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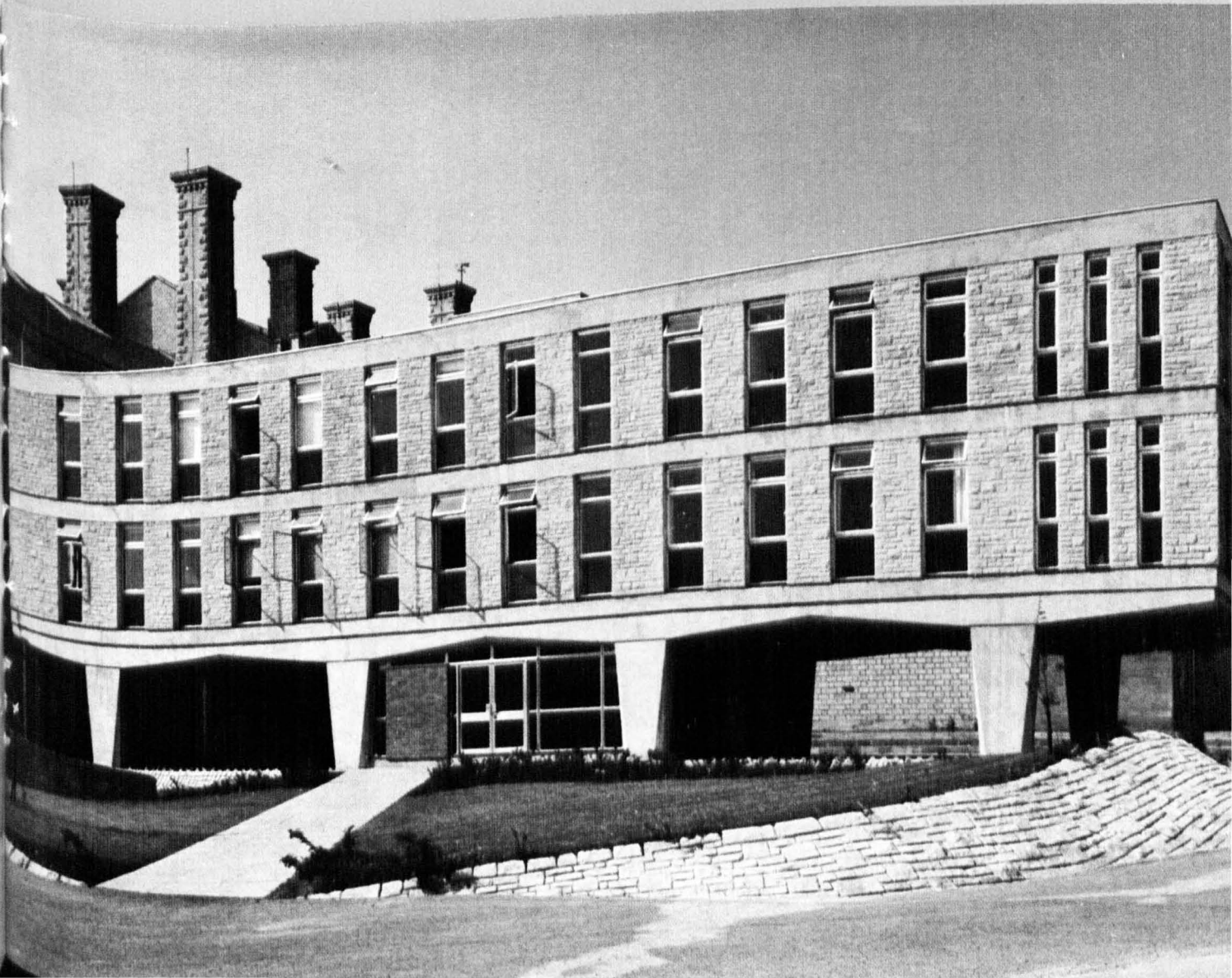

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Contents

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EDITORIAL

In this issue, an experienced prison assistant governor writes about the prison system ten years hence; and a young ex-offender, from his wheelchair, tells us what is wrong with it now. The former chooses his words carefully, avoiding the emotive phrase, the politically embarrassing admission, as a responsible person communicating with other responsible people. He understands the irreconcilables in the prison situation, which, on the whole, executes an impossible task humanely, and contributes to the health and safety of the community to an extent unrealised by the public and unsung by the national Press, whose interest oscillates in unseemly fashion between the mock-macabre and the sentimental exposé. He also knows about administrative delays, unimaginative planning, depressing ineptitudes in public relations; and about the bloody battle for resources—men, money—which frustrates him daily in the performance of his task.

Our young, paralysed "delinquent" (may he forgive the label, one of a time-honoured bunch with which we successfully disguise common humanity) sees it differently. He first wonders why so much time and money appears to be wasted on the unprofitable locking-up of people who don't need it, or on whom it patently has no effect; why we can't distinguish sickness and social inadequacy from downright evil; why those in the business seem so often to disagree—and even when they don't, fail to get on with the job; why we often seem to employ the wrong people, with counter-productive results; why officialdom is so afraid of frankness and criticism, and why the great British public doesn't seem to know or care.

Between the well-intentioned (and well-heeled) professional and his client exists an enormous gulf of credibility—captain of industry and militant shop steward, consultant and patient, politician and taxpayer. The one knows the constraints, says: "be patient, remain civilised, and trust me". The other knows only the poverty and the pain, and replies: "You are all right for you, Jack, but you do nothing for me".

Between judge and judged the gulf is widest, and the greatest efforts are required to make bridges. Only rightly-motivated people can do it at all (as only some teachers can effectively teach) and then only if properly deployed, trained and equipped. The division of available resources between "reforming criminals, caring for children (and hence perhaps preventing delinquency), curing the sick, etc., etc., is a political decision. Our young contributor may or may not acquiesce with this.

Notwithstanding, the Home Office could do a great deal to educate Press and public the better to exercise political choice wisely in this vital area, by encouraging and initiating more open debate on the true nature of the prison dilemma, the true cost of prison, and the alternatives available once prejudice, ignorance and traditionalism are challenged.

Arthur de Frisching was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he read modern languages. Followed by post-graduate diploma in social administration at the London School of Economics. Joined the Prison Service in 1965. Served at Wormwood Scrubs, Pentonville and head-quarters. Now assistant governor I (since October 1975) at Gartree

The Prison Service—10 years on

ARTHUR DE FRISCHING

HOW will the Prison Service develop over the next 10 years or so; can it make a more positive contribution to the treatment of people in custody, and so bring about a reduction in the number of people who have to be sent to prison?

If one looks at the development of the prison system over the last seven or eight years (the length of time I have been associated with it) one is immediately struck by the way in which it seems to have lurched from crisis to crisis. Soon after I joined the Service, came in 1966 the enquiry by Lord Mountbatten into prison security, following, it must be remembered, not just one but a number of serious escapes from closed prisons during the previous 18 months, and the next few years saw a big catching up operation involving a heavy concentration on physical security measures; next, in 1970, came a population crisis on an unprecedented scale when the total number of people in Prison Department custody reached an all time record of over 40,000, producing acute levels of overcrowding; and then last year we had a series of demonstrations and disturbances which threw into relief the problems of management and control, and now we find ourselves faced with a serious shortage of staff and all the human and organisational problems that this gives rise to. I mention this deliberately at the outset of a talk about prison treatment for two reasons: first, because it highlights the difficulty of long-term planning in this field and secondly because it illustrates in a graphic and highly visible way the inevitable conflicts and contradictions which the Prison Service faces in its attempt to carry out its multiple tasks of security, control and humane containment and to try to retain some kind of balance between their competing demands. The near impossibility of achieving a state of equilibrium for any length of time means that there is a tendency, I was going to say an inevitable tendency, to give priority to one area at the expense of the others until this is exposed, often as a result of a particular incident or series of incidents usually in the full glare of publicity, and a sharp corrective has to be applied, with the effect of producing perhaps an equal degree of disequilibrium in an opposite direction, and so starting the cycle from the beginning once again. The lesson from this (and it is both the dilemma and the fascination which faces those working in the Prison Service) is that *all* these tasks demand constant attention and nourishment, and that we devote exclusive attention to one of them at our peril. What I want to stress then from the beginning is that the treatment of people in custody involves trying to take account and to make sense of all the various components that go to make up a prison regime and to produce some kind of synthesis which is acceptable to the public, to staff and to the prisoners themselves. It is true that the "mix" will be different for different groups of prisoner, and for each group at different stages of their sentence. Long-term prisoners have different needs from short-term prisoners, and the problems and pressures facing prisoners in closed conditions are different from those in open conditions. But this only serves to emphasise that custodial treatment is not a fixed concept; it needs to be constantly reinterpreted in the light of changing needs and priorities, not only for the system as a whole but in relation to individual prisoners as they move forward through their sentence.

WHAT IS "TREATMENT"?

Against this background we have to ask ourselves what we mean by "treatment" in this context. And the second thing that strikes one if one looks back over the recent past is the change in our attitude towards, and our interpretation of, the word "treatment". Earlier optimism about our ability to change people, whether by good example, by training them and teaching them particular skills, especially work skills, or by the application of social work techniques such as case-work or group-work, has given way to what many would see as a more realistic if a more limited approach, based on the recognition that it is very difficult to change attitudes and behaviour, particularly when one bears in mind the restrictions imposed by the prison setting and the degree of criminal sophistication that many offenders have acquired by the time that they are considered for a prison

sentence with the increasing emphasis on using imprisonment only as a last resort. We tend, therefore, to see prison treatment nowadays paradoxically both in a broader and in a narrower way—first broader, in the sense that we no longer regard treatment as something that takes place in isolation, in an office or a workshop behind closed doors and at a specific time, thereby implying that what happens for the rest of the time is "non-treatment" or even "anti-treatment", but rather as the total impact of the regime on the prisoner throughout the 24-hour period; and secondly narrower, in the sense that our expectations are lower and our objectives perhaps more limited.

This change in attitude and approach is attributable in part at least to the work which has been carried out by observers of the prison scene in this country and particularly in the United States and which has drawn attention to the essentially negative character of imprisonment—emphasising its dehumanising aspects: loss of identity and of personal autonomy, lack of opportunity to make decisions, the severing of family ties, etc. They point out that prisoners are often less able to cope with life on release after a prison sentence than when they came in. An article in *New Society* published as recently as July this year started on this very note. It said, "Those who are convicted in courts of law and are sent to prison usually return to society upon release more embittered and full of irrational vengeance born in prison. Inmates often acquire what can be called a negative education".

This awareness has led to two parallel and related developments. The first has been a growing pressure to look more critically at those who are sent to prison to see whether this is really necessary or whether a greater number of them could be dealt with in the community—and here could I emphasise that there has been a very marked reduction in the proportionate use of imprisonment for adults? Indeed, if the proportion of convicted adults sent to prison had remained at the levels experienced in the early 1950s, the prison population would now be more than double what it is. This is, I think, something that is not sufficiently realised. Indeed, I was not made aware of it myself until very recently.

The second development has involved a concentration of effort to improve the general quality of life in prison, to introduce a greater degree of humanity and dignity both as an end in itself and in order to mitigate some of the adverse effects of imprisonment, though the extent to which it has been possible to make significant progress in the case of local prisons is limited. I would like to look at this development at three levels: first, a general attempt to improve physical conditions in prisons (better accommodation, better food, better clothing, more privileges); then secondly (and this is in part an extension of the first but goes beyond it), an attempt to reduce the abnormality and artificiality of life in prison by making it approximate more closely to life outside. Perhaps I could illustrate this very briefly with a glance at education and work in prisons, both of which are run increasingly on outside lines. In the case of education this is run nowadays very much on the lines of an adult education institute outside. Classes take place in leisure time mainly in the evenings except in the case of remedial and certain advanced courses. They are voluntary and are arranged largely in response to local demand, covering as you would expect, a wide range of courses from the purely academic at one extreme to hobbies and handicrafts at the other. As far as work is concerned, the aim is to try to provide working conditions comparable with the best that is available in similar fields in industry outside; and in the newer prisons planning is proceeding on this basis. The third level at which I think one can look at the general policy of trying to reduce what has been called the "pains of imprisonment" is in the area of increasing contact with the outside world through letters, visits, contacts with professional agencies and voluntary bodies, and an increasing use of outside resources within and outside the penal field. This operates in two ways: on the one hand the community comes into prisons on an ever increasing scale; and on the other hand a large number of prisoners have access to community services either directly or through the efforts of the prison staff. Gone are the days when the prison system was largely self-sufficient and self-contained.

DESIGNING FOR THE FUTURE

The question now is: where do we go from here? To take physical conditions first. It is unfortunately true that physical conditions became increasingly unsatisfactory, particularly in the older Victorian prisons, as a result of the pressure of overcrowding and despite the very large scale programme of refurbishing that has taken place to improve the accommodation and to bring services up to date; but this pressure should ease considerably as the building programme moves from the design into its production stage and new prisons begin to come off the stocks. One of the greatest benefits of this programme should be that medium- and long-term prisoners will no longer have to remain in local prisons for considerable lengths of time, even in some cases for the whole of their sentence. The first batch of purpose-built prisons will be for category "C" prisoners so that the large number of short- and medium-term prisoners who do not need the full rigours of category "B" security can be transferred away from the local prisons into training prisons of an appropriate security standard. These measures taken together should enable the number of prisoners who have to share a cell to be drastically reduced, unless there is a sharp upswing in the prison population. All new purpose-built prisons will have integral sanitation as it is euphemistically called. And there will be good physical provision for work, education and recreation with the emphasis on small living units which should enable staff to get to know prisoners on a more individual basis and go some way towards reducing the soulless anonymity of life in a large total institution.

In this context it seems to me that privacy is one of the greatest problems in prison, particularly in training prisons where prisoners are out of their cell and in enforced association with other prisoners all day long. There is a real need to provide opportunities for prisoners to withdraw from the general hurly-burly. To facilitate this an experiment has been tried at Long Lartin Prison and which will be repeated in some of the new establishments, to give prisoners a privacy key to their room. This should help to give them a feeling that they have somewhere which they can call their own, where they can withdraw when they want to and where they can keep their personal possessions. Then a quick word on food: institutional food is always a problem because of the difficulty of providing sufficient variety. The prison diet has just been improved with the specific aim of trying to introduce greater variety, and this is the direction in which we shall need to continue, and also to provide some opportunities for prisoners to cook items which they have bought from their earnings in the prison canteen. Finally, on physical

conditions, a brief word on clothing: there is a clothing development programme and the aim of this is to try to bring the style and the fabric of uniforms more in line with standards and fashions outside. The second and perhaps more important development in this area is that of working towards a system of personal kits. This means that prisoners will no longer be required to draw their clothing from a common pool, but will be issued with one or two complete sets which they would then retain for the duration of their sentence or until they needed to be replaced. You may feel that all this has very little to do with "treatment" in the loftier sense of helping prisoners to lead better and more law-abiding lives on release. I would take the opposite view and would suggest that we are hardly in a position to be able to make constructive steps in these areas until and unless we have got our basic provision and attitude right. Moreover, if what we really mean by treatment in the end is an expression of care and concern, then the areas in which this will be first tested out by the prisoners is in that of the bread and butter requirements of institutional living. And it is the consistency of our approach, in whatever direction, that may be one of the most important aspects of treatment.

As to the second area, of reducing further the artificiality of prison life, I think one must begin by recognising that there are limitations on the extent to which one can reproduce in prison the conditions of life in the community outside. For a start, the social structure of a prison is different: it is, when all is said and done, an authority system in which the prisoner is assigned a social role quite different from that which he has outside, and while there is scope for some modification of the structure and of the roles of individuals (staff and prisoners) within it, the essential framework will remain unchanged. Secondly, considerations of security and control will inevitably place restrictions on the extent to which prisoners can be granted freedom of movement and access to members of the outside community. And thirdly, the task of custodial treatment for some prisoners, at least at certain stages of their sentence, may in fact be—and I think we would do well to remind ourselves of this—to afford them some relief and protection from external pressures—if you like to institutionalise them up to a point. There are some people for whom a custodial sentence does provide them with a valuable opportunity to withdraw for a while and sort themselves out, and in the case of some long-term prisoners, and perhaps particularly life-sentence prisoners, there may even be a need for a period of retreat into what has been called a mourning period.

THE CUSTODIANS

But having said that, there are obviously some areas where progress could and should be made. And I would like to begin deliberately by considering not the needs of prisoners but in the first instance those of staff. I said a moment ago that there might be a case for some institutionalisation of prisoners, but it has been said that it is not that so much the prisoners who are institutionalised as the staff, and I think we need to give a very high degree of priority to looking carefully at the way in which we treat staff of all disciplines and grades, but particularly at prison officers who bear the brunt of the pressures and who are working under increasingly difficult conditions and often for intolerably long hours as the prison system becomes more complex and more demanding of their versatility and resilience. In this context, I think we need especially to look at the opportunities for staff to get away from the tight net of the prison community, by giving them opportunities to broaden their horizons and to look at their work from a different point of view. One way of doing this is to give them opportunities to have first-hand experience of work in allied fields—police, probation, mental hospitals and so on, not merely for visits of observation, valuable as these are as a start, but for long-term secondments so that they can get beneath the surface and come to grips with some of the problems. After all we now second people in to service in prisons, so why should we not second staff out. And while we are considering this area what about a greater degree of community interest and involvement in the welfare of staff in addition to their rightful concern about the treatment of prisoners? Then we need to look to our systems of deployment and manning so that staff can plan their leisure time in accordance with their personal interests aud commitments and can know what their duty periods are going to be reasonably far in advance. This is increasingly the practice in other organisations. Finally we need to involve our specialists to a far greater extent in the training and support of line staff, and indeed to integrate them more generally into the management of our institutions. Some or all of these things are already done in some establishments; but we need a concerted effort to widen their application on a regular and systematic basis throughout the Service. At a time when the Prison Service is undergoing, in common with other social and public services, an acute problem of staff shortage we need to make the most effective use and to nourish our most precious resource, not only to increase personal and job satisfaction but also to develop the skills of our main treatment agent. It is essential to remind ourselves, when we are looking at prison treatment, that it is ultimately the relationship between staff and prisoners in the wings and on the landings that determines the kind of regime that exists in a prison, and that if we are to expect staff to bring about changes to make prison life less artificial and more purposive, they must first have the opportunity to experience the benefits of this for themselves.

One of the major difficulties in this area is that our management and organisational structures, which were devised when the tasks of the Prison Service were much simpler and more narrowly defined, are now inappropriate and present a major stumbling block to progress. Fortunately, as this is something very close to my own heart, this is something that is now high on the list of the Prison Department's priorities and to which they are giving a great deal of attention at the moment.

As for the prisoners themselves, what more can be done to make their life more normal, given the constraints that I have already mentioned? If I were to single out one area for particular attention, I think I would emphasise the need to increase the demands made on prisoners by giving them a greater degree of responsibility for their own lives and even to a certain extent for their own treatment. Some beginnings have already been made in this direction, by making prisoners responsible, for example, in certain open prisons for getting themselves to the workshops on time and clocking in when they get there, or, on a wider note, by giving prisoners responsibility for organising certain aspects of their life. But by and large life in prison is relatively undemanding on prisoners, and they are still very largely dependent on staff for their daily needs. Indeed there is a sense in which the emphasis on treatment has encouraged us to do more for prisoners, so that prisoners perhaps are given too great an encouragement

to believe that someone else will sort out their problems for them. And staff collude to some extent with prisoners in this process. A strong undercurrent of paternalism runs through much of what we do to and with prisoners. Small things like allowing them to have a wrist-watch or to be able to switch off their cells' light from the inside can make a significant difference in themselves, but more important they reflect the attitudes and underlying philosophy of the regime. We must, I am sure, move, however slowly and painfully, to a position where it is the prisoner himself who increasingly takes the initiative, with the staff acting more in a supportive and enabling role—providing the facilities and the support to enable prisoners themselves to develop and to re-think their values and life-style, and sometimes asking awkward and uncomfortable questions in the process. Recent experience in developing the regime of the industrial prison at Coldingley has taught us some lessons in this area. Some of the principles of hiring and firing have been applied in the work situation, so that there is more scope for prisoners to apply for job vacancies; but equally there is the possibility of dismissal and even relegation to a pool of unemployed. Ultimately perhaps the whole notion of compulsory work, as we now understand it in prisons, will have to be re-thought. Coldingley has also adopted the same philosophy in relation to leisure-time activities, where it is left to the prisoners to indicate areas where they would like activities to be set up, and the onus is on leaving them to make the running. This kind of approach will not mean less work for staff, or indeed a retreat to a less demanding or less committed or less caring role. On the contrary, the load on staff will increase, for an approach of this kind assumes that prisoners can and will ask questions and expect answers and look for and expect to receive information and advice. Moreover it involves making information and resources available and accessible, and this is an area where we are very weak at present. And this raises questions about staff availability which I regard as particularly important. But most important of all it means a change in the nature of the relationship between staff and prisoners so that staff and prisoners can work towards some kind of partnership which is founded on an acceptance that both sides have a stake in the prison community and both have something to give and to receive.

CONSULTATION AND INVOLVEMENT

I would like to illustrate this in the context of the third area in which I think we need to make progress in this direction in the next few years—and this is in the area of sentence planning. At present we devote a good deal of time and effort to looking at prisoners when they first come into prison on sentence, and in some prisons a fairly comprehensive and systematic review machinery has been developed; but this is essentially a retrospective process. We need to look forwards rather than backwards, and to encourage the prisoner to do the same, so that a specific plan can be drawn up on an individual basis for each prisoner with specific targets and objectives set and activities planned in relation to them in a proper and orderly sequence within an overall framework. But this is not something that should be carried out by the prison authorities for the prisoner; it is something that should be carried out in consultation with the prisoner by involving him in the discussion and indeed encouraging him to play a leading part in this whole process.

So much then for some developments in the direction of continuing to make prison a less artificial and degrading experience and hopefully a more positive and genuinely rehabilitative one as far as its internal regulation is concerned. What about the third area—contact with the outside world? Clearly this will vary according to the type of institution and the category of prisoners that it caters for; what is possible in an open prison may not be possible in a closed one, and what is possible in a closed training prison will not necessarily be feasible in a local prison. But there are certain general things that are applicable to all groups. In the first place, the development of regionalisation already means that the need to send prisoners right across the country to training prisons far from their homes has been drastically reduced, and the siting of new prisons has been carried out so as to enable each region to become more or less self-sufficient apart from certain specialist services which will continue to have to be provided on a national basis. This is an important development for not only does it make it easier for prisoners to keep in touch with their families but it enables better contact and communication to take place between the Prison Service and the various local community services in the prisoner's home area. Secondly, considerable efforts have been made recently to improve the quantity and quality of communication between prisoners and their families. The main restriction on letters relates to the need to have an element of censorship, and while experiments to abolish this in certain open establishments have gone fairly well, the position is clearly more problematic in relation to closed prisons.

Experiments have also started in allowing prisoners to use the telephone, and if the teething problems can be overcome, this seems an area where it should be possible to make further progress as time goes on. Finally visits—the main need here I think is to try to bring everyone up to the standard of the best—a reasonably long visit in comfortable conditions once a fortnight. It seems in a sense a modest enough target, but to achieve it would represent a tremendous step forward and would require additional staff and in some prisons there is just not the space to improve and extend the physical accommodation. Meanwhile I think that visits is one area where the community has an important role to play both in the setting up of family centres in the older prisons where prisoners' relatives can leave children and tidy up after a long and sometimes tiring journey and in the visiting areas in the prisons themselves where there is a need for volunteers to help with looking after children, serving refreshments, and just being around in the waiting rooms for example to help with general queries. Again, and this is true of so many areas for development, the need is to capitalise on initiatives and innovations which have taken place in some establishments and to try to extend them on a wider basis throughout the Service.

AFTERWARDS

The one area in which I would like to suggest that there is the greatest scope for development is in relation to pre-release arrangements. There is a particular need to try to integrate the various measures which have tended to develop piecemeal into a coherent whole and to look at the relationship and timing of the various activities so that they can make better sense to the prisoner and serve their purpose more effectively. This is something on which we are already engaged. Within this framework there may be some scope for further extensions of home leave in the long-term and further opportunities for temporary release so that prisoners can use the period immediately before discharge to take

more positive steps to look for jobs and accommodation and so on, and perhaps more important, to learn to use the resources which are available to assist them in the community by actually going out, after suitable preparation, and making face to face contact. The pre-release employment scheme already provides an opportunity for selected long-term prisoners to spend the last six months of their sentence working for an outside employer and spending some week-ends at home. A review of this scheme is taking place at the moment to see whether it can be developed and improved, and some of the newer prisons will contain physically separate pre-release units where prisoners who do not qualify for the pre-release employment scheme can spend their last months. These provide a challenging opportunity for developing these kinds of things—giving prisoners the opportunity and support to do things for themselves, perhaps allowing them unlimited letters and freer access to the telephone, and by involving members of the community.

But I want to emphasise that I see this kind of development taking place mainly at the terminal stage, except possibly in the case of short-term prisoners where the whole sentence can be seen essentially as a period of pre-release preparation, when it can be related to some specific objective and used concretely and not just as a soft option as a means of humanising life in prison. For if applied indiscriminately, there is a sense in which contact with the community can become a form of escape and a substitute for an attempt at treatment and a concern with the quality of life within the custodial setting. While it can lend purpose and challenge to a custodial sentence and help to establish or maintain links with the prisoner's home environment, it can at the same time reinforce the notion that the best and perhaps the only way to make imprisonment a more positive experience is to increase the non-custodial element and to send prisoners back into the community for their treatment. For this reason, I would like therefore, if I may, to sound a slightly cautionary note about a wholesale acceptance of this philosophy for the treatment of prisoners, but also because it can blur the line between custody and non-custody ultimately to the point where there is almost complete overlap in some spheres. Indeed we have already reached this point in the field of hostels for young offenders. This is not just a case of pre-release hostels on the one hand and after-care hostels on the other, but of hostels as a form of semi-custodial treatment. In the case of the borstal hostels, treatment and location in the hostel take place under the auspices of borstal sentence, in the case of the probation hostel the sentence is one of probation with a condition of residence. Clearly there are some differences between these two with, on the borstal side, the possibility of movement to and from the conventional borstal institution. But the degree of overlap is considerable. If the Prison Service continues in this direction by expanding more and more into the semi-custodial field there will come a time when we shall have to ask ourselves whether it still makes sense to divide the penal system into a custodial sector on the one hand and a non-custodial sector on the other. For some people there are enormous attractions in the idea of a single penal system with a possibility of movement and interchange between the various sectors. But the implications would be considerable. At present the prison system is centralised and the Home Secretary is directly accountable for every aspect of its operation. The Probation Service on the other hand is a local service, with the Home Office providing an overall framework and general guidelines. Any attempt at amalgamation would have to decide in favour of centralisation or decentralisation and would raise problems about conditions of service of staff, involving such things as mobility and transfer between different parts of the Service. The difficulties would be no less great from the offender's point of view; for an integrated service of this kind would open up the possibility (and indeed that would presumably be one of the arguments in favour of it) of transfer by administrative decision from the custodial to the non-custodial part of the system and what is more, back again, in the kind of way that I have just outlined for borstal hostels. And it is a matter for serious debate and discussion whether we are really prepared to tamper with the rights and liberty of the individual to this extent on supposedly treatment grounds, when our knowledge and skills in this whole area are so crude and limited.

But it would be no less problematic to go to the other extreme and to advocate that the Prison Service should define its task much more rigorously as that of providing a custodial service only for those who represent such a degree of physical danger to the public that any form of semi-custodial or non-custodial treatment is out of the question.

Such an approach might mean that semi- and non-custodial measures such as open prisons, hostels and attendance centres would cease to be available within the prison system except as part of pre-release facilities for prisoners to move into from the more secure establishments towards the end of the sentence. But the effect of this (kind of approach) would be to leave the Prison Service with an almost exclusively hard core population which would be much more difficult to handle without the stabilising influence of the less serious offender and might well lead to an acute crisis of purpose as well as a collapse of staff morale. And what, one might ask, would happen to the kind of offender who at present serves the majority of his sentence in open conditions? One argument might say that a person of this kind does not need to be kept in prison for the safety of the public at all and, therefore, should not be in prison. Looked at in this light an open prison can be seen to be a contradiction in terms. But is it really likely that some of the more serious offenders, who do not perhaps represent a physical danger to the public but can nevertheless be seen to represent a serious social danger, could invariably be given non-custodial sentences? And the fact has to be faced that some people can survive in the kind of sheltered community that an open prison provides who cannot survive in the open community, though for these people it might be possible to develop some kind of semi-custodial or hostel provision which did not involve the same degree of disruption to their lives as does commitment to prison.

The dilemma seems to be this: if from the point of view of the sentencer or the general public the distinction between custodial and non-custodial treatment becomes so blurred as to be virtually indistinguishable in respect of some offenders, the question, does a particular person *need* to be sent to prison to protect society can be avoided on the grounds that there is very little difference between prison and community treatment in the marginal area. The temptation then is to leave it to the prison system to see that a border-line case is transferred to its semi-custodial sector at an appropriate moment, and that where there is an element of uncertainty the possibility of movement backwards and forwards across the boundaries can be seen as a considerable advantage. From a treatment point of

view pure and simple this is probably an attractive notion. Leave it to the executive who will be able to determine the best possible disposal and to assess the right moment at which transfer is in the best interests both of the offender and of society. Indeed, the parole scheme is founded on this very basis. But there is a crucial difference between parole and the general organisation and strategy of the prison system. For the parole scheme is founded on the basis that the sentencer has already made a firm decision that an initial period in custody is essential. It is the leaving of this decision (custody or not custody) in the hands of the executive, involving as it does questions which go well beyond the treatment to the root of the problem about the aims of punishment and the purposes of imprisonment, to which we need give very careful attention.

I end then on a deliberately questioning note, because it seems to me that we have to ask ourselves what kind of a prison system we want in the 1980s. Do we want a comprehensive and open-ended service which provides a wide range of custodial and semi-custodial facilities to cater for the varying security, control and treatment needs of all types of offenders who might loosely be thought to be in need of custodial treatment, or is society really asking for a more exclusive kind of prison system which is designed to cater solely for those who cannot be dealt with by other means? If society should become really single minded about keeping people out of prison unless they are a real danger, logic points to a much more concentrated, and probably more explosive, prison system devoted to looking after the hard-core of the criminal population. If on the other hand, we are to develop on the basis of the existing range of population, it may then be necessary to place greater emphasis, particularly at the short-term end of the scale, on preparation for release and using the prison sentence as an opportunity to identify problem areas and to link prisoners with community services outside. This is admittedly to present the two extreme positions; but I think this is legitimate if it can act as a starting point for this conference to try to work out what kind of role it wants to assign to the prison system, and what resources it would like to see made available to enable it to carry out its complex range of tasks.

New Careers Project in Bristol

JIM DICKIE

Jim Dickie is a graduate of Glasgow University (politics and economics). He served as an assistant governor from 1970–73, latterly at Everthorpe, until resigning to become the deputy administrator of the New Careers Project at Bristol which he describes as a most exciting and exhausting experience. He returned to his native Scotland where he claims there has been a bad record of locking up people, to work in a heavily industrialised area on the intermediate treatment of young offenders

FOR 12 months now there has been developing in Bristol a highly unusual approach to the treatment of young offenders. Run by N.A.C.R.O.'s local branch, B.A.C.R.O., the New Careers project was set up after prolonged negotiations with the Home Office who eventually gave their blessing and agreed to provide the necessary finance.

The aims of the scheme are manifold, but perhaps can best be described as follows:

(a) To provide an alternative to borstal training for selected young offenders.

(b) To show by example that manpower resources in the understaffed social services field can be increased by tapping the talent and experience which exists in the "client" population.

(c) To expand the range of services at present provided by social service agencies.

(d) To improve the service by making it more relevant to the needs of clients and communities.

Besides assisting young delinquents to find self-respect and the security of a permanent meaningful job, the programme is designed to help the participants while helping others. Subsequent employment of our graduates should also free professionals (rather than supplant them) to work at tasks within their particular areas of expertise.

The basic assumptions on which we operate, are firstly, many social problems such as crime and mental illness are fostered by the culture and environment within which they are found; secondly, that traditional means of alleviating such problems tend to define and isolate the "client" and the "helped", which might not be very helpful in achieving change; thirdly, many "clients'" own life experience gives them considerable potential for work in the helping services; fourthly, for many "clients" such opportunities provide real alternatives to their present life-style. Moreover, in view of the fact that there are insufficient social workers to meet the *existing* needs of clients it is suggested that it is simpler to train clients to help themselves. In return they should be adequately paid for their efforts and a career structure should be established.

Since the project was being funded as a probation home by the Home Office and one of the aims to provide an alternative to borstal, we were limited to young men aged between 17 and 21. Maximum numbers on the course were determined by the capacity of the hostel, two mid-terrace Victorian houses in a suburban neighbourhood. Initially it was thought that the building

would be able to accommodate 12 students and three staff members. Experience showed that the total of 12 students was rather ambitious, and imposed tremendously exacting strains on the building's facilities. For example, were we to accommodate our full quota there would be no quiet room for study, no room for playing recreation games or for accommodating a fairly normal occurrence, viz. three meetings taking place simultaneously. Accordingly the upper limit was lowered to ten for the time being which gave us the use of another room for library, games and work room. Bedrooms still double as studies.

IDENTIKIT FOR SELECTION

Whatever the difficulties about the hostel's capacity, we fairly quickly met problems over selection. The selection process was based on Pucklechurch, a small local junior remand centre. There had been a preliminary survey of the throughput in terms of numbers, age and committing court prior to the appointment of the two administrators in January 1973, and this seemed to indicate that there would be a reasonably big pool to choose our students from. Indeed, a survey undertaken by the administrators, and a paper exercise in February/March also gave us some encouragement. Of an average daily male population of around 50, we found we could eliminate around 25–30 on the grounds of age, because already sentenced, or no previous convictions or institutional experience. However, one aspect of the Pucklechurch population which was overlooked, but which later proved rather crucial, was regional characteristics. We started off our selection process with a kind of identikit picture of the kind of student we were looking for; He would be a leader, probably with a conviction for violence, experienced in institutional terms, and fairly sophisticated in a delinquent way. He would be likely to question us closely about the scheme, and be listened to by his peers. He would be manipulative—successfully—and likely to be able to use the prison regime to his own ends, rather than the kind of person who constantly finds himself in open conflict with the system, and on one governor's report after another. There would also be a detectable motivation for change—the perception of the futility in personal terms of a delinquent career. This last quality was seen as being absolutely crucial. Exclusion would not be automatic if it were discovered that there was a history of drug offences, or sexual offences. However, if there was an addiction problem or severe psychiatric disturbance, or evidence of sexual problems likely to inhibit working with children, candidates would be excluded.

Candidates thought suitable were to be recommended by our liaison probation officer (with some very useful help from Roger Kendrick, governor of Pucklechurch R.C.) for a term of probation, with a condition that they reside in the hostel for a minimum period of 12 months, as an alternative to other sentences likely to be considered by the court. As far as it is possible to determine, all except perhaps one would have certainly received a custodial sentence, either borstal or a Y.P. term. Our recommendations have been in three cases rejected by judges, but this is not too discouraging as the readiness which Crown courts have shown in accepting our recommendations in other cases where it would hardly have been conceivable for non-custodial penalties to have been imposed has been quite remarkable. Perhaps much of the goodwill can be attributed to the preparation which was done with judges in the Bristol, Gloucester and Swindon circuits prior to the implementation of the scheme—but how does one explain the co-operation of judges beyond this circuit? Could it possibly be that the judiciary is more receptive to progressive ideas than we give them credit for?

PEER-RATING IMPORTANT

Groups of candidates were convened by prison staff on a compulsory basis, excluding only those below 17, those already sentenced and people on punishment or absent for some other reason, e.g. visits, testing or illness. The initial meeting was used to set the scene by distributing a brief publicity leaflet, and having a discussion of the project on that basis. The second meeting followed in a few days' time and was intended to pursue questions which had arisen in the intervening period in the candidates' minds. This and subsequent meetings were voluntary; only those interested—for whatever reason—came along. No prison staff were present at any meetings, but they were consulted on an ongoing basis about particular candidates' relative merits. Records were not consulted by project staff until after about the first four meetings, by which point a reasonable impression of the "here and now" position of the candidate had been established without prejudice. An important element in the development of the selection process was the peer-rating. A fairly simple process was used by candidates at the end of each meeting to rate the performance of every member of the group, including themselves. In this way we established a check on our "professional" rating of individuals' performances. Participation by the intermediate project staff in the selection programme proved quite astoundingly effective. These members of staff are called "linkers", and are young men a few years older than the students whose life-experience is broadly similar to that of the students. As ex-offenders going straight, and as young men of considerable perception, they had a quite dramatic effect on the candidates. Rapport was usually fairly quickly established, and the professional allowed to move more into a background observer role while the candidate moved closer to the linker. Obviously it would be easy to romanticise endlessly about the value of the linker's role in this situation but undoubtedly we were able to tune in to the inmate culture more readily and effectively than was possible in situations where linkers were not present.

Selection was, therefore, a group-screening process, and focussed emphatically on what people were like at the time of the meeting. The novel elements were the use of ex-offenders, peer-ratings, and obviously the use of group processes rather than one-to-one interviews. However, after getting our first three new careerists clearly identified we found that others were very thin on the ground; indeed one began to doubt whether they existed at all, and after a lengthy but fruitless search at Pucklechurch we extended our net to Cardiff Remand Centre, and immediately found that here was an inmate population quite markedly different from that in Pucklechurch. Whereas Cardiff served a predominantly industrial and depressed hinterland, Pucklechurch served a mainly rural and prosperous region. It was quite remarkable that we were unable to come across anyone from Bristol who seemed to be remotely suitable. Swindon, seemed a fairly productive source, but other likely candidates in Pucklechurch generally proved to be transient, coming variously from Liverpool, Stoke-on-Trent, etc. Even extension of the catchment area to Cardiff ultimately did not prove the answer. The idea of going in with an identikit picture was the real culprit—this was changed; by taking people without such a lengthy

selection process we were obviously running more risks, but also probably being less exclusive.

Another development was the increasing number of referrals from probation officers both inside and outside the S.W. Region. This involved project staff in visits to Norwich, Exeter, etc., and obviously the selection process outlined above could not be carried out. Indeed our intermediate staff are still only allowed into Pucklechurch R.C.; Cardiff has not given us clearance for their involvement in group-screening. One-to-one interviews are less than ideal, but given the situation at the time, and the outstanding level of motivation of candidates thus selected, we are not too unhappy about having to resort to that method.

By December we had 10 students in residence. Two students had absconded; our very first went on 12th June, having come only four days earlier. Our second student came on 8th June and is still with us. Number three came on 15th June, and went on 21st July. Both absconders were picked up fairly quickly, and had committed further offences. The first, whom we had been exceptionally lucky to get, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the second to borstal training.

A DIFFICULT ASSIGNMENT

Each linker was to have a team of four students and it was intended that the teams would follow each other at three-monthly intervals, but inevitably court appearances proved difficult to predict or arrange. What we got was the first team being over 10 weeks, the second over three weeks, and the third over five weeks. Inevitably this presented problems; indeed two members of the first team absconded while their team was being formed, and the concept of a team going through a common training programme in step was stretched to the limit by delays in getting personnel through the courts. The linkers are the only project staff who are resident in the hostel, and it is their responsibility to see that schedules are met and domestic problems are resolved, which becomes a doubly sensitive area as there are no domestic staff. This imposes tremendous burdens on them as refuge from one job is not easy to get, but should support be required, at least one of the administrators is on call at home. Linkers have shown an increasing ability to cope with problems without having to call on administrators. While this policy has risks it is essential for linkers' and students' development. One of the problems which could present, and occasionally does, is when linkers act out some of their own unresolved delinquent problems, but these are increasingly being dealt with in the student and staff group called the living group, which takes place regularly. Far from weakening the position of the linkers, this strengthens them as it is quite obvious that they are learning and changing while at the same time avoiding an area for collusive splitting-off. Consequently they speak with greater intrinsic authority than would be feasible in a prison situation with its mystical divisions into staff and inmate groups.

Before the scheme was launched a preliminary survey of voluntary and statutory agencies in Bristol was conducted by Derek Turner, to ascertain the level of opportunities for work experience and project work which existed. This proved invaluable in establishing a network of contact people and the guidelines for the early training programme. In the words of Vern James, himself a New Careerist, now heading a multi-million dollar division of the National Institute of Mental Health in the U.S.:

> [1](a) major implication of the new careers model is the manner in which we train and educate people. The model calls for a change in the reliance on formal education as the primary basis for job access, credentialling, and career mobility. It involves a change in the nature of professional education, creating a change in the nature of professional education, creating a channel to professional status that ties credentials to job performance and job associated training and education. This implies a departure from the ivory towers of the campus to the community where trainees are expected to provide effective and meaningful services. And finally a new careers model requires a departure from the didactic approach to learning by doing, through problem study, role-playing, and simulation.

American experience seems to indicate that a very tough discipline is needed. This is an educational rather than a treatment programme, and anything which obstructs the educational process should be initially excluded. To the outsider it might appear to be far from liberal in its regime, and has given rise to some problems between staff and students, e.g. over TV and free time. The programme is extremely demanding and is a seven-day 12 hours per day job. The entire living experience is material for learning, and is tapped through the living group. However, where fundamental change in life-style and motivation is demanded we feel the pressure is justified. Personal problems are not ignored, but structures are formed within the group for handling them, rather than spending time psychoanalysing and treating. Work and teaching are the twin gods pursued. There are no perks and no punishment. Failure to be committed to the programme, is not likely to be tolerated. However unreal the choice between custody and us, students do come voluntarily to us and because of the demand for places back-sliding is quite clearly "not on", and could be the subject of a breach of probation.

INTRODUCTION TO WORK

In accordance with the principle of job-orientated training we prepared a series of experiences, ranging from work with mentally and physically handicapped children to work in youth clubs. It was felt absolutely essential that the new students should be placed immediately on arrival at the hostel in a work situation (with appropriate preparation, e.g. seeing a video tape of the other students) in which he could be successful. This meant that the work to be done by the student had to be clearly defined and seen by the student to be meeting a need. In this way a successful experience could be virtually guaranteed and the new student role reinforced. Of course the initial tasks are very basic, but the job very quickly begins to provoke questions in students' minds on how children end up in such a condition, what other facilities exist, who takes the decisions which affect the kids' lives. These provide the jumping off points for inputs on human growth and development, organisations and understanding of power relationships within the institution, and social problems, which are conducted by a psychiatrist and a voluntary services organiser and a university lecturer respectively. These are seen as inputs which are quite clearly relevant to their jobs and which enable them to perform more effectively. Programmes are worked out jointly between students and teacher, within guidelines set by the administrator responsible for training.

Linkers provide support on the job and liaison with the employing agency. They arrange regular discussions between students and the staff with whom they are working at the place of work, and help to pinpoint appropriate inputs for the training experience. Initially there was considerable unease on the part of the linkers on their training function as distinct from their support and supervising functions, but with their growing experience and confidence they have made a more effective contribution.

Following on from here there are progressively more ambiguous situations in pre-school playgroups, adventure playgrounds, hopefully junior schools, youth clubs, Probation Service, and eventually New Careers projects in other parts of the country. This has been the model followed to date, but there is a desire for experimentation with other models. For example it is felt that there might be an element of jumping through hoops in this model, and that there is scope for allowing the programme and experiences to develop in a more individualised way. There are many possible kinds of experience which can evolve naturally from the initial placement, and a student's particular interest, be it organisations, play, or education.

Learning sessions involve considerable use of role-playing, psychodrama, simulation games and video-tape. They must also learn to run the hostel themselves. This involves buying and preparing their own food, cleaning and maintaining the hostel. New ways of communicating and expressing what they have learned are stressed—like making audio and video tapes of their experiences, conducting discussions and speaking to voluntary and special interest groups about their work. Theatre, as a means of communication and stimulating social action is stressed as they explore the use of street theatre and audience participation in conveying social messages. In addition, projects in the community, many of our own devising, will increase their learning about social problems and help them to become more socially aware.

Now we have had 10 students for some two months and the programme is steadily progressing—not without its ups and downs, but already we are beginning to see some of the changes that we had anticipated. The conforming phase has come and gone and we are currently moving through a phase of testing-out of the boundaries, and some quite remarkable changes are taking place. A coherent group identity is emerging; problems and behaviour can be discussed and resolved or changed in a way quite unimaginable in a custodial setting. However, it is unrealistic to imagine either that we are out of the wood or that all problems have been overcome. There are some problems which remain unresolved and which are perhaps unlikely ever to be completely so. These are mainly concerned with boundaries and programme content.

FINALLY THE $64,000 QUESTION

What jobs are our graduates going to fill? A number of possibilities exist. The students should acquire on the course a set of skills, e.g. communication, interviewing, understanding of groups and a useful variety of experiences in a helping role, which will equip them for entry positions in a variety of fields. Co-ordination of community service orders, ancillary probation work, linker-type jobs on New Careers projects, social work assistants, voluntary services organisers, adventure playground leaders, assistant youth club leaders, etc. In all these jobs there is some opportunity for further training on the job. However, what is at least as important is that in each there is an opportunity for advancement and support. They are entry positions with a career ladder leading on from them.

[2]To help in the development of job opportunities and to promote the idea of training disadvantaged people and help them to get stable jobs in fields where their experience can be useful, N.A.C.R.O. has set up and staffed the New Careers Development Office in London. The development office will select a small number of potential growth points on which to concentrate over a two- or three-year period. These will service pilot projects demonstrating ways and means of involving clients as workers in a range of different human service agencies.

[3]New Careers is not about "conning poor people into doing some lousy jobs". It is about change, personal and institutional.

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Work and the Kenyan Woman Prisoner

DOROTHY E. SLACK

Mrs. Dorothy E. Slack is a lecturer in management sciences at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology and is a member of the Board of Visitors of H.M. Prison, Styal. Mrs. Chemirmir, mentioned in the article, who is in charge of women's prisons in Kenya, was a member of the overseas course for Commonwealth prison officers at Wakefield in 1965

DURING a recent visit to East Africa I had the opportunity of two interviews at Prison Headquarters in Nairobi with the Senior Superintendent of Women's Prisons in Kenya, Mrs. Judy Chemirmir, whose husband is also in the prison service. She is enthusiastic about her work and has twice visited the U.K., and has attended a three-months' course on prison administration. I was most disappointed that arrangements could not be made to allow me to visit one of the seven women's prisons under her care but as I had not, apparently, given enough notice of my visit I hope that this will be remedied when I return later in the year. So on my first visit to Nairobi I had to be content

with learning about prison conditions at second hand, apart from a visit to a prison workshop.

The most striking feature of penal institutions in Kenya is the use made of work techniques and training for them. Central to the philosophy of dealing with offenders is the belief that hard work kills nobody but that boredom and idleness might do so. The whole system is geared, therefore, to a very wide range of crafts and manufactured goods, undertaken by prisoners with training and supervision by specially selected prison officers. In the workshop I visited at Langata Prison a few miles from Nairobi, and very close to the famous Nairobi National Game Park, there is a great variety of goods on sale. These include the traditional Massai beaded work, wood-work, jewellery, embroidery, cane-work, pottery and more ambitious goods like clothing, furniture, iron-work and electrical goods.

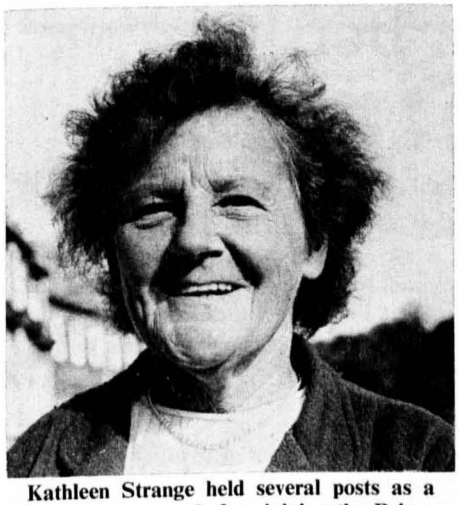
The organisation and management of this work involves large-scale and imaginative treatment. Many prisoners are illiterate and unused to receiving instruction. Ways have to be devised of training in new skills and of exploiting old ones. Because of the ambitious nature and variety of the work undertaken, recruitment of prison officers takes account of a wide range of experience. I was impressed with the quality of the goods being offered for sale. Prices, as far as I could judge, were cheaper than in local shops for comparable quality. (In general the standard of tourist goods is surprisingly poor.) Management philosophy does not regard prisoners' work as a rehabilitation exercise as it has been, historically, in the United Kingdom, but as viable, competitive industry in an economy which is fostering self-help for small communities and public ownership for the wider economy.

The result of the stress laid on prisoners' work is that earnings become an important part of the road back to self respect. Mrs. Chemirmir was firm in her belief that "It is not our job to punish; the courts have already done that", and she added that the prison service's social role of training for a job was very important. Many women prisoners earn enough money to send weekly payments home, often to help support their families and particularly to pay for their children's education. Only in the last few months has State education been free in Kenya and even so it applies only to children under 11 years of age.

As education is not compulsory and there is a great shortage of schools, especially in country districts, it will be many years before all children go to school. Buildings are being put up on the "self-help" (harambee) principle and cannot, therefore, be rushed. Under these circumstances it is easy to see that money sent home for school fees has a moral flavour: ". . . it is twice bless'd; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes".

Apart from concentration on a varied work performance, I was given to understand that the aim of the women's penal institutions is primarily to rehabilitate the criminals by raising their standards of health, personal appearance and hygiene—"All officers are expected to set an example by their smart and attractive appearance. Though uniform is naturally worn when on duty, make-up and hair-styling are encouraged". There is also a great emphasis on competitive sport for both officers and inmates—in netball, where Mrs. Chemirmir is chairman of the Kenya Netball Association, the standard is at the highest level, including international matches.

By British standards, some of the prison rules are very strict. Smoking is not allowed at all by prisoners and officers may smoke only in the privacy of their quarters, out of sight of the "deprived" inmates. Work is long and arduous and there is a need for an extension of educative, as distinct from training, programmes for prisoners. Kenya has now had independence for 10 years and has well-established institutions. One feels that her attitude to offenders will develop on humane lines as long as the sentiments expressed by the Superintendent of Women's Prisons are followed. In her own graphic words: "The prison service plays an important social role in the community not only through maintenance of security in penal institutions but also through its efforts in the sphere of public education and programmes of crime prevention. In the treatment of offenders, for example in the case of pilfering, the cause of an individual's criminality or delinquency must first be diagnosed, otherwise our efforts in eradicating crime would be like cutting the branches of a tree only to have it spring to full life again when rain falls".



Kathleen Strange held several posts as a housing manager before joining the Prison Service as a borstal matron in 1957. She worked at Portland where she says she learned (amongst other things) about the number of near-illiterates needing special tuition. In 1964, she took the post of social worker at Blantyre House D.C., and in 1967 she retired, but has since continued to take a very active interest in the Cambridge House Literacy Scheme and in spreading knowledge on this important subject

Can't Read? I can help You— Phone . . .

KATHLEEN STRANGE

THIS brief advertisement appeared in a Kentish newspaper, and the Maidstone telephone number started to ring almost as soon as the newspaper appeared.

(Of course, the non-readers couldn't read it—but their husbands—or wives—or friends could.)

We—the general public—are just beginning to realise that a lot of people find difficulty in reading and writing, and that this disability has a number of side-effects. We are also realising that many of the non-readers are anxious to learn but dread taking the first step.

A few years ago a London probation officer arranged for private tuition for

one of his young men on probation. He thought that some who can't learn in a class might be able to learn on a one-to-one basis. He found that he was right. This is how the Cambridge House Literacy Scheme was born in Camberwell, and volunteer tutors and volunteer students became members of the scheme.

For some time the scheme was restricted to London. Now literacy schemes are springing up in other places, and nearly all people who feel the need to have reading and writing lessons are in reach of an organised unit. With the support and encouragement of—for example—an adult education centre, these units are not difficult to start; and probation officers and other social workers are glad to know of them.

There is a tremendous amount of public goodwill, and this helps a literacy scheme to get off the ground: teaching on a one-to-one basis appeals to many people when they know of the need. Students who want tuition do not want to attend a class: they need individual attention and privacy.

It is perhaps the would-be student's hesitancy which is his biggest difficulty, and the literacy schemes are depending a lot on personal introductions: very careful publicity helps—letters in the local paper attract a lot of attention, so do little notices outside newsagents, such as: "CAN'T READ? I CAN HELP YOU—PHONE . . .".

If anyone reading this wants information about getting a scheme started, he is welcome to write to me at 3 Calverley Park Crescent, Tunbridge Wells; or to the Cambridge House Literacy Scheme, 131 Camberwell Road, SE5 0HF. Very soon the B.B.C. will be providing information and publicising the problem.

It isn't any fun being illiterate, and two million illiterate adults are two million too many.

The Work Advisory Bureau at Feltham Borstal

FELICITY CLARKSON

Felicity Clarkson joined the Prison Service in 1967 after graduating in psychology at Sussex University. After working at Wormwood Scrubs for two years, she obtained a diploma in clinical psychology at the Tavistock Institute. She has been senior psychologist at Feltham Borstal for the last three years; she is married to a former chaplain of Feltham, and has two children

MOST trainees at Feltham Borstal have erratic work histories. Not only have they worked in a variety of different jobs, but many of them have not held any job for longer than a few weeks. In 1972, 41 per cent of trainees received at Feltham had not been in any job longer than six months, and 31 per cent had had over nine jobs since leaving school. There is some evidence that poor work histories may be connected with certain patterns of offending; Len Curran (1973) found that significantly fewer "dishonest" than "disorderly" offenders were working when arrested. Stealing is one solution to lack of money, which may be caused by unemployment. In addition, the particular type of trainee received at Feltham may be handicapped either by physical disability or by his behaviour in the past, in looking for work.

It has frequently been found that delinquents have the ability or potential ability to do jobs at a higher level than they have previously achieved, but they have lacked guidance on how best to use their ability. On the other hand, they may have fantasies about what they would like to do, which can probably never be realised, so that they become depressed and immobile in the face of the unattainable. For example, a boy when asked what he would really like to do, said: "Be a film director". He has hardly worked at all, because he feels he will never become a film director, and yet there may be jobs that he would enjoy which would fulfil many of the desires he has in wanting to be a film director. One could say that these trainees lack an awareness of their assets and liabilities as workers.

They have often missed (or not taken up) the opportunity to benefit from vocational guidance at school, and this may lead to a lack of knowledge about suitability or eligibility for a certain type of work. While they are in borstal, vocational guidance is sometimes sought for these young men, and where possible this is given individually, based on a thorough psycho-diagnostic assessment. This is, however, a limited service, and does not aim to give the trainee information about specific jobs and opportunities.

The Youth Employment Service have a brief to provide advice and help in obtaining a job for those trainees under 18 years old, and a member of the staff from the local office visits regularly. The Department of Employment's task is to link the trainee with his local office, but they have no brief for giving job guidance in any detail.

In discussion with the Youth Employment Service it appeared that they were concerned about their work in the borstal, and the fact that they could only "officially" offer help to a proportion of the trainees, i.e. those under 18. It was suggested, however, that they could provide the same material and information that they make available to schools, and that the borstal should be free to use this material in whatever way it was considered appropriate.

LEARNING AN IDENTITY

It was recognised from the outset that learning about jobs and careers is not just a matter of reading booklets, looking at films or listening to "careers talks". As mentioned above, many adolescent delinquents do not see themselves as having, or acquiring an identity as working men, or if they do, they are not certain how to achieve it. If we assume that one of the tasks of adolescence is to acquire an identity as an adult, then one of the aims of guidance in jobs and careers should be to help the adolescent explore what it means to be fully involved in work, to have a trade or skill, and to evaluate these things for himself. It was thought that this could best be achieved by offering trainees a chance to meet and talk with a variety of working people. The material provided by the Youth Employment Service could provide a starting point and focus for an advisory service in jobs

and careers which would allow trainees to explore any ideas that they might have about jobs, with people well qualified to help.

Finally (and not without much discussion) it was decided that attendance at the bureau should be voluntary and on the initiative of the trainees.

We were fortunate enough to gain the interest and support of United Biscuits Ltd. who were looking for opportunities to use the skills and experience of their staff, in work in the community. Most of the staff (now about 20) who have been involved in the project have been members of the personnel or training departments who come to the borstal in their own time. From the beginning, the staff from United Biscuits decided that they did not want to be "do-gooders" or to cut across the work of the borstal staff. They have always met trainees at face value, and do not see their records.

The bureau started to operate in July 1972 and continued until the end of the year. It was reopened in February 1973 after a period of evaluation by both groups of staff. During the first few months it was open, about 60 trainees attended from once to 10 times. The kind of help given varied from fairly technical or practical help in particular areas to reassurance that work done or training being sought, was going to be relevant, and to supporting a trainee in a job choice.

An example of the latter, was the very disturbed, epileptic trainee who had eventually settled down in the institution once he had become an accepted and trusted member of the dustbin party. He attended the bureau frequently, and while it was thought that there was little that he could realistically achieve in skilled work, he had, by the time of his discharge, decided and was looking forward to applying for a job as a road sweeper.

The bureau was publicised by posters around the institution and in the event it was possible to have a fairly informal procedure for trainees who wanted to come—difficult to achieve in a closed institution very conscious of its security problems. Attendance has always been voluntary and after an initial testing out period, has mainly been by those genuinely seeking advice and help. Even those thought not to be genuine are given a sympathetic hearing in the belief that they are potential genuine clients. A trainee's attendance at the bureau is noted and his house informed, so that when his progress in training is assessed, the trainee may be credited with making some effort to plan for his future.

When the bureau was reopened it was possible to specify aims and objectives more clearly, and to suggest methods of achieving these objectives. The staff from Feltham and United Biscuits meet regularly, separately and together, and these meetings have generally been productive for the generation of new ideas, and comments on current operation. As a result of one of these meetings a complete set of Yellow Pages has been purchased for the bureau, and is already proving invaluable for trainees to pursue for themselves enquiries about job opportunities.

NO AXE TO GRIND

Such a scheme is difficult to evaluate quantitatively, except by saying that enough trainees come to justify its existence. The average attendance in a one and a half hour session is eight to 10 trainees. Qualitatively it provides an informal setting for discussion and exploration with "experts" in a certain field. The United Biscuits staff have proved to be friendly, non-judgemental and sympathetic to the problems of the trainees. On many occasions they feel they have to destroy fantasies, sometimes they just talk, and sometimes they gather job information not readily available to trainees, which they can obtain through their industrial contacts. The fact that they have no axe to grind makes their advice all the more acceptable to the trainees. It is also worth noting that it is rewarding for Feltham staff to work in an informal situation with trainees, in which there is no pressure to achieve results, or write reports.

Ideas for the future in the Work Advisory Bureau include "dummy interview" for trainees before they go for interviews for jobs, perhaps using a video-tape, and trying to interest more non-managerial staff at United Biscuits in coming to the bureau to offer trainees the benefit of their skills and experience as workers. For we do not regard the potential of the bureau's approach as exhausted, and are constantly seeking new methods of helping trainees find stimulating and satisfying work, and thus, perhaps, have an increased chance of staying out of trouble in the future.

"It's not your digging that I'm complaining of Paddy . . . it's your sense of direction."

Readers Write

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

PSYCHO-SUBLIMATION

Dear Sir,

One of the toughest problems to confront the Prison Service in recent years has been that of the integration of high risk prisoners into the general community of dispersal prisons, and if any method is found which can assist this transition—if only for a few—then it surely must be worthy of consideration, especially as is the case in this instance, it has been found to have a degree of success. Many of these men are of a particularly distasteful type—vain, vicious, chip-on-the-shoulder kind, who care little for the rights and privileges of short-term prisoners and are quite willing and ready to disrupt the administration of the establishment by any possible means. Prisoners serving shorter sentences in dispersal prisons usually subscribe, in part if not in total, to the existing regime and wish only to see an end to their sentence as quickly as possible. On the other side of the coin the situation is completely different; we see a picture of men serving very long terms of imprisonment. They are bitter, violently anti-social men, some of whom are seriously disturbed and who find themselves unable to settle to an acceptance of the environment that society has decreed for them as a result of their actions against the community.

As members of the Prison Service we have grappled with this problem for many years, having tried the whole gamut of professional expertise in our efforts to obtain a "steadiness" within the population of our dispersal units. If we can obtain this then I believe we will have gone a long way towards finding effective answers to the problems of long term integration. I am of the opinion that physical education can play an important part in the "settling down" of the more physically orientated prisoner. The fact is, of course, that there is little heavy manual work available for men in prison today and many fit men, whether criminal or otherwise, need regular opportunity to exercise and rid themselves of excess energy—they feel better for it. I believe that heavy work can be simulated within the bounds of the gymnasium and have found that above all else long-term prisoners want to keep as fit as possible in anticipation of that far off day of discharge. You may well subscribe to the school of thought of "what is the point in vigorous exercises if your whole life (or the best part of it) has to be spent in prison?" Well, of course, I respect that opinion, but must say, with some conviction, that the lack of participation in physical activity will retard rather than advance the "settling down" procedure—this has been my experience over six years in dispersal prisons.

I believe that the medical officer can play an important role in the formation and continuity of what we term "psycho-remedial" P.E. classes. His unique position, professional knowledge, and authority, enables him to ascertain the physical and mental needs of our charges and through consultation with physical education, discipline and medical staff, a swift build-up of a man's physical requirements can be made. I feel that it is of the utmost importance that the resident medical officer should have at his disposal a psycho-remedial type class where he can channel prisoners whom he feels will conform better with this additional facility. The work involved in this type of class, be it skill training or weight training, is continuous and very hard, and it has become evident that the class has a great "levelling" effect upon the overbearing and egocentric individual, who seems to be absorbed into the system fairly easily from that moment on. Some, of course, will fall by the wayside because they find the training too tough or for some other unknown reason, yet those who do voluntarily give up on the whole seem to become minimum control problems. Whether this is because they have "lost face" by giving up is difficult to judge, but it is certain that physical prowess is of major importance to many of these individuals. Those who remain then begin to conform better, possibly because they can "identify" with a particular group—they get a sense of belonging and they feel physically and mentally much more relaxed—a lot of the tension has now gone and of course they are now better able to come to terms with both sentence and environment.

Psycho-remedial treatment is of course different from the "rehabilitation after injury" treatment which has proved itself so useful and beneficial over the years. Rehabilitation classes are usually quite small in number and it has been found possible to quite successfully integrate these with not more than 12 men forming one class. Recording cards are kept up to date for each man attending and cases are discussed and reviewed from month to month. It is not the intention in this article to claim that this is the "be all and end all" but it is, nevertheless, another avenue by which some of our more difficult long-term prisoners can be helped to settle down.

F. J. ALLEN,
Principal Officer (Physical Education Instructor).

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TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

RECRUITMENT INTO THE PRISON SERVICE

Do we need a Cadet Scheme?

Dear Sir,

This letter is based on the assumption that the Prison Department will not lower the age of entry into the Prison Service from 21 years to 18 years, now that a person is legally an adult at 18 years of age. I have not read any articles on this subject nor have I sought any statistics. It is based on my own feelings, my experience as a police cadet and thoughts from my conversations with persons in and out of the Service.

It appears to me that the Prison Service suffers from not being able to attract people direct from school and consequently the three- to five-year gap before 21 years of age cannot be bridged at the present time. Therefore, many recruits are lost because they are well launched into careers by the age of 21 years.

I would suggest that potential young recruits are treated in two age groups, viz.: 16–18 years and 18–21 years. The younger age group would be directed into further education at a polytechnic or similar establishment with a course of study that would give them a firm foundation in job-related subjects, with scope to attain recreational activity qualifications and maintain physical fitness. This group would be attached to selected establishments for agreed periods during the academic year and academic holidays. They would work in the administration departments and in areas in which they would not have contact with inmates. In addition, attachments to related agencies, e.g. police, probation, welfare, government departments would be arranged. The government agencies would include headquarter and regional offices.

The pay and conditions of the cadets would be related to the clerical officer grade but would take into account the more advantageous conditions of service of the Prison Service. The cadets would reside at home whenever possible but, when necessary, would be accommodated at alternative establishments when this was felt to be more appropriate, e.g. attachment at the Staff College.

The 18–21 age group would move from the academic field with release to other activities to a greater concentration to on-the-job experience with release to the academic field on a more limited basis. However, this would not preclude the department sending a cadet to university or similar establishment to obtain advanced qualifications. This period would see the cadet gradually involved more deeply in the work in establishments. This would need careful monitoring and close supervision. Outward bound, games, and similar courses would extend the cadet. In addition attachment to V.S.O. and similar bodies would ensure a broad outlook on life. This period would end with the cadet being sent to the Wakefield Training School at 20½ years of age to complete a six-month officer training course. Subject to completion of this course he would be accepted into the Prison Service. If he showed special qualifications, aptitudes or abilities these could be noted for future development, and training when required. It would be necessary of course, to build in regular reviews of a cadet's suitability and progress with written and oral examinations as required. At the time of the cadet's acceptance into the Prison Service at 21 years of age and subject to completion of his training programme since joining as a cadet and passing all examinations he could be awarded a certificate of qualification acceptable as a professional qualification in the world of social work.

The expected outcome of this scheme would be a more regular source of qualified recruits who could form a valuable backbone for the Service. It is appreciated that there could be jealousy amongst staff who join in the present accepted manner, but the police, armed services, nursing and other bodies appear to have coped with and overcome this problem. It is also understood and accepted that job satisfaction and good conditions of service would assist in the field of recruitment, but I feel that the cadet scheme would answer the problem equally as well.

J. H. RUMBALL,
Assistant Governor I, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.

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THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

Re: YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS AND YOUNGER REPORT

Dear Sir,

As trained probation officers we wish to offer the following comments on the Younger Report in so far as we believe its principal proposals would affect our own profession.

We are in sympathy with the general aim underlying the report of keeping as many young adult offenders as practicable out of custodial institutions. In particular, we welcome the report's proposals for concentration on remand on bail rather than in custody, e.g. regarding psychiatric assessment; expansion of resources for probation hostels and voluntary hostels, especially for homeless young recidivists and greater emphasis on social education, community service, day release courses and relevant work training in custodial establishments. We believe that establishment governors should have at their disposal funds for constructive and imaginative use on behalf of offenders (e.g. for offenders to develop work, relationship and leisure skills voluntarily on release).

On the other hand, we also believe that most of the report's principal recommendations, if they become law, are likely to prove counter-productive, unworkable or unenforceable, deriving to some extent from unreal expectations of the Probation Service. We note that the report's authors did not include a single probation officer.

We believe that the highly directive role envisaged of probation officers and the existence, threat or use of controls as outlined in the report could reinforce the alienation of clients, damage the relationship of co-operation and trust between client and worker which remains the keystone of an essentially case-work orientated service and discourage recruitment to an already severely strained profession.

The proposed requirements for offenders to work in jobs approved by the supervisor and to avoid certain specified places of resort are likely to prove unenforceable and the requirement to undertake a specified course of education or work training at the supervisor's request could prove counter-productive on occasions, as an offender's reluctance to comply would make it unlikely that he would derive maximum benefit from such a course. We are strongly opposed to the 72-hour detention proposal for the following reasons:

(a) detention of an offender on suspicion that an offence or breach was in contemplation would be an arbitrary power eroding civil liberties;

(b) as many offences are committed impulsively, it is often difficult for probation officers, hard pressed by a range of exacting duties, to foresee clients' "temporary periods of crisis" which the power of detention would supposedly allow to be dealt with; and

(c) it could damage the casework relationship based on trust and confidentiality and undermine a persons capacity to be confronted with the consequences of his own behaviour, which he could publicly explain, defend or atone for.

On the other hand, we recognise that remands in custody can have a salutary effect, particularly on juveniles, and that it might be helpful to have places of security which clients could enter voluntarily when they feel pressures on them become intolerable.

The threat or use of the envisaged controls could lead to more breaches

and so, in fact, to more offenders in custody. If the stricter controls fail to reduce the number of offenders committed to custody, the *raison d'etre* of a more controlling role for the Probation Service seems to fall to the ground. In our view, proposals for supervising offenders in the community should not rest on unrealistic and ineffective controls which could well mislead the general public and damage the credibility of the Probation Service. We do not believe that the argument for smaller caseloads need be conditional on probation officers exercising the kind of controlling role envisaged in the report.

We regret the proposed extension of supervision without consent and believe that the absence of some form of acceptance or commitment by the offender could be a serious handicap in achieving desired objectives. There seems, indeed, less scope for casework under the proposed control orders than under the existing probation order, which appears to work reasonably well, perhaps largely because it does require the offender's agreement to supervision. The implicitly proposed increased accountability and responsibility of individual probation officers seem likely to be combined with their exercising less real decision-making and autonomy (e.g. a released offender, though supervised by a probation officer, would be initially subject to a power of recall by the governor, who might want to deal with a probation officer's seniors).

The report's objectives of keeping as many offenders as practicable out of custodial establishments seems to derive largely from considerations of financial cost. Yet the proposed amalgamation of senior detention centres, borstals and Y.P. centres could result in a more indiscriminate mingling of offenders, with adverse effects on reconviction rates, and if the proposed neighbourhood establishments are to stand any real chance of fulfilling the high hopes entertained by the report, massive resources would doubtless need to be devoted to these establishments at a time when we believe a no less powerful claim to such resources could be made by a developing Probation Service.

Yours sincerely,

M. R. PAGE,

and 29 other members of the Inner London Probation and After-care Service who have all signed this letter in a purely individual capacity.

The Prisoner and the Penal System in Great Britain

BASED ON FIRST CLASS EXPERIENCE AND MY OWN PERSONAL THEORIES

by I. J. W.

(This unusual article reached us by courtesy of a probation officer reader, who writes: "It is by one of my clients, a young man of 28 *with a long history of offending and considerable institutional experience. He is paralysed from the waist down as a result of an industrial accident,* despite which he has continued to commit further offences. *I thought the article might be of some interest because it seems so rarely that we read opinions by those who have been on the receiving end of the Prison Service. We agreed . . .* Ed.)

THE prisoners of our country are not, as the majority of people think, to be locked away to protect the public and then forgotten about until their time of release and then thrown back into society, only to, in the majority of cases, return to prison in a very short time.

Our criminal population is roughly split into four categories as follows:

(a) The largest percentage, and takes up 75 per cent of the population, is the small-time thief, this is the shop-breaker, the house-breaker, who just cannot resist making the crooked few pound. They will often tell you they are doing a sentence for something far greater than they are to boost their ego. Their greatest ambition is to hit the "big time", join a professional gang of thieves, bank robbers, etc., but none of them ever will because they all have records, which most professional criminals do not, so they carry on doing petty break-ins, dreaming of this impossible dream and inevitably getting caught and their sentences getting larger and larger for the same paltry few pounds that they have managed to thieve until they become what to me is the pitiful sight of the institutionalised "old lag" who becomes independent on prison life still dreaming of this now distant dream of making it big. These people are past help now, but I'm not saying all of them, but some of them could have been saved from this depraving existence, not by capital punishment etc., but if there could only be something in our penal system that could have got hold of these unfortunate people and took time and patience to find out the why's and delve individually into backgrounds and then take it up from there, I am positive that some of them could live a normal life. I don't mean a place like an approved school or borstal because I am sure the authorities concerned would agree are almost a complete failure, and if anything, have defeated their own object by being a breeding ground for crime or a place for the delinquent to serve his apprenticeship.

That is my view on category (a) of our prison population and I am sure that if Home Office officials, psychiatrists, welfare departments and sociologists could pool their knowledge and come up with something to help combat this social disease, because that is what it is, and if only 20 per cent are caught in their juvenile stage and put on the right path to a normal life, this would be a worthwhile achievement instead of wasting away in over-populated and understaffed prisons.

The next category, category (b), comes under psychiatric, drug offences, mental criminals:

(b) These criminals, or patients as they should be called should not, in my view, come in contact with the criminals of category (a). I do not profess to know what makes these unfortunate people tick, that is the job for the doctors and psychiatrists to find out. The main place for these people is Broadmoor,

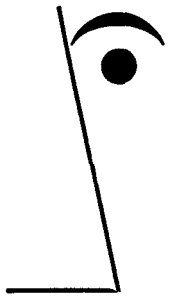
but here I am told by former inmates that rapists, arsonists, murderers, etc. mix together. I think more money and research should be ploughed into this department and individual centres set up for each individual set of crimes and not, as I have experienced, in local prisons and prison hospitals. They should be placed in special remand centres until trial and looked after by proper staff until they can be transferred to proper institutions where they can be cared for and, if possible, helped and cured and returned to society. Although there is more done for this type of prisoner than any other, I am sure more could be done and more trained and professional staff to look after them. Staff is the main problem in all of the departments because all applicants think that the prison staff are just people who lock up and unlock prisoners, but if they knew about all the different types of professions that could be used in the penal system, if it was split up into the different departments it should have. This section of the prison population takes up about 20 per cent.

Category (c) is the professional criminal. Surprisingly, I suppose to the layman, this takes up a minority of the prison population, about 3 per cent I should think. These are the people who commit crimes for a living, for a salary. These people are hard, even for the police with all their resources, to detect. These are family men, a lot of them respectable citizens who live a Jekyll and Hyde existence. They probably commit two or three crimes in a lifetime, many of them, I should say most of them, don't get detected. They weigh up a crime, either a bank robbery or a fraud worth a considerable amount of money, enough to set themselves up in a legitimate business, and retire or to live comfortably for the next few years till they have to commit another crime. Meanwhile, they carry on living under a cloak of respectability. Even if these people are caught they know they will only receive a small sentence as the majority of them have no criminal background or record. These people will sit down and weigh up the pros and cons of a crime they are to commit and only if the odds are in their favour will they commit the intended crime. Weeks, sometimes months, and lots of capital are poured into the plans, and this is the reason such a small proportion get caught and end up in prison. They do what they do as a job of work just like an architect designing a house or a navigator plotting a course.

The other 2 per cent of the prison population is made up of civil prisoners, i.e. unpaid fines, not paying maintenance orders or H.P. defaulters. This 2 per cent is a complete waste of prison staff and the taxpayers' money. For example, a person is fined £50 by the magistrate and fails to pay or is ordered to pay £5 a week maintenance. He is given a month or six weeks in prison and to keep a man in prison costs more per week than it does to keep a man at Eton for a week.

Why the Home Office are so ignorant to see that it costs them money, and public money at that, never ceases to amaze me. Why can't they have government factories or farms throughout the country where these defaulters can work a full day for as long as it takes to pay off their debt and at the same time contributing to the country's economy and not be locked up in prisons which could do with the space and save a lot of extra money which could be ploughed into more worthwhile channels of the penal system?

(Latest information is that the author's fortunes have now taken an upward turn. He was much encouraged, apparently, that we thought his views were worth publishing . . . Ed.)



Your Point of view

write about it and send your manuscript to The Editor

The Liaison Department at Pentonville

A. FRASER

THE liaison department at Pentonville was started in January 1971 to fulfil a function which the Probation Service in the prison was finding difficulty in carrying out due to the increase in the workload of that department.

It was decided to staff this new department with prison officers, and to this end a principal officer, senior officer and officer were introduced as the staff of this new department. The aims of the department were as follows:

(a) To interview all inmates serving under three months and to compile an ongoing record and to deal with referrals from the welfare department.

(b) To organise groups which facilitate a personal contact between inmate and outside specialist agencies, such as A.A., R.A., G.A. and drug units.

(c) To facilitate the finding of accommodation and or employment.

(d) To maintain good relations with the agencies, by arranging visits to the prison and inmates, by representatives of these agencies.

(e) To initiate "parole" where necessary to achieve placement.

(f) To foster close co-operation with the welfare probation service to achieve the aims of the department.

(g) To enlist the co-operation of all staff to achieve our ends.

Over its time in existence the department has proved its work as a viable and practical part of the general welfare aspect of the prison.

On average the department deals with approximately 65 per cent of the population and does so with the same percentage of success. This involves the finding of accommodation and employment for all those men who come to the liaison office for help. To do this effectively requires a great deal

of patience and forbearance from the staff involved, and the co-operation of outside agencies and the Department of Employment.

The whole essence of the work of the department is one of total staff involvement. This, of course, means that the staff of this department are fully occupied during the period of time they are on duty. This department, I am sure, is a forerunner of further development within the terms of the modern role of the prison officer. The concept of prison officers being employed in the welfare and after-care system of the Service, is of great value to the Service and is a viable and practical avenue of work for all prison staff and could be considered to be an essential task in all large local establishments.

Under the auspices of the Young Offenders Report it becomes increasingly obvious that the provision of such departments is essential to and for the implementation of the report should it be accepted. The need for greater use of the Probation Service in this context may produce the necessity of having, in establishments, a combined prison-probation officer alliance within a welfare sphere; the end result hopefully being that prison staff, suitably trained, would eventually take over the maximum welfare role within the Prison Service.

The unique situation of Pentonville in having a "one-off" department, is perhaps to be considered fortunate, as at the time of formation, the liaison, between the department and welfare department, was extremely good and over the years has been at a fairly high level and extremely high with individual officers. The system as worked at Pentonville is the basis for an improved department with more officer involvement in a properly organised administrative system, with the provision of up-to-date, ongoing records which, with special reference to the Young Offenders Report, would prove invaluable to both the custodial and supervisory roles of prison and probation staffs.

Officer involvement at Pentonville is again unique, as staff were involved in the formation and running of the Penrose Hostels, which are placement hostels for men being discharged homeless, and are accepted by referral from this department.

The present on-going record system provides prison staff and outside agencies with information, which in most cases they require. On the record cards we establish the previous conviction pattern, i.e. number of convictions, sentences and/or probation orders, and what offences were committed. We interview men "cold", and this can place us at a disadvantage in some cases, as at the time of interview, records are not available and some men will only tell us what they want to hear themselves, which can sometimes lead to a false picture until records are available. Incorporated in the record card is also the facility to establish a family and living background which again gives a pointer to his past and future employability and accommodation placement. This, of course, means that each man has to be interviewed in private and on a personal basis. This has been achieved with some success and consequently we have this fairly high success rate to be found at Pentonville.

The information on the cards is available to all the agencies which deal with the department and is really all that they require, though it is a fact that some agencies still require social enquiry reports and through the obvious distinction that exists at the moment between prison and probation officers, they are not prepared to accept an assessment from prison officers. This causes delay and a certain amount of frustration, which could be alleviated by either an amalgamation as already suggested, or by an acceptance that prison officers are capable of producing valid and sensible assessments of the people they are dealing with.

In the past some difficulty was experienced in the finding of accommodation because of the cash situation. The introduction of the new discharge grants has, although increasing the work load of the department, alleviated the cash rent payment which is sometimes required. This fact means also that the newspaper advertising with reference to accommodation is more available to us, thus creating more places.

It may be necessary at some time to introduce within the training schedule of prison officers a form of case-work training, so as to enable the development of such departments, firstly to facilitate the expansion of such departments and also to increase the availability of greater job satisfaction.

In conclusion, I would say that, whether a system of liaison departments could be implemented more fully and in a wider area is, at this time, a matter of conjecture, but I feel it is an essential step toward the implementation of a more positive approach to the modern role of the prison officer

THERE is a constant demand for articles dealing with all aspects of the Prison Service and this demand can only be met by those with the experience and knowledge gained from service in this field.

Comment upon previous articles is constructive and has also helped to illuminate problems in which theory could previously only grope. These articles have shown the way, but more are required on all subjects.

THE PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

which is published quarterly, is the medium for both comment and articles. Send them to—

The Editor,
Prison Service Journal,
H.M. Prison, Leyhill,
Wotton-under-Edge,
Glos, GL12 8HL

BOOK REVIEWS

Shocks for Authority

OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY

STANLEY MILGRAM

Tavistock Publications 1974. £2.50

THIS account of an inquiry, the purpose of which was to study obedience and disobedience to authority under conditions that permitted careful scrutiny of the phenomenon, makes uncomfortable reading. People were chosen at random and invited to act with increasing severity against another person under the pretext of taking part in a learning experiment.

In the laboratory context, Professor Milgram found that many people were prepared to administer what they believed were severe electric shocks to the "learner". An element of theatrical staging was needed to set the proper conditions for observing the behaviour, and technical illusions were freely employed (the victim only had to appear to be shocked). Professor Milgram makes it clear that the results were both as surprising and as dismaying to him as indeed they seem to have been to most of the participants. The findings are that many people performed in what appeared to be an immoral way (65 per cent of them pressed on beyond 375 volts, marked "Danger: Severe shock", to 450 volts, the highest position on the grid).

We are told in an appendix on the problems of ethics in research that for some critics the chief horror of the experiment was not that the people obeyed but that the experiment was carried out at all. It is suggested that these criticisms are based as much on the unanticipated findings as on the method. If everyone had broken off at "slight shock", or at the first sign of the "learner's" discomfort, the results would have been pleasant, reassuring and unlikely to have attracted protest. The view of a well-known clinical psychologist is typical: "That Milgram's pioneer work in this field is attacked as being unethical, unjustifiable, uninformative, or any other derogative dismissal is to be expected, simply because people like to shut their eyes to undesirable behaviour . . .".

Milgram reminds us that the dilemma inherent in obedience to authority is at least as old as Abraham; what he has tried to do is to give the dilemma contemporary form by treating it as a subject for experimental inquiry and with the aim of understanding rather than judging it from a moral standpoint. The dilemma posed by the conflict between conscience and authority is inherent in the very nature of society and would be with us even if Nazi Germany had never existed or My Lai had never happened. Some dismiss the Nazi example because we live in a democracy and not in an authoritarian State; but, as Milgram says, the problem is not "authoritarianism" as a mode of political organisation or a set of psychological attitudes, but authority itself. Authoritarianism may give way to democratic practice, but authority itself cannot be eliminated as long as society is to continue in the form we know.

The task for the experimenter is to be able to take ideas about authority and translate them into personal experience. It is one thing to talk in abstract terms about the respective rights of the individual and of authority; it is quite another to examine moral choice in a real situation. This is what Professor Milgram has tried to do, with findings which, in my view, are of profound significance—especially for those in authority.

It may be questioned whether there is any connection between what was studied in the laboratory and the worst examples in history of the workings of, and obedience to, a malevolent authority. There are great differences, of course, but the study suggests that differences in scale, numbers, and political context may turn out to be relatively unimportant so long as certain essential features are retained. The essence of obedience lies in the fact that a person comes to view himself as the instrument for carrying out another person's wishes and he no longer regards himself as responsible for his own actions. Once this critical shift of viewpoint has occurred in the person, all the essential features of obedience follow. (An important distinction is made between obedience, as the action of a subject who complies with authority, and conformity, as that of a person who goes along with his peers who have no special right to direct his behaviour.)

Professor Milgram is not knocking institutions as such, nor is he moralising about the baser instincts of man. In the simplest terms, his aim is to show the extent to which ordinary, decent, intelligent and responsible men and women working in large organisations hand over their perceptions to "them" and uncritically accept "their" definition of the situation, and to point out some of the consequences which follow for those under their authority. Anyone who had doubts about the truth of this would surely have had them reduced had they watched the B.B.C. "Horizon" documentary about Professor Milgram's research. In this programme, were shown students who had been given prison guards' uniforms and found themselves acting brutally in their treatment of their fellow students who had been given the uniforms and roles of prisoners (*see* C. Haney, C. Banks and P. Zimbardo "Interpersonal dynamics in a simulated prison" *International Journal of Criminology and Penology*, vol. 1, No. 1, pages 69–97, February 1973).

In another experiment a healthy young man asked tired, elderly or middle-aged people for their seats on the New York subway. As many as 50 per cent gave up their seats without question.

Those of us who still believe we cannot have a society without an authority structure, and those who, like me, think that even hierarchies have something of good in them, should be grateful to Professor Milgram for showing us so clearly and vividly what we really mean when we say that our institutions make both staff and inmates dependent. He shows us that hierarchical structures can only function if they possess the qualities of coherence, and coherence can only be attained by the sacrifice of a degree of control at every subordinate level.

Bells went on ringing loudly and red lights flashed furiously for me as I went through the book. For instance, so much of what goes on in our institutions was given meaning by: ". . . the formation of hierarchically organised groups lends enormous advantage to those so organised in coping with dangers or potential disruption from within . . .", or again: ". . . internal harmony is ensured when all members accept the status assigned to them . . .". If the latter thought does not help some people to face the reality of our position, I do not know what will.

I also learnt a good deal about the ways in which we make it easier for ourselves to tolerate the less tolerable aspects of institutional life. For example, we "tune in" to the signals of authority ("And what does the governor say?"); we devalue the person and thus provide justification for his treatment ("He is only a prisoner"); and we place a "buffer" between ourselves and others ("It is not my role").

I suppose Professor Milgram's message is summed up in almost the last of his own words in the book: "A substantial proportion of people do what they are told to do, irrespective of the content of the act and without limitations of conscience, so long as they perceive that the command comes from a legitimate authority". Leaving aside the very real difficulty for the dissenter in an authoritarian organisation (I mean the genuine dissenter and not one who expresses dissent but is not prepared to act, which is a common way of reducing the strain) the message in a nutshell is that the key to the behaviour of people in organisations lies in the nature of their relationship with authority.

People bring into organisations a balance of their own inborn structures and the social influences which have impinged on them since birth. Because it is important to get people of integrity into positions of responsibility for the lives of others, we must always hope that our selection procedures provide a screen against those who have been unable, for whatever reason, to achieve the optimal balance. From then on, it is largely up to us how they behave. If we want to have staff who are in control of themselves and sensitive to the problems of others, we must have creative managers working within a structure which enables a free and frank exchange of views and feelings, so that the nature of the authority relationship can be openly examined and better understood, and learning and development can take place.

DAVID HEWLINGS,
Controller (Operations).

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VIEW FROM THE BOYS

A Sociology of Downtown Adolescents

HOWARD J. PARKER

David and Charles 1974. £5.25

HOWARD J. PARKER has produced a very interesting study of juvenile delinquency in an area of Liverpool. His book covers a three-year period when he became part of the local

community and was able to observe the feelings and behaviour of the various age groups involved (the youths ranged from eight to 17 years). He presents a very enlightening picture of how the juvenile delinquent emerges and graduates to be the future prison inmate. Although the findings are depressing, he nevertheless shows how the graduation process works and has obviously been extremely dedicated in his research.

He begins with a study of the younger members of a particular group and describes the parental situation at the time of their entry into law-breaking. This paints a very disturbing picture of a lack of parental control and interest. The boys' behaviour in the family and in the gang is fully described and one gets a feeling that in many cases they had no choice but to commit crime, for it appeared to be socially desirable in the locality. The gradual development of these youngsters into more daring criminals is frightening to read about. The attitudes expressed by many of them are depressing, to say the least.

The second stage in the youths' development is just as depressing as the first; the trend includes probation, care orders and so forth. All the time, the author keeps us up-to-date with the crimes committed and with the group of different personalities and their problems.

The next stage in the process shows quite clearly the way each member is progressing. Stealing from cars increases while drug-taking now rears its ugly head.

Throughout, the author includes both incidents which illustrate his points and clear diagrams which show how the boys get around. The views expressed by the boys continue to contain the same theme: boredom and the feeling that what they were doing was all right. The book reminds me of the famous Glasgow story, *No Mean City:* the environmental situation is identical, yet that book was written many years ago. Basically, little of consequence would appear to have changed since then.

Another emergent factor was the "closed community" atmosphere that existed in the area and the loyalties of the people there. Religion played a part but not as much as I would have expected. The overall picture is one of despair and a seemingly pathetic acceptance that the life they lead is the only one open to them.

The book will cause some strong reactions in the locality and must cause great concern to the parents and socially conscious adults there. I have no doubt the author has presented a very true though frightening picture of juvenile delinquency in its birth and development, I only hope he has not wasted his time and that his view and the *View from the Boys* do not go unheeded.

W. McGinley,
Officer, Hindley Borstal.

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THE SOCIAL WORLD OF IMPRISONED GIRLS

Rose Giallombardo

Wiley, 1974. £7.40

IN 1966, Dr. Giallombardo published an important book, *Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison*, in which she argued that informal inmate social systems should not be regarded as a simple response to the deprivations of imprisonment. Instead she contrasted the responses of men and women in prison and described them as continuations of dominant patterns of male and female role behaviour in American society. It follows that if inmate social systems are a true reflection of the basic organisation of the wider society, such inmate systems in fact reflect the commitment of technically "anti-social" individuals to the norms and values of society. She regarded this as an important factor in understanding prisons and their inmates and has now presented a further study examining the extent to which structures she had identified in prisons for adult women might be applicable to institutions for adolescent girls.

Three correctional institutions for adolescent girls were studied in depth. In a British context, these institutions came nearest to borstals rather than community homes, but differ even from borstals in that they appear to enjoy greater autonomy than our institutions, have a less uniform staff and staff training and are run in many respects more like the old British "reformatory" than our contemporary establishments. All this in spite of the fact that the author chose her institutions in terms of their organisational goals, one representing a traditional custodial approach, the second an "intermediate" approach and the third a treatment approach. The three institutions are rather large—ranging in their populations from 150 to 350 inmates—a factor which is likely to have some bearing on the inmate social system but one which is not discussed. The research itself is meticulous, detailed, comprehensive, though almost entirely descriptive. Whilst we are offered a great deal of information on the structures, organisation, staff and inmates, there is surprisingly little attempt at analysing how these various levels interact and influence each other. The statistical material has not been taken beyond the additive stage and it is difficult, therefore, to speculate on the true significance of the many variables which are identified. The main reason for this lies in the author's preoccupation with the structure of the inmate social system and an inordinate amount of space in the book has been devoted to a painstaking demonstration of the "marriage and kinship" patterns of the system.

The evidence seems clear that adolescent girls (the age range is 11–21, with most of the girls being between 13–18), like their adult counterparts, organise themselves in the now familiar "family" groups and establish their informal social systems on a model of "non-aggressive" explorations in relationships. Organisationally, it may be the same as for adult women but, functionally, the author argues for important differences. Where the adult female prisoner does no more than replicate the familial roles and relationships of the external culture, the adolescent girl uses family and kinship networks to *learn* these roles. She argues correctly that most of these girls have normal adolescent needs to develop a sex identity. These needs have been complicated by their attempts to achieve this along a deviant route because their home and parental relationships are likely to be distorted or damaged. The need to develop meaningful relationships and to adapt to the dominant mores of society is more important than in less traumatic situations, but is further aggravated by the absence of access to normal heterosexual relationships.

Within the framework of this particular argument Dr. Giallombardo's analysis is valid, valuable and enlightening. What is surprising, however, is the extreme superficiality with which other equally important factors have been brushed aside in casual and uninformative comments. Given that most delinquent girls are likely to have histories of more or less severe family problems and that their natural response, both inside and outside prison, will be to attempt to create emotional and sexual support systems (however illusory) to compensate for this, should she not have used the insights gained in the research to explore the treatment task in a more radical and basic fashion? If the adolescent girl sees her role and her satisfactions purely in traditional status positions which are always determined in relation to a man (i.e. she is either daughter, mistress or wife) should not the correctional institution try to wean the girls from this socially determined pattern and incorporate techniques in its training programme which will offer alternative avenues for self-fulfilment and emotional satisfactions? The author does not appear to agree. She pays scant regard to such critically important factors as education and school history, to vocational training and work satisfaction. Yet it would be reasonable to argue that truancy and unstable work experiences could be shown to be as significant in the histories of delinquent girls as are family and relationship problems. Whilst these frequently have a common origin, it has yet to be shown that systematic intervention and support at the educational and occupational levels would not yield results at least as satisfactory as those which operate from a premise of "emotional" or "personality" disorder.

In a brief, final chapter, Dr. Giallombardo attacks the complacency of institutions, their sense of self-satisfied smugness and their essential inappropriateness as instruments for the management of delinquent adolescent girls. Since most of their problems lie in their homes, she comments, that is where the treatment should be. And that, for those who have to deal with impulsive, self-destructive and unpredictable adolescent girls, must surely appear more like a pious hope than a prescription for action.

Dr. Julius Carlebach,
Reader in Sociology in the University of Sussex and author of Caring for Children in Trouble. *He is joint chairman of a hostel for disturbed homeless adolescent girls.*

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SEXUAL CONDUCT—

The Social Sources of Human Sexuality

John Gagnon and William Simon

Hutchinson, 1974. £2.75

THE authors of this book are associated respectively with a department of sociology and psychiatry and with a department of sociology and anthropology. In this volume, they seek to give a sociologist's viewpoint of sexual conduct in what they call a "post-Freudian" and "post-Kinseyan" world. They have drawn on the findings of more recent workers, including Masters and Johnson and the less famous but important contributions of John Money and others. Although the authors make a disarming comment in their preface concerning their interpretation of Freud. I consider that they have failed to recognise the contribution of post-Freudian analysts to the symbolic significance of various types of sexual activity.

I found the first chapter of the book to be the most thought-provoking and, in a constructive sense, disturbing material. Subsequent chapters use material from a variety of sources to illustrate their general theme. Aspects of sexuality and different developmental stages are dealt with in chronological sequences. But "Male Homosexuality", "The Lesbian", "The Prostitution of Females", and "Homo-

sexual Conduct in Prison" all seem to be headings which are curiously at variance with the authors' intention to place sexual behaviour in its wider social, psychological and anthropological setting rather than to deal with it merely at the level of classifying manifest sexual activity.

For those who work with sexual offenders, the book has very little to offer in terms of understanding the individual whose peculiar behaviour brings him into conflict with the law. Gagnon and Simon discuss sociological factors relating to sexual questions in general and exclude extraordinary sexual behaviour which would require emphasis on a group who are identified by this alone. Neither is it a revelation to point out that sexual behaviour can involve many motivational factors, such as aggressiveness which is not specifically connected with the victim of a sexual assault. There is some discussion in the chapter on male homosexuality which examines the statistical association between this and the deviant or "anti-social" activity of homosexuals as compared with others. Homosexuality in prison is usefully discussed in terms of dominance and other social dynamics relevant to the setting.

The authors emphasise that as scientific, social and cultural changes occur, a belief in the natural and universal human tends to become entrenched in the study of sexuality more than in any other field. For example, the significance of reproduction for the survival of the species is made central to socio-cultural imperatives. Gagnon and Simon emphasise that the same sexual activity has totally different meanings attributed to it in different cultures and even has varying significance according to subtle changes in the personal relationships which pertain at the time. They make the interesting point that in order for written material to be erotic for the reader, the actors involved must be playing out some socio-sexual "script". They insist that our preoccupation with the myth of naturalness in man hides from us the social components of sexual arousal and behaviour. They state their belief that difficulties in early socialisation do not result so much in specific problems as in a general blight on the individual's development and this can, of course, include sexuality.

The first and last chapters of this book form a stimulating essay in themselves. The intermediate material is somewhat indigestible and I found it repetitious at times. The book is a useful stimulus to looking at the assumptions on which our examination of sexual problems is based. I suppose that it is complimentary to say that it makes one think again, even if it provides more questions than answers.

J. A. C. MacKeith,
Consultant Psychiatrist, Broadmoor Hospital.

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ANNUAL REPORT 1973–1974

THE PLACING OF THE "WHITE-COLLAR" OFFENDER AND THE SEXUAL OFFENDER DURING 1973

APEX Charitable Trust. 25p

THE task of finding work during the last few months of imprisonment and immediately after release is often extremely difficult. For the ex-offender, work provides independence, a livelihood, an identity and a future; it is an important part of re-establishing life after offending. The need to place a high priority on gaining employment is the rationale for the existence of APEX, an organisation which aims at providing employment for ex-offenders. A major part of its task is to provide work for sexual offenders and for those with managerial or clerical experience. This particular aspect of APEX's work is given the oddly bureaucratic title (for such an individual service) of Project II. The work of APEX is divided into six projects which are explained, with a short account of the Charitable Trust, in the *Annual Report*, 1973–1974. This report provides a clear outline of the year's work and interesting descriptions of research projects. All those with an active interest in the resettlement of offenders should have access to this report and should allow offenders to know about it.

The separate and comprehensive report of the year's work in placing into employment the "white-collar" offender and the sexual offender (Project II) should be equally accessible. This report by the Director of APEX, Freddie Pentney, has several conclusions which are relevant to all those involved in the employment of ex-offenders, including employers and ex-offenders themselves. It is a typescript of only 30 pages which is very direct and which is immediately relevant.

Freddie Pentney sets out to examine the criteria APEX has used to place clients. The report is divided into six parts—the client and the problems of the Trust, the problems of the ex-offender, of the employer, and of the social worker, a look at the future and conclusions. The director clearly states the limits of the project and analyses many of its difficulties. He puts considerable stress on the need to ensure that each client is seen as having his own individual needs and requirements.

It is the analysis of the problems which beset both the client and those who provide services for him which is most important in the report. For example, Mr. Pentney shows the need for greater consideration in providing financial aid for finding jobs and he examines the responsibilities of all those involved in placing the ex-offender. To policy-makers the director pleads for greater awareness of the ex-offender's attitudes and his need for work and for the granting of money and resources. To employers he shows a clear awareness of their problems but conveys the idea thta they should be conscious of their social responsibilities. Prison staff are asked to prepare an offender for work on his reception, rather than a few weeks prior to discharge. From offenders, he asks for a greater awareness of the problems in finding suitable positions. Social workers are given a sharp reminder that the client comes first—not personal and social conscience—though this is alongside a plea for more appropriate resources for social workers.

It would have been useful to have a separate section dealing with the current position of APEX in relation to the state-controlled employment system. The Department of Employment is given several passing references. It is discussed in some detail when Mr. Pentney anticipates the introduction of a specialised service for "those workers who find it difficult to obtain or retain work for reasons other than physical or mental disability". Mr. Pentney places some hope in this new service for helping the ex-offender. However, while the report provides some evaluation of the failings of the Department of Employment, this important area is not fully covered. It would have been useful to policy-makers and those engaged in finding work for ex-offenders to have had a section dealing specifically with the activities, strengths and weaknesses of the State placing system.

Mr. Pentney ends the report on a hopeful note. He reaffirms the basic tenets of the Trust: absolute honesty, individual work with clients and the determination not to stop trying. It is this constant ability to live with frustration and failure and to keep going which gives the report and the Trust its strength.

Rod Jacques,
Tutor, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

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EMPLOYMENT AND PAROLE

Keith Soothill and Freddie Pentney

APEX Charitable Trust, 1974. 40p

THE authors of this pamphlet argue that discussion of a prisoner's employment prospects should be completely divorced from consideration of his eligibility for parole. Making parole conditional on the prisoner's employment prospects is unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. It is unjust and premature, given the delays involved in parole applications. It creates an impossible situation for those trying to find jobs on behalf of prisoners. It provokes sham claims about job prospects and places a dubious importance on the philanthropy of previous employers. It also presupposes a link between employment and conduct after release which is simply not established. It disadvantages the long-termer. Given the uncertainties of the job market, it may be unrealistic. Given the changing value placed on work in society, it may be out of date.

In recommending the separation of the two issues of employment and parole, the authors are not entirely negative. They argue for informing parole applicants of the parole decision at least three months in advance, so that they can *then* do something about a job. They argue for better facilities and resources for job-finding for prisoners. Finally, they argue that "leading an industrious life" should not be required in terms of the parole licence.

The report provides a critical examination of parole practice and fits in well with much of the recent disquiet about what is happening in British penal policy, showing how the work of APEX is affected.

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DILEMMAS OF SOCIAL REFORM

Peter Marris and Martin Rein

Penguin 1974, 70p

AT a time when attitudes to social reform in this country are becoming as clearly identified as they are becoming polarised, it is most helpful to have a short, reasonably-priced account of the history of some of the more significant attempts to grapple with these in America over the past decade. I was particularly delighted to find that the book not only relates the tribulations and successes of these projects, "warts and all", but that this is done as much from an English, as an American perspective, and with considerable literary style.

The structure of the book is denoted by the chapter headings: starting with the explicit and implicit assumptions on which the projects were based, the early history of each is presented. The subsequent attempts at co-ordination, the soul-searching of the participants, the relevance of the American political and social systems, the dangers of idealism in conflict with pragmatism are the continuing themes of the book. The "Conclusion" is more of a

summary from the writers' perspective. There is, mercifully, no message—unless it is simply that to attempt to take a comprehensive and fearless look at the ingredients of reform is useful.

I was, until recently, a member of the central training organisation where I was fortunate enough to see at first hand some of the consequences of the dilemmas, described in the book, with which the Prison Service is confronted. The need for a questioning and a clarification of our task in relation to that of other social agencies together with those agencies; the need for, and dangers of, strong leadership; the need for close support of the "shop floor", and the disastrous consequences of paternalism; the cry for better resources and the appalling waste resulting from the failure to use them properly when we get them; the discouragement and disillusion of those expected to work in a system set up without consultation; the rapidity with which a project grinds to a halt through careless planning or lack of flexibility; these and other dilemmas are clearly and sensitively portrayed. The aim of the authors is not to dishearten, but to inform. The value of the book is that it asks the questions and presents some of the answers that have been tried. The reader has to judge the rightness of the answers for himself.

The book repays a second reading. For this reason it should be bought, not borrowed.

STEPHEN PRYOR,
Assistant Governor, Leeds Prison.

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TIED ACCOMMODATION

Shelter 1974, 50p

SHELTER have produced a valuable and thought-provoking report on *Tied Accommodation*. This broadens the debate on Prison Service quarters and gives the reader a clearer idea of the extent of the national problem. Shelter considers that there are over one million tied dwellings, more than in the private rented sector. The security of tenure granted to the latter under the 1974 Rent Act makes an interesting comparison with the position of the occupants of tied housing.

The report covers the legal basis for the occupancy of tied accommodation and then looks at some of the larger landlords—the agricultural sector, the National Coal Board and the Ministry of Defence. The report examines the particular problems of London and some of the smaller groups of occupants of tied accommodation. The Prison Service is mentioned in passing in the same breath as the police. A further substantial section deals with Church of England clergy (about 13,000 houses) and hotel and restaurant staff.

The conclusion of the report cannot make comfortable reading for the Prison Service as it suggests radical solutions. Most tied housing must be phased out with a licensing system for the housing that remains. This licensing would be under the local authority who would inspect tied housing for fitness and state of repair. For occupants of tied housing, Shelter proposes a legal right to rehousing and "not necessarily in the area where they lose their tied house".

While it would be unrealistic to expect quarters to vanish overnight, the balance of division in the Service between tied accommodation and private accommodation is undoubtedly shifting. The Shelter report reminds us that we are part of a wider problem and it may be that national policy on tied housing will increase the pressure for change within the Prison Service. The proposition: "We can see very few cases where the provision of a tied house is absolutely crucial to the performance of a job in question . . ." is one the Service needs to examine critically. This is a publication which should be compulsory reading for all those concerned or interested in the housing of prison staff.

F. B. O'FRIEL,
P6 Division.

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WHAT DO YOU SAY AFTER YOU SAY HELLO?

ERIC BERNE

Andre Deutsch 1974. £3.50

HELLO! If we were talking face-to-face right now you could tell what sort of hello I mean. It might come over to you as superficial, as anxious or as relaxed. Anyway, it would be the start of a series of social transactions: you and I interacting. This book asks "How Do You Say Hello?" and "What Do You Say After You Say Hello?".

Eric Berne was a psychiatrist who had some pretty shrewd ideas about how people got along with one another and what they might be up to; in addition, he could get those ideas across easily. From his books he seems to have been a very perceptive and a very genuine person. His death in 1970 followed more than 10 years' work on what came to be known as transactional analysis. In one bestseller, *Games People Play*, he published his ideas on the nature of social transactions and how "games" can be identified, why they're played, and what the players get out of them. In this book, *What Do You Say After You Say Hello?*, Berne turned to wider horizons—the whole course of human life and the idea that each person is following his own life "script".

All human beings have systems of thought and feeling corresponding to patterns of behaviour. For Berne and his friends, there are three clear and separate areas which encompass everything a person feels, thinks, says or does. At any one time, he is plugged into one of these areas. First, there is the parental "ego state" (the Parent) in which he behaves and responds just as one of his parents did when he was little. Secondly, in the Adult state, he can appraise his world and use his experiences objectively: "the Adult functions like a computer". Thirdly, each person carries around a little boy or a little girl which behaves and responds just the way he or she did as a child of somewhere between two and five years old. "The Child is not regarded as 'childish' or 'immature', which are Parental words, but as childlike." There are some subdivisions of these areas (like the Little Professor in a person's Child who "knows more practical psychology and psychiatry than any grown-up professor does, although after many years of training and experience, a grown-up professor may know as much as 33 per cent of what he knew when he was four years old") but they are sophistications. The important idea is of three states which are carried around, each ready for use at the appropriate moment.

Transactional analysis is the study of what actually goes on when two or more people converse. Transactions between them can be relatively straightforward (my Adult addresses your Adult which responds to mine) or more complicated (my Adult addresses your Adult but your Parent chimes in: "This is a load of newfangled nonsense", trying to hook my Child into responding angrily or sulkily). The more complicated transactions (where the areas are at cross-purposes) usually bring about what other books would call "communication breakdown". Most of the common transactions and games people play Berne has described elsewhere and characterised by such apt titles as "I'm Only Trying To Help You" and its opposite number "Yes, But . . .".

"The above forms of social action are ways of structuring time with the object of avoiding boredom and at the same time getting the greatest possible satisfaction out of each situation. Each person, in addition, has a preconscious life plan, or script, by which he structures longer periods of time—months, years, or his whole life—filling them with ritual activities, pastimes, and games which further the script while giving him immediate satisfaction."

Berne observed how relentlessly people's lives follow patterns, how little choice they seem to have when it comes to being what they are and to doing what they do. It was as though they had been issued with scripts which they had to follow. Each person has decided his script and hence his "destiny".

"A script is an ongoing life plan formed in early childhood under parental pressure. It is the psychological force which propels the person towards his destiny, regardless of whether he fights it or says it is his own free will."

Script outcomes are determined for better or for worse by parental programming "during the plastic years between two and six": though the child is often free to select his own plot (sometimes based on a fairy tale or familiar story), the long-term pattern is determined by the parents and how the child hears their messages to him. By the time the person has grown up, the Child and the Parent parts of him are working hard to follow the script decision, no matter how his Adult tells the story. The therapist, then, is faced with people who are unhappy as a result of a decision made very early in life.

"In script analysis, winners are called 'princes' or 'princesses', and losers are called 'frogs'. The object of script analysis is to turn frogs into princes and princesses. In order to do this, the therapist has to find out who the good guys and the bad guys are in the patient's script, and also what kind of a winner he can be. The patient fights being a winner because he is not in treatment for that purpose, but only to be made into a braver loser. This is natural enough, since if he becomes a braver loser, he can follow his script more comfortably, whereas if he becomes a winner he has to throw away all or most of his script and start over, which most people are reluctant to do."

For my money, Berne has made a big contribution to the study of social interaction with transactional analysis and the understanding of games. From this sound basis he has developed script theory which, though it rings bells, is too far-reaching. Like a lot of theories which aim to put all someone's life into a nutshell, it is too general ("each person decides") and too simple ("scripts are designed to last a lifetime"). Neither is it totally original: that a person's image of himself and his expectations of other people's behaviour govern his behaviour and his social interaction is a widely held premise, while Berne's structuring of the personality, the significance he finds for early childhood and his insistence that hardly anything is "accidental" stem directly from psychoanalysis.

What does make the book and the theory stand out from others in the area is its sheer readability. Berne hated jargon and had the

ability to write entertainingly. Though this book is long and covers a lot of material, you can put it down without getting lost (a book you can digest between meals without spoiling your appetite), it is very witty (with bits you wish you could recall in conversation), and above all it is *readable*.

Well, what *do* you say after you say hello? Berne's answer is that each of us talks from, and in order to maintain, our life script. From our basic position—how we see ourselves in relation to other people—we play out our games and scripts which programme us and give us something to say after we say hello. Often, "the harder the script, the easier it is to know what to say" and how to make decisions—like addicts who can get by with "have a drink!" or "got a fix?". Of course there are people who haven't got hung-up or who are able to change their original script decision: these are the "winners" and the "real people".

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There are three reasons why I recommend you to read this book. The Adult reason is that it makes a lot of sense and helps explain a lot of the social interaction I see. The Parent reason is that I feel other people should read it and think about the theory it contains. Finally, my Child turns on to the style of the book and enjoys playing around with the ideas and examples that Dr. Berne has written about.

RICK EVANS,
Senior Psychologist, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

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PRACTICAL COMMUNICATION FOR MANAGERS

BARRY MAUDE

Longman, 1974. Hardback £2.95

Paperback £1.95

THIS is a book for those managers who must run while they read, but which will do little to help them until they stop running. This is due to the incredibly compressed text in which nostrums jostle with homilies and sound advice for inclusion in every chapter. The Hawthorne experiments, dear to the heart of anyone who has passed through a management course at the Staff College, are dispatched in four lines, while Rorschach ink-blots rate three. How are the mighty fallen!

Nevertheless the book has a considerable value because of its very condensedness and comprehensiveness. Maude manages to make the subject of communication interesting and provocative and one catches a little of his breathless enthusiasm for this aspect of managerial life.

Unfortunately, the author's enthusiasm leads him to expansive claims for the effectiveness of each chapter and there is more than a little of "all you have to do to be perfect is . . .". As an example, the introduction to the chapter "Listen Managers" includes: "In most companies, listening carries a large part of the total communication burden. Yet some managers strangle communication because they can't or won't listen properly. . . . Some of the techniques for developing good listening habits are outlined in this chapter". This quotation also draws attention to a weakness of the book in that the solution to most problems is presumed to lie in the correct application of the appropriate technique. If only it were that simple!

Nevertheless the book *is* useful. It sets out its wares in an easily accessible form and, most importantly, includes a useful summary of each chapter. A glance at the list of contents shows that there should be something for everyone in the book:

> Managing By Meeting, The Hot Seat, What's The Procedure? Influencing Committees, Communicating With Non-Specialists, Skills of Oral Communication, Public Speakers Don't Have to be Dull, Listen Managers, Communication Barriers, Getting Your Message Through to People.

There are other chapters but those listed have a bearing on the needs of managers in the Prison Service. The chapter on oral communication is particularly valuable and does more than counterbalance the triviality of the advice on page 75: "Or why not get to your employees through their noses? Today you can buy 20 or 30 print-on smells. Why shouldn't your early morning memos release the aroma of fresh-roast coffee as they land on the desk?".

One is left wondering what smell would be appropriate to a dismissal notice—raspberry, perhaps?

MIKE GANDER,
Tutor, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

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INTERVIEWING AND COMMUNICATION IN SOCIAL WORK

Edited by CRISPIN P. CROSS

Routledge and Kegan Paul 1974.

Hardback £3.95. Paperback £1.80

IF ONE is looking for a theoretical framework to aid understanding of the interview situation, this book provides a good deal. It also offers practical suggestions for handling interviews by discussing technique and non-verbal aspects of communication, identifying specific skills and by illustrating how one might handle certain kinds of clients. So it may seem that this book has much to offer, though I have reservations. It is very much like the proverbial curate's egg: the good parts are the range of content, much of the discussion, and the references in the text; the bad parts are the style of some of the writing, particularly in the early chapters, and the approach taken towards the interviewing process and the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee in social work practice.

The book is described as a series of essays, inspired by the experience of the four co-authors in a number of training courses. As a result of this experience they felt there was a gap in the literature, which their book now aims to fill. The first five chapters are mainly concerned with theoretical issues and the remainder deals with practical application in social work.

What then is the overall content? After an initial chapter by Dr. Cross dealing with questions of definition of the interview, roles, structure and goals, the same author then discusses the social context (including norms and values), cultural factors (such as social class, education, race and religion) and communication and the use of language. Much of this is useful in identifying important theoretical aspects, but I found the style unnecessarily pedantic. Some of the discussion seems laboured and peripheral, leading to repetition of points in an attempt to maintain the line of argument. Is it necessary, for example, to have two pages devoted to a discussion of why some authors have assumed that the social worker is middle-class and female? The chapter on non-verbal aspects of the interview, by Dr. Laurenson, is interesting and useful and, in common with the rest of the book, it makes reference to various relevant studies. There follows a chapter entitled "On Interviewing Technique" which identifies the various skills related to the components of an interview examined in the earlier part of the book. This is a helpful analysis and provides a useful framework for understanding the complexity of the interview situation. However, in my view, it is spoilt by some very questionable statements and expressions, which suggest an absence of concern with the basic qualities of relationships in social work. For example, Dr. Cross states that the skills used by the social worker to influence the client's motivation include "appeals to the vanity of the client by deliberately giving him the impression that he is praiseworthy, as well as convincing him that he is not unique in experiencing the problems under discussion". This is not what genuine acceptance means, nor does it recognise the quality of "concreteness" and the principle of individualisation. Dr. Cross also uses expressions such as "persuading the client to believe . . ." and "to leave the client with the impression that . . .", which run counter to the notion of genuineness. It is crucial in social work practice that the social worker is genuine and sincere and that what he expresses is real.

The remainder of the book is similarly of mixed value. Brian Strutt, a clinical psychologist, discusses practical considerations, including the old one of directive versus non-directive interviewing. Mr. Strutt's conclusion that the directive method is more effective is misleading. Not only does it ignore the view of many recent writers that the division between directive and non-directive methods is false, but it confuses the issue of client self-determination and the question of differential treatment. Indeed, the medical model of "therapy" which he uses is over-simplified and dated.

Sheila Raven's chapter on "Interviewing in Special Situations" is practical, largely prescriptive, and makes some useful suggestions. However, the section on interviewing in a custodial setting is limited, and should have included reference to the "social context" by considering the implications of an interview in prison for other people, both staff and inmates, and for other aspects of institutional life. Miss Raven has only referred to interviews by "social workers" and there is little of help for other institutional staff.

I had hoped that the penultimate chapter on role play as a training technique would have discussed the process of role plays, the learning opportunities and the possible roles of the trainer, but I was disappointed. The value of recorded role play is that the perceptions of participants and observers can be shared and tested, and that individuals can get direct feedback from several sources on their performance. Knowledge and understanding is therefore not held by one person alone and this has implications for students' expectations of the trainer and for the trainer's stance. This is a potentially fruitful area for examination, but this chapter merely describes a particular exercise, involving two groups, in terms of group cohesion and the trainers' styles, and draws highly selective conclusions about the groups and the effect of the leader's style. Indeed, here as in other parts of the book, discussion of the way groups function seems over-simplified.

The "Library of Social Work" is, on the whole, an excellent series and it makes a very significant contribution to the understanding of work with people in a variety of settings, including penal institutions. This book (the latest in the series) is useful in some respects but its basic weakness is that it aims to meet the needs of students under training for social work, and in order to gain understanding from it, the reader is required to be discriminating. There are serious flaws which, if they are not spotted, might lead to misunderstanding, confusion and bad practice.

ALAN MORRISON,
Assistant Chief Probation Officer, Nottingham.

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POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND CLASS STRUCTURE

Edited by DOROTHY WEDDERBURN

Cambridge University Press 1974.

Hardback £4.80. Paperback £2.10

THIS book is not intended for the layman. The language is impenetrable to those without a social science degree. This is a pity because the editor has brought together 11 articles by prominent British sociologists (Atkinson, Bernstein, Goldthorpe, Halsey, Miliband, Runciman and Townsend among them) and what they reveal about British society and British sociology is worth seeing.

In Mrs. Wedderburn's own words: "The first part discusses the evidence relating to poverty and inequality in Britain today, the weaknesses in the statistical data available and the limitations of traditional measures of inequality". The conclusions of these four chapters are of such surprising unanimity that they are worth reprinting here.

Townsend: "Until social scientists can provide the rigorous conception within which the poverty of industrial societies and the third world can both be examined and the relationship between inequality and poverty perceived, the accumulation of data and the debates about the scale and casual antecedents of the problem will in large measure be fruitless".

Atkinson: "When we turn to consider the data available in Britain, we have seen that there is a pressing need for more information. To acquire such information would require resources; however, it is impossible to devise policies to deal with poverty and inequality without adequate information about its extent and causes".

Nicholson: "To arrive at a proper understanding of what has been happening, it would be necessary to estimate, separately and in combination, the effects on inequality of incomes of each of these four types of influence (demographic factors, household structure, work habits, economic factors). Much further work needs to be done—and this is perhaps our main conclusion—before we can hope to reach this position".

Runciman: "It will be apparent by now that any substantive conclusions which might be suggested are no better than guesses as to what would turn out to be disclosed by detailed empirical research of a kind which has not yet taken place".

In the 150 footnotes which these four chapters collectively include, reference is made to almost all the available literature on poverty in Britain. The articles are written by the leading men in their field; their work is expert and lucid. Their conclusion is that all this has produced nothing which would be of value to a minister making a policy decision. That conclusion is something to which I will return later.

The case studies in part two are interesting and informative. Wedderburn and Craig look at conditions of work and "to summarise, it might be said that the overall picture is one of considerable inequality in all aspects of the employment relationship". MacLean and Jefferies demonstrate "the considerable material deprivation experienced by disabled people in our society". The investigation of deprivation and education by Basil Bernstein is part of his continuing use of linguistic analysis in this field. He argues that "compensatory education" is misdirected and counter-productive. A. H. Halsey assesses the relative value of the Educational Priority Areas (E.P.A.) and the Community Development Project (C.D.P.) in improving the prospects of backward areas. According to Halsey: "The traditional political mode of reform is to announce a nostrum which is held to be certain in its cure of the social ills to which it is addressed . . . easily the most interesting feature of these programmes (E.P.A. and C.D.P.) is that they postulate a new relation between social science and social policy. They assert the idea that reforms may be seriously conducted through social science experiment". The phrase "experimental social administration" could perhaps be applied to Coldingley or Grendon Underwood. I suspect that it could not properly be applied to neighbourhood young offenders' custody centres. Think about it.

Part three is about politics. Richard Scase, at grass roots level, compares the militancy of English and Swedish factory workers. His results are, to me, unexpected. The final two essays stare hard at Britain's social structure.

John Goldthorpe is very dispassionate in placing before us the fact that "those who are prepared to accept social inequality more or less as it presently exists must also be prepared to accept 'disorderly' industrial relations, the 'wages jungle', and general economic 'free for all' more or less as they now exist". Ralph Miliband is clearly not prepared to accept any of these. He criticises "the prevailing system of values (which) makes it acceptable that people earning £1,000 a month, or more, should tell people earning £1,000 a year, or indeed a good deal less, that their unreasonable demands are threatening the country with ruin". The values of a society, however, are not independent of its politics or economics so Miliband rightly concludes that "the abolition of poverty will have to wait until the abolition of the system which breeds it (the capitalist system) comes on to the agenda". Both Goldthorpe and Miliband exercise a certain professional smugness by refusing to tackle the obvious next questions: (1) How do we put it on the agenda? (2) Then what happens?

Although the book will be useful to academics in bringing together a number of important articles the editorial policy of having such a diversity of subject matter leaves the reader with no clear impression of the book's intentions or achievements. In quality it is rather a curates' egg, with the bonus that the good bits are very good indeed. The politics are spot on, the education is interesting, the other three are so-so but the first four chapters are the *magnum opus*. They hang together, presenting a coherent picture of the social sciences since the war struggling to satisfy twin gods. On the one hand is the enticing aesthetic charm of proper scientific method and theory construction. Opposed to this is the practical necessity of actually getting the sums right; of being able to describe and explain what is happening in Britain.

The depressing unanimous admission of failure noted earlier convinces me that the massive confidence which western societies have invested in social scientists as social engineers and policy advisers is as yet misplaced.

RANNOCH DALY,
Assistant Governor, Gaynes Hall.

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COURTS AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN ENGLAND

FRED L. MORRISON

Sage Publications 1974. £5

REVIEWING this book reminds me of one of those "good news/bad news" stories. You will find the book either good or bad news according to what you expect when you see the term "political process" in its title.

First, the *good* news. As an account of the judicial system from the perspective of the British constitution, the book has much to commend it. It is clear and lucidly written, sufficiently specific but not so formalistic as to cloud the issue with over-qualification. The author not only deals with formal constitutional aspects, such as the post-Beeching court system, but also with informal features like the division between barristers and solicitors. Much of this is because the book is written principally for an American audience but, since many Englishmen are as naive about their judicial system as any foreigner, something which errs towards a "child's guide" is most appropriate.

Now, the *bad* news. There are two main criticisms. First, like most constitutional texts, this book describes the system at the level of the value-ideal (i.e. what the system would be like in the best of all possible worlds). Morrison tells us what the legal and conventional rules are which govern the system, without examining whether they are in fact obeyed or why they should be so. Secondly, the book is also largely static. The system, for example, of administrative tribunals is described as it stands with only a cursory account of how and why it evolved in the way it did.

This is not simply to say that the book is not the one *I* would have written if I had been Morrison. In his introductory chapter, he says his approach is that of a systems theorist. The courts are a part of the political process because they "authoritatively allocate values" (which is jargon for saying that they make decisions accepted as binding on others) and they receive inputs and convert them into outputs. The model is systemic if somewhat crude but, apart from justifying his right as a political scientist to discuss the judicial system, this framework appears to be of little use.

How might it have been used? The main argument of the book is that, compared with its American counterpart, the judicial system in England is a separate and insulated part of the political process. The question which Morrison does not ask, but which should occur to a systems theorist, is: what consequences does this have for the operation of the system? We can use the information provided by the author to hazard a guess at the answer. Members of the judicial system

have interpreted their role very narrowly as adjudication according to given rules and as excluding any attempt to implement policy. Anything which smacks of partisanship is eschewed. Thus, a small corps can rapidly deal with a delimited but important range of recurrent decisions with enhanced authority. Moreover, with an ostensibly "depoliticised" judiciary, it can be employed to take the political "sting" out of certain politically delicate decisions. As the author shows, Royal commissions and tribunals of inquiry do make important "political" decisions but, by having a judge as chairman, the authority of those decisions is increased through an aura of neutrality. This simple, common-sense observation emphasises the whole question of the differentiation of decision systems and the way in which inputs come to be defined as "political" or "judicial".

In sum, what the book does, it does well; I wish it had done more.

P. A. J. WADDINGTON,
Leeds University.

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TOLERANCE AND THE TARIFF: SOME REFLECTIONS ON FIXING THE TIME PRISONERS SERVE IN CUSTODY

ROGER HOOD

N.A.C.R.O. Papers 11, 1974. 40p

THE ELASTICITY OF EVIL: CHANGES IN THE DEFINITIONS OF DEVIANCE

ALBERT K. COHEN

Blackwell, 1974. 75p

THESE are two stimulating pamphlets: the first has provoked jangling noises among the judges, the second makes noises in the head. Hood's is produced in a very practical rough and ready, inexpensive form. He says that judges should not depend on other people deciding how long prisoners should serve, but should impose shorter, cut-and-dried sentences which can be justified.

Hood puts a substantial argument for making the suggestion at this time when the A.C.P.S. report is proposing more extensive discretion in the length of time actually served. He challenges "the doctrine that the . . . period of a . . . sentence served should be fixed by review boards of various kinds advised, in the main, by the penal authorities who have been responsible for containing and 'training' the offender". This he sees as a concession to the reformers which leads the State to operate with unclear limits in its control over offenders. In fact, the doctrine may simply fail to reduce the length of time prisoners serve and is likely to be less just. It would be better, instead of abandoning the judiciary as not competent to make sentencing decisions, to require the judiciary to make their sentencing more explicit, debatable and controllable. In arguing this way, Hood admits to being "reactionary", though "in the best sense of returning to some fundamental liberal principles". He is objecting to the impracticality of trying to base sentencing on an assessment of the likely effects of penalties on the future conduct of the offender, rather than on a moral evaluation of past behaviour. There are several grounds for Hood's argument, three of which deserve particular attention.

First, there is no sound evidence for believing that the length or type of sentence can properly be determined by evidence about the "response" of the offender. In practice, the attempt to provide such evidence to those who authorise early release turns into a use of very much the same information as the original sentencers had, so that offenders are resentenced—but within the obscurity of discretion rather than in the open.

Secondly, release should not depend upon the treater's interpretation of the inmate's willingness to accept treatment. This puts the inmate at the mercy of the treaters—making for a system of control of inmates which denies them the power to challenge the institutional structure. This gives inmates a low-grade status as people to be changed by having things done to them or for them by treaters. Instead, they should be provided with opportunities for change—and the penal system should face up to the entitlement of prisoners to power.

Thirdly, in using discretionary power, the penal system undermines the possible constructive use of imprisonment and substitutes an invitation to the prisoner to learn strategies for "making parole". Agreeing with Lord Hunt, Hood sees this as provoking a counter-productive cat-and-mouse game, centred on parole, which places a morally unjustifiable burden on the prisoner and his family.

There is much more to the argument than this, but these three issues alone have stirred a great deal of feeling among judges and penal philosophers. They are uncomfortable ideas at all levels of the Prison Service—but they have to be faced. They have to be faced, not simply in relation to the A.C.P.S. report, which has had a battering from Hood and others in the October 1974 *British Journal of Criminology*, but in relation to existing practices for all prisoners.

Hood has faith in "just" sentencing, and in the capacity of judges to dispense it. Cohen, in his paper, reflects that ". . . most incarcerated criminals . . . if given the opportunity to rewrite the criminal law, would probably make few changes. In a very important sense *they believe in it* and are, therefore, not 'enemies of society' ". Paradoxically, only when criminals lose some of this faith and persuade us to lose some of ours will prisons as we know them become inconceivable.

* * * *

Cohen's pamphlet is the text of a lecture delivered by a Yank at Oxford, the Yank who wrote *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* about 20 years ago. He has since moved on to study the wider problem of deviance. He is interested in the contraction and expansion of what is defined as deviance—the failure of humans to meet the standards by which their conduct is judged by their peers. He sees each individual as seeking a special, personal identity. Society provides a limited set of identities of which some are conveniently deviant. For some people, being deviant satisfies the need for identity while satisfying society's need for the deviant—almost regardless of what deviants actually do. In due couse, the deviants become somewhat "established" and attack the standards: as these alter, new deviants are recruited. Warming to this idea, Cohen proposes a detailed study of saintliness and of the process of canonisation as a parallel to the studies of the labelling of the more orthodox deviant. With martyrdom a contemporary issue, this is perhaps not a question which should be left among the dreaming spires of Oxford but could come down to the wreckage and carnage in the city streets.

* * * *

Leslie Wilkins, to whom Cohen and Hood are both indebted, once wrote that the discovery of our ignorance is one step towards knowledge. These short publications explore our ignorance, the first painfully, the second headily. The first calls for courage, the second offers inebriation.

MARK BEESON,
Lecturer in Criminology, Leeds University.

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SPECIAL YOUNGER REPORT ISSUE OF PROBATION JOURNAL

(Volume 10, Number 4)

Published by the National Association of Probation Officers

December 1974. 25p

LAST December's *Probation Journal* looks at the A.C.P.S. recommendations for *Young Adult Offenders* and the implications of these for the Probation Service. It includes articles by Sir Kenneth Younger, Nigel Walker, Mark Carlisle, Martin Wright and several members of the Probation Service.

All the contributors agree with the main objective of the report—to reduce the number of young adults in custody—but variously challenge the methods which are proposed to achieve this. For the probation officer, the prime concern is that his role could change from social worker to crime preventer. Many of the articles suggest that help and stricter control are incompatible from the same agency: conflict would be built into the worker-client relationship and would hinder the helping process. This is particularly true of the 72-hour detention order. Civil liberty could be eroded by the arbitrary power proposed for the probation officer who might sometimes find it very difficult to foresee periods of crisis which would warrant this temporary custody. Such measures—described as "probation with teeth"—are seen to be at odds with the development of client self-determination which the report says it encourages. Moreover, with greater control exerted over the offender, it is anticipated that closer supervision of the probation officer by his managers will follow, substantially reducing his autonomy.

Other criticisms focus around the amalgamation of senior detention centres, borstals and Y.P. centres into single generic institutions. Difficulties foreseen are: that a general staff will be unable to meet the diverse needs of the various constituent regimes, especially with staff shortages; that the minimum security level will be the one required for the maximum risk; that neighbourhood institutions will be large and overly bureaucratic; and that such establishments could unwittingly facilitate the formation and development of delinquent peer groups.

Murray Bruggen's article in the same issue of *Probation Journal* records the response so far by members of the National Association of Probation Officers. Overall, they welcome the proposed shift away from custody towards supervision within the community, but have serious reservations about the methods of implementation. Even without the 72-hour detention, there are doubts about the supervision and control order. These include fears that the courts will use the S.C.O. as an alternative to the traditional probation order rather than as an alternative to custodial sentences. Indeed, many probation officers are questioning the need for the S.C.O. at all, given the broad scope of the current probation order. Other doubts are raised about the resources which will be needed to

implement the proposals: neither enough money nor a sufficient number of trained social workers is expected. The probation officers' reservations concerning the shift from social work to greater control are re-emphasised.

The association will accept a modified form of the A.C.P.S. proposals but continues to urge for a proper analysis of the causes of young adult offending.

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THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF DRUGS

PHILIP BEAN

Martin Robertson, 1974. Hardback £3.95

Paperback £1.95

PHILIP BEAN'S aim in writing *The Social Control of Drugs* is to explore the complicated area of legal controls and individual drug abuse. The book divides neatly into two parts. The first contains a detailed review of the major legal changes in the control of drugs over the past 100 years. The author manages to avoid merely listing changes and examines the way in which British legislation has been affected by international measures. At times, one wished he had explored this relationship more as his arguments are sometimes over-simplified, seeming to rely heavily upon limited official sources.

In the second half, Mr. Bean presents his major thesis: that legislative changes in the early 60's resulted from a change in the nature of the drug-abusing population, rather than from a simple numerical increase. He points out, for example, that legislative changes were already under way before the known number of addicts was approaching the figures which had been recorded in the 1930's. To explain this anomaly, he highlights the often recorded fact that the addict population had changed from a largely middle-class professional one, containing many people who came into contact with drugs by way of their occupations—doctors, dentists, etc.—to the "hard drug" abuser of the 1960's, who was increasingly young and working-class.

Mr. Bean then invokes Gusfield's notion of "moral passage" to explain the legal response to the new kind of drug abuser—that the societal reaction to norm-breaking is dependent upon the deviant's attitude towards these norms. Gusfield argues there are four stances the deviant may adopt: repentant, cynical, sick and enemy. Bean feels that the drug-abuser of the early 1960's clearly falls into this final category, in that "he accepts his own behaviour as proper and derogates the public norms as being illegitimate. He refuses to internalise the public norm into his self-definitions". To this direct challenge, society reacts with more stringent legislation. This contrasts with the 1930's when, it is said, the addicts fell into Gusfield's "repentant" category. Here the "deviant admits the legitimacy of the norms and by so doing, produces a consensus between the designator and the deviant". Society's reaction to such a rule breaker was typically pity rather than condemnation.

In another chapter in this second section, Mr. Bean examines the relation between the medical profession and the drug abuser. He throws some interesting light on this and, in particular, stresses the resistance the profession showed to any curtailment of their clinical freedom. He might perhaps have looked a little closer at the way in which doctors have, to a large degree, created the dependence on barbiturate drugs.

He also makes only fleeting mention of the role played by major drug companies who must surely have had a part in shaping the attitude of doctors and the overall legislative programme. Illich, in his recently published book, *Medical Nemesis*, demonstrates this influence powerfully: in promoting their products, the American drug companies annually spend $4,500 per physician.

As with many studies influenced by the "societal reaction" approach, one is impressed by the author's new insights on the subject. However, the facility of the argument raises a number of unanswered questions, not the least of which is the way official statistics are first of all dismissed as fabricated and unreliable, but are then used to support the analysis.

Two final minor irritations: the first is the way in which Mr. Bean uses uncredited quotations; the second is the wholly inadequate index. This latter tends to diminish the usefulness of the first half of the book which remains a valuable source of reference.

ALAN BUTLER,
Lecturer in Psychiatric Social Work, University of Leeds.

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THE CROWN COURT: AN INDEX OF COMMON PENALTIES AND FORMALITIES

(6th Edition)

PETER MORRISH and IAN MCLEAN

Barry Rose, 1974. £4.50

THERE are many people on whose skill and judgement I rely; Crown Court judges are one such group. Albert Herring armed with this book might happily challenge the Lord Chief Justice, but it is not intended for the litigious nor for the citizens' rights movement.

The Index gives clear and succinct information about the practice and awards of Crown Courts in their "criminal function". It is a slim volume of reference—for those who need to make reference in this specialised field. I do refer to Stone's *Justices' Manual* just occasionally but few of us, "in the field" or in training, study the technicalities of sentencing. Perhaps Crown Courts and prisons operate in too great an isolation but this work stays close to its brief and does not venture into such speculation. It is primarily for Crown Court staff; so long as they study their copies and keep them up-to-date, I shall continue to rely upon their skill and judgement.

MIKE JENKINS,
Governor, Oxford Prison.

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND BEHAVIOUR:

An International Journal of Correctional Psychology

Sage Publications. £8 per annum

THIS journal first appeared during 1974 and is a publication of the American Association of Correctional Psychologists. It is a potentially important publication since journals are usually more current than books and are easier to keep up with. Although the first issue may not have much to offer the general reader, the second features an article entitled "The Trouble With Rehabilitation" written by John Irwin—author of *The Felon*, a valuable analysis of "doing time". The article reports an extensive scheme to link educational projects with rehabilitation in six American States. Irwin traces the way the correctional systems stifled "active rehabilitative efforts". He argues that, if this is not to happen, there must be continuous, vigorous pressure from outside the system which can counteract the inherent tendency of that system to accommodate, swallow and neutralise innovation. This declaration, supported by American evidence, is important on its own. The other content of the journal would also repay examination and should appeal particularly to psychologists in the Prison Service.

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N.A.P.O. PROBATION DIRECTORY

1974

Owen Wells. £1.60

TATTERED piles of dirty paper covered in alterations, increasingly incomprehensible to the staff of probation and other offices up and down the country—the remnants of the *Probation Directory* 1971—bear silent and condemnatory witness to the fact that the Home Office stopped publishing this most useful tool some time ago. There is something tragi-comical, however, about the appearance on our desks of not one, but two separate pristine replacements. In writing of the N.A.P.O./Owen Wells production one cannot ignore the rather embarrassed presence of another version produced by the Conference of Chief Probation Officers, particularly as the C.P.O.'s costs a pound less. Both of them seem to lack the quality and assurance evident in the Home Office publication they succeed, demonstrating clearly that producing a good directory is not something one can excel in without experience.

As a first attempt, the *N.A.P.O. Probation Directory* is worthy enough. It would have been convenient to have had a list of probation hostels and an index of probation officers' names (I found it hard leafing through it page by page to discover where former colleagues were now!). At least it does name individual officers where the C.P.O. version only names seniors and above. There is a useful but by no means exhaustive list of addresses and phone numbers at the end (including Prison Service establishments) but it would have been even more valuable to have had space for filling in one's own additions.

I fear that this tender shoot may not thrive in competition with the cheaper C.P.O. version. Might I suggest that N.A.P.O. and the C.P.O.'s Conference confer, if they haven't done so already, to produce a joint edition for 1975? Whoever has contact with the Probation Service regularly, not to say probation officers themselves, will most certainly need a replacement for next year. In these days of higher mobility, any directory needs annual replacement—perhaps with information amended between issues—if it is to be of real worth.

BRIAN FELLOWES,
Probation Adviser, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

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LIVING TWICE

C. H. ROLPH

Gollancz 1974. £4

C. H. ROLPH is well-known as a writer on legal and social issues, for his broadcasts and for the part he has played in penal reform. In these matters he is no mere academic, for he brings to his subjects 25 years' experience as a police officer in the City of London Police.

The first few chapters of his book describe social and economic conditions in Edwardian London where Rolph was reared and educated. This is of passing interest as a chronicle of the times and in no way pretends to be an authoritative text on the subject. The book really begins, I feel, with the acceptance of the author as a constable in the City police.

The title of the book is meant to denote the two periods of the author's life: firstly as a police officer and then when he left the police to become a full-time journalist. The time he spends as a police officer is when he "lives" on the first occasion. During this time Mr. Rolph rose from constable to chief inspector which, incidentally, was the rank his father attained before retiring to make way for him and avoid the embarrassment of being his superior officer. I found the author's description of life in the police force both interesting and amusing and it certainly brought back memories I thought I had forgotten. Where humour is concerned, Mr. Rolph's stories about the police force are beaten only by his anecdotes about cricket, and he shows in flashes of light relief what some of us have known for a long time—that policemen are human.

Mr. Rolph traces his progress through the force, describing how he escaped from the tiring, boring routine of a beat constable to become the charge office sergeant. There followed spells as instructor at the forces' training school and police officer in charge of the Old Bailey. He describes this as "coming in from the cold". Once again we see progress and achievement in an occupation being measured in the distance a person can put between himself and the real job. In the police, the first target is to escape from the streets where one is brought into contact with those tiresome people, the general public. In our Service, the aim is to escape from landing duties and contact with prisoners, which is what the job is all about.

The second part of the book, describing "The Better Life", relates how the author left the police force in 1946 to join the staff of the *New Statesman*. It was around this time that he was active in associations which examined the abolition of the death penalty and corporal punishment, the treatment of sex offenders, the problem of abortion, trial by jury, and other legal and social matters. He also describes his meeting with Margery Fry in which she invited him to become secretary to the Howard League for Penal Reform; he eventually refused, the vacancy going to Hugh Klare.

There followed work on the Parole Board when the author was one of the 16 members of this newly-formed body. He met with the usual "man in the street" response that when a judge had sent a man to prison for two years it was wrong that some other body could let him out after one. This changed later to the view that the Parole Board was too cautious in its work. He is gracious not to mention the prophets of doom in our own Service who predicted assaults by those not chosen for parole on those who had been successful. I was rather disappointed with the short account of his experiences on the Parole Board as he compares the differing attitudes of his fellow-members rather than submitting his ideas on how the system should develop in the future. He does say that the United Kingdom comes out well in the comparison with other countries, but his views on parole are covered in only three pages.

Mr. Rolph concludes with an account of being asked to attend the Home Office to see the then Home Secretary. It seems that Mr. Callaghan had asked for information about the Prison Department and that the result was a vast quantity of memoranda which he now requested Mr. Rolph to condense into a more readable form. The outcome was the White Paper *People in Prison*.

I can honestly say I enjoyed the book. The first part is better as it covers a common theme and these chapters about the police have a natural progression. The second part, whilst interesting, is somewhat disjointed, not having a common theme apart from journalism.

The author is frank and outspoken: like all ex-policemen, especially those few who have become writers, he has a love/hate relationship where his past profession is concerned. I suspect that Mr. Rolph has also discovered that it is one of those few jobs which, once having been experienced, is never quite forgotten. For all his criticisms I would not be surprised if Mr. Rolph has got his helmet in the wardrobe and occasionally tries it on for size, nostalgically reliving the old days. I wonder if it still fits—mine does!

KEN TAYLOR,
Deputy Governor, Durham Prison.

□

USE YOUR HEAD

TONY BUZAN

B.B.C. Publications, 1974. 95p

THIS book is the equivalent, for the brain, of those muscle-building courses which claim to transform you from a seven-stone weakling into a powerfully muscular enticer of doting women. One of its immediately appealing features is the graphic way in which it describes the huge potential of your brain. In a style which is perhaps best described as brisk *Readers' Digest*, the author recounts more effective and enjoyable ways of learning and better ways of organising and recording information, which are based on what he has presented about the brain, its power and the way it functions.

The early chapters in particular are likely to enthuse and excite the reader, which is all to the good for I suspect that working through the book and its exercises is likely to require a high level of commitment. The book is based on a series of television programmes and it would be an immense advantage to see these before using the book. However, the book by itself has great value, particularly as a good study guide. It is a book to live with and if it is possible to work at it with somebody else so much the better.

The skills covered in the book are relevant to prison staff—indeed, to anyone who has to read, memorise and learn. One way in which the book might most valuably be used is for training officers to hire the films from the B.B.C. and to organise a training course around these and the book. Members of such a course could expect very real returns not only at work but also in the world outside.

Tony Buzan shows a considerable effort to communicate effectively and he largely succeeds in this book. It is written very much with the reader in mind, and one of the helpful things about it is the way in which at various points the author "talks to" the reader. The book is written with great clarity, and a tendency to be somewhat ambitious in the range covered by particular chapters is to some extent offset by an ample list of follow-up references. The cover of the book says: "The book as a whole will help you towards creative thinking and the solving of problems in academic, professional and personal life". I think this is likely to be true, always providing that while you are reading it you are prepared to do what the title says.

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THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO, 1918–56

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

Fontana, 1974. Hardback £3. Paperback 80p

THE word "Gulag" refers to the Russian penal system which was set up under Stalin and which exists today. It includes a prison and camp system which is equivalent, I suppose, to the English Prison Service. But Gulag is a much bigger organisation. It is estimated that at times it has held up to 12 million people in its custody. And it is much more widespread. Its transit prisons exist in every town in Russia and its labour camps are usually in very remote areas. Alexander Solzhenitsyn was a prisoner within this system. His literary work has been profoundly affected by the experience. This book arises directly out of his experience and that of others. Because of the significance of Gulag in the political and social life of Russia, this is an extremely important book.

The Gulag Archipelago is a huge work of seven parts, divided into three volumes. The book under review is only the first of the three. The bulk of it (Part I) gives the history of the penal system from 1918 onwards. It describes how the law was developed to give the State absolute control over its members and how the power of the security forces grew. It describes the mechanics of arrest, interrogation and torture, and the reactions of all involved. Part II tells of how prisoners were disposed of within the prison system once they had been sentenced, and deals in particular with life in the transit camps and in the transports—the secure railway cars, the cattle wagons and the barges.

For those in the Prison Service, *The Gulag Archipelago* can provide a good deal of understanding of the sources of people's behaviour in really extreme situations, be they the guards or guarded. However, it seems parochial to concentrate simply on what may be learned for prison work, for the author is doing three things in this book. First, he is *telling* the history of what happened. He is bringing the past out into the open and giving the truth about it. Secondly, he is *explaining* what that past means for Russia. He is making sense of what happened. Finally, on a more personal level, he is *reflecting* on what the experience meant for him and for others, and trying to understand why people acted as they did on either side of the fence. The book constantly shifts focus between personal experience, historical account and moral judgement, and by relating each to the other it develops great force.

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assistant principal, North Downs Community Home, Kent, was until recently an assistant governor at the Prison Service Staff College and editor of the reviews section of the Prison Service Journal.

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