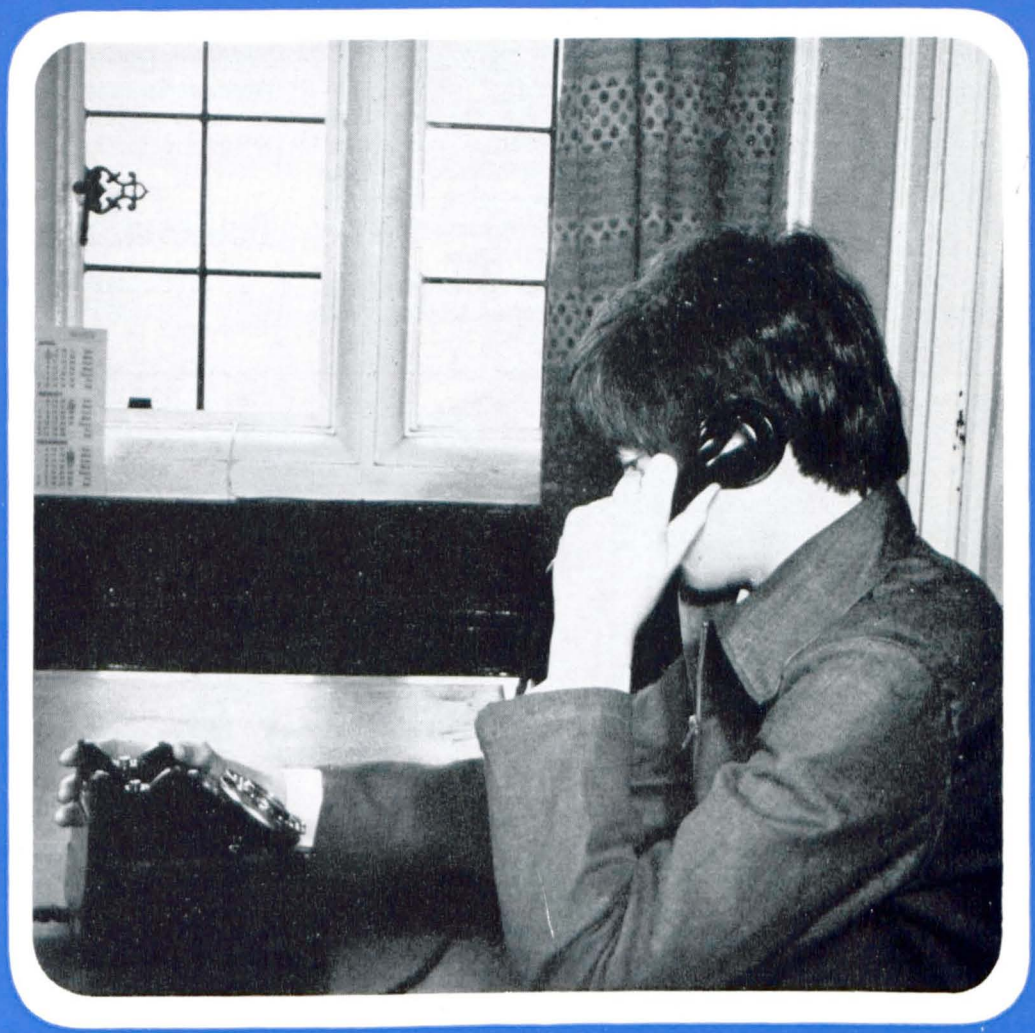
JANUARY 1973
FIVE PENCE

No. 9
new series

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL



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Printed at H.M.P. Leyhill, Wotton-under-Edge, Glos.

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Office: H.M. BORSTAL, HEWELL GRANGE, REDDITCH, WORCS.

For orders through H.M.S.O. for delivery by post:
Single copies . . 7½p
Annual subscription 25p for four quarterly issues

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EDITORIAL

THINKING SMALL

THE twin mentalities of Centre Point (profit) and Concorde (prestige) are not confined to property speculators and the aircraft industry. Governments suffer from them, along with all kinds of planners and experts engaged in the fascinating trade of providing for other people's alleged needs. Hence, tower blocks which crush their fly-sized occupants, deafening, belching, jack-knifing juggernauts, highways that carve through living communities like rivers of death, city centres that turn into graveyards at week-ends, attractive only to vagrants and muggers. Once a monstrosity has been created it becomes very difficult to remove it (unless, having been jerry-built in the first place, it obligingly falls down of its own accord).

Prisons rarely fall down, even new ones, because although serious defects in design invariably show up in operation, the materials and the workmanship are usually of a high order. So it is of some importance that buildings are designed for their purpose, which implies that you have thought out imaginatively and defined carefully, your penal policy for the next 50 years. Can we say we have done this? Our Victorian forebears were in no doubt about *their* philosophy, their building reflected it—and still does.

The prison and borstal population over the last two years has failed to increase as predicted by the statisticians, who must be feeling rather like the long-range weather forecasters when their confidently awaited "high" from the Azores turns out to be a string of depressions from Iceland. True, they may be found in the very long term to have been right, but in the meantime we should be grateful for a lull which has enabled us not only to cope with the worst excesses of overcrowding and under-staffing, but to take stock of some of the expediency solutions worked out when the panic was at its height—principally the massive programme of new building intended to provide for the flood which has so far not materialised. Can we use this blessed respite to look again, and to ask again, whether more and more vast prisons (let alone prison "complexes" with all their unit-cost attractiveness) are any more the appropriate answer to the crime problems of 1984 than the dreadnoughts of Scapa Flow would be in a third world war?

We cannot too often be reminded that the massiveness of the prison problem does not lie in the agonising debate over the concentration and containment of long-term violent offenders. This issue is important—we devoted the last number of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL to it—but the overwhelming majority of people in prison are not of this type. They are neither dangerous nor determined. It is true that many of them are desperate, but in the sense of that word which is normally associated with drowning rather than with armed defiance.

To pursue a watery allusion further, if the flood does come as the prophets have foretold, should we, while there is time, be preparing not great arks (for apart from the discomfort indigenous to all large

troopships, they can only be put in mothballs or scrapped when the waters do subside) but a fleet of small, serviceable craft which can be easily adapted to other purposes as the need changes?

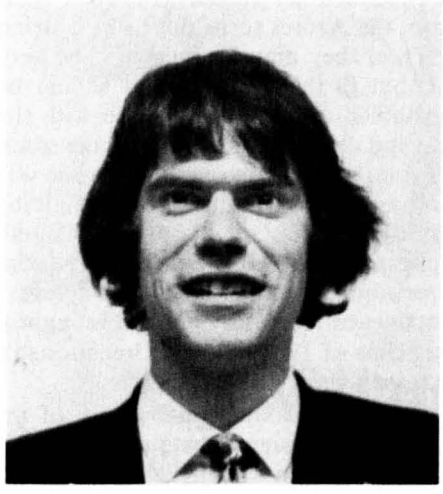
The Criminal Justice Act 1972, the main provisions of which are summarised elsewhere in this issue, introduces new experimental penalties of a non-custodial nature for petty offenders. These, along with bail hostels, alcoholic and addiction treatment centres, and a host of other similar ideas, follow the current trend in penal thinking towards measures which will *keep people out of total institutions*, at least to the point where the cost of their incorrigible behaviour has begun to outweigh socially and economically the very high tariff required to maintain them and their families at the country's expense.

The report of the Advisory Council on the treatment of young offenders is awaited this year. It is expected to place a similar importance on non-custodial care and to recommend a far greater variety of methods and categories which will provide the training appropriate to the individual in the way which will detach him least from such basic human responsibilities as earning a living and engaging in socially acceptable leisure time pursuits. It is a nonsense that 100 per cent liberty should be forfeit, especially by young people, when our quarrel is with 5 per cent of their activities. If the demand for "punishment" exceeds what is economically and practically viable, then the reasoning (and the prejudices) of those who sit in judgement must itself be questioned. Yet one has nothing but sympathy for the bafflement of magistrates in present conditions who are often left with no alternative to custodial penalties when all other available methods appear to have been tried and found wanting. The majority of adolescent offenders misbehave because their personal and environmental circumstances deny them respectable outlets for their energies and aspirations. (And should this definition fail to satisfy the moralist, let it be added that malice, envy and destructiveness are nurtured in the same poor soil.) To rectify early damage, to propagate a social conscience where none was sown, is a major task, and cannot be achieved in a few short months in an institutional hot-house. Nor, as is patently obvious, is the relatively toothless sanction of simple probation adequate to promote growth and change.

One of our articles, by a borstal governor, describes ways in which training from an institutional base can reach out into the community, and indicates clearly the lines of development which have the highest "pay-off" in terms of changing attitudes. Another article follows up some of the peripheral activities of a notorious local prison. Probably more than half the inmates of our open institutions at least require something more than probation, but a great deal less than total residence and full-time supervision with the enormous cost to the taxpayer that such swingeing measures incur.

Thinking small, thinking in terms of alternatives (radical if you like) of specialised, cheaply run but highly intensified treatment units, places of refuge and of benign but firm control on a sliding scale of need (society's need met without the offender's having to be crushed), of curbs and checks rather than hammers and locks, above all of *local* and community-centred, open-ended projects, institutions which really care and protect all parties to the social contract, in which the import-export balance is maintained high, *neighbourhood* institutions for people who have to learn how to be good neighbours by actually working at it—can we not make this the keynote of penal progress in the 70's and 80's?

Prison staff have run hostels successfully, have guided community service schemes and worked hand-in-glove with probation officers, have undertaken case-work, groupwork, project work. It is said that the challenge has gone out of custodial care, and this is often advanced as a "reason" for currently depressing success rates. But a new challenge exists, if it can be recognised. It consists in firmly turning our backs on the bricks-and-mortar philosophy of the past and taking the remedial potential of the institution piecemeal into the heart of the community which produced it and which must ultimately reassume responsibility for it.



Hugh Marriage is 28 and a senior psychologist at Wandsworth Prison. He graduated from University College, London in 1967 and joined the Prison Service. Describes himself as being concerned with an empirical view of prison problems; particularly interested in long-term prisoners, overcrowding, self-classification. Is currently working part-time on a Ph.D. in the perceptual correlates of criminality

A Manifesto for Prison Management

HUGH MARRIAGE

Current prison policy is geared to the individual treatment of offenders, although this is widely recognised as unattainably unrealistic. This article argues for an inversion of our penal institutional forms to provide a better deal for prisoner and public

ALTHOUGH the marginal costs are lower, we spend over £1,000 a year keeping a prisoner in captivity, for which we too often provide a shared Victorian cell; food, rich mainly in carboydrates; employment, sewing mailbags by hand; £4 discharge grant and massive security. As we know that the more prison "treatment" a man experiences, the more likely he is to return again, it is opportune to ask whether we are getting the best value for money out of this service and, if not, whether our current institutional forms and policies are capable, even given time and resources, of providing a better

service. One thing is certain, the Prison Department is set towards ever-increasing income and capital expenditure for which it will have to compete with other government departments fighting their causes of, for instance, education and health care. Although we have not, fortunately, reached the point where the prisons' budget is cut to provide, say, school milk, penal reformers always dread getting themselves into the position of having to choose between advocating benefits for the general public or a better deal for those who have offended.

BUREAUCRACY AT WORK

Is there an alternative? Can we possibly envisage fixing an upper limit on prison expenditure and, at the same time, providing improved care standards in our prisons? Should we not acknowledge that funds for the prison system will never prove adequate to meet currently conceived needs, and recognise that, if prison treatment is to stand a chance of effectiveness, we should challenge its institutional form?*

The Prison Department, like the Home Office and Civil Service of which it is a part, is a bureaucracy. Bureaucracies have a fundamental tendency to expand and perpetuate themselves and to foster the illusion of the necessity of their existence and the appropriateness of their way of doing things, independently of the tasks they claim to perform. The Prison Service is no exception: the last few years have seen large-scale increases in managerial resources devoted to getting a tidy, if mushrooming, organisation—regional offices are created, working parties proliferate and more people get drawn into organisation and methods work. One cannot claim that prisoners have yet reaped the benefits of having their masters well marshalled: the paperwork alone in documenting prisoners for classification, allocation and parole has, at a guess, trebled in the last three years and yet the number of "treatment" outlets and facilities has not markedly increased—indeed the staff resources available for prisoner treatment have probably diminished, so that prisons overwork their staff and resist the introduction of new treatments, or any change at all, until more staff become available. The stagnation that results has a frequent effect of making prisoners behave like compliant civil servants: alongside sewing mailbags, a forefront prison activity is servicing, cleaning and maintaining establishments, and some of the highest status prisoners are to be found amongst the prisoner-clerks who are awarded red bands. So, like many of the staff, prisoners become cynical of the willingness or ability of such a system to enable or facilitate change in their way of life; like many of the staff, prisoners perform unchanging routines which they know to be useless and useless to question; like many of the staff, prisoners reject the unpleasant irrelevance of prison life and vow to forget about the place as soon as they step outside the gate.

The blame for this situation should be placed on British popular opinion which continues to adhere to two basically bureaucratic maxims. These are first, that prisoners should be kept out of sight, so that the efficacy of the prison system is judged primarily by its ability to prevent escape, riot or publicity and, secondly, that prisoners, if they are to receive "treatment" should do so on an *individual basis.*

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

The first of these maxims has led us to escalating investment in security devices and staff to man them. Nobody can question that prisons have to be secure, but how secure? Mountbatten was critical that too many prisoners were being held in conditions unnecessarily secure for them: now, after his report is said to be implemented, one might be forgiven for feeling that we have continued to commit the same mistake only in a lavishly more expensive way. It must be doubtful whether electronic controls for locks will prove superior to the simple key—indeed, the recent experience of some prisons suggests that the centralised control of automatic locks increases staff/prisoner distance with unhappy results—but electronic locks are hundreds of times more costly, and if we are really concerned about night sanitation, it might well be cheaper to install lavatories and washbasins. The Prison Department risks being seen as an addicted consumer of any security gadgetry which salesmen care to peddle. After all the expenditure of the last few years, we are still heading for more, and more expensive, fences, wirelesses, electronic locks and what-have-you. The upper limit of prison security is still close to the helicopter- and tank-resistant prison for the majority of prisoners held. Moreover, we continue to cling to the myth that high perimeter security in itself allows a relaxation of security within that perimeter, whilst the evidence grows that an increase in perimeter security is usually accompanied by increased restrictions on prisoners' leisure, educational and recreational activities. Furthermore, we seem still unaware that well-intentioned treatment regimes can be ruined by a third-form security operation based on any old hunch or a snippet overheard by the "B" wing cleaner.

But, more seriously, have not our years of concentrating on security so impaired the Service that we find the treatment techniques we might now wish to introduce are not yet developed? It is arguable that the biggest single problem facing the Prison Service, far outweighing nineteenth-century buildings and shortage of resources, is that the majority of prison staff of all grades, not just officers and governors, have no sympathetic (I use the word strictly) feeling with prisoners: bluntly stated; many staff regard prisoners as a breed apart, people for whom different standards of behaviour and treatment should apply. This has two major effects: first that suspicion becomes attached to those staff who do not share an overtly punitive view of prison treatment, so that new staff are quickly discouraged from any attempt to help prisoners. And, secondly, this makes a number of things "good enough for the types that come to these places" which would not be tolerated outside—like shoddy clothes, accommodation below Victorian specification, insensitivity towards wives and friends or harsh handling. To correct this, opportunities must be created for prisoners to behave less like prisoners and more like ordinary people, and we must ask ourselves whether we have been so keen to keep prisoners out of the public eye that we are losing the chance to inform opinion, inside and out, to accept, for instance, a drop in reconviction rate as a measure of Prison Department efficiency, alongside a minimum escape level. Can we not move the folklore theories of penal treatment held by people out of touch with prisoners—and that includes some staff—more into the twentieth century? Should we not be devoting energy to keeping prisons in the public eye to encourage a drop in prejudice against prisoners? If the Home Office can canvas the editors of children's comics to educate their readers to more careful use of fireworks, cannot Ena Sharples be persuaded to take in an ex-con?

*I must acknowledge my debt to Ivan Illich who first presented this kind of argument in his book *Deschooling Society*, 1971, Calder Boyars. One of the purposes of this article is to explore the solutions Illich's position offers for the problems of the Prison Service.

THE MYTH OF "TREATMENT"

Greater potential interest comes with the challenging of the second maxim about individual treatment. The rationale for most of the interviewing, documentation and institutional boards is that the system is trying to assess an individual prisoner's needs: if the "treatment" is available, then it can be provided, but if it is not available, then management would at least be informed of the demand so that it could plan for the future. This is absurdly wasteful: for instance, all men with sentences of over 18 months are interviewed by a succession of people for parole purposes so that a small minority might be selected for a small amount of additional freedom—and the cost per man released must be high. But the psychological cost per man rejected is also high, and most men are rejected whichever of the facilities it is they are wanting. Most men in prison have never done a single course; most men have never done a job in prison remotely resembling the work they might do outside; most men have no help to prepare for release.

A SYSTEM OF "SOCIAL CREDIT?"

The alternative is a minimum of individual assessment and the use of the saved resources for the provision of basic facilities equally available to all. At the moment, access to facilities is through a bargain in which the prisoner's life history is used as currency for obtaining help: since you can only win if you are able to spin a heart-rending story, the effect is to cause a prisoner to destroy systematically his own self-respect—how often do men carefully point out that their problem is rooted in an unsatisfactory childhood, with the implication that their actions count for little, either getting into or out of their present mess? One of the ways of providing cheap minimal assessment is for the prisoner himself to contribute to his classification by outlining his perception of his needs and difficulties on a standard form in classroom testing sessions. I have found that prisoners are well able to rank facilities like trade training or visits in an order of personal priority, with the advantage that an assessment is made without the jargon about needing to pull up his socks if he is to avoid a sticky end.

Thus we set our sights lower than individual treatment ephemerally geared to a "good and useful life", imposed through costly assessment, and opt for meeting basic needs for all. In hard terms, we would considerably improve on our present level of care if we ensured that every man who wanted it was enabled during sentence to keep closely in touch with his family and friends and, on release, had a home to go to and a viable job. In order to provide facilities equally and in such a way that men were less likely to become dependent on the institution, a credits system should be used so that access to help would depend only on one's credit balance and not on whether one's face fitted. In such a scheme, a prisoner on reception might be given a few care credits to start him off. Throughout his sentence he would spend these in his own way on such facilities as were available—he may elect to go to a training prison, or choose to stay at his "local" where visits would be easier, or spend credits on telephone calls rather than letters, or on home leave to fix up a job, or on the hostel to save up money for release, or on evening classes, or on vocational courses like bricklaying, or on domestic instruction in home-making or cooking, or on release on parole—all these would be provided on a tariff, but according to a man's store of credits at any point in his sentence and according to his choice alone. Also, he could earn more credits, for example, by good behaviour, work in the workshops, by adequate performance in his rehabilitative endeavours and by helping others in theirs, say, by teaching a trade.

This is the kind of institutional form which could give far better value than at present and could be exemplified in a "token economy" which is already establishing its worth in delinquency treatment in the States, but which meets resistance in British penal circles *just because it is not individually based.* I am proposing that we should define treatment not by asking what should we do to a man in order to make him go straight, but rather to what facilities should we give a man access in order to enable him to go straight? That is to say we should give up trying to coerce in favour of developing a technology to enable prisoners to assist themselves.

Could the public be persuaded to abandon its sacred maxims? Where is the public support for the notion that we should spend less on prison administration and security and more on facilities for prisoners to learn self-help? Is the public adequately concerned that we are in danger of creating bureaucratic structures which could consume and immobilise for ever the resources essential to meet even the basic rehabilitative needs of the prisoners we lock away?

QUOTATION by courtesy of *World Magazine*, 20.9.72 (publishers New Medical Journals Ltd.) Sir Paul Chambers addressing a B.M.A. divisional meeting:

"I am unhappy about Sir Keith Joseph's views on management . . . There are no such things as management experts. Management means controlling concrete situations. Because a man is good at managing one thing it doesn't mean that he's good at managing another. If he's intelligent and interested in an organisation, he is likely to be good at controlling it . . . the danger is people who think that it (management) exists on its own—but you can't control a vacuum. They're no good, all they know is management jargon. I recommend doctors not to be frightened by management. They know more about health services than others and if they can generate some interest in organisation they will be the best managers the N.H.S. can have.

We wonder if Sir Paul Chambers' views could have some relevance to the Prison Service? We'd be interested in readers' comments for or against—Ed.

Grendon Under Disputation

Dr. P. D. SCOTT

Dr. Scott is jointly employed by the Home Office and Maudsley Hospital. He has been attending Brixton Prison since 1948. He is a member of the Advisory Council on the Penal System and of the Parole Board

In presenting this unusual commentary on a previously published article, Dr. Scott suggests that a little levity may not entirely conceal a few grains of truth.

Socrates: You look angry Apollodorus. If you don't speak soon you will explode.

Apollodorus: By Zeus you are right! It is this report in the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL of July 1972 in which a summary of Mrs. Newton's work on reconviction rates at Grendon is presented—the bald message being that when compared, over a period of one to five years, with the reconviction rates of three other samples of prisoners, there are no significant differences.

Socrates: At least I am glad that you have come to the Lyceum to dispute rather than sitting on the roof to throw slates. But tell us, Apollodorus, are you angry with Mrs. Newton for the quality of her work, or with the editor of the journal for his exposition of it?

Apollodorus: Perhaps with both.

Socrates: Then let us examine each possibility separately. We are fortunate that Statisticus and Academicus are with us today for they will be able to help us greatly, and Crito can provide us with refreshments and also give us the benefit of his invariable good sense. Tell us, first Apollodorus, if you have any specific criticism of Mrs. Newton's study.

Apollodorus: I have certain criticisms of her work, but in general I think that psychologists, when they study complex problems which overlap into several other disciplines, should be seen to wear "L" plates, for their studies are so naive.

Socrates: If then, your first complaint is that psychologists are inexperienced, how are they to overcome this?

Apollodorus: I see the trap you are setting for me Socrates, but might they not, in such studies, co-operate with other disciplines in a team approach?

Academicus: If I may intrude, I would say that all research psychologists wear not "L" but "P" plates, and that it is honourable to be a pioneer. Individual disciplines must first sharpen their instruments, and test their capacities, before they can usefully co-operate with others.

Apollodorus: Some of them go on sharpening until there only remains an outdated stub which will not write.

Socrates: Now what of the specific criticisms?

Apollodorus: The follow-up in the comparisons with the Wormwood Scrubs and the corrective training samples is very short; while it may be broadly correct that the reconviction rate at one year is half that at five years, this may not be true of special samples such as may be represented in Grendon. Altogether too simple criteria are considered in looking at sample differences; for example psychiatric aspects are not dealt with. Other work, such as that of Robert George, of Brunel University, and the earlier comparisons between Grendon and Wormwood Scrubs samples, are not mentioned. The Oxford Prison sample is particularly inadequate; none of those prisoners had been selected for psychiatric attention; indeed any such complicated case would probably be diverted to Winchester Prison, so that the Grendon and Oxford samples must be widely different.

Academicus: No study of so difficult an area as the social services is ever free from methodological short-coming. But has the author recognised the difficulties and done her best to minimise them? Perhaps we could ask Statisticus, who I see has the original paper in his hand about this.

Statisticus: Indeed Mrs. Newton, as one would expect, acknowledges freely the shortcomings of the study, for example the tiny numbers of the Wormwood Scrubs sample, that Grendon inmates are probably "more disturbed" and that it was not possible in the first two samples to compare age and type of offence because of "the limitations of the control groups", and she does acknowledge that a later Grendon sample gives a positive correlation between length of stay and success. Certainly every endeavour has been made to look at the data from all possible angles. Within the limitations of the discipline the study is sound.

Academicus: At the same time, Statisticus, since it is generally accepted that, when evaluating treatment, one always gets the same "grey" answer, *unless* one first classifies the inmates, the method and the therapists. We know how difficult it is to validate such classifications, but we might by now legitimately expect something a little more sophisticated. It is really useless to use "sex-offender" as a meaningful category, bearing in mind that it includes the indecent exposer at one end of the scale and the rapist at the other—some very minor and some extremely dangerous offenders. This sort of thing stretches the concept of "matching" samples to meaningless lengths.

Socrates: It seems then, Apollodorus, that you have some justification for your complaints but that the fault lies principally in difficulties inherent in the area of study rather than in the author. Now what of the editor? Was the reporting incorrect or biased?

Apollodorus: Well, no, I cannot say that it is either incorrect or biased. As a matter of fact it is almost a transcript of the summary with which Mrs. Newton starts her paper. My objection is that it is insufficient; it does not allow people to see the full facts for themselves, and therefore should not have been presented in this damaging way.

Socrates: But our friend Statisticus has seen the full facts and accepts that the summary is fair, and I see that there is a correspondence page on which you might register your feelings.

Crito: I think I see Apollodorus' difficulty. He is angry, not with Mrs. Newton, nor the editor, but with the system. He and his colleagues are deeply identifed with the Grendon experiment, and are greatly frustrated. They are trying, and very largely succeeding, in building a therapeutic community, yet they cannot control essential factors. They cannot select

their patients, they cannot maintain a permanent staff, nor train them sufficiently, and they cannot restore the patient to liberty when they wish. To be told, by someone who has no better alternative to proffer, that the therapeutic community model is possibly inappropriate, especially when they know full well that the model has not yet been adequately expanded or applied, and when they know just what they would like to do if they had the proper support, would make the Gods themselves angry.

Socrates: I think you are right, Crito, and I hope you are, for it is better for Apollodorus and his colleagues to be angry with the Home Office (which is well accustomed to the role of the wicked uncle) than with the inmates or with themselves, which was the real risk.

Apollodorus: It is true and I have half known it all along; but I wish you would persuade uncle to be a little less wicked and a little more supportive. Perhaps he could start by joining us here in the Lyceum occasionally; we might mutually learn a great deal—I forbear, through good manners, to say who I think would learn most.

Socrates: I am glad that you have almost regained your usual tranquillity, Apollodorus, and hope that we can round off our discussion constructively. In the first place we are grateful to Mrs. Newton for a careful, though inevitably limited, piece of work, to the Journal for bringing it to our notice, and to you Apollodorus, for starting a discussion. Perhaps you would all like a final word.

Statisticus: We see that valid typologies of inmates, together with classification of offences (including their dangerousness) and of treatment methods and agents, are still priorities. Until we have these, inter-disciplinary studies will be held up.

Academicus: Grendon has already achieved a great deal and has had an enormous and beneficial impact on the Prison Service as a whole. It has been demonstrated that of the highly selected difficult cases received, most of them settle amicably, and significantly high proportions, as compared with other prisoners, prefer Grendon, state that it helps them, and that they would like to have a closer contact with officers. A favourable therapeutic tradition has certainly been built up, and a number of pessimistic forebodings laid low, this provides a good basis on which to build. It may be that with many Grendon patients the medical model of care is inappropriate and that the objectives should simply be to motivate the patient to want to change, and to enable him to trust and co-operate with his after-care service.

Apollodorus: I think Grendon does that already but we shall not know for sure until adequate after-care services are available. Meanwhile it is probable that Grendon's major contribution remains entirely untested.

Crito: I am surprised and relieved that Academicus has not offered us his usual long bibliography. But here comes Xanthippe to bring you to dinner, let us go before he remembers.

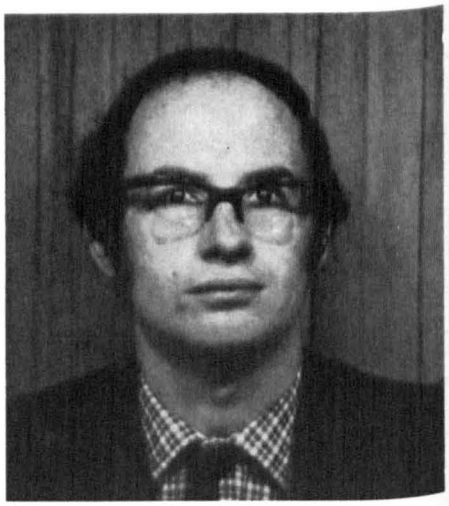
Outside Pentonville

K. L. SOOTHILL

"Ill news hath wings, and with the wind doth go,
Comfort's a cripple, and comes ever slow".

THIS quotation may well indicate the reasons why I have only just seen Adrian Arnold's heartening article reviewing the way in which attempts have developed at Pentonville in making a more constructive use of short-term imprisonment ("Inside Pentonville". *Prison Service Journal*, October 1971). In fact, though, for me the content of the article was not news simply because I was working on a research project in Pentonville at about the time some of the schemes Mr. Arnold describes were beginning to get under way. However, it prompted me to reconsider some of the information I have collected, for it perhaps serves a two-fold purpose—to emphasise the magnitude and importance of the task confronting the staff at Pentonville, and to stress with Adrian Arnold that the population there has a multiplicity of problems and there is no hope for one simple panacea.

First of all, though, I would like to reflect briefly on the way communications within the prison have improved in such a noteworthy fashion, contrasting the comparative lack of enthusiasm when we were launching a research project five years ago with the animated series of meetings we have had recently in launching a further small piece of research at Pentonville. On both occasions we have had considerable co-operation from the staff, but this time there seems a genuine desire to find out what you are attempting to achieve. It has the useful and salutary effect of making one consider one's aims that much more carefully!



Keith Soothill was research officer for the Apex Trust for five years during which time he completed a Ph.D. thesis entitled "The Apex Project: an Evaluation of an Experimental Employment Agency for Ex-Prisoners". He now works as a research worker at the Institute of Psychiatry, London, and as lecturer in sociology at the University of Lancaster as well as continuing to act as research consultant to the Apex Trust

The Apex Trust has deliberately kept out of the mainstream of the developments at Pentonville for it has been operating a small research project specifically designed to examine the value of finding employment for men released from prison. Our first project examined the effectiveness of offering a specialised employment-placing service to over 400 men in two London prisons, while our present work is designed to try to identify more closely the type of prisoner who seems to benefit from such a service. The first project has been written up elsewhere.* From our

*SOOTHILL, K. L. *The Apex Project: An Evaluation of an Experimental Employment Agency for Ex-Prisoners*, Ph.D. Thesis (University of London), 1971.

point of view the most pleasing aspect of the work in Pentonville is that however coherent a master plan Eric Towndrow and his successors have been trying to put into operation, there has been retained a flexibility by which a variety of schemes can be accommodated under the same roof. None of us really knows the answer for many of the men in prison and it is always a healthy situation if one is not certain of reaching a destination to allow people to travel a variety of routes.

The object of the Apex project was to offer an employment service to a random group of prisoners at two London prisons. As the present discussion is perhaps complementary to Adrian Arnold's earlier article, we will disregard our work at the other prison, although, in fact, the results suggest that the particular approach of Apex may well be more suitable for men earlier on in their criminal career than for the bulk of the men in Pentonville. Although we are keenly aware of the different types of problems confronting practically every prisoner on discharge our interest has always been the extent to which the provision of a suitable job would somehow act as a panacea for all other ills. It must be emphasised that the Apex service was not intended to replace any help already offered to prisoners, and so what amounted to the Apex contibution was something *over and above* the influences brought to bear upon the discharged prisoner.

Instead of attempting to retain a dramatic impact, we will reveal the outcome of the experiment at this stage and so prevent the detective-story habit of scanning the last couple of paragraphs! After a careful evaluation, there is really no evidence that *simply* finding a job on release is likely to be of much use for the majority of ex-prisoners. Compared with a similar group who were not helped in this way, there is nothing to suggest that the group helped by Apex has a lower reconviction rate after release. Some would say that this is the end of the matter, but Apex has interpreted the finding as indicating the beginning of the real work. The main object should be to identify the few men who may be helped in this way and overthrow any belief that one method or approach is likely to be the cure for everyone who finds himself or herself in prison. This is why one must develop a variety of approaches to respond to the variety of needs of the prisoner. Finding a job on release is useful for some; equally, providing hostel accommodation may be useful for others; providing both may be useful for yet another group; but one should perhaps recognise that it may be only a minority who are helped by any of these particular approaches. There are two priorities—one is to discover a variety of methods and techniques for modifying the behaviour of prisoners, while the second priority is to identify which prisoner is helped in which way.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK

In the course of a follow-up of 392 prisoners discharged from Pentonville after a six to 12 months sentence, we can now demonstrate the magnitude of the task. There is evidence that over one-half (or 50 per cent) of the men were reconvicted within the first year of their release from prison. As Table 1 shows, 71 per cent of the men reconvicted during their first year of release were given a custodial sentence or a compulsory hospital order. These figures are, of course, an under-estimation of the men likely to be received into prison during this time, for the Criminal Record Office does not provide information on all minor offences, such as drunkenness, nor the number going to prison for the non-payment of fines. The lack of information on the short-term imprisonment is possibly indicated by the fact that only two of the 141 custodial sentences in Table 1 are for less than three months:

TABLE 1

Reconvictions Within One Year of Release From Pentonville Prison

Sentence	*No.*	%
Abs. Discharge/Cond. Discharge, Bound Over	7	3.4
Fine	8	3.9
Probation	7	3.4
Suspended sentence	29	14.1
Two or more convictions (no immediate custody)	9	4.4
Imprisonment	141	68.4
Hospital Order (Section 60, M.H.A. 1959)	5	2.4
TOTAL	206	100.0

Just taking the apparently small number who receive a hospital order within the first year of release, one could estimate that if men released from Pentonville were representative of all prisons, this would mean that approaching one-third of men who receive compulsory hospital orders have been released from prison in the past year. In fact, though, Pentonville is not typical and a more likely explanation is that Pentonville contains not only a high proportion of men who have been psychiatric patients in the past (as Arnold's article indicates), but also a much higher proportion of men who will continue to be seriously disturbed psychiatric patients in the future. Figures for those receiving a section 60 hospital order reflect, of course, only the very tip of the iceberg of psychiatric problems. The example only serves to indicate that small numbers do not mean small problems when considered over-all.

WHO ACCEPTS THE APEX SERVICE?

The Apex offer was made to a random group of men at Pentonville in the last few weeks of their sentence. Towards the end of the project, though, the reception procedure at Pentonville was improved and more information was gathered about the men coming into prison. Two items were particularly relevant to the Apex project, for prison officers tried to ascertain each man's work stability over the last two of three years at liberty and what each man claimed his employment position would be on release. This early and independent assessment of the men for a purpose entirely unconnected with the offer of the Apex service is obviously of interest in terms of how they responded to an actual offer of trying to find employment months later in their prison sentence. There were 99 men who were offered the Apex service, for whom there was also an assessment of their work stability given at the reception interview. Of these men 62 fully accepted the Apex offer, while 37 rejected the Apex offer and Table 2 clearly demonstrates that one cannot predict from the assessment of their previous job stability whether they are going to accept or reject it.

TABLE 2

Response to Apex Offer in Terms of Assessment at the Reception Interview of their Previous Job Stability

	Response to Apex Offer	
Work Stability over Last 2-3 years	*Full Acceptance* %	*Rejection* %
Regular work trade/prof.	26	24
Regular work lab./casual	37	38
Some work but spells of unemployment ...	23	19
Mostly / Totally unemployed...	14	19
TOTAL ...	100	100

There were at least two surprising results. In the first place, within each category a higher proportion of those who fully accepted the Apex service were reconvicted compared with those who rejected the service! Combining the groups for simplicity, there were 62 men said to be in regular work over the last two or three years—46 per cent of those who fully accepted the Apex service were reconvicted, but this was the case for only 39 per cent of those who rejected the service. Similarly, of the 37 men assessed as having spells of unemployment or mostly unemployed, 83 per cent of those who fully accepted were reconvicted, but only 50 per cent of those who rejected the service! Without the advantage of a control group, this could have the serious implication that the service was actually harmful to men being discharged from prison. The truth of the matter, though, is that men who accept the Apex service tend to be the poorer risks; they are the men who need the help but in general are probably unable to respond to the type of help Apex is offering. In contrast, one could argue that men who reject the Apex service tend to be better citizens or perhaps better criminals!

RESEARCH BETTER THAN GUESSWORK

The other remarkable feature is that of those Apex tried to help in finding suitable employment on release, there were only three men who stayed at the first job arranged for three months or more, and all three were either described at the reception interview as having spells of unemployment or being mostly unemployed. This perhaps indicates that the most unlikely men sometimes respond to a service one is offering, and research rather than guesswork should be the way one discovers who may benefit.

Another significant finding that emerged from this aspect of our work is the danger of resting too much on what a person claims is his employment position when he is interviewed soon after reception. In the present sample, Table 3 demonstrates that their responses to the actual offer of an employment service a few weeks before release has little relationship with what had been claimed a few months earlier.

TABLE 3

Response to Apex Offer in Terms of Claimed Employment Position at Reception Interview

Claimed Employment Position on Release	*Response to Apex Offer*	
	Full Acceptance %	*Rejection* %
Has a Job	13	15
Can find own Job ...	56	65
Requires help to find a Job	28	20
Does not want a Job	3	—
TOTAL ...	100	100

Of those who accepted the Apex service, over half had maintained they could find their own work, while in contrast one in five who rejected the offer had maintained earlier that they required help to find a job. This could, of course, imply that Apex was persuading some to accept the Apex service who could have sorted out this aspect of after-care on their own initiative. Another interpretation could be that men are not so sure of their own abilities as they sometimes like to give the impression. The latter view gets some support from an examination of the reconviction figures.

Only one man who said he had a job at the reception interview and rejected the Apex offer was reconvicted within one year; in contrast, 37 per cent who said they had jobs but accepted the Apex offer were reconvicted. Both these reconviction proportions, though, are below those for men who said they could find their own job—in the event, 41 per cent of the men who also rejected the Apex offer were reconvicted compared with 58 per cent of those who accepted the Apex offer. The latter figure perhaps suggests that the men were fooling themselves at the reception interview rather than being deliberately misleading. Of the men who claimed they required help to find a job at the reception interview, but who rejected the Apex offer, 43 per cent were reconvicted within one year of release. This, however, is a much smaller proportion than the 78 per cent reconvicted of those who both claimed they required help to find a job and later accepted the Apex offer—further evidence that Apex does not seem to make much of an impact on those who, in fact, realise they need help the most. Finally, both the men who said at the reception interview they did not want a job on release paradoxically accepted the Apex service, but both were sentenced to further periods of imprisonment soon after their release.

SUMMING UP

The statistical approach of this article is a different approach from Adrian Arnold's over-all vision of the use and potential value of short-term imprisonment. However, in many ways the message is the same, for the experience of Apex endorses the view of Arnold that "we must think big". A limited approach produces limited results. Our present work at Apex is aimed at identifying more closely the type of men who seem to benefit from the particular service we are offering. What we have learnt so far is something of the magnitude of the task. In more specific terms, our evidence suggests that one does not help the men one expects to help, and some very surprising characters indeed seem to respond to the service. The message is really that one should beware of all preconceived notions. The other indication of which we have more impressions than hard evidence is that people do, and, or at least can, change over the comparatively short period they are in Pentonville. To some extent this is perhaps indicated by the apparent discrepancies between what a man says at his reception interview and how a man responds to an employment offer a few weeks before his release. If we accept the view that a man's attitude can be changed, it is a worthwhile exercise trying to ensure that the change is at least in the right direction.

(This work was carried out on material made available from the Apex project. The original research was financed by the Nuffield Foundation. The author wishes to thank the Home Office for their kind provision of facilities.)

FRONT SHEET **N.A.C.R.O., (2) 78 High Street, Marshfield, Chippenham.**

N.A.C.R.O. in the South-West is a lively body, with the sometimes controversial Charles Irving as its regional chairman. One of their ideas has been the production of an occasional newspaper for prisoners in the region. The paper is bright, punchy, *Daily Mirror* stuff—a good deal more lively than PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL and a lot less self-consciously glossy than *Link-Up*, the arty prisoner magazine which has sunk without trace. Financing the paper is a problem since it is distributed free—no doubt the editor would be pleased to receive donations.

Borstal Telephone Link Project

IN JULY 1971 the Home Office agreed to a six months pilot study of a scheme which would allow uncensored incoming telephone calls to be received by borstal trainees. Such calls were to be made from probation offices. The pilot area consisted of the five borstals in the north region and the eight probation offices in the S.E. Lancashire area. This article outlines the rationale for the scheme, the working of the scheme and an attempt at evaluation.

The idea for the scheme arose from discussion about the high reconviction rates of discharged borstal trainees. (Lowson[1] gives a figure of 72 per cent reconviction during the first year after discharge.) Reasons suggested for this high rate included the negative effect of peer group influences within the institution and the restriction of beneficial outside influences during training. It was felt that if the trainee had greater opportunities to communicate with people whose norms were non-criminal this might reduce the effect of negative peer group influence, and it seemed that relatives and persons with whom a boy had formed a close emotional attachment (referred to as "significant individuals") could well be uniquely placed to provide a counter-balancing influence.

Communication at the present time between trainees and significant individuals is mainly by visits and letters. Visiting is not always ideal because of physical distance, travelling time, cost and inhibiting factors such as bad weather and the need to care for young children on the journey or for those left at home. Letter-writing on the other hand can likewise present formidable obstacles. Recently, educational theorists have commented upon the language patterns of different sub-groups, Bernstein[2] in particular developing the concept of restricted and elaborate language patterns. Most trainees and their significant individuals use the restricted pattern and attitudes and emotions tend to be expressed not only by emphasis and stress upon words from within a limited vocabulary but also by gestures and facial expression. To such people communication by letter-writing is both difficult and abnormal and many letters viewed by both probation and borstal staff well evidence this particular fact. A further inhibiting factor with regard to letters as a vehicle of communication is the censorship of all mail since few people, it is felt, will authentically communicate under the eye of a third person.

During the initial discussions regarding the scheme certain anxieties were expressed. These related primarily to matters of security and the possible jamming of borstal switchboards. Discussion on the first point led to the view that uncensored telephone calls could well contain fewer security risks than open visits and, on the matter of switchboard blockage, steps could easily be taken to overcome this problem if it arose.

In practice the agreed stages of a link-call were to be:

(i) The probation officer would find out when it would be convenient for the borstal to allow the trainee to receive a link-call.

(ii) The borstal would arrange for the trainee to be available at the agreed time in a room where the conversation would not be overheard.

(iii) The link-call would be made from the probation office. (It was agreed that link-calls would be limited in duration and that the probation officer would not overhear the calls.)

(iv) Before or after the call the probation officer and the housemaster would discuss the trainee's progress.

(v) After the call the probation officer could discuss progress, etc. with the significant individuals.

Due to a late start the scheme extended only over a five months period. The take up of the scheme was confined to one office and in retrospect it might be construed that the scheme unsuccessfully competed for a share of the area's scarce professional resources. In all, 12 families were contacted from the particular office, nine of whom subsequently took part in the scheme. A total of 25 calls were made, the majority to two of the closed borstals within the pilot area.

A tentative examination of the high and low users of the scheme indicated that usage was high when fiancees were involved in the call. The financial status of the family was interestingly not a significant factor affecting the usage rate. A disincentive to the usage of the scheme was noted in certain cases when, for reasons connected with the finding of a suitable room within a particular borstal, certain conversations were obliged to be overheard. Without

The authors

J. TOMLINSON

Following a career lasting 23 years in the Royal Navy, Mr. Tomlinson undertook the one year Home Office Probation Course in 1969. He has been a member of the Bury Probation Office since completion of training. Particular interests relate to the running of client self-help groups

H. A. THOMAS

Mr. Thomas has been a member of the Probation Service since 1964 following Home Office probation training. He holds the Diploma in Social Administration from the University of Wales. Prior to social work he was engaged in both industry and commerce. He is at present the senior probation officer at the Bury office. A particular social work interest centres around the application of techniques which beneficially alter the clients' self-image

J. D. WATTERS

Mr. Watters joined the Probation Service in September 1971 following the Home Office probation course. Prior to the Probation Service he was in the Prison Service and for a time was in post at Onley Recall Centre (1969–70). Since completion of training in 1971 he has been a member of the probation staff at the Bury office. The majority of Mr. Watters' caseload consists of ex-detention centre and borstal trainees

doubt, some of the high rate users would have liked to have used the service to a much greater extent but it was felt that difficulties might be encountered in the borstal setting arising from the very privileged position of a small number of trainees. Most of the link-calls lasted the prescribed maximum of 20 minutes and the cost to the caller, in the majority of cases, was 40p. Excluding officials, an average of 3.4 people took part in the link-calls. In the majority of cases the full parental complement took part and in 60 per cent of the calls a fiancee was also involved. A surprisingly wide family representation was involved in some link calls, in one case this being the whole of a three-generation family. In this instance a telephone amplifier was used to facilitate communication.

At the termination of the scheme a comparison was made which differentiated between users and non-users of the scheme. Whilst the populations being compared were in a number of respects dissimilar, and this factor must be borne in mind in any comparison, an analysis did suggest that probation officer "contacts" with parents, kin and fiancees, trainees, and borstal housemasters are greater in telephone link cases than in non-link cases.

WHAT THE USERS FELT

In January 1972, at the end of the scheme, all of the released trainees and their families were asked for their opinions. They all replied without prompting or pressure and their letters are analysed in the following table:

	Letters					
Category	1	2	3	4	5	6
In favour of scheme... ...	*	*	*	*	*	*
Plea for extension of scheme		*		*	*	*
Benefits seen: Reduces worry/boredom		*	*	*	*	*
Speeds communication ...			*	*		
Overcomes transport difficulties		*				
Assists people to "keep in touch"				*	*	
Preferable to letters ...		*	*		*	*
Negative comments (about call being overheard) ...	*		*			
Positive comments (about privacy of call)						*

An interesting letter from a brother read:

Dear Mr. . . .

I write this letter to say what a good idea it is to be able to phone into a borstal instead of writeing, but it was a pity it was only for a short time like three months because it seemed to me to be the best Idia to ever come into reality, as many things have been said but nothing ever came of them because prison authoritys thought them unfitt, as they do phone calls but as they dont pay for them I dont se why thay should worry. besides it is much better than writeing and it makes the person in Borstall fell more at home, but even though its only for a few minuites you have an officer in whilst you are talking at the other end that is, its a shame really because the lads in there get so Fed up and lonly also many worry for both there famleys and relitives, not knowing if they will get a letter or not I'd been in that position myself so I know and with a phone call at least you know that you will get a letter or not. and whats more I think the people on the other side of the fence should try to help all they can for thoughs behind it. When I was in there the mention of a phone call was right out of the question exept if someone was dieing but its a load of rubbish that. Still its about time someone came out with a Idea like that. I have no grudge agains Borstall but some of there rules are realey stupid and I wish you all the luck in the world in doing what you think best.

Yours sincerely,

CASE STUDY

Before going to borstal Malcolm was on probation for four months. He was heavily involved in amphetamine misuse at the time of sentence and relationships with the supervising probation officer were poor: little progress was being made and interviews were virtually on a question and answer basis. It was a single-parent family and the mother had been met by the probation officer on only three occasions. All these were crisis meetings, two being at Court. It was not known to the probation officer whether Malcolm had any emotional links outside the family.

Malcolm's mother was sent a letter about the link-call scheme and soon afterwards visited the probation office with a 19 year-old girl who turned out to be Malcolm's girl-friend. Arrangements were put in hand for a link-call which took place the following week. Six further were made, the probation officer talking to Malcolm before or after each call. Following each call a discussion was held, usually over a coffee, between the probation officer and the trainee's mother and girl-friend. After the third link-call Malcolm wrote to the probation officer: "I think I'll take the opportunity to thank you for keeping everything running smoothly at your end, e.g. the telephone calls, and of course the newspapers. . . . P.S. Never been much good at writing letters".

During the scheme, discussions also took place between the probation officer and Malcolm's housemaster, the probation officer gaining a better understanding of the borstal system and learning some of the practical problems of the link-call scheme.

The supportive influence of mother and girl-friend has continued subsequent to Malcolm's release and his present behaviour—regular employment, drug-free life and positive attitude to the probation service—suggests that his future prospects are good.

EVALUATION

To generalise from a small sample is unwise but it is believed that—

(a) the system is workable and presents fewer security hazards than a personal visit.

(b) Many significant individuals, when approached, will utilise the system.

(c) The system appears to overcome certain communication barriers and could provide a means of countering negative peer group influence in the borstal setting.

(d) The implementation of the scheme would increase the levels of contact between the probation and borstal service.

Whilst the scheme was in operation brief reports were published of two not dissimilar, but more extensive, schemes in the U.S.A.[3] The evaluation by the New Jersey Department of Corrections of their scheme (which involved 1,350 link calls per month) was that the scheme—

(a) Could be of significant value to inmates during and after sentence.

(b) Helped to build morale.

(c) Encouraged associations which would benefit inmates on release.

(d) Helped inmates to retain contact with their families.

We believe that the results of a much smaller scheme are in accord with the American evaluation and feel that efforts should be made to provide link-call facilities within the borstal system. Perhaps at a later date serious consideration could be given to extending the scheme to prisons.

The authors would like to thank Mr. J. W. Marsh, Principal Probation Officer Lancashire South-East Probation Area, and Mr. A. Gould, formerly Northern Regional Director, Prison Department, for their help and encouragement, as well as the staffs of the borstals concerned in the project.

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2. Bernstein, B. *Class, Codes and Control.* Routledge 1971.
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The Cyrenians

An organisation concerned with the practical problems of homelessness. They use volunteers to provide overnight shelter, community houses and longer-term care for the inadequate and handicapped. They are now recognised by the D.H.S.S. and receive a grant equal to the amount raised by voluntary subscription.

The Cyrenian is their newspaper. It is well produced and describes graphically the extent of the problems and the efforts being made. This is a worthy cause. More information is available from:

Tom Gifford, General Secretary
Cyrenians Office
7 Sole Street Cottages
Crundale
Canterbury
Tel: 0227-70-430
Office hours: Mon.-Fri. 9-12 noon

N.A.C.R.O. has produced two new publications. They are available from N.A.C.R.O., 125 Kennington Park Road, London S.E.11 (735-1151):

Establishing Hostels and Lodging Schemes for Offenders (price 35p) consists of two papers which describe what is involved in setting up and running after-care hostels and supported landladies schemes. The paper on hostels includes advice on staff, premises, funding and planning and management. The lodgings scheme paper aims to provide information on a newer, alternative provision for offenders.

Prisoners Wives' Group Review 1972 (price 15p) takes stock of the developments of wives' groups since the first one was set up in 1965. It examines the rationale behind them and looks at the key factors involved in running a prisoners wives' group.

NEW CAREERS
A Handbook of Training and Employment Opportunities for Prisoners and Ex-prisoners

Produced by TOPP

Published by Pillory Press, 1972

PRISON officials often claim that they would like to do more to prepare men for discharge but prisons are overcrowded and "staff are just not available . . .". It takes a considerable leap of the official imagination to see prisoners as a *resource*, perhaps the only resource which really matters.

A project was undertaken at Shepton Mallet Prison, between 1967 and 1970, to collect information about training and employment and to make this available to prisoners and those concerned to help them. The result is this handbook.

Clearly, a great many people and organisations were involved in this major task and one hopes that it was worthwhile.

It would be interesting sometime to hear about what happened behind the scenes. What effect did the project have on those directly involved in compiling the handbook? How did the researchers feel about receiving (and publishing) a text from the Department of Employment which gives such a glowing (and complacent) account of the work of that department? And how did the D.E.P. officials feel about being asked?

Where next can prisoners help themselves?

"Sorry brother but when your lot went out on strike, my lot came out in sympathy"

CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT 1972

The main provisions include the following:

- Courts may make a compensation or criminal bankruptcy order against an offender.
- Suspension of short sentences shall not be obligatory.
- Suspension of sentences may be for up to two years (not three years as previously).
- A supervision order may be made when a suspended sentence is awarded.
- A Court may make a community service order requiring an offender to perform unpaid work.
- A probation order may include the requirement that an offender attend a day training centre.
- A Court may, without remanding the offender, defer sentence for up to six months after conviction.
- Voters from 18 years to 65 years of age shall be eligible to serve on juries but prison staff are ineligible and prisoners who have served sentences of three months or longer are disqualified for 10 years or more.
- Maximum sentences for firearms offences have been increased.
- Drunks may be taken by the police to alcoholic treatment centres.
- The Secretary of State may parole a prisoner on the recommendation of a Local Review Committee without the case going to the Parole Board.
- An offender may appeal against an order returning him to borstal on reconviction.
- Bail hostels may be provided for homeless remands.
- If an old prison is closed down the local authority shall no longer have the right to buy the property at a fixed price.

New Wine into Old Bottles

HUNTERCOMBE BORSTAL

A. ARNOLD

Adrian Arnold, M.A. (Cantab) is ex-Indian Army with fairly varied experience including Usk Borstal, Goudhurst Detention Centre, two remand centres (Ashford and Risley), Grendon and Pentonville as deputy governor. He has had two tours overseas as commandant of a detention camp and superintendent of a youth prison in Nicosia, Cyprus, during the E.O.K.A. trouble and superintendent of an open prison in the Northern Region of Nigeria, where he also built and opened the first borstal. He prepared a book on "Management and Treatment in the Prison Service", whilst on a Simon Fellowship at Manchester University in 1964–5, but it was considered inopportune for publication at the time of the Mountbatten Report. He has toured prisons and hospitals in Africa, California, Canada, India and several countries in Europe, but (with a distinction in an Abnormal Psychology Certificate from the University of London as a mark of his present interest) he is now keen to develop more purposeful techniques in social and psychological training in Prison Service establishments, with that special twist of the fullest use of Community Service in both directions, that is, trainees working usefully in the community and the community working likewise within establishments.

ASKED to produce an article on one's borstal which outlines the "New Developments," one is left with considerable humility furiously to think what can be said about borstal training that has not been said hundreds of times already. In spite of this, we do consider here at Huntercombe that certain aspects are novel, promising and worthy of discussion with others in the field.

TYPE OF TRAINEE

One's background philosophy towards trainees in general must first be considered. It is my belief that the majority of trainees here at Huntercombe, indeed in borstal generally, are as much and as often victims of society as offenders. This means often that their offences are little more than one would expect from lads of that age in the circumstances that they have been nurtured. To test this hypothesis, I was fortunate in gaining the services of a post-graduate student from the Penal Research Unit of the University of Oxford who carried out a project on all trainees here at Huntercombe in August 1971.

He had four major conclusions at the end:

(1) That the 180 trainees at Huntercombe tend to be of low average and below average intelligence, and that the levels of educational attainment are well below their corresponding levels of intelligence.

(2) Very few of the trainees at Huntercombe would seem likely to pose any serious threat to the general law-abiding public, as regards violence; in fact only 2 per cent of the total population even approach being worthy of serious consideration in this respect.

(3) In his opinion the cases of burglary, theft and taking and driving away, which accounted for 74 per cent of the current offences, were the resultant of an immature attitude to life and an expression of feelings of inadequacy of the trainees when at liberty.

(4) The abscond rate at Huntercombe seemed rather high (20 per cent having absconded at least once during their current sentence) but none of these were a danger to the public and at worst were only a potential nuisance; two-thirds were apprehended on the same day and five-sixths within three days.

(1), (2) and (3) above were in some senses as one would expect, since Huntercombe's role in the south-east region was specially concerned with remedial education in semi-closed conditions. Certainly the borstal training sentence was concerned with the repetitious habit of these offences rather than their gravity. One must add to this the extraordinary fact that 30 per cent of trainees were illiterate, i.e. with a reading age of nine or less; the reasons for this were of course multiple and varied. Likewise 15 per cent of trainees had been homeless for most of their life, 20 per cent were now of unsettled family background.

In regular discussion with heads of departments here, it appeared in general terms that the real needs of trainees were growth in identity, education, opportunity, ability and sociability and to find a place in society.

A VARIETY OF MODELS OF BORSTAL TRAINING

The other aspect which struck us fairly forcibly was that, although there were many techniques towards behavioural and attitudinal change, man was fairly uncertain still about which was most successful with which kind of trainee. We were aware, however, that

the Hawthorne effect applied, that novelty and innovation in treatment was a catalyst toward success, that borstal training like any other total institution, tended to become far too much a routine, that in principle it was a good thing that a variety of models of borstal training should be attempted.

One of the real problems in borstal is how to apply at the same time the good conditioning process, a token economy style borstal grade system, whereby everything must be earned, where failure, whether this is loss of temper, kit or work output can mean loss of promotion in that system . . . at the same time as a problem-solving regime, where growth in insight is equally important. The problem-solving regime does not encourage people to lose their kit or temper necessarily, but it encourages trainees to bring such problems out into the open, in order that they can be looked at more clearly with assistance from staff and fellow trainees through group work and other processes; the borstal grade conditioning system can discourage admission of a weakness even to the point of denial. Borstals are run by the Prison Department; thus too easily the approach can be authoritarian as well as paternal, hierarchical as well as well-ordered. Problem-solving methods probably require more understanding, warmth, trust, opportunity and hope than traditional methods permit; there must be a constructive use of authority. It was clear that most trainees distrusted authority and that, therefore, the discipline meted out by the borstal authority encouraged so often *per se* anti-social tendencies, where a vicious sub-culture could flourish so easily; how could warmth and affection be planted in such a setting? They were too immature for self government, indeed it could well frighten them; deterrents such as the punishment block would so clearly lead to further resentment and indeed to tomorrow's vicious criminals; staff must themselves work through a process of understanding and warmth for trainees and a full scale compulsory staff training programme in psychology, sociology as well as technical works and studies, as appropriate, started on Wednesday afternoons during the kit exchange period for trainees.

We were also fortunate in gaining the approval from Prison Headquarters for a three-year certificate in criminology course based on the University of Oxford; they were to supply the lecturers; we supplied the students and the location, i.e. 10 staff from Huntercombe and 10 from local interested establishments nearby—and, although a small staff in a country area, we are over-subscribed on both; the cost was much higher than the usual subsidised courses for the public, indeed costing £30 per student per annum, borne by the student's appropriate government department. The real advance, however, was that this course was staff training in official time at midday and still an approved course with the University of Oxford—the subjects being a choice of three of the following four (as with the London University course):

(a) The Psychology of Criminal Behaviour.
(b) The Sociology of Crime and Deviance.
(c) The Criminal Process.
(d) The Penal Process.

How well this appeared to fit into the staff training programme already 12 months under way!

The regime at the borstal was to be an enabling one, where affection could be discussed, where what one wants to do could be developed for both staff and trainees; a positive involvement of staff with their own small section of lads was a necessity; where the whole aim of the borstal training must be concerned with their home and what they would do on their return; borstal training, becoming ever shorter, must be ever more concerned with beginning something, which can be continued outside.

SECTION OFFICERS SCHEME

Thus, an erstwhile scheme at Huntercombe was revived, whereby each wing officer was responsible for his own eight trainees; the extra twist was that they all came from the same area outside. Thus one officer is responsible for West Middlesex or East Sussex in each wing; his duty was not only to get to know the eight trainees, but their probation officer(s), voluntary associates, trainees' families, local youth clubs and church groups from that area and to consider parole for trainees to visit a prospective employer or hostel, the latter especially if they were homeless or estranged from their family (25 per cent of trainees)—the important aspect here was the homelessness rather than the delinquency. Thus accredited local groups are encouraged to visit the borstal to see the appropriate trainees and their section officer; in this way the social life of a trainee at home can be positively affected during his sentence. Until then the assistant governor/housemaster was the caseworker for his 90 trainees—a patently impossible situation. Now he had become the supervisor and enabler, assisting with the more helpless, difficult trainees. Likewise probation officers now liaise with the section officer by name rather than the supervisor/assistant governor, although the latter is also available, if necessary.

At first, staff felt embarrassment in this situation, partly because of their assumed expectation that their seniors would expect everything still to be "all correct" all the time; there was genuine fear that they could not cope with freedom of expression of feelings by trainees, although in their own families this was accepted as normal and understandable; friendliness was an embarrassment at first to many staff and trainees, but is so welcome in this kind of setting and something so worthy of discussion, rather than the tough facade which purports to say on both sides that we can cope with anything: "We are as tough as they come!"

EDUCATION

There was no doubt education should play a much more important role in training also. About 30 trainees per day were receiving an hour or so remedial education per day and no higher education for the small proportion of better educated lads was attempted. This term, trainees to the day-time remedial classes were doubled; five part-time teachers were encouraged in alongside the two full-timers; three voluntary helpers recruited, while another six from Reading University are soon expected. Visual aids are expanding fast and an effective remedial centre is under way with fullest use again of available community resources.

Lads in the higher I.Q. range are being encouraged towards full-day release in the local technical college alone just now on plant, light engineering and motor mechanics courses; a further 10 go there on evening classes while we are now in discussion with local secondary schools for appropriate trainee assistance.

Evening classes meanwhile are related more closely to leisure and occupational interest subjects, rather than a formal curriculum. Alongside there has been a growth in groupwork, from groups based on offences (T.A.D.A., malicious damage, etc.—there are clear common denominators in such groups) to ones based on mood or failure (i.e. those concerned with acting out problems). In short, personal relationships courses now cut across various aspects of institutional life and are more

concerned with areas of personality and social need.

Such expansion has, of course, caused considerable breaking at the seams as regards availability of trainees for the major works and refurbishing programme, apart from normal chores, but most trainees are found to need such variety of training and competition for "labour" cannot but encourage a more dynamic training framework.

THE PUNISHMENT BLOCK

This block, called, I fear euphemistically, the special training wing was the place of containment of the most pathetic, the most angry, the most disturbed. It was in fact the place for those whom staff could not understand in the main. It was clear that "acting-out" of the kind, which merited the punishment block, was on the whole again sincerely believed in by the trainees involved; it was clear that such behaviour was the result of fear, frustration or anger with or without an element of mischief or guile; the trainees sent to Huntercombe were not psychotic, although those with the major problems occasionally presented as such. The important common aspect was seen to be that those most anti-authority were also without exception most anti-dad (occasionally mum); thus the real problem was presenting itself; should they be knocked down again or assisted in working through their major problem, which was sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of their behaviour before borstal as well as during. Certainly it was a reaction to circumstances in the great majority of cases—it could be concerned with pressures from other trainees within the borstal, with fear and hopelessness at the situation without, with fear about their own adequacy as a young man, as a person and even as a citizen and occasionally it was concerned with an inept staff member (almost always well-intentioned). Punishment in these circumstances simply confirmed the anti-social tendencies and increased resentment to the extent that most of that small core of really nasty murderers, gang leaders, etc. are trained on the punishment blocks of borstal—the worst products of a borstal system, which is based on defensive management, frightened to deal with their business—the "people business" with the many appropriate skills available.

What then was the alternative? Occasionally the wires were so crossed that transfer and a new start appeared to be the only alternative, especially if there was very limited intelligence and in the early part of the sentence. Then, however, other positive constructs appeared and the punishment block came to be called the special care unit. Trainees went out of normal circulation for an indefinite period (sometimes for just one day, sometimes for the work period, sometimes for the evening association period on the wings—whichever appeared appropraite). They now brought with them their personal possessions, if change of accommodation was required. Their daily schedule is intended to fit the need, i.e. intensive remedial education so often, discussion and often more discussion, special projects, special work or hobbies again as appropriate.

An interested principal officer was put in charge (in liaison with the hospital officer and nursing sister) with the first task of a job description and outlining of criteria for selection, which must come through the wing assistant governor to the governor or his deputy for final approval. It is, therefore, a spasmodic venture, dependent on the pressures of individual trainees, of wing staff ability to deal and of specific opportunities and resources available under the tight staff schedule or, again, local community resources.

An example of the kind of project, given to a reasonably intelligent, but specially difficult, anti-social young negro (with real parental problems of course), was to outline the syllabus for a week-end course on leadership for trainees locally, as a preliminary to community service; also the delineation of responsible areas appropriate to trainees in the wing, including hygiene, theft, art, drama, week-end activities and even table-tennis balls. He did not produce much, but was helped through his immediate difficulties and incidentally assisted in the pressure toward purposeful wing committees, assisted the principal officer in charge and became more pro-social himself—is such a gamble of judgement not exactly what is required in these most difficult cases? Is such difficult, attention-seeking behaviour not related to the need to prove oneself in a purposeful way?

This is not to say that there are not some in prison and borstal who need punishment, but let these be the appropriate exception rather than the general rule and both prison and borstal are punishment enough and, surely, as often as not the cause of this different behaviour. At times I feel we are the difficult ones—we are the ones who fail to understand—it is our own (mis) management that can so often cause the acting-out.

ABSCONDS

One other area caused us special concern—absconds. We had 118 absconds in 1971 and there are only 180 lads in the place (true there are probably 500 a year passing through). Half of these were during my time, i.e. the latter half of 1971.

What must be done? This question was posed from all sides—from Prison Headquarters; from the Board of Visitors; from the local neighbourhood; certainly from the staff; and, believe it or not, especially from the trainees, who found it all most unsettling and bordering on anarchy rather than training.

Of course, the straightforward answer was to increase the punishment for absconding; more time lost; loss of further weeks' earnings; more time up the punishment block; even bread and water was suggested. But they were losing two months in time already; four times the maximum punishment in prisons; surely that was hefty enough already.

After long discussion almost the opposite answer was tried, namely, rewards for not absconding; the psychological department were sceptical; this was in conditioning terms rewarding the institution for its excessive absconds; that factor notwithstanding we tried the following awards:

(a) Open visits in Henley and Wallingford at week-ends with parents and/or probation officers.

(b) Unescorted visits at the week-end to Henley cinema, if they did not receive visits; they would have to pay for visit and fare.

(c) Selection for community service projects in the region for a week at a time, e.g. Southampton National Trust; Notting Hill Ecumenical Centre; Bristol Thornbury Sheiling School; Borocourt E.S.N. hospital locally and the Sir Winston Churchill training ship in the West India Dock.

These were available only after senior training grade had been attained, i.e. about half-way through their training and only if they had not absconded at Huntercombe.

The results after eight months now is that absconding is halved and still decreasing—and, furthermore, it is now found unnecessary to keep those who have absconded in the punishment block at all after adjudication. Again it is the most pathetic and confused who

abscond—what is required (and the average time at large is about one hour) is special attention again—the abscond becomes the means to special care rather than punishment.

Other rewards have now been made available also for those who have absconded here, such as day-visits, concerned with their trade training course or remedial education. Likewise, homelessness is considered to be a case of very special need and a day's parole to visit prospective accommodation (indeed several days' visits) over and above home leave is never affected by absconds earlier in their training.

But the important aspect about the awards for not absconding is that trainees do not become accustomed to them, rather they become ever more important to each trainee, as they come to see them increasingly used by other trainees.

THE USE OF WILLING COMMUNITY RESOURCES ESPECIALLY FOR WEEK-END ACTIVITIES

The above could not be done by staff alone however; other people were required to assist in this, largely because staff had little time for the purposeful, problem-solving approach amongst their many other exigencies, routine duties and increasing paper work; and soon many visitors at a variety of levels were encouraged to come in and assist staff, to work alongside staff in a variety of situations; this was an excellent form of using supplementary community resources with a variety of skills; incidentally they were only paid expenses and received the proverbial cuppa and biscuits unless overnighting or staying up to six months, when they could receive full board and lodging also; fortunately staff came to see this as an extension to their arm, rather than as competitors in the more satisfying aspects of their task, far sooner than one could have expected; these outside visitors were not only local neighbourhood visitors, but visitors from the trainee's home neighbourhood also; they came in at one level on day visits from a variety of training centres for allied disciplines, local universities and even local schools, mainly to assist in week-end activities, which were compulsory for each afternoon, but with a choice of 12 activities, including music, art, debating society, a new magazine *The Huntercombe Echo*, or just in general discussion, table-tennis tournaments, apart from normal outside games and matches, gymnastics, etc.; the more responsible, trained outsiders, whether these be Justices of the Peace, university lecturers or social workers and marriage guidance counsellors, were encouraged to come in to take groups of trainees with the nominated officer for that group, some in fact staying for week-ends, weeks and even months with H.Q. approval. One important aspect here was to ensure that every visitor joined a feed-back session after every session with myself or the deputy governor, so that malpractice and misapprehension could be worked through rather than fester and develop. In this way we have yet to have a single incident of any magnitude with visitors ranging from schoolgirls to old-age pensioners and now amounting to two and three score a week. One of these groups from St. Helens, Bishopsgate, brought in by the chaplain, were especially powerful in causing trainees to think again; there was a proselytising aspect to their work which required certain care and control with regard to Catholic trainees, for example, but the main interest for the trainees was that they offered a new form of social life outside, as well as homes literally for the homeless from the Greater London area.

The chaplain and ministers can give to the guilty the power of grace which can often give a welcome touch of innocence, especially necessary for those beset by a heavy sense of guilt. This can build a genuine sense of charity, which can be the beginning of a new outlook and again, therefore, behaviour change; this is not correctional, but a willing change of behaviour by trainees, which is almost the reverse. Of course it is not only the chaplain that can give of himself to these trainees, but any staff and indeed any civilian from outside. In this way are values made and so often also a sense of purpose, a meaning to life, where friendship and good living are better understood. This is not a religious feeling necessarily, but an understanding of harmony in people, replacing sometimes that overbearing egocentricity, whether this be greed or straightforward introversion or the psychopathic quality of youngsters with that "primal envy", belief that the world owes them a living, or a straightforward certainty in their mind that they have had a raw deal.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

For just the same reasons community service is a very welcome supplement to borstal training also. When trainees can go out into the community to assist others in difficulty, many positive changes occur; often for the first time they may feel that they have a small place in society; that there are people in greater need than themselves; certainly self pity disappears as if like lightning when some lads are first introduced to the E.S.N. and S.S.N. Hospital at Borocourt nearby, this can be just as good with other children and senior citizens. It would certainly be a delight for many older prison staff to see the report by prison staff in charge of a working party in the community or occasionally by accredited leaders acting for prison staff, where one or two only are sent out on their own; epithets such as "outstanding", "showed exceptional interest throughout the week", "this lad appears to have a born aptitude to help others", and many more replace those epithets to be found in his police antecedents, his social enquiry report, his school and even his own family, which repeat *ad nauseam* sometimes "an inveterate liar", "bone idle", "pathetic", "I fear this lad will need continual support for the rest of his life", and "I am at a loss to know how to deal with him". It is then that borstal training can be said to be more than routine training but an exciting, wonderful and most effective few weeks in any young man's life. Then surely we can begin to say that borstal training is having success; there is no magic in this but a logical use of energy and exuberance for the benefit of both sides, those within our institutions and those without; borstal training can be exciting, warm, hopeful and something akin to a holiday in the sense of a break from the often maudlin pathetic life outside—the introduction of three guitars and pianos alone did much for the hope and expectation at Huntercombe.

We appear generally a little more versatile just now; staff appear to be showing much more initiative; trainees likewise have more opportunity to make mistakes and learn from them, apart from more opportunities to show responsibility also (indeed "grassing" and "responsible action" are ever more confused in discussion nowadays); the impression is essentially that we can help the community and vice versa; that borstal training is far from an end in itself (indeed we still believe that most of what we are doing for most trainees can be done better in the community—rather than sending the young man to borstal at all). However, one fact stands out above all and that is that there is new wine about, it tastes far from bitter and the old bottle is proving more than versatile enough—indeed, we agree so wholeheartedly, we have but made a beginning.

Letters From Readers

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

A. H. Papps' recent article ("Control Treatment", October 1972) is a further and useful step in the breaking down of the old myth of the custody-treatment continuum. Prisons are not characterised by more or less control so much as by differences in the quality of control; coercive control, imposed by staff on inmates, or some measure of normative control exercised by both staff and inmates through processes or democratisation (the process specifically argued for in the article).

But the confusions about treatment linger. Your article distinguished treatment as a political term (parley) and as a medical term (cure). Thenceforwards the emphasis was on the political usage (democratisation—a limited area of treatment as recognised by "People in Prison"—"handle"), as if this were straightforwardly compatible with the medical emphasis. I do not think that this is the case in a penal context.

Two points. The "cure" is usually involuntary and often questions the capacity of the inmate as an adequate moral agent: this has implications for the dignity of the inmate. Secondly the eternal hope for "cure", as if by some mystical process, deflects attention from treatment (handle in the broad sense). It is not sufficient for staff to have "genuinely committed attitudes towards treatment", what is required is very much clearer guidance as to what positive treatment would look like in the organisation of everyday life in the prison. Mr. Papps gives some indications in this area.

Rod Morgan,
Lecturer in Sociology.

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.
Sir,

With all due respect to Mr. D. W. Wickham ("The turmoil of Youth", October issue Prison Service Journal"), I cannot possibly see what he was trying to prove with his "consumer research". Did he forget that the questions he asked were to convicted people? Did he really expect any different answers to the ones he got? Mr. D. W. Wickham has been in the Service long enough to know that no prisoner will ever admit that his sentence was *not* long enough. As for the other questions, who is trying to kid whom? Nothing will ever be right for these law breakers, and let us not forget that's what they are.

It's about time this Service came down to earth. My conclusions after nearly seven years at a local prison are: if a man decides himself he is not coming back to prison, he won't ever come back no matter what kind of treatment he gets. As for the recidivist, he will always be back until he alone decides he has had enough, so why all the fuss?

I note in question (g) (Have you gained anything from detention training?) that not one boy said he had gained any respect for the law, or any self-discipline (I apologise for the use of that dirty word "discipline").

Nobody really knows what to do with law breakers, but a lot of people are groping in the dark hoping to (1) find the answer, or (2) impress the right people.

You may put me down as another disgruntled warder if you like, but I hate to see wasted effort.

H. Jackson,
Prison Officer,
Bedford.

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

The correspondent who writes on R.A.P. ("Reflections on R.A.P."—October 1972) does himself less than justice when he "finds himself decidedly square if not down right reactionary". The fact that he was prepared to go to a meeting and write a sensitive appraisal to your journal proves to my mind that he is not square.

An audience of 500 people mainly "young, intense and intelligent" (I use your correspondent's words) will appear idealistic and sometimes wrong-headed to people who are part of the prison establishment and who, therefore, have the advantage of greater contact with prison life. Most groups of people urging prison reform have appeared idealistic and wrong-headed to others in the past. Perhaps the gap between idealism and hard facts would be narrowed if the present workings of the Official Secrets Act did not operate to prevent the dissemination of ideas.

A natural reaction of anyone working in the Prison Service to a suggestion that prisons should be greatly reduced if not abolished is a concern for the jobs which would be abolished also. The concern is real but none the less puts the cart before the horse. Prisoners justify prisons and not the other way about.

J. Franklin,
Bedford.

To the Editor,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

Some years ago I was a borstal trainee. I worked at an open borstal with a civilian farm worker to whom I owe a lot. He even, with the governor's permission, came to my wedding whilst I was still in borstal.

But, once I was out and wanted to call on him he had to tell me I had better not or he might get into trouble.

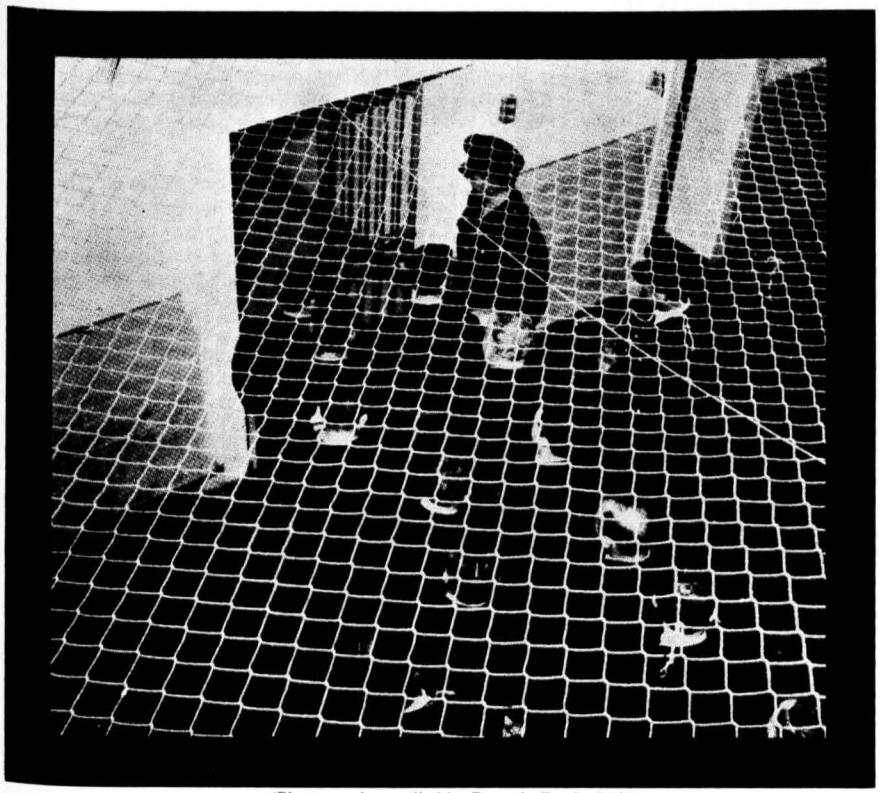
So long as the governor knows, is there any harm? If all possibility of friendship is cut off once we are discharged what is the point of your so-called training?

Yours sincerely,
J. Taylor.

(This letter reached us via a very eminent former governor, whose sympathies lie very strongly with Mr. Taylor in this situation. So do ours—Ed.)

FRANK FOSTER., O.B.E., for many years Director of Borstal After-care, retired in November 1972. It was not possible to include an appreciation of his work in the present issue, but this is in preparation. A few weeks earlier his colleague in the Borstal Pre-release Unit, GEORGE HIGH, also retired after 40 years' work in this field. They will both be missed by many friends in and outside the Service

Book Reviews



(Photograph supplied by Penguin Books Ltd.)

PSYCHOLOGICAL SURVIVAL
The Experience of Long-term Imprisonment

STANLEY COHEN and LAURIE TAYLOR
Pelican, 1972. 45p.

THIS is an account by two sociologists of life in the security wing at Durham. This review poses a personal problem since the authors, the men concerned and the wing are known to me and I was closely involved with the wing's development for a period of two years.

The research method employed is novel but realistic, realistic in the sense that it sets out to involve prisoners in the research. The method employed moves, as the authors say, toward the view expressed in the Radzinowicz Report on the "Regime for Long-term Prisoners in Conditions of Maximum Security" when that report talks about the value of ". . . research with prisoners . . .". Obviously there are dangers in such an approach. One of these, perhaps the main one, is the imbalance created by the absence of any meaningful staff viewpoint and the almost constant portrayal of staff as insensitive, dull and, according to some prisoner statement, brutal. It is no part of this review to reopen earlier enquiries or to go over the old familiar ground recreated by such a portrayal. The authors are, in part, aware of the imbalance and record their reasons for its existence. However, I am bound to say that their presentation is not eased or corrected by such comments as ". . . One night we were foolish enough to visit the officers' social club . . .".

In an attempt to catch the atmosphere of the wing much importance is attached, rightly, to the events which took place in February 1967 and in March and October 1968. I cannot comment in detail upon what happened in 1967 as I was not at that time working in "E" wing. Suffice to say that whatever happened made a considerable impact upon staff and prisoners.

The events of 1968 *are* known to me. Substantially the facts set out are correct, and I am aware that the authors took great trouble to ensure factual accuracy whenever this was possible. However, two incidents are mentioned as having taken place in connection with the disturbance in March 1968 which need to be corrected. One is relatively minor. The men concerned did not "break out of their cells", they moved from an association room to the assistant governor's office. The demonstration described after the adjudication was not against the awards made by the visiting magistrates, a fact that the prisoners themselves made clear at the time. One final point also needs correction. The photograph of the cell routine and layout displayed in the book were certainly not in use in Durham in 1968 and 1969. During those years prisoners exercised a far greater freedom of choice as to cell arrangements and movement within the wing than the diagram implies.

The claustrophobic atmosphere of the wing is generally well caught. At times rather overstated by the use of emotive language, the picture is understandably not total; I doubt whether a total presentation can ever be made. The emotionally-closed atmosphere is also recognisable, as are the problems that such an atmosphere inevitably poses for prisoners, together with the ways which they evolved to deal with a new situation. The importance the prisoners attached to the need for solidarity is well described, as are the difficulties encountered in maintaining such solidarity. I would add that these problems were not entirely unrecognised by staff.

The authors state in the preface that it is their hope that the book will become ". . . a handbook for psychological survival . . ." for long-term prisoners. Their talks and relationships with the prisoners enable them to conclude that a major concern was to prevent mental and psychological deterioration. A phrase in common use was: "I do not want to become a cabbage". Undoubtedly this was a dominant fear in the minds of the prisoners and one that was frequently expressed. The reason is readily understandable. The book suggests five ways in which this fear was combated by the prisoners. These were: (a) self-protecting; (b) campaigning; (c) escaping; (d) striking; and (e) confronting. Certainly all of these were present at one time or another during the life of the wing, and each raised its own particular difficulties for the prisoners and staff involved.

An interesting suggestion is the method of characterising prisoners by means of their external reaction to authority. Types identified are: (a) confronting; (b) symbiotic; (c) trumping and outflanking; (d) private sin; and (e) situational. Again I do not feel entirely competent to compare these categories with other methods of identifying prisoners' characteristics, but certainly one can easily see the suggested categories fitting the prisoners with whom the authors had contact. I would question the completeness of the definition and explanation of prisoners in the symbiotic group. Included within such a descripton should be some account of the reaction of offenders in other groups to members of a symbiotic group.

While accepting the authors' denial of intention to put prisoners into "neat ideological boxes", it is again interesting to follow the method whereby the typology set out above is linked through typical crime and ideological affinity to prediction of adaptation to a long sentence. These areas may well repay further study, providing a useful and realistic assessment of control potential.

Taking sides is an old trap into which one may still fall. I do not believe that any good purpose is served by taking one side or another nor indeed of talking and thinking in these terms. Nevertheless, I am conscious, as are the authors, of the pressure which exists to push all members of a prison community into a position where taking sides becomes the only course of action. When this occurs I believe it to be of disservice to all, staff and inmates alike. It is obviously of crucial importance to be aware of this pressure and the resultant temptation, as it is to be aware of the likely effect that prolonged and close contact has upon inmates and staff. For these reasons, I cannot agree with the comment indicating doubt as to whether it is possible to see both sides at the same time. It is difficult to do so, but the attempt must be made.

In conclusion, I go back to my earlier comments. The book would seem to lose something, admitted by the authors, by the imbalance I have described. Additionally it also loses by unnecessary confusion of aim. The book is obviously open to the criticism that it is something of an obituary upon a dying concept—the maximum security wing. Two of the four are now closed. The declared policy is to close all wings. Certainly the number of men in the remaining wings (at the time of writing) is much lower than it was in 1968. Nonetheless it would be a pity if that was all this book achieved—the status of an obituary. Despite the very real imbalance to which I have pointed and possibly other criticisms of the method and validity of the research, the work represents a

step towards the involvement of men who are going to spend a large part of their lives in prison, in an examination of their predicament. Such a step is not without difficult problems, not all of which have been identified, let alone resolved. The book presents a picture of life in a security wing which will, I have no doubt, cause anger and hostility, but the fact that such a picture exists, whether it be true or false, painful or comfortable, needs to be recognised and the implications examined.

J. A. GREEN,
Head of Development Training, Staff College, was assistant governor I at Durham during some of the time covered by this book.

A Methodological Note

I share the difficulty of my colleague, Jimmy Green, in not being at all certain what the aim of this book is. It may well capture the atmosphere in the wing at Durham effectively and as such be a good piece of literature, but the authors go beyond that and claim that it is a collaborative research project. It is, therefore, against this standard that the work must be judged.

Let us examine first of all the collaborative research method. The authors claim that one may well have to take sides, to be a part of a group to understand the way in which it is operating. But the method lays important constraints upon the researcher.

The first of these concerns the gathering of material. The researcher must endeavour to make allowance for his effect upon the group he is studying. Especially is this necessary in the rather collusive circumstances of research being done without the approval of the relevant authority. Not only does the collusion itself lead to the most negative aspects being emphasised but there is nothing to be lost and everything to be gained for the prisoners by stressing the most negative aspects indirectly to the public. Furthermore, if the researcher has to be careful about the effect of his presence on the group, he has to be still more careful about the material that he might introduce into the group. Taylor and Cohen introduced a good deal of material and asked prisoners to indicate their reactions to it. The authors state that their method has been much attacked as "putting words into other people's mouths". but then somewhat naively go on to say that all methods do this. They fail to recognise not only that methods vary considerably in what they introduce into the research situation but especially that offering prisoners positions to adopt is the method which introduces the most. The researchers pay lip service to many of these objections without in any way allowing them to moderate their findings.

The second constraint upon the researcher comes in the interpretation of data. When collaborative research is the method used it is incumbent upon the researcher to report carefully a balanced sample of the statements of prisoners such that an assessment may be made of their true worth. These researchers conspicuously fail to do this. There are relatively few quotations from prisoners and nowhere are they balanced or compared the one with the other. Instead, at crucial points in the text, where one seeks for really substantive evidence, quotations are given from the work of other authors in different situations. Again this may be good literature but it is not research.

There are other implications in the text which in no way flow from the data. For example the purpose of a chapter on "Time and Deterioration" can surely only be to show that deterioration does take place with time. In fact, the authors dwell at length on the nature of time to people outside and on the differences in regard to it for people inside, but nowhere do they show that there is deterioration. Out of 12 major quotations in this chapter only one is from a man actually in the wing. Only marginally more support is available to demonstrate the *fear* of deterioration.

With all these faults in method the authors' attempt to denigrate the methods used by others engaged in prison research seems rather unnecessary not to say superior.

Two further difficulties may arise from this research. First, it may be difficult for subsequent researchers to gain authority to do research in secure prisons particularly if their chosen method is participant observation. This is a pity for if used carefully the method has much to commend it. Secondly, it may also be difficult for those wishing to teach social science in prisons to gain the necessary authority. If either difficulty arises it will be clear where the responsibility lies.

P. S. LEWIS,
Head of Initial Training, Staff College.

MENTAL HEALTH BOOK REVIEW INDEX

An Annual Bibliography of Books and Book Reviews in the Behavioural Sciences, Volume 17

Council on Research in Bibliography,
New York 1972. $10.

KEEPING up with what is being published is almost impossible even in a limited field of study but bibliographies can be a considerable help. This latest annual (which can be found in the Staff College Library) lists not only new books but also book reviews and provides a valuable reference for the serious student who wants to know what books on behavioural science have been published recently and also what reviewers have had to say about those (and earlier) books.

CREATED IN CAPTIVITY

GYLES BRANDRETH
Hodder and Stoughton, 1972. £2.10

"On Prison."

Long cold corridors
Slamming doors
Silence
Each mind
A silent bell
of sound.

Gyles Brandreth in his impassioned survey has collected together 20 paintings and drawings by prisoners in various countries and these, and many poems and prose compositions from a similarly wide selection of prisoners, form a major section of the book. Despite imperfections in his methodology this is an important book. The fragment from "On prison" for instance gives insight into an inmate's perception of the nature of his custody and any concerned prison manager is forced to ask how a prisoner can express his feelings in such a manner that he can communicate and in such a way that it is within the framework of permissible behaviour. The poem "I want" starts—

When the man in the morning
Opens my door
I want to scream, "Fuck off".

Echoes from many adjudications, yet at least on this occasion it was kept to print and left unsaid. The sheer banality of words that try to convey family tragedy of any sort from squalid desertion to death itself must be familiar—how is feeling conveyed by the inarticulate? The ending of "Reflection of love in a Ruined Pool" describes a state of mind and feeling more accurately than a pile of reports.

This is love, please, please don't love again
There is no more room in my heart
And no dreams in the ruins of my mind.

To read straight through the collection is to sustain an overwhelming sense of loneliness and self pity but to read them carefully and slowly is a searching and thought-provoking process.

Whilst the literary aspect is clearly the most important section, the drawings and paintings are not without interest but inevitably lose considerably in reproduction (in black and white). Wisely, Mr. Brandreth warns against too glib an interpretation without knowing the artist but manages to provide some interesting interpretations himself in the text. Prisoner painting has a perennial interest; like many, in my office, I have a painting by an inmate. Daily I watched the idealised landscape grow, with hill and stream, farm house and pervading sunlight. Then one day it was covered by black tree trunks like bars and these, in turn, were adorned with leathery, prolific foliage. The artist saw nothing unusual in this process nor could be drawn into any analysis. His problems have been solved in the not unusual manner of transfer to another establishment.

Painting and poems are clearly Mr. Brandreth's chief interest and other forms of artistic endeavour receive less attention. There is extensive quotation from those who have carried out remedial drama especially with women but only cursory mention of music and nothing of the musical efforts which are active at present.

Mr. Brandreth's concern was aroused by a visit to a French prison at the age of 16 and his involvement with prisoners, and especially their artistic expression, has remained a preoccupation. He leads from his initial experience and perception of the effect of imprisonment to an argument about frustration of artistic ability, an argument that is strongly felt but logically questionable. He confuses the end product and the means to make it available with creativity itself and whilst ostensibly arguing about the last is, in fact, forcefully arguing about the first two.

As his argument progresses he appears to become more and more disenchanted with the penal process in this country and he concludes that the creative arts are not only good in themselves but "provide almost the only positive element in an almost totally negative situation". He fails, however, to relate ths to an earlier argument; that it is the opportuinity provided by prison—the need for status, for self identity, and the boredom that produce the motivation to create, a motivation that would otherwise have lain dormant, and that the great majority of inmates remain uncreative when they return to the outside world. Some inconsistency is perhaps inevitable but his presentation is not helped by the use of doubtful analogies. There are several examples but one will do. Examine, for instance, the opening sentence of chapter 3:

> Prisoners are great traditionalists and just as the French prisoners of war at Dartmoor during the Napoleonic wars traditionally took to carving superb miniatures in bone, so the contemporary convict takes up traditional forms of prison handicraft.

It would, however, be wrong to give too much prominence to some of his wayward methods, for Mr. Brandreth has ventured where few have gone before and his intention is compassionate and the result demands serious attention. His book serves as a severe examination for all those concerned in penal administration and prison management and should leave nobody who reads it self-satisfied. His conclusions are depressing and, whilst paying handsome tribute to the Koestler awards, his vision of the future is full of foreboding. We cannot ignore him.

M. F. G. SELBY,
Governor of Chelmsford Prison.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A THIEF

A. K. MUNRO

Michael Joseph, 1972. £1.80

MR. MUNRO has produced the autobiography, all too brief, of a crime addict. He expresses his need for crime and describes his experience of it. "Even then I still carried on", he writes in the middle of one action-packed sequence in which his material wants are satiated. "It had nothing to do with greed, but the fact that I was getting a tremendous amount of excitement out of it".

The technical insights into the trade of burglary, the man of deeds thrilling with his responses, making instant choices as to how to continue his depredations, avoid capture, or submit in a hopeless situation read as though he is drunk with the sensation of self-control, yet he is as much manipulated as a puppet on a string. His verbatim accounts of his wordy encounters with authority in various forms contribute to the unreality: in the midst of a criminal episode (so he reports) he greets a policeman: "Good evening, constable, or is it morning? What can I do for you?"

Although always headed for capture, Mr. Munro nevertheless is elusive. His ingenuity and quick thinking ruses and strategems, recounted in his extraordinarily compact paragraphs, must have caused considerable, and puzzled, police activity.

Mr. Munro writes of prison. He describes his growing disillusion, his contempt, his hatred, and, inevitably his dependence. His derogation of "screws" is couched in terms which many of us have heard to the limit. He has his triumphs over the pettiness of staff, including governors, and sets it all down in the strong colours and simplicity of descriptions which highlights the exasperating frustration for all in the situation. "One may think that this type of conduct was very childish, but to me it was a personal battle against the screws."

He describes, and in his way explains, many things in prison life: demonstrations, attitudes to food, violence, rackets, barons, contacts with the outside world, smuggling, and practical jokes; he even gives us a short encounter with Frank Mitchell.

He is selected for Grendon and there his outlook changes under the impact of a different regime. Of the "screws" he becomes able to write: "And the bad ones were also the stupid ones, so maybe in one respect they could not help it. There were also some diabolical bastards among the cons". A nice touch, that little insertion of "also". But he admired the help at Grendon even though he became, perhaps, necessarily "more angry as each day went by. Angry with myself; angry with the people in Grendon".

There is something about this last part of the book that reveals uncompleted business and h alf prepares one for the epilogue, something of the addict who still needs his shot while lamenting his dependence. Will Mr. Munro write again? The words on the dust jacket speak of his being driven back to crime. We must ask whether he has ever been driven *from* it. How does one get him (or anyone else) away from it? Are we all performers on his stage, compulsively playing our parts?

Mr. Munro is real. He is in one of our prisons, sweating out his sentence. Is he a typical prisoner, a typical criminal? I think not. He reveals himself in his book as a loner. He has hates and he vents them on prison and some of its staff. We should not be reluctant to learn from him, as much from the feelings he arouses as from the information he provides. But he has much more. "In this book I have attempted to describe how one feels as a burglar, and I could well have been subconsciously attempting to justify my actions." Perhaps any autobiography is a subconscious, or conscious self-justification. He describes too how it feels to be a son, a husband, a father, a lover, an employee, a prisoner from the perspective of the compulsive burglar. Is he a burglar, doing the "in-thing", writing up his experiences as others have, and as have staff and others linked with prison and crime? Or is he a man whose history and destiny are so wretched that his burglaries are essential for colour, for relief, for achievable, but inevitably false, rewards?

In one passage Mr. Munro writes: "I do not know why I felt like that, perhaps because I was immature, but I felt so badly the need for someone who would care for me that I was twisted up with it". To anyone who has read countless reports on the files of prisoners and joined in innumerable discussions on cases this is just one more repetition of an all too familiar cliche. It explains everything; but it is not an explanation at all, yet we should not sweep it aside.

The importance of Mr. Munro's book lies in its descriptions of his life, in and out of prison. For us especially he tells much about the inside of prison. Some of it we shall deny, and some shrug off, and some read with gratification. We shall agree with him at least when he says of prisoners, "depending on the type of treatment they receive in prison, society may or may not benefit from their sojourn there". A little earlier he has written: "And now the decision—it lies only in my hands. What am I going to do?"

And about prisons, all the rest of us, what are we going to do?

A. GOULD,
South-west Regional Director.

GO ASK ALICE

ANONYMOUS

Eyre Methuen, 1972. £1.50

I WOULD recommend anyone dealing with adolescents to read *Go Ask Alice*. It is a diary kept for a year by a 15 year-old middle-class American girl, and covers a period in which she made her first encounters with drugs and sex. Three weeks after deciding to stop writing the diary, she died from a drug overdose. There is nothing in the last entries to indicate that this might happen; everything seemed set fair for the beginning of a new academic year. One can only guess at what went wrong.

I approached the book in the knowledge that doubt had been cast on its authenticity, but ended by regarding it as genuine. It reminded me of elements of adolescent life which I had forgotten, and which I dare say the majority of people forget as they adjust to the adult world. It is, of course, a highly personal document, and relates only to one particular girl's experience in her own particular setting, which was in many ways entirely different from that experienced by adolescents in this country. All the same, I think there are general conclusions to be drawn from it. In particular, it portrays with great vividness the intensity of peer group pressure on youngsters of that age.

"Alice's" struggles with drugs will perhaps be the point of greatest interest for the majority of readers. At one point she says: "Anyone who says pot and acid are not addicting is a damn, stupid, raving idiot, unenlightened fool". But it is clear from what happens that "Alice" is not addicted. She can, and does, abandon drugs without difficulty, but she then has to cope with the suspicion and hostility that this arouses among her former drug-taking friends. They naturally regard her as a likely informer, and make every effort to bring her back into the fold.

There are many other points of interest in the book, and I think almost everyone should gain something from it. I recommend you to read it, and draw your own conclusions.

Miss S. F. MCCORMICK,
Assistant Governor Tutor at the Staff College.

A BOY IN PRISON

A Young Offender's Story of Grendon

FRANCES FINLAY

Robert Hale, 1971. £2

THIS book is an account by Frances Finlay of her son Christopher's experiences during and after a prison sentence which was spent mainly at Grendon Underwood. The account is an edited transcript of a tape recording made by the son during a period of freedom after the events he describes.

Christopher Finlay had previously been to borstal and his borstal experience is the subject of an earlier book written from *her* standpoint by his mother. He was recalled to borstal after discharge and was later arrested for house-breaking offences. The present book starts at this point—with his remand and conviction for these offences, for which he received 18 months' imprisonment with a recommendation for psychiatric treatment. After conviction he was sent first to Wormwood Scrubs and then to Aylesbury Y.P. Prison. The book does not describe conditions in these two institutions in great detail, but dwells rather on Christopher's feelings of depression and isolation during this period. However, from Aylesbury he went to Grendon Underwood and the story of his time there includes much description of the conditions, the staff and his fellow inmates, as well as his reactions to all of this. The last chapter recounts his career after leaving Grendon. He became addicted to drugs, had several Court appearances, and was eventually sentenced to a further eight months imprisonment. In the postscript, however, he tells that things have improved for him. He has been out of trouble for two years and is more settled. He sees his experience at Grendon as being responsible for his improvement.

Accounts by people who have experienced imprisonment can be of considerable interest for they are able to provide some idea of the

impact of the prison system on those on the receiving end; can throw light on the workings of that system from a different angle and can give some insight into the feelings and state of the imprisoned person. But we tend to have reservations when approaching such accounts. There is always the question of what is the personal investment of the person writing—to what extent has he written in order to achieve an aim such as changing prison conditions, or to change his perceptions of himself.

Christopher Finlay's account is variable and, generally, he has difficulty in standing back from the experience and understanding it. He is often unable to describe conditions and people in other than strictly personal terms. Thus his poor perception of Aylesbury is clearly coloured by his feelings of depression and, equally, his positive view of Grendon is coloured by the feeling of support that he found there. The result in the case of Grendon is that a very idealised picture of the prison is presented, to the extent that it is difficult to distinguish between one good staff member and another. The institution seems rather unreal, and because of the writer's total acceptance of it, lacking in detail or character. Thus one learns little about Grendon.

Again, when Christopher Finlay describes himself and his feelings he is often unable to do this objectively. For much of the time he swings between justifying and mortifying himself by dwelling on his own badness in a way that is not altogether convincing. This could lead the reader to question the value of the book which would be a pity, for the way in which the book oscillates from justification to mortification with occasional episodes of authentic and revealing self-observation illustrates very well an attempt to work towards a steady hold on reality. There are some acute observations of formal and informal activities, for example the description of preparing for Christmas which vividly portrays how young offenders relate to each other.

The book will not give one a better understanding of Grendon Underwood, but it does have strengths and these make it, while by no means essential reading, of more value than may first appear.

M. MILAN,
Assistant Governor Tutor at the Staff College.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF CONVICTION

J. P. MARTIN and D. WEBSTER
Heinemann Educational Books,
1971 (pp. 384) £4.50

LIVING IT DOWN

The Report of a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Lord Gardiner
Stevens and Sons, 1972 (pp. 46). 65p.

THE mass media have given us an ample diet of fictional accounts of the excitement of chasing the criminal and the drama of the Court trial, but we do not have the doubtful advantages of even these sources to guess what happens to men and women after they are convicted by the Courts. In such a situation there is a danger that any information which provokes interest and discussion becomes too highly valued, but in fact both these reports would deserve the closest attention even if there was a much richer harvest in this field. They are complementary in the sense that one examines the first few years after conviction while the other pursues the related issue of the very real fears and anxieties of a past being disastrously revealed for those who have remained free of convictions for several years. The style, however, is different, for whereas Martin and Webster are largely concerned with presenting original and valuable research findings, *Living it Down* is rather more polemical using existing material to put forward some practical and carefully argued proposals to try to prevent the stigma of old convictions remaining a permanent threat.

Before commenting on *Social Consequences of Conviction* it is vital to place the study in a wider perspective. To my knowledge no one in the world has ever attempted a longitudinal follow-up in the community of a sample of adult offenders who have been convicted by the Courts. Even in the much-heralded and vastly financed American study directed by Glaser, "The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System", the investigators never in fact left the security of the parole office to complete their interviewing programme.

The present ambitious project makes the important distinction between the formal and the informal aspects of a sentence. The Court pronounces a formal sentence, but there are a vast number of possible social consequences for the offender—the effects on his relations with his family, his friends, his employer, his landlady and so on—on which the Court either briefly speculates (sometimes in public) or ignores. In the 15 years since this research was originally planned, the Courts know from social inquiry reports much more about a person's life prior to sentence, but we can still only speculate wildly on the outcome after conviction apart from some knowledge on the general likelihood of reconviction. Martin and Webster begin to make us consider the offender in terms of possible changes in family and social relationships, of possible changes in employment patterns as a result of a conviction. As they remind us, "it should be stressed, however, that even for those moving in 'criminal circles' crime is *not* the central activity" (p. 207). In indicating the very complexity of life, the authors have to some extent undermined the general readability of some of the earlier chapters. This, it is hoped, will not deter the many who should read the book, but perhaps a brief guide is in order.

Many people turn to the last pages of a detective novel before tackling the main plot. This is a useful habit for the present study, for chapters IX and X (pp. 202–223) are particularly well-written, not only summarising the main findings but going on to consider some practical implications of the study. After this introduction you can venture either way, for there are 150 pages of appendices as well. Appendix A, in fact, is surely the most readable account available of the Court procedure in England and Wales giving a description of what does happen rather than the lawyer's text of what should happen. The remaining appendices should be required reading for anyone interested in research methodology.

Those who venture into studying the earlier chapters in detail will probably begin to ask questions. The obvious point is to worry about the very small numbers which appear in some of the tables for, with a sample which unfortunately shrank to under 200 men, one cannot really begin in any meaningful way to relate the numerous types of social consequences to, say, the main forms of penal treatment. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt the main conclusions such as that "the impact of conviction is directly related to the quality of life that went before" (p. 203). The previous criminal history of the sample was so varied (as one would expect from a fairly random sample) that it is really difficult to measure the impact of the particular conviction which brought them into the study, for one cannot avoid suspecting the insidious cumulative effect of several convictions in so many of the cases. Some had obviously reached such a low ebb that the effect of another conviction could only be measured on a very sensitive instrument. This means that Martin and Webster may well be underestimating the damage of a conviction earlier on in a career when there is much more to lose. To be fair, though, Martin and Webster do stress this in the discussion when they contrast the quality of life experienced by offenders with the very different position of the man who still has a substantial stake in law-abiding society.

Another issue is the wisdom of staking so much on the quest for objective measurement. The case histories indicate how well Martin and Webster got to know some of the men, but there is little information on how the men themselves perceive the situation. For example, the authors say in despair that "we had no means of assessing the social consequences of Press reporting as such" (p. 71), but one of the obvious ways would be to ask the men. One suspects, though, that this approach would not measure up to their self-imposed standards of objective measurement. Even so, we perhaps should beware of neglecting W. I. Thomas's famous statement that a situation defined as real in a society will be real in its consequences.

Martin and Webster's work is a pioneering venture from which many can learn. Administrators can learn much about the present situation—it is useful, for example, to be reminded that "simple distance may be a major influence on the amount of (prison) visiting" (p. 85)—and research workers can plan and implement more specific projects to try to answer the many questions that this study successfully raises.

Living it Down highlights the problems of old convictions for the silent majority of offenders who do not come before the Courts again after their first appearance and the silent majority of recidivists who manage to stop their criminal activities. Even remaining silent, though, does not prevent the lurking fear that a revelation of his past by malice or chance could wreck, or at least damage, an ex-offender's present law-abiding life. Some case histories introducing this report indicate that this is a very real fear. The numbers involved are enormous, for it is estimated that there are about one million people in England and Wales today who have a criminal record, but who have not been convicted again for at least 10 years.

Sociologists have stressed that the effects of the criminal trial with its elaborate formality and ritual pageantry to herald the arrival of a criminal are almost totally irreversible. Unlike students or soldiers, criminals have no graduation ceremonies, no passing-out parades to tell the world that their special role has come to an end and that they have a full licence to resume a normal life in the community.

This report recommends that one way of achieving this full acceptance is that after a suitable lapse of time a criminal record should no longer be held against a person so long as he does not offend again. It indicates how far we are behind other countries in this respect. The present proposals, though, are fairly conservative and in trying to build in a number of safeguards the scale of "rehabilitation periods" geared to the original sentence becomes much too complicated and would provide yet another field-day for lawyers. However, we should not reject these carefully argued proposals on such mundane grounds,

for it is after all not often that one gets the opportunity to make a million law-abiding citzens much happier at virtually no extra cost.

Dr. KEITH SOOTHILL,

was Research Officer for the Apex Trust, now works at the Institute of Psychiatry, London.

SPARE THE CHILD

W. DAVID WILLS

Penguin Education Special, 1971. 40p.

THIS, the latest of a number of books which the author has published about his work and the work of associates in various areas of residential work with young delinquents, is an account of the "conversion" of the traditional Cotswold Approved School, into the "therapeutic" Cotswold Community. The religious connotations of this "conversion" are highly appropriate in this case because of the situation which the author of the change, Richard Balbernie, found himself confronted with when he arrived at the Cotswold school.

In order to carry through his programme as effectively and thoroughly as he did, he had to "convert" both his staff and his charges (with some, however, he had to admit defeat, and in the first year some 21 members of staff had to be asked to leave. A number of boys too had to be transferred out); he had to struggle against unrelenting staff and inmate opposition and was sustained only by his "faith" in the "rightness" of his cause, and the clarity of his vision.

In many ways the book is a eulogy of Balbernie, and this much is admitted by Wills: "I have failed in my purpose if my admiration (for Balbernie) does not shine forth from every page". Yet despite the lingering air of religiosity there are moments of great insight, e.g. in his treatment of the way in which the school's sub-culture operated, Balbernie's methods for bringing it out into the open, and ultimately, if not destroying it, at least harnessing it to his and the Community's (non-delinquent, therapeutic) ends. There are too, excellent pieces on "the grade system", the "crypto-punitive" tradition in approved schools, and the mumbo-jumbo otherwise known as "character-training", the point of these being that in his attempts to change over to a therapeutic community Balbernie saw that he had to knock out all the props, organisational and ideological, which sustained the old system.

The "angle" character is obviously Balbernie, and as an account of his experience at the Cotswold Community, the book is attractive to both professional and layman. For the professional it is an *aperitif*—one wants more information, a deeper and wider investigation, than is offered here. Nevertheless, it is a curiously satisfying book with so much that one can recognise from one's own experience. There is, however, no real attempt to discuss the concept of the "therapeutic community" in the context of the penal system, and the inevitable question one is left with is: "How appropriate?" Undoubtedly, there are some inmates who could benefit from such "treatment", but from surveys coming from Wormwood Scrubs Borstal Allocation Centre, and personal observation, one suspects only a very few. Moreover the assumption is made, at least implicitly, that delinquency is somehow "treatable" or "curable" in this psycho-therapeutic way, and consequently the tone of the book lags behind most progressive thought in this area. Another unfortunate aspect of the account of the Community's development is the scant attention devoted to contacts with boys' homes and the various social agencies with whom they would be in contact on leaving the Community. One was never quite sure whether this was an author's oversight, or an area considered of little importance by the Community.

For the educationist there is much that is encouraging in the approach to education in the Community, particularly in areas like remedial teaching and trade-training. Indeed there are some highly pertinent passages on the role of the profit motive in penal establishments, and on the whole trade-training syndrome, putting such elements firmly in perspective. As in all good, effective, educational programmes, the starting point is the child's own curiosity and motivation.

There is a timely broadside on farms operated on the ant-hill principle, and a generally irreverent view of traditional, institutional sacred cows. Balbernie at least seems to have taken heed of Hobhouse's caveat: "The idea creates the organisation, but we must beware that the organisation does not destroy the idea". The discussion of the organisational obstacles to the implementation of Balbernie's system (which was decentralised and non-directive) provides many useful pointers for all in institutional management who are concerned to utilise staff resources to the optimum.

In terms of *his* purpose, Wills has succeeded in making his admiration for Balbernie's work "shine from every page". He has also, incidentally, provided us with an absorbing account of an institution in turmoil.

J. DICKIE,

Assistant Governor, Everthorpe.

CASEWORK IN PROBATION

MARK MONGER

Butterworth. Second edition, 1972. £3.60

THE first edition of this book was published in 1964 but this edition is not simply a reprint with marginal additions and variations. Although much of the original material is retained, it ought to be viewed as a new book or, at least, a comprehensive reassessment. Yet it is by design limited in scope; it might, more specifically, be titled "Casework Within the Terms of Probation Orders", whilst the first edition could be regarded as covering "Casework Within the Probation Service". It is, therefore, essentially a handbook for the caseworker dealing with delinquents in the community and, apart from increasing the understanding of methods used in an associated field, it is of little direct relevance to those working within the penal system or other institutions.

Monger's initial review of recent major organisational developments affecting the Probation Service is clearly concise and will interest all those involved in the treatment of offenders. Similarly, one hopes that his brief but emphatic criticism of "the unbelievably unimaginative approach of the Wilson and now the Heath governments" in "undermining the morale of the Probation Service" will encourage appreciation of the fact that flexibility has been produced despite (or perhaps, because of) an inadequate allocation of resources.

For practising probation officers, this is essential reading. Monger reflects their changing role (from being concerned rather exclusively with offender and offence to being totally involved in the whole background of the offender). He illuminates the implications of shared casework (with volunteers, psychiatrists and hostels). He also honours his keynote of basing his book on an exploratory approach, as well as on sound practice, by providing cogent reasons for the probation officer employing techniques (crisis intervention whilst compiling social enquiry reports, short-term supervision and groupwork) which many have been cautious in accepting. In the context of high work-loads, such techniques are worthy of serious consideration, though it must be stressed that Monger's assessment of their potential is far from being based entirely on administrative expediency. One would hope also that members of the judiciary might reflect on Monger's examination of the influence of sentences on the practice of probation. Whilst recognising the paramountcy of the lawyer's expertise in matters of law, he pleads that the probation officer be accorded similar status in matters of social work and that, once the decision to invoke help rather than punishment has been made, the professionalism of the officer should largely determine the details of orders (especially their duration). Specifically, if this is denied, the use of short-term casework will be inhibited.

To some degree, this is a salutory cautionary tale (especially the chapter on longer term probation). The author skilfully highlights the temptations which probation officers feel, and to which they often succumb, though perhaps too infrequently admit. He demonstrates the possible adverse repercussions of superficial recording, of a "gradualist" approach which might fail to recognise the urgency of the client's needs and of the officer equivalent of the "unwilling client" when supervision is transferred or ordered despite a suggestion that some other course be taken. Frustration arising from excessive work pressures tends to focus on social enquiry duties, which make immediately urgent demands on the probation officer's time. Yet, one feels there is truth in Monger's suspicion that many officers relish the very urgency implicit in a dead-line and find enquiry work more dramatically interesting than supervision. How often is a Court report compiled with a thorough application of skills yet subsequent supervision typified by a slump of inertia when interviews constitute "a series of aimless conversations about leisure time activities" and home visits are remarkable only for their brevity? In provoking sustained self-evaluation, Monger is consolidating a prerequisite in the maintenance of professional standards.

The book is of such a standard that criticisms are inevitably petty. Perhaps more use could have been made of new illustrative case material, instead of devoting a chapter to the revival of "Angus Macdonald" from the first edition. One questions the justification of including an appendix on law relating to probation which, as an author's footnote admits, is more comprehensively covered in Jarvis' manual. The price of this 225-page paperback may be a deterrent to acquiring it. However, Monger has provided the probation officer with an invaluable aid to the development of skills. It is to be hoped that before very long, he is able to make a similar contribution to casework in after-care by compiling a second edition of his 1967 book on that subject.

BARRY KEANE,

Probation Officer in Middlesborough.

STEPS FROM PRISON

ROY WALMSLEY

Inner London Probation and After-care Service, 1972. 50p.

STEPS FROM PRISON is the report of an enquiry into the need for accommodation for homeless ex-prisoners in the south-east of England. The enquiry was undertaken on behalf of two regional consultative group committees for after-care hostels which had been set up by the Home Office. A similar report has been produced for the south-west region and in broad terms reaches many similar conclusions.

Steps from Prison is well produced in a magazine-like format but it is unfortunate that it suffers from the fact that Roy Walmsley, its author, apparently has a need to ensure that every point of his argument is fully understood all the time. The result of this is that the report begins with a summary before the introduction and has an enormous number of cross references, repetitions and footnotes, as well as the usual references to other publications. Certainly in the first half of the report it is difficult to find passages which are straightforward and easy to read. All this is a pity, because within the report there is a great deal of vital information necessary to the planning in the immediate future for a much more comprehensive scheme of after-care accommodation. Such accommodation needs to be geared not only to the number of people involved but also to their needs and the wishes they are able to express about the sort of place in which they would like to live and feel they can survive. The report explores in some detail the viability of different kinds of projects to meet these criteria; supported lodgings, landladies' schemes, bed-sitters and accommodation linked to protected employment as well as hostels. Mr. Walmsley argues that there is a need for 35 places for every 100 discharges but points out that this may well be an underestimate.

He also suggests that there needs to be a great increase in the number of welfare officers, with staffing related to the turnover of prisoners rather than to the prison population. Welfare officers and the Probation Service as a whole have done far too little to understand the problems of communication with prisoners about hostels and other accommodation which may be available upon release. Walmsley does not explore the apparent ignorance of this provision shown by the prison staff generally, and one would think that it is certainly not just in the welfare office that responsibility for rehabilitation lies. A point of interest emerged in that some prisoners showed themselves ready to help in the problems of communication. Elsewhere it has sometimes been noted that when interest can be focussed on external matters, clients' individual internal difficulties diminish.

One disappointing aspect of the report is that the least helpful section is that dealing with the problem of alcoholism. Of the prisoners in the survey, 13 per cent were said to be alcoholic, but 69 per cent were thought to have a drink problem. There is no mention of any suggestion that arrangements for rehabilitation of people with severe drink problems need to be linked with alcoholic units and mental hospitals, with facilities for "drying-out" to form part of the process of release from the imprisonment of alcoholism.

Implied in the report is the need for much more attention to be given to the staff of hostels, most of which have a rapid turn-over of inmates. This turn-over would be encouraging if it were not for the fact that the hostel staffs themselves feel that 75 per cent of those leaving represent failure. Walmsley recommends much more contact between hostel staffs and prison welfare officers.

The report concludes with 40 suggested developments which follow from the facts and the discussion in the main text. I have emphasised only a few but would add one, namely, that prison officers (who have much more daily contact with prisoners than anyone else) should be actively involved in communicating information about after-care facilities. However, the author's suggestion that prison welfare officers (surely prison officers as well) need to help prisoners "to reveal their need and accept help" is probably the most challenging recommendation if only because most of us over-estimate our ability to do it. No one could struggle through this report without being challenged by the questions and issues it raises and upon which "action is needed at once".

LAURENCE FRAYNE,
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CRIMINAL ORGANISATION: ITS ELEMENTARY FORMS

DONALD R. CRESSEY

Heinemann Educational Books (H. E. B. paperback), 1972. 90p.

DONALD R. CRESSEY, Professor of Sociology at the University of California, is probably best known to members of the Prison Service for his *The Prison*. More recently he has looked at organised crime and, as a result of work he did when serving as organised crime consultant to President Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, he published in 1969 *Theft of a Nation: The Structure and Operations of Crime in America*. "The most flagrant manifestation of crime in America is organised crime", Lyndon B. Johnson had warned in 1966; "It erodes our very system of justice—in all spheres of government. It is bad enough for individuals to turn to crime because they are misguided or desperate. It is intolerable that corporations of corruption should systematically flaunt our laws".

In *Criminal Organisation: Its Elementary Forms*, Professor Cressey has the principal intention of stimulating the development of new arrangements for coping with crime and criminals, especially organised ones. A secondary intention is to point out that Britain does indeed have an "organised crime problem" even if it is different from the "organised crime problem" of the United States, Canada, the Bahama Islands or Sicily. The book is an extension of his Churchill College Overseas Fellowship lecture delivered in May 1971.

The 106 pages of text in this slim book contain no less than 121 footnotes and are followed by a useful selected bibliography listing nearly 100 titles—eight of books by Donald R. Cressey. There is a good index.

He divides criminal organisations into six varieties which he then identifies according to what seems to be key positions in their structures. Varieties of criminal organisations are not taken to be "types" and so the author avoids assigning names to them. His object is not to present anything definitive but rather to suggest lines for analysis. He discusses the conceptual confusion which can arise over the use of such words as "organised" and "professional" when applied to crime.

At the upper end of the rationality continuum is syndicated crime, cartel crime or confederated crime, and in the United States the term "organised crime" is used primarily to refer to this. At the core of American confederated crime is a membership organisation called, among other things, "The Mafia". It has been estimated that confederated crime costs America almost nine billion dollars a year—more than all other types of crime combined and just about double the amount spent on all police, court and correctional work in the United States annually. At the other end of the scale is the task force of two or three who waylay a solitary woman to snatch a handbag. Here the degree of occupational specialisation—which is an essential ingredient of criminal organisation—is very low.

Much of the book comprises discussion of the divisions of labour in varieties of criminal organisation. The concluding chapter is, however, confidently and optimistically headed "Coping with Organised Crime". Here Professor Cressey sees a task for legislators in defining organised crime at least as precisely as the varieties of burglary, automobile theft, robbery and homicide are now defined in criminal statutes. Once defined, the behaviour could conceivably be prohibited by criminal law and offenders brought to trial for committing organised crime, not merely for committing crimes that are organised. The lack of concern for organised crime *as such* is seen as more than the old "problem of definition": it is a fact of life which permits both the New York Cosa Nostra leaders and the London leaders of criminal working groups of robbers and extortionists to remain immune unless they themselves can be caught violating specific criminal laws. But how far does this get us? Police and prosecutorial campaigns against organised criminals may only serve to act as a stimulus to increased rationality in criminal organisations. As police techniques improve so do the techniques of criminals.

The book eventually advocates "systems approaches" which locate crime in social systems and facilitate elimination. This method is put forward as a reasonable supplement, or even as an alternative, to the current criminal law approach.

JOHN CAPEL,
Assistant Governor at Lewes Prison.

DEVIANCE AND SOCIETY

LAURIE TAYLOR

Michael Joseph, London, 1971 (pp. 216). £4.00

IN THE preface to his book, Laurie Taylor says that he has "never been very happy with those courses in social science which self-consciously announce themselves as introductions to the area". Notwithstanding Taylor's reservations this is in fact a very good introductory book. He never bores his reader with those endless catalogues of theories and research findings which make so many "text-books" compelling reading only for those with approaching examinations. Instead, he judicially selects only those parts of the literature which he sees as central to his concern with social scientific accounts of deviant behaviour. His selection is a good one, and most of the major theories are presented in the volume. His style is lucid and avoids that excruciating professional academic jargon which must make many practitioners squirm with horror, or else reach for their dictionaries. Yet he is never condescending: we are treated as intelligent readers who do not need the obvious pointed out to us. These qualities alone will make Taylor's book a welcome addition to the library of anyone working in the Prison Service.

The book opens with a short chapter which discusses why criminal behaviour is fascinating and puzzling. In other words, why it is that we feel the need to search for explanations of such behaviour. Nothing startling is suggested, but it is good to see two points in particular made at the beginning of an introductory book. The first of these is that criminal behaviour provides a testing ground for general theories of human behaviour. That is, Taylor claims (and I agree with him), that criminal behaviour is not uniquely different, but must be explained in the same way as other kinds of behaviour. This a point he takes up again later in the book, but our attention is striaght away directed to social scientific accounts in general and away from that silly, but historically influential, attempt to proclaim "criminology" as a totally separate discipline. The second point, a corollary to the first, is that any fully adequate explanation of criminal behaviour will be multi-disciplinary. Now there is nothing unusual in such a position, but Taylor takes it seriously and pays it more than mere lip service. For those facing the day-to-da/ practical problems of criminal behaviour, this lack of inter-disciplinary squabbling, nd the insistence on discussing the adequacy of theories regardless of their disciplinary parentage, will be refreshing. In chapter two, Taylor returns to the question of whether criminal behaviour must be explained as a uniquely different kind of human behaviour. This involves him in a discussion of the move in recent social science away from talking about "crime" to talking instead about "deviance". For those familiar with the recent literature, the chapter holds no surprises, but for those who are still puzzled as to why it is now *de rigueur* to talk of "deviance" the chapter is a useful introduction. This discussion leads on, in the succeeding chapter, to a discussion of how rules are made, how they are applied, and how those to whom the rules are applied react. It is at this point that one notices the limitations of an introductory book of this length. All the intricate problems of the way in which laws are made, and the relationship to those hoary old chestnuts of sociological scholarship, "power" and "conflict", are dealt with in only eight pages. However, it would be churlish to chide Taylor for this. He set out to write an introductory book and if the reader is left feeling that his account is not entirely satisfactory, then it does no more than reflect the present state of writing in this area. Faced with this difficulty, he is sensible and sticks to accepted accounts of the processes involved, such as Howard Becker's work on the Marihuana Tax Act.

After a discussion of these mainly conceptual problems, the book opens out into a discussion of various theories which attempt to explain deviant behaviour. It is in this main section of the book that Taylor's own background in both psychology and sociology makes his earlier statement about multi-disciplinary explanations more than just a hollow promise. He moves with ease from discussing the work of psychologists such as Eysenck, to that of sociologists such as Matza. His approach is one of critical eclecticism and his discussion provides the beginner with a clear pathway through a maze of apparently conflicting theories. This has the advantage of providing a critical approach towards theories, whilst at the same time illustrating how such criticism should be aimed at developing more adequate theories. The reader is not therefore left, as is so often the case with critical introductory books, with the feeling that "it's all a waste of time"! Apart from the simple provision of information, perhaps the most useful thing an introductory book can try and achieve is a critical, yet positive, approach in the reader. Taylor succeeds in doing this better than any other English introductory book at present available.

The book concludes with a brief chapter on "Perspectives on Deviance" which discusses causal explanations, the development of a phenomenology of deviance, and politics and deviance. In spite of its brevity, this provides a link from the more traditional theories discussed in the book, to the kind of work at present appearing in the research journals. In general then, Taylor's book is a good and readable explication of research on crime and deviance. For those who are new to the literature, or for those who have not read much criminology for a number of years, it would provide a good introduction to contemporary writing. It contains a useful bibliography, and its only drawback for those in the Prison Service is its high price. However, I understand that a paperback edition is to appear shortly, and perhaps until then it could be borrowed from a library.

PAUL WILES,
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SOCIAL WORK AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANISATIONS

GILBERT SMITH

Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970. (pp. 123.) £1.40

I AM prepared to support the currently unfashionable view that the custodial care of offenders is a branch of social work, therefore I welcome the opportunity to bring this book to the notice of readers of this journal. Despite its title, it is short, succinct and quickly read. It was written for students and is one of a number of introductory texts in the useful Library of Social Work series.

Its main theme can be expressed in the author's words: "since most social work has to take place within the context of an organisation, one field of sociology which is especially useful to the social worker is that of the sociology of organisations". Furthermore, as the general editor of the series says in his introduction: "social workers need to learn as much as they can from theories of organisation not in order to receive a perfect plan or dogma but so that they can begin to work out the nature of the required 'fit' between organisational structure and the professional tasks of social work".

The first part of the book is devoted to an examination of the nature of organisations. The author examines the nature of organisational goals; outlines a typology of organisations based on the type of compliance relation between worker and client that is demanded; summarises the main features of bureaucratic organisations; explores the needs of "front line" organisations; looks critically at the idea of the total institution; and describes the nature of permeable organisations. In the second part, he applies these models to the understanding of the ways in which specific organisations seek to undertake their tasks, hospitals, schools, prisons, social work organisations and voluntary organisations. The book concludes with suggestions for further reading and a bibliography.

In any introductory text there are problems of selectivity and condensation and this book has to be both selective and condensed in its presentation of theories, concepts and models, but the aim it sets itself is a broad one and most readers are likely to find their favourite organisational theory or theoretician mentioned at least by name. However, the concepts of some of the major figures in organisational studies (Etzioni, Blau and Scott, Dorothy Smith, Goffman) are quite fully presented in the chapters pertinent to their work.

For any member of the Prison Service, the book's immediate interest and relevance lies in its application to penal practice and it certainly stimulates the reader to consider what are the organisational needs of our prison system today. Organisation is the way by which policy can be made to work; it cannot in itself produce policy. To ask, therefore, what sort of organisation is required to carry out the tasks of a penal establishment is to ask what is the policy that has determined those tasks.

An examination of the organisation of our penal establishments today suggests that they were designed to carry out relatively straightforward custodial tasks within an overall social environment that determined the penal policy as being one of detention and deterrence at a reasonably humane level. Smith makes the point in this book that organisations must change and develop as the social environment that they serve changes and develops. The social environment that determines what prisons must do today is a radically different one from the late 19th century society that set up our present penal system and determined the basic organisational structure of the institutions themselves. There is plenty of evidence from society at large, made vocal through both radical and establishment figures, to suggest that we do not currently do the task of humane containment to its satisfaction and that we are not even beginning to tackle those further rehabilitative tasks that are being pushed at us, and which may be subsumed under the general heading of "treatment".

The history of English prisons and borstals over the past 20 years is a record of gallant but unsuccessful attempts to tackle this treatment task within organisational structures that were designed to give priority to custody and containment. Given the rigid organisational structures within which prison staff have to operate, it is remarkable how resourceful people can be in maintaining effective custody while retaining humanitarian and reformative ideals. But resistance to change is enormous, springing as it does from vested interests arising from fears of threats to security, from traditional attitudes and behaviour, from hierarchic career structures, from old-fashioned supervisory and managerial practices and from the relativities and differentials within the pay and conditions of the many grades of staff.

Our more recent history does not afford much ground for hope. We appear still able to breed organisational dinosaurs, as a cold, hard look at our more recently opened secure prisons suggests. It has even been suggested that the much heralded new Holloway is only a prettily disguised brontosaurus. Change is very frightening to organisations and attempts to evolve from within can lead to the most forceful conservative backlash. Little wonder that it has been said that George Blake's escape from Wormwood Scrubs was a direct result of the late Gilbert Hair's introduction of budgerigars there.

Where then lies the way ahead? How, by an understanding of the sociology of organisations can we begin to consider the appropriate forms that institutional organisation must take for the penal task today? It is true that we may no

have a very clear policy. The brief that society and its representatives in Parliament and the Government gives to our prison administrators is a confused and ambiguous one. Administrators are asked to be both secure guardians, efficient instruments of control, and humanitarians, concerned to help change the behaviour of offenders into socially more acceptable patterns. It is not surprising that, since penal institutions as we know them have proved to be singularly ineffective vehicles for improving social behaviour, the more realistic but limited aims of humane containment become the major objectives. This should not be taken to suggest that we could not carry out treatment tasks in prisons and borstals if we knew how to. "Treatment" has not failed because we have no technology of treatment; we have excellent technical tools in vocational training, remedial education, group counselling, social case-work, and psychotherapy to name but a few. Our tragedy is that we have blunted and devalued those tools by using them within organisational structures that of their very nature must inhibit, weaken and limit their effectiveness.

Currently much effort and resources are being put into the search for short-term solutions, so that at least our "humane containment" might be improved whilst retaining our traditional structures and attitudes intact. It may be that the real task is to confront the ambiguity of policy which we have in the past used as a constraint against change and seek to use it as a resource. Society appears to be telling the penal system that its social work task is that of custodial treatment, the encouragement of human growth and development within a context of authority, which may be no more than giving an institutional setting to what we all have to do as citizens, as parents and as educators. To do that task we need to organise our work and resources. Such an organisation must be based on the demands of the task and not on the presuppositions of the past. This book is one of many which may help us to explore what is needed in the organisation for that task.

J. H. FITCH,

Principal Psychologist. He is a member of the Third Stage Management Review team which is examining the organisation of individual establishments.

VIOLENT MEN
An Inquiry into the Psychology of Violence

H. TOCH

Pelican, 1972 (pp. 304). 40p.

THIS study was a response to a request for a crash research programme on violence, following two senseless murders of Californian public figures within a week, one of them the killing of a helplessly tied police officer by a pair of escaped felons.

Since the project was initiated by Douglas Grant (then director of research in California's Department of Corrections) it is not surprising that the emphasis is on inter-personal relations. Here we are shown not the criminal as a specimen, brilliantly dissected and statistically displayed, but the violent man reacting with his often violent victim as large as life. Thus the police officer is depicted with the violent offender . . . the ranks of law enforcement (says the author) contain their share of violent men whose personalities, outlooks and actions are similar to those of the convict. A chapter is devoted to the sorts of violent interactions which occur between police officers and civilians, and this may have some correspondence with the interactions between prison staff and their charges. Two-thirds of the 344 assaults upon police officers which were studied were occasioned by two principal sequences: first, the offender "pressing the police button"—reinforcing the unconscious and possibly incorrect assumptions which the police officer brought to the encounter; second, an extension of the violence which was present before the officer was called to the scene.

A further important, and in some ways disappointing, part of the book, is the typology of violence extracted from the study of 71 prison inmates and parolees, all of them "recurrently involved in acts of violence" (according to British studies not more than 20 per cent of violent offenders are involved in recurring violence) who, the author assumes, "can be expected best to reflect and personify the individual and social forces that produce violence". An interesting facet of the methodology is that each inmate was interviewed not only by a professional but by a convicted offender or parolee respectively and that these "new career men", as they tend to be called in the U.S.A., also helped to build the interview schedule; the taped interview recordings were then assessed by the research team. Two types of orientation were especially likely to produce violence: the offender who sees others as designed to serve his needs, and the offender who feels vulnerable to manipulation. Beyond this the classification burgeons into a number of types, some of them based on immediate motivation and some on the type of interpersonal reaction. Brilliant illustrative thumbnail sketches are provided, each with an attractive name, all of which will ring the bell of recognition for the prison officer: "panic in the corner", "the joy of inflicting terror", "self-image promotion", "self-image defending", "aggression as a therapeutic agent" and so on.

The book ends with a brave endeavour to suggest treatment methods, but there is no attempt to link the types of violent offender described with specific treatment needs. It seems that the study of types was somewhat cross-sectional without any observation of responses to treatment and without any follow-up. Some very sensible suggestions are made for preventing the development of violent offenders, but for the established offender we are left with admonitions to reduce the needs and incentives for such (violent) games, to furnish alternative expressions, to "deal with" the basic egocentricity and defects of character without much indication as to how these worthy objectives are to be achieved.

The approach is purely one of social interaction so that the psychiatric impact on violence of the subnormal, the brain damaged, the psychotic and the psychopathic is not touched upon at all. Fortunately an 18-page foreword to the British edition by Professor Gibbens corrects this.

Typologies, as the author generously admits, are invariably fictions. Motives are always over-determined and types overlap disconcertingly. An offender and his environment are reacting, changing, evolving and must always be to some extent unpredictable so that assessment must be a continuing, not a cross-sectional, process. But even so typologies are necessary and valuable, for as long as we are trying to understand how Joe Snooks fits into our personal classification, whatever that might be, we shall not be reacting towards him on the basis of our own "unconscious assumptions". This book should greatly help in the development and perfections of such classifications.

DR. PETER SCOTT,

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CRIME, COURTS AND FIGURES
An Introduction to Criminal Statistics

NIGEL WALKER

Penguin 1971. 60p.

THIS is a paperback in Penguin's "Law and Society" series, under the general editorship of Otto Kahn-Freund and K. W. Wedderburn. The series is designed for lawyers, but this volume is of value for anyone who wishes to further his understanding of the ways in which information about the effects of the Criminal Law are presented.

Dr. Walker has written this book with the non-statistician in mind, and his claim is that a careful reading of the book will show how much is possible in the way of interpreting statistics without a knowledge of the sophisticated techniques by which they are produced and presented. Because of this limited aim, Dr. Walker is able to present his material in a readable, almost "chatty" fashion, an achievement that is often beyond the statistical purist.

The book begins by reminding us that not all crime is reported or recorded. The first chapter is devoted to this problem of the "dark figure".

The first half of the book is concerned with the interpretation of routinely collected statistics. The reader will find it helpful to have beside him a copy of *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales*, although there are a few specimen pages from these tables as an appendix. For a proper understanding of statistics, one must know how the figures were compiled; this part of the book provides some answers to this question. There are chapters on Recorded and Cleared-up Offences, Police Cautions, and Judicial and Custodial Statistics.

The second half of the book concerns itself with measurement. There are chapters on measuring trends in crime, and on developing an index of crime; there are two slightly more technical chapters on measuring association and significance, and the book ends with chapters on measurement of deterrent and corrective efficacy, and the use of predictive techniques. These latter chapters will be of particular interest to people working in custodial institutions. One appendix contains a very useful glossary of technical terms.

Dr. Walker's final claim is that, at the end of the book, the reader should be equipped to make cautious use of officially published statistics, and to follow the arguments (but not the techniques) of criminological research workers. I think this claim can be justified. One is left, however, with a clearer understanding of the inadequacy of statistics as aids to decision making. It is true that statistics are of great value to the planner, but it is no less true that, despite their sophistication, they sometimes lead us up some very strange paths. One is perhaps right to be a little sceptical. Nonetheless, this is a book which should be read by anyone who is seriously interested in crime and the criminal law.

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