a sign of hope then regressive behaviour is an attempt to act upon that hope and to take the first steps on the road to reintegration and reorientation. Characteristically the maladjusted child under this form of treatment passes through the following phases:

1. A brief period of benign behaviour.
2. The re-emergence of symptoms.
3. Playful but increasingly rough physical contact, especially with the therapist.
4. A brief period of aggressive and irresponsible behaviour.
5. Depression and disorientation.
6. A period of working through and reorientation.

Repeatedly Dr. Shields points out that purposeful, controlled regression is not at all the same thing as that sentimental, *laissez-faire* which sometimes passes for a permissive, therapeutic regime. Nor is the insightful acceptance of regressive behaviour to be equated with an all-pervasive indiscipline. The therapeutic necessity for boundaries, for a modicum of control and discipline is clearly spelled out.

In addition to describing his own work, Dr. Shields pays full tribute to the headmaster and his staff and acknowledges the essential part which they play in the regime as a whole. Whilst he shows a sensitive awareness of their problems and of the difficulties which arise when psychiatrists and educators try to work together, he is not altogether uncritical. He has some sharp things to say about administrators, inspectors, magistrates and educators. It is axiomatic for Dr. Shields that the psychotherapist provides the only true answer; the comparison between the virtuoso role of the therapist and the adjunctive role of the cottage and school staff is sometimes pushed to a point which now, in the light of new knowledge, looks a little like arrogance. It is reassuring to learn from a dear friend and trusted colleague who worked at Bredinghurst throughout this period that, in the event, Dr. Shields was much admired and trusted and that relationships were exceptionally good.

The abundant case material is absorbing. Even those who have grave

reservations about the scientific validity of psycho-analytic explanations could find that what is presented forms a coherent picture which fits the observed facts of maladjusted behaviour, is mentally stimulating and eminently useful.

Because Bredinghurst was reorganised the experiment ended without the planned, long-term follow-up having been completed. This is unfortunate because the short-term results look most promising and because, once again, the analytically oriented appear to be relying on descriptive evaluation and not producing hard data. Of the 216 boys who were received at Bredinghurst over 11 years, 84 per cent are said to have made a satisfactory adjustment to life and to have kept out of trouble.

Twenty-two years after the opening of Bredinghurst and 10 years after the original publication of this book any claim that this kind of approach is the only true answer to the treatment of the maladjusted child lacks credibility. Nevertheless *A Cure of Delinquents* has more than historic interest and most of what Dr. Shields has to say is still very relevant. The book is absorbing, stimulating and very readable. At the end there is a list of recommendations, most of them still not acted upon and many of them reappearing in one form or another in *Care and Treatment in a Planned Environment*. This Stationery Office publication is the third in a series of reports on the Community Homes Project which is a joint venture undertaken by three local authorities, the Home Office Children's Department Development Group and others. The three local authorities concerned are each building and developing a community home in response to the Children and Young Persons Act, 1969, which, *inter alia*, provided for community homes to replace and supplement Home Office approved schools.

The report considers the kinds of children for which the homes will have to cater, their backgrounds and their needs. It looks at the principles which should inform the day-to-day regime; at the staff required and their training; at educational programmes, buildings and finally, at the need for comprehensive assessment, diagnosis and treatment planning. It is a concise, comprehensive little book but, regrettably, rather dull reading. Prepared, we are told, by a working party, it is in style rather bland and pedestrian. Nor is the content for the most part exciting or stimulating. Critics of an earlier report by this project group complained that

it presented well-accepted ideas as new truths; they might well say the same about this one. As this report has been prepared not as a basic handbook (a function which it admirably fulfils) but to stimulate thought and discussion amongst planners and administrators one can sympathise with their disappointment.

Nevertheless, whilst almost everything between the covers was being advocated or put into practice somewhere in approved schools or remand homes, 10 and even 15 years ago, there are also the germs of some new very good ideas. Perhaps the most striking comes unexpectedly in the section which deals with the conditions of service of staff. It is argued that the successful residential community requires an integrated staff team and that, to be credible, this entails the assimilation of the conditions of service, including hours of duty and salaries, of the various professional groups involved. This could end the destructive distinction between the "professionals" who work nine-to-five and no week-ends, and the "workers" who have to be available 24 hours a day, seven days a week. If this can be achieved it will be a very real step forward and an example to other treatment institutions of all kinds.

In terms of its declared objectives, a disappointing book; as a guide to the basic principles upon which residential treatment communities may be organised it provides a concise, compact text.

It is a well established belief that we require more and more research into the treatment of difficult, disturbed and delinquent young people. However, what the two books reviewed may suggest to some is that there is already available a much greater pool of knowledge and experience than is used in practice. The real problems arise in putting into practice consistently and thoroughly what we already know. The shortage of resources of money, skill and enthusiasm tends to be at the point of contact with the child rather than at a speculative and more comfortable distance. Working with the maladjusted and the delinquent is difficult and successful treatment is not going to be cheap. Perhaps we hope, unconsciously, that research will come up with something easier . . . or cheaper . . . or both.

D. SHAW,

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Social Studies Department,
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THE CLIENT SPEAKS Working Class Impressions of Casework

MAYER and TIMMS

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970

£2.25

The Client Speaks explores by means of free flowing interviews and close-up pictures of the expectations and responses of clients on coming to a voluntary social work agency. The Family Welfare Association merits high praise for allowing a research project of this kind. Of 65 clients selected, 49 were ultimately interviewed, and where two members of a family (i.e. husband and wife) only one, the wife, was seen by the researcher unless her husband had been seen by the agency more frequently.

The book gives details of the area from which the cases were drawn, and a good deal of information about the problems for which the clients were referred, or came for help. There is a good description of the nature of the study and some interesting comments about the inadequacy of informal sources of help provided by the family or friends.

The clients are described in two categories—those seeking help with interpersonal problems and those coming for material aid: with a further subdivision into those who were satisfied or dissatisfied with the help they received. Many clients coming to the agency with interpersonal problems were hazy or unclear in their expectations, but wanted workers to listen to their complaints and make a judgment of the rights and wrongs of their situation. In other words, they expected the worker to make decisions for them and give direct advice, and were puzzled and disappointed by their refusal to accept this responsibility. Some of the clients interpreted the worker's inactivity as a lack of interest and a lack of understanding—"How could they comprehend without themselves experiencing the actual difficulties". ". . . perhaps they did not even believe the client's story".

These responses are all very familiar to social workers, and the writers suggest that one reason may be a clash of perspective accentuated by class difference between the worker and client, and a different system of problem solving which is nearer the client's assessment of the situation, and is something which many social workers do not acknowledge.

Those clients with interpersonal problems who were satisfied with the help they received had been glad of the chance to talk and unburden themselves with the undivided attention of the worker. The discussion brought clarification and some enlightenment which enabled them to deal with the problem themselves.

Clients who came for material help, i.e. money, goods, housing, etc., felt humiliated by coming, but were satisfied if they received what they came for, at least in part. The dissatisfied clients producing a combination of material problems with overtones of personal factors were dealt with by workers using an insight orientated approach which was essentially similar to their work with the clients referred for interpersonal problems. It is suggested that these clients were already anxious about their request and resisted any examination of their own part in creating the difficulties. When manipulation to obtain their needs did not work, they retreated in disappointment from the agency.

Much has been written about casework, but very little from the viewpoint of the consumer and the authors have made some attempt to correct this imbalance. Their last chapter, which is all too short, offers suggestions for providing a more effective casework service and emphasises the necessity for continuous studies of the needs of both consumer and supplier of social work services.

Miss K. BROWN,

Assistant Principal Probation Officer,
Inner London Probation Service.

C-UNIT: SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY IN PRISON

ELLIOT STUDT; SHELDON MESSENGER;

THOMAS P. WILSON

The Russell Sage Foundation, New
York, 1968. \$5

AFTER struggling with recent, powerful books such as *Becoming Deviant*, I find it a delight to encounter a book that is fascinatingly relevant and yet in the "bath-time reading" category. The value of this book is matched only by the difficulty in obtaining a copy! This description of a project undertaken at Devel Vocational Institution in California (the institution was also the

setting for the P.I.C.O. project reported on by Stuart Adams) reviews old notions such as human dignity and community responsibility with a new freshness. The book is a lucid account of an attempt to create a new ethos in one wing of the institution; an ethos presenting a model of resocialisation rather than the more traditional models—custodial, educational, psychotherapeutic, group treatment. Studt and her colleagues present certain of their assumptions about offenders that are fitted to a naturalistic perspective of (human) criminal behaviour rather than a correctional stance and they are well read in the interactionist school. An important assumption the project team made at the outset was that the modern prison is faced with three tasks; to make explicit that the community will not tolerate certain destructive behaviours; to protect the community, for a temporary period, through the segregation of those persons whose acts have been shown that they can be socially dangerous; and to prepare such persons to be responsible members of the community when they are released. The concentration in this project is upon the third of these tasks and the team set out to show that better use could be made of the resources already present in an institution, in terms of environment and manpower, to emphasise the positive aspects present in the prison community. By manpower they mean inmates and staff and they come to significant conclusions about both groups as a result of their research.

(a) "It is clear from the C-unit experience that inmates constitute a tremendous pool of ordinarily untapped human resources for accomplishing the official goals of the correctional institution."

(b) "Equally important is the finding that many institutional staff members have more to give to resocialising work than is usually permitted within the limitations of traditional job descriptions. When professional and technical personnel were offered expanded opportunities to contribute as members of a staff work-group, they evidenced capacities not previously apparent in their work. Growth, inventiveness and sharing characterised the performance of staff."

Studt and her colleagues attempted to release the creative energies of staff and inmates by giving them roles within the C-unit community that made them responsible both for their own behaviour and for solving problems of significance to them. Inmates were perceived as being eminently human in

that they will only make use of help offered to them if it acts upon their immediate reality for "the inmates do the work of preparing themselves for membership of the free community or it does not get done; official helpers can only encourage and influence the direction of learning, growth and change".

It is argued that as people are given the role of inmate they will be confronted by a situation in which they will have to discover an identity that incorporates this new role within the community. Therefore, the researchers contend, it is important to encourage the development of a strong inmate system as this is a platform for responsible behaviour in the inmate community: this is in contrast to the aim of many penal establishments including Devel itself. So staff and inmates were encouraged to be morally responsible in the community and problem solving was seen as an important means of reinforcing this responsibility. At the beginning of the project the inmates were asked to consider their *voluntary* participation in four kinds of problem-solving activity in groups: (1) community groups for staff and inmate communications about mutual concerns; (2) task groups to do specific jobs for the unit; (3) counselling groups for discussion of personal problems of inmates; and (4) interest groups for inmates with common leisure time interests.

As a result of the C-unit organisation with institution staff, research staff and inmates participating in the same process this particular unit at Devel typically operated with a community concern that helped it to avoid problems occurring in the institution itself, especially during periods of racial tension. Decision-making was shared wherever possible and staff received support from a staff work group. In the second year of the project the authorities at Devel made significant changes to the operation of the project which prevented the project team from pursuing its full aims.

Nevertheless, the resulting conflict and its effect upon inmates and staff illustrates important institutional processes. Indeed comparison of the first 12 months with the second leads the researchers to conclude that "management in its primary functions of establishing the roles through which people work at tasks, thus proved itself to be one of the most powerful tools in the resocialising treatment".

The book is important for the issues it deals with and the insights it offers. It

reinforces the motion that offenders are essentially normal which is assumed to be fairly new—compare Shakespeare in *King Lear*: “None does offend, none, I say none!” It also examines the social order of a prison and contrasts the poverty of power when conformity is imposed from above as opposed to a system which engages the full resources of staff and inmates and in so doing creates an environment that encourages autonomy and self respect. Mathieson and others have stressed the relevance of principles of justice, fairness and participation and the authors of *C-unit* stress the importance of such principles for feelings of self-worth and responsibility. One of the most significant assertions in the book is that the wider organisational context is vital in its effects upon the wing, house or unit. If staff are not involved in a problem-solving, participative context themselves they will not involve inmates in such a system and this will in turn affect inmate perceptions of the nature of their responsibility in the community. Penal history, one suspects, would offer a number of examples of occasions when this has been ignored.

One would disagree with some of the assumptions made by the authors and query the relevance of others. For example it is doubtful if all offenders see their deviance as a confrontation with the community on fundamental moral (in the normative sense) issues and many ex-inmates do not commit further crimes yet may not “ascribe dignity to individuals, respect and concern for the rights and welfare of others in pursuing individual interests, and reliance on positive social controls rather than on force or manipulation”. The other query is over the applicability of what is learned within such a unit to the situation of the free community both for the individual inmate and the community itself. Bridge building to the free community is rightly seen as important in the project but its relevance to the success of such a unit is clearly vital. Does learning of a social role or as a member in the prison community simply complete transference? Inmate Mac argues positively for this: “I’ve learned that who I am today here matters for who I can be on the streets”. But this book asks the essential questions. Not “custody or treatment?” but what is the task, its relevance and are the resources to pursue it available? The themes cover institutions and much more and the community the authors propose doesn’t fit many prisons today: “Such communities will not be tidy in the bureaucratic sense. Problematic,

self-critical, continuously in flux; creating, demolishing, and recreating as problems and resources change; they will frighten the bureaucrat and stretch the administrator’s capacity for leadership. But they will be dealing with the stuff of real life in so far as they engage each individual in the intimately personal discovery of what it means to be a responsible social being”. Clearly that is a challenge! Whether prisons or society would want that is another matter. Nonetheless “*C-Unit*” deals with issues of much importance and is a book to be reckoned with.

J. F. PERRISS,

*Assistant Governor Tutor,
Wakefield Staff College.*

THE GROUP PROCESS AS A HELPING TECHNIQUE

SHEILA THOMPSON and J. H. KAHN
Pergamon Press, 1970. £1.75

THE authors of this book have primarily directed it at professional social workers who are wishing to move into group work. Because it is a book for “beginners” there is very little terminology or theorising, and in eight chapters the book sets out quite simply what group work is about, its relationship to casework, the difficulties and the dangers, the rewards, and attempts to define the differences between three types of groups—psychotherapy, counselling and discussion.

The first three chapters deals with the all-important questions of why groups exist, who should take groups, the setting of the scene, the dangers inherent in group work, and the functions of the leader. Throughout these chapters it is stressed that groups are not things to be played at, but that they are powerful agents which can bring about change, and that change can be frightening. As a result, any person or group of people embarking on group work must be sure and confident of their own professional expertise in their own field, as it is upon this expertise that their approach to group work will be based. (I think that this has considerable relevance to our own Service, where we tend to embrace other disciplines and skills without being confident and sure of our ability to manage our own task.) In brief, the message of these first three chapters is that group work is a powerful resource, but it is not something that can be

utilised without considerable training.

The fourth chapter is an attempt to distinguish the three systems. From this it can be seen that group psychotherapy has its counterpart in individual psychotherapy, group counselling is linked to social casework, and group discussion to education. The authors suggest that the differences are not so much of technique but of aims, and that if the aims of the group are not clearly established, it will operate in difficult and dangerous areas. The next three chapters deal with each of these systems in some depth. The presentation makes it fairly easy to accept the breakdown, but I think that not enough emphasis is placed on the point that many of the processes and phenomena that occur are common to all types of groups and that without a clear idea of what is happening a group leader may find himself allowing a group to move into an area in which he has not been sanctioned to operate.

Of particular relevance to us, is the chapter on group discussion, which offers much thought on this process as a medium for training staff.

The final chapter deals with some of the problems that will face the group leader, and briefly sets out the code of behaviour that is expected of him.

I would recommend this book for anyone interested in learning about what happens in groups, as well as for the person who is going to enter this field either as a group leader or as a member of a group.

E. TOWLSON,

Assistant Governor II, Gringley.

THE GOOD JAIL GUIDE

CLIVE OVERSBY and RICHARD HILL
Wolfe Publishing Ltd., 1970. 25p

A SPOOF hotel guide to Britain’s nicks which are allocated not stars but broad arrows to indicate classification. Staff may find it an over-elaborated joke and the facts are wrong here and there—there haven’t been Y.P.s in F wing at Wakefield for years—but it would make a useful stocking filler for your favourite red band.

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