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Our cover picture shows the new gate and administration complex, H.M.P. Wakefield



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EDITORIAL

Mr. Louis Blom-Cooper, in our lead article, reminds us that after a curiously unexplained respite, we are once more back in the Prison Service's own particular inflationary spiral. It is an inflation of bodies, and the fact that it is taking place within the context of national monetary inflation only makes it worse—simply because the Treasury doors are closing at the very moment when the rising tide of numbers demands a more generous outflow of cash and resources.

The philosophic, historical and moral basis for using imprisonment as a punishment is one thing, the devising of effective regimes to "reform" or rehabilitate those convicted is another, and they are linked. But as every prison governor and every prison officer knows, the primary task is the situation as it prevails now, and this means the feeding, housing, washing and occupying of the human tide. "Three-in-a-cell" is not just a question of cubic footage when you are dealing with human beings. The kind of distress occasioned by the sight of 50,000 unwanted motor-cars sitting in railway-sidings is qualitatively different from that which must be engendered by the prospect of as many people suffering grossly overcrowded conditions. Such conditions are not new. If nothing further is done to avert it, and the trend persists, the Prison Service in this country will be faced with a situation quite disgraceful by national and international standards.

One long term solution is to stem the tide, and this, as Mr. Blom-Cooper's message runs, is in the hands of the judiciary and the politicians. Whatever may be the case for "general" deterrence (and it is impossible of proof) any practitioner knows that very long prison sentences are ineffectual and often counter-productive. There is perhaps only one respectable reason for long sentences—to protect the public from dangerous men whilst they remain dangerous.

Another solution, which is also essentially political, is to make more use of parole, of open and semi-open institutions, and of alternatives to prison. This Journal has given much space to the discussion of alternatives, simply because we in the Prison Service, as professionals and as taxpayers, are made uneasy by the outpouring of scarce resources on people whose security does not require it, or on whom the experience is at best useless, at worst harmful. We have also said, and continue to say, that in our view a strenuous policy of realistic public education is necessary, and could result in less apprehension and more acceptance of open and semi-secure prisons covering a larger range of offences and sentences. We should also be happy to see further extensions of the already encouraging trend towards greater flexibility in the use of parole.

In the meantime, we must somehow provide the means to support minimum standards of decency for those with whose containment we are unavoidably charged.



Louis Blom-Cooper, Q.C. is chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform and has held this post since 1973 when he took it over from Sir Kenneth Younger. He has been a member of the Advisory Council on the Penal System since it was formed in 1966 and has been reappointed to the new council announced in March this year. He became a Queen's Counsel in 1970

The Place of Prison in Punishment

LOUIS BLOM-COOPER

FOR those in and out of the Prison Service who seek some respite from the effects of the rising tide of the prison population there is nowadays naught for their comfort. Following the inexplicable down-turn in the numbers imprisoned in the early 1970s, the daily average prison population is creeping back to the 40,000 barrier reached in the late 1960s. There seems no prospect of averting the earlier prognosis of the Prison Department of the Home Office that by 1980 there will be 65,000 prisoners. The fault for this depressing trend lies, as every prison administrator knows only too well, with the judiciary that determines exclusively who goes inside, and primarily for how long.

Judges choose the sentence to be passed upon the convicted criminal. Except for murder, treason, and in certain cases where a sentence for borstal training is obligatory, there is no fixed sentence for any crime. Although Parliament provides a maximum penalty for every statutory crime, the limits are pitched at such a high level that the judge's freedom of choice what sentence he will impose is scarcely fettered. The only regulator or moderator of sentences is the Court of Appeal (Criminal Division). Given the present framework for sentencing theory and practice, it is to the judges of that court to whom we must look for any kind of dramatic overall reduction in prison sentences.

The only sensible objective of the criminal law is to inculcate in offenders and potential offenders the sense that they should behave themselves, the former being asked to mend their errant ways, the latter to desist from

crime. A prison sentence can supposedly serve this end in one of four different ways. First, it may deter the offender on whom the sentence is passed from repeating his offence, what we call individual deterrence. Second, the sentence may seek to be reformatory. In conformity with rule 1 of the Prison Rules, there is the pious hope in the sentencer that the prisoner may come out of prison morally a better man than when he went in. Third, there is the social defence approach. Even if the offender cannot be morally improved by imprisonment, or made more socially compliant by the threat of further punishment, incarceration will at least provide a neutralising interlude in his criminal activities. Fourth, the sentence may hopefully deter other people from offending, for fear that if they do a similar punishment inevitably awaits them. This is the general deterrence, to which the judiciary attaches much importance.

Long sentences for the really dangerous offenders—always supposing we can agree upon who is dangerous, and that once identified as a category we can accurately single out those who fall within the category—are seldom, if ever, justified by any of the other three aims of punishment—by the needs of individual deterrence, of rehabilitation, or even of general deterrence. There is no evidence to suggest that long sentences are any more effective than shorter ones in making the public, or even the individual offender behave. Even if longer sentences were marginally more effective, they would not be worth the additional cost, either in terms of money or in human suffering. Great numbers of prisoners will not offend again, however short the sentences passed on them. Others will not be deterred from crime, however long their sentences may be. At best they are removed from circulation. Against the backdrop of these general considerations the Court of Appeal's

adherence in the Wembley robbery appeals to notions of deterrence, both individual and general, and its justification of long sentences makes depressing reading. While the judgement of the court, provides a refreshing and novel attempt to propound a penal jurisprudence, its reasoning (particularly its allusions to penal history) is seriously at fault.

In establishing a range of penalty for armed robberies from 15 to 18 years' imprisonment, *the court advanced three major grounds for setting the tariff at that range. By reference to historical development, it was necessary to establish a new deterrent element by way of lengthier sentences to replace the previously supposed deterrents of the death penalty, transportation and corporal punishment. Second, criminals in the latter half of the twentieth century are, arguably, more dangerous and better organised than ever before. Third, the replacement of the death penalty for murder by life imprisonment called for a reappraisal of penalties for morally comparable offences.

As a prelude to these three grounds, the court indulged in a potted history of the role of imprisonment—so potted indeed that it is positively misleading and unhelpful. "Imprisonment as a punishment", the court pontificated, "was alien to the common law of England". Prison, it proclaimed, was a place of detention, not of punishment, providing the more stern measures of death and transportation for the more serious crimes and monetary penalties, corporal punishment, the pillory and the ducking stool for lesser offences. This is not so.

At common law there were compara-

**R. v. French and others*, 11th March 1975; a copy of the transcript of the judgement of Lord Justice Lawton, Lord Justice James and Mr. Justice Milmo was kindly supplied to me by the Registrar of Criminal Appeals. The court scaled down the sentences of 17 appellants, passed by Mr. Justice Eveleigh at the Central Criminal Court, from the highest sentence of 22 years' imprisonment.

tively few felonies: murder, rape, arson, burglary, larceny and the offence of mayhem were virtually the only felonies. The judges, moreover, declined to extend the range of felonies; apart from murder and rape (mayhem was obsolescent by the seventeenth century) felonies remained mainly offences against property. At first there were a strictly limited number of common law misdemeanours, but here the judges were always willing to broaden the scope of the criminal law, so that until the distinction between felonies and misdemeanours was abolished by the Criminal Law Act 1907 the bulk of the criminal calendar was composed of misdemeanours. The penalty prescribed by law for any felony, except petty larceny and mayhem, was death. The reforms of the nineteenth century by parliamentary intervention progressively restricted the application of the death penalty, until 1868 when the death penalty was available almost exclusively for murder. For common law misdemeanours the penalties of imprisonment or fine were, however, always available, in addition to whipping, the pillory and the stocks. Imprisonment as a form of punishment for a variety of crimes (other than felonies) had been known since Anglo-Saxon times. It is true enough that so long as mutilation, banishment and the infliction of physical suffering or public indignity were the principal methods of dealing with offenders, prisons were for the most part staging posts, places of containment rather than of punishment. But monetary penalties had always been available to punish offenders; and imprisonment was also available as an alternative to a fine in certain cases. For example, the penalty for inflicting a wound with a sword in the City of London was a fine of 20 shillings, or 40 days' imprisonment. Sentences of imprisonment were in practice rarely awarded, not because of their impracticability but mainly because in many districts there were no prisons in which the sentences could be served.

It would be fair to conclude that imprisonment was not, until the latter half of the nineteenth century, the core of the penal system that it is today. It was a subsidiary penalty to other penalties. But it was far from being "alien" to the common law. Prisons were places of punishment for lesser crimes, but this was theoretically incidental to their main purpose. To the extent that they were used for punishment, it was for common law misdemeanours carrying short terms

of imprisonment. The penalty for imprisonment, for example, was introduced for perjury in a grand assize by Henry II. And Henry III instituted one year's imprisonment for infringement of the forest laws. The ecclesiastical authorities also made use of imprisonment for offences within the Church's jurisdiction. Incest, which was only an ecclesiastical crime until 1908, was so punishable.

The duration of imprisonment for misdemeanours, which was always at the court's discretion, was understandably short. Quite apart from the lesser degrees of criminal responsibility, for which imprisonment was available, Magna Carta itself had prescribed that penalties should not be excessive, and by the Bill of Rights 1688, it was provided that excessive fines should not be imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted. While the latter was no doubt prompted because the floggings inflicted in 1685 on Titus Oates and others included in the Popish Plot were considered too severe for aliens, and the fine of £40,000 on John Hampden, the younger, for his part in the Rye House Plot was thought to be excessive, there is no doubt that the proscription on excessively severe punishment included imprisonment. Naturally enough the draftsmen of the Bill of Rights were more mindful of the rigours of prison life than of the actual period for which the criminal was deprived of his liberty, although it is to be recalled that this is the period of the assertion of the remedy of habeas corpus as a weapon against unlawful detention.

So long as penal instruments, such as the shot drill, the crank and the treadmill, persisted as common, everyday accompaniments to prison life, a sentence of imprisonment was a severe penalty. Only with the disappearance of these harsh, not to say cruel punishments from the penal scene, were the courts willing to exceed, other than exceptionally, a sentence of two years' imprisonment. And when Parliament was forced to prescribe the maxima to replace the death penalty and transportation, maxima corresponding to the seven and 14 years' and life transportation, it established the alternative concept of penal servitude. This latter sentence was served in convict prisons administered by the central government, as opposed to imprisonment which was served in the harsh conditions of the local prisons under the aegis of the local justices of the peace. The disparity of treatment under penal servitude (where discipline and work were of a

quite different order) and the conditions of imprisonment was eloquently reflected in the Penal Servitude Act 1891. That Act provided, among other things, that when a sentence of penal servitude was prescribed by a statute the court could alternatively pass a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding two years. Following the nationalisation of the prisons in 1877 the two systems—penal servitude in the convict prisons and imprisonment with hard labour in the local prisons—began to merge into a single regime, applied nationally.

Long before the Criminal Justice Act 1948 abolished penal servitude and imprisonment with hard labour, the distinctions in the different forms of treatment had disappeared.

The treadmill, the shot drill and the plank bed, so vividly described by Charles Reade in mid-Victorian times, had been abandoned. The separate and silent system, ushered in by the proponents of the Quaker philosophy in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was itself jettisoned by the century's turn in favour of the Gladstonian philosophy of deterrence by deprivation of liberty and reformation of the prisoner. By 1880 at least, the courts acknowledged a right to impose imprisonment and a fine at their discretion. Until the reforms of the penal system, initiated by the Gladstone Committee's resounding declaration that humanity dictated the discarding of all harsh sentences, courts were reluctant to impose a penalty more severe than two years' imprisonment. But once the reforms of the early part of the twentieth century took place, the inhibition on longer sentences was removed. Thus longer sentences predated the abolition of corporal punishment. The reasons that led courts, as a rule, to confine sentences of imprisonment for common law misdemeanours to two years had disappeared. For felonies, long sentences were envisaged by the legislature as the necessary replacement to capital punishment and transportation. The courts, unused to passing sentences of imprisonment of any great length for the mass of criminal behaviour, nevertheless tended to keep their penalties for the more serious crimes well below the threshold fixed by Parliament. Throughout the first half of this century sentences of more than 10 years were indeed exceptional.

These then were the reasons for sentences of comparatively short duration. The Court of Appeal, in its recent judgement, ascribes three wholly different reasons for the rarity of long

sentences. Two of the reasons seem to be spurious. The third reason is an assertion that deserves serious study.

(a) Corporal Punishment

The Court of Appeal asserts that in all cases of serious crime there has to be an element of deterrence. Up until 1948 "courts were able to add to the deterrent effect of a sentence of imprisonment the deterrence of corporal punishment. The existence of this further deterrent made the need for very long sentences for crimes such as robbery with violence unnecessary. But with the abolition of corporal punishment by the Criminal Justice Act 1948 the courts were faced with the problem of what was to be the sentence for grave crimes involving violence or threat of violence. The only deterrent which they could use was that of a long term of imprisonment. Hence it comes about that since 1948 sentences have tended to get much longer than they were before that date".

It is sad to see Appeal Court judges reviving the hoary myth of the deterrent value of corporal punishment. One had hoped that that argument was laid to rest by the Cadogan Committee in 1937, and not allowed to be resuscitated as a result of the report of the Advisory Council on Treatment of Offenders in 1960. And even if judges in the post-1948 period still fondly believed in the deterrent effect of flogging for adults, and in the absence of the judicial power to order it compensated for that fact by increasing the sentences that otherwise would have been meted out, the availability of the "cat" before 1948 was severely limited. Corporal punishment was imposable in the inter-war years under five Acts only: the Vagrancy Act 1824; the Security from Violence (Garrotting) Act 1863; the Larceny Act 1916, for robbery with violence; the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1912, for procuration or living on the earnings of a prostitute; and the Prison Act 1898, for violent assaults on prison officers (a punishment not abolished until 1967). The Garrotting Act 1863 also authorised flogging for any attempts to choke or strangle with intent to commit an indictable offence. The only offence for which corporal punishment was used to any significant extent in the years immediately before the last war was robbery with violence. Thus flogging was not generally available for "grave crimes involving violence or threat of violence". Even robbery with violence was both statutorily and statistically classified as an offence against property.

It would be tedious to rehearse the

evidence about the lack of any deterrent effect of corporal punishment. Suffice it to note that the Cadogan Committee unanimously came to the conclusion that imprisonment plus corporal punishment were no more effective as a deterrent than imprisonment without it. If the Criminal Justice Act 1948 did act as a catalyst for change in sentencing policy of the courts it was most probably the fact of the *automatic* remission of one-third of the sentence of imprisonment that led to the increase in the length of sentences passed.

(b) Capital punishment

The Court of Appeal noted that the consequence of substituting life imprisonment for the death penalty in respect of murder created "a difficult sentencing problem for the courts". Has it and in any event should it? The court prefaces the problem, as it sees it, by asserting that some murderers are released after about 10 years, but that very few are kept in custody after about 15 years. This was broadly true until 1965. Although insufficient time has elapsed since total abolition to make any firm statement, there is enough evidence to suggest that a growing, though small, proportion of murderers now serving life imprisonment will remain in prison for periods in excess of 20 years. Since 1965 the courts themselves have statutorily had the power of recommending minimum periods that murderers should serve. There have been over 60 such recommendations, a half of which were for 20 years or more. When the Court of Appeal asks: "If a man is convicted of murder, and has a reasonable chance of being let out before the expiration of 15 years, what is the appropriate sentence for someone who has been convicted of a lesser offence than murder?", it states the equation erroneously. Quite apart from the incorrectness of fixing 15 years as the norm for the *worst* kind of murders, the court fails to observe that a life sentence does in one sense mean literally a sentence for life. A murderer, even when allowed his liberty, is subject to recall at any time thereafter—and some have in fact been recalled to prison, sometimes more than once. Moreover, the murderer is subjected to the uncertainties and vagaries of the indeterminate sentence of life imprisonment, while the violent robber, facing a definite term of years, can at least calculate the date of his release without any strings attached to his freedom after two-thirds of that term.

But the conclusive argument against the court's feeling that some kind of

comparability between sentences for different crimes must be attained is the fact that murder is a crime apart. Unlawful and unjustifiable, intentional killing comprehends a whole range of human situations, from the mercy killing by a parent of a mongol child or an act of euthanasia, to the multiple slaughter by a terrorist or a coldly calculated murder by a professional criminal. Domestic killings account for nearly two-thirds of all murders. Nearly another third are committed by those who are to a greater or lesser extent mentally unstable or ill. Only a handful of murderers evoke the natural response of undiluted revulsion and revenge. Grave as their crimes are, and condign as their punishment should be, their penal treatment is altogether separate and apart from those whose crimes do not disrupt the social equilibrium by acts of homicide.

(c) Dangerous crimes

In three pithy sentences, the Court of Appeal comes nearest to a rational and acceptable explanation for long sentences for grave crimes: "In the last two decades, criminals have tended to become much more dangerous. They have become better organised. The means they have used have been more sophisticated". In those short sentences, without any elaboration of the permissible public and judicial response to organised crime, the Court of Appeal touches on the one reasonable justification for long sentences. Dangerousness is the one sound basis for a rational penal policy. The rest is judicial indulgence in a kind of Orwellian "sentence-speak". If the Court of Appeal's judgement was an isolated example of *sentencing* for "grave crimes" and was not part of a policy involving a whole range of sentences for crimes, one might not be too perturbed at the 15-18-year tariff. But the trouble is that sentences for all other lesser crimes will be passed on a scale ranging downwards from 15 years. And that means that large numbers of offenders will be imprisoned for periods of time that are unacceptably inordinate in length. One might contend for a revised tariff in which there were larger gaps between the medium and lighter sentences. Thus while retaining 15-18 years for grave crimes, the upper limit of the medium band would be, say, seven years. There would be no sentencing between seven and 18 years.

Lord Justice Lawton and his two colleagues have done a service in articulating so clearly the sentencing policy of the courts. We have all been

warned. The warning demands a parliamentary response revising drastically the maximum penalties for all crimes. This would have the effect of reducing the area of discretion in the

length of sentences the courts could pass. Short sentences would become more common, resulting in a substantial reduction of the daily average prison population.

Grounds for Groups

RICK EVANS

THE idea of groupwork has been around the Prison Service for a good many years now. As a procedure and philosophy, group counselling has been with us long enough for most people to hold a definite view; some like it, some are content to let others use it, while others wouldn't consider its use at all. The thing is that many staff still don't know what it's about, on what basis it was introduced into some of our establishments nor what its uses might be. What groupwork needs is a *rationale* that combines the benefits of the practitioners' experience with the ideas derived from research and theory.

WHY DO GROUPWORK?

Have a look through the books and articles on groupwork. More often than not, you have to search carefully for any mention of purpose, any description of aims or basic principles. At best, you might be told that groups enable their members to get a better understanding of themselves, to learn how to learn, or to begin realistically assessing their effect on other people. At worst, you might find yourself reading a load of jargon which relates to the "will" or "unconscious mind" of the group, to the dynamics of its working, or to the games that members play in the furtherance or obstruction of the group's purpose—whether or not this purpose has been adequately described or understood. Small wonder, perhaps, that groupwork is often viewed with suspicion, dismissed as a mystique, or approached with unrealistic expectations.

Why is a group of people swapping observations, experiences and opinions engaged in a useful activity? My answer centres around the idea that you never really know anyone completely but, with the information you have available, you build up an impression and keep in mind a representation of him or her. This representation or impression I shall call a *model*.



Rick Evans joined the Prison Service in 1970, having previously worked at Wandsworth Prison as a student. After two years at Holloway he moved to Wakefield and is now a senior psychologist at the Staff College

MODELS OF OTHERS

"Do you know John Smith?" someone might ask you. "Oh yes, I know him", you reply, because you've met the John Smith referred to, talked with him or simply seen him and perhaps heard other people talk about him. You remember things about him; what he looked like, how he dressed, the way he acted and what he said on one or a number of occasions. On the basis of this information (even though its amount might be small) you can tell someone else about him. "Actually", you might say, "he's a conceited sort of man with absolutely no consideration for others: not someone I like at all". You make this sort of inference on the basis of the information you have collected—from seconds, minutes, days or years of experiencing someone. You try to make sense of your experience according to how you felt at the time, whether the experience was rewarding or painful, how you regarded yourself in that situation and according to the pigeon-holes into which you usually put people. Of course, sometimes you meet someone and don't know what to make of him at first. As in other situations, you do the best you can

with the information you have available. Next time you meet John Smith, or hear something about him, you may have to change your opinion. As new information comes in you may have to up-date the various models you hold in your memory. We each try to make sense of all the information available to us so that we can draw conclusions and make predictions about people. This is a very important point. In order to deal effectively with others we have to make guesses (at one level or another) about what they'll do and how they'll react. By watching how people actually behave we confirm or modify our models of them.

At times this everyday process is more obvious than at others. Receiving information about someone that does not agree with the inferences we have drawn from our model of him, we tend to say "That's just not like him" or "I thought I knew him better than that". Most of the time, however, we make correct predictions, draw inferences that seem to be right and think nothing of it. In fact, being right is more likely than being wrong. Everything favours the collection of evidence that confirms rather than contradicts our models. The impression we have of another person not only directly affects the way we relate to him but also influences our reception and interpretation of new information about him. The implication of "modelling" is that descriptions of other people are not necessarily right or wrong. We each make our own interpretation of the information we have—though sometimes, of course, we appear to agree quite closely in our impressions. As we build up a model of someone (and, if we are open-minded, as we continue to modify that model in the light of new information) we form certain expectations of him and attribute characteristics or labels to him which guide our behaviour in relation to him. We find ourselves acting in accordance with our model of the other person and the situation in which we meet. You wouldn't, for example, present your personal problems to inconsiderate John Smith, nor would you expect other people to get much help from him. The impression you have of him directly affects the way you approach him, the way you respond to him and the way you use new information about him.

Of course, all this is common sense. The way you feel about someone and your impression of him must affect your dealings with him. It is an everyday—and hence often overlooked—process.

It is also a very complex one. He is making judgements about you all the time that you are learning about him and your respective models guide the way you relate to one another. The interaction is based on what each of you expects of the other and on the assumptions you both make. Indeed, so complex is this interaction that we do not, as yet, have adequate ways of analysing it. Sometimes, however, the process is more obvious as in an interview where one participant is seen as being in charge. If he is not extremely careful, the interviewer can get a very different impression of his client than he would in other situations. Because of the set-up, the person being interviewed goes along with the interviewer's assumptions about him. Think of interviews for job selection or some of the conversations conducted in our establishments. Often the person being interviewed is stuck with the model that the interviewer has of him; indeed, the questions are often posed in such a way that answers only confirm this too readily conceived stereotype. Moreover, when people try to break out of this pattern, they are described as "unco-operative in interview"!

What I have described is a universal and everyday occurrence. Modelling, the process of forming impressions of other people, controls social interaction.

MODELS OF OURSELVES

If you accept that you use available information to construct and develop models of other people, then the same basic idea can be applied to how you think about yourself. This process results in what has been called the self-image, the self-concept, or (for those who speak the language) the ego-identity. In the same way as you build models of other people, you use relevant information to construct a model of yourself. Your impressions of other people guide your interactions with them, but the picture you build of *yourself* also affects how you feel, what you think about yourself and the way you relate to others. What's more, just as there are different ways of interpreting the information you have about other people, your self-image is only one interpretation of the information you have about yourself. You've had a lifetime to develop this model (and probably given yourself the benefit of the doubt on innumerable occasions) so, naturally, it appears to you as the only possible interpretation.

One of the sources of information about oneself is interaction with another person. As we have already seen, not only are you making judgements about

him and he getting an impression of you, but each of you is assessing your effect on the other. You're aware of how you feel about him (as he is of you) but you're also busy collecting information on how he might be reacting to you; you try to guess what he's thinking about you. You do this constantly, though at times you're more aware of it than at others. In an interview, for example, or meeting someone for the first time, this process of modelling, anticipating and watching reactions is more obvious: people do size one another up. The part we're probably less aware of is collecting evidence about ourselves and incorporating it into a self-image.

When we were children a lot of information was given to us about how we appeared to other people and how our behaviour affected them; parents, teachers, relatives and others often went out of their way to give us information about ourselves. For adults, however, such information doesn't come so easily. You have to look carefully at other people's reactions if you want to know how you come across—what's more, you're liable to select and interpret information in a way that you like or a way that fits in with what you already believe about yourself. Just as your models determine your expectations of other people, so your model of yourself controls what you believe, see and hear about yourself. Though there's no single interpretation of such information, some people have a quite unrealistic self-image: that is, one which bears minimal relation to other people's impressions. The capacity to fool oneself in order to maintain one's self-respect has to be believed to be seen! There is some research on this (see Warr and Knapper, 1968). One finding is that if you like someone you tend to think he likes you too and that people you dislike, you tend to see as disliking you equally. What better way of enabling you to dismiss out of hand some of the negative information about yourself that you might receive? No self-respecting person believes someone who patently dislikes him! In the ordinary course of affairs we do not have the inclination or time to consider what may be going on during social interaction—how we might be biased, what affects our judgement, or that we might be wrong or deceiving ourselves.

MODELS AND GROUPWORK

The way each person sees himself and others has a direct bearing on how he behaves. It affects what he chooses to do and how he gets on with other

people. Some of his behaviour may have been classed as criminal and some of the people he may have failed to get on with are law-abiding citizens or those in authority. Yet the main source of information he has about himself is from interaction with other people—so surely it is possible to modify a person's self-image by making use of such interaction. A more realistic model of himself and an awareness of the way in which he builds and uses models of others will have an effect on what a person chooses to do and how he gets on with people because it will change the way he perceives and interprets his past and present behaviour.

There are some research findings which concern the comments made about a person's behaviour during social interaction. If the comments are flattering the recipient invariably rates them as more credible than he does if they are negative (Jacobs *et al*, 1973). In other words, people really do take notice of information about themselves that fits in with what they want to believe; they tend to discredit and misjudge evaluation which does not. As Warr and Knapper report, we have to have a *series* of negative comments before we let them sink in. We're understandably defensive about our models and usually we only learn to change them bit by bit as new models of ourselves and others become confirmed.

In groupwork, of course, we have an activity which is ideally suited to model-changing. A group of people who are sitting around swapping observations, experiences and opinions are exchanging information. Each individual in the group is busy sizing others up, making predictions and watching reactions. He is constructing and testing out his models of other people. At the same time, the others are responding to him, giving positive or negative evaluations of his behaviour which he can incorporate into the model he has of himself. The number of participants helps to supply adequate, realistic information while the group, as it continues to meet, provides the series of evaluations which is needed to ensure their being accepted by the recipient.

This is the rationale for undertaking and continuing groupwork. The models that a person has of himself and of other people govern how he behaves and how he interacts with them. In a group of people there are opportunities for each member to collect information

with which he can confirm or modify his models.

Patently not every group works to total effect. In various phases of a group the participants are less ready to exchange and accept personal information than in others. At any one time individuals can be at differing stages of receptivity. Furthermore, members in some groups bring about stalemates and use other strategies whose purpose seems to be to preserve the members' models rather than modify them.

In my experience most of the books on groupwork address themselves to the processes and dynamics that may operate once a formal group is under way. Less common, as I have indicated, are books that spell out why we might engage in groupwork in the first place. It seems that one set of books deals with the dynamics of group meetings while another (looking particularly like psychology books) covers what are called person-perception and self-perception. Yet modelling, the process of perceiving self and others, provides groupwork with a rationale, with an underlying purpose and with some basic principles. These ideas, I have found, are implicit in the work of some authors and practitioners but my aim here has been to make them more explicit, to put some common-sense reasoning behind a procedure which is too readily dismissed, misused or misunderstood. One of the few books which does use the concept of modelling quite explicitly is edited by Bradford, Gibb and Benne (1964). In particular, it is reported in the book's review of relevant research that the way people see themselves and the way they are seen by others in the group become more similar over time (Burke and Bennis, 1961). This finding supports the idea that modelling and model-changing are fundamental aspects of groupwork.

MODELS AND RELATED IDEAS

The process of modelling goes on each time people meet together. (In groupwork situations, therefore, it is not appropriate to sit in a magic circle asking "When is it going to start?" The process has inevitably started as soon as you meet and interact with other people.) By describing modelling as an everyday, universal process—but also as the basis for working with groups in our institutions—I am purposefully attacking the idea that groupwork is extraordinary or mystical, although this is the idea some people have of it. Certainly there are skills and insights relevant to working with

groups, but these are not the tools of a closed shop of magicians. Since modelling is fundamental to all social interaction it has direct implications for psychotherapy, transactional analysis, encounter groups, training courses and for all forms of interviewing and talking to people, as well as for groupwork. It is the common base to all situations in which two or more people interact, especially where the goal of that interaction is to learn or to gain insight.

There are several ideas which can be linked to modelling. Some of these I will touch on briefly and—though they apply equally to any activity which involves two or more people—only try to relate them to groupwork.

(a) Trust

The effects of groupwork are commonly found to be greater in an atmosphere of trust than in one of competition. This would be expected since groupwork relies on the mutual exchange of realistic information in order for participants to modify their models of themselves and other people and enables them to try out consequential new behaviour. An atmosphere of trust and support is found to be conducive to such a process (see, for example, Cooper and Mangham, 1971).

(b) Smoke-screens

There are many ways of sabotaging an activity which depends on the exchange of information, especially when some of that information is of a very personal nature. One way is to use the smoke-screen of groupwork sophistication—the presentation of an expertise or jargon which shrouds rather than illuminates the person's model of himself. Where (sometimes for the want of a viable rationale) groupwork is thought of as a mystique such stances are very effective in slowing down the work of the group. Smoke-screens generally curtail the growth of trust and the process of model-changing.

(c) Contracts

Participants approach group sessions on the basis of what they expect and what they know about the group and its probable uses. By agreeing on the purposes of the group, which may include expressions of what are here called modelling and model-changing, they can facilitate the process and possibly speed it up by concentrating on it. Such agreements or "group contracts" are examined more fully, along with other groupwork concepts, by Egan (1970).

(d) Silent members

Participants who are deliberately silent may also hamper the process of modelling and model-changing which should be going on in the group. By apparently taking in information about others without sharing information about themselves, such members have far-reaching influence; they may be seen as powerful, as breaking the trust of the group, as contravening the group contract, or as fostering a group norm of not exchanging information about models.

(e) Leader as focus of attention

Much of the initial work of a group can centre around the official leader. His is a different role and the group members may demand a lot of information from him. Such behaviour suggests that they construct or amend their models of the member of the group who is most significant in terms of its task at the time.

(f) Non-judgemental attitudes

I have described how models are the source of expectations and predictions about others' behaviour and how they control social interaction. The dangers inherent in modelling are that we pigeon-hole people too soon and that our expectations predetermine how we continue to see them (even to the extent of affecting how they respond to us). The importance of the group leader in particular adopting "non-judgemental attitudes" is great; if he does not himself attempt to keep an open mind about the members he is less likely to be able to help them with their model-changing.

(g) Communications

One of the commonest reasons given for establishing or maintaining groupwork in institutions is that it improves communication, particularly between staff and inmates, although a rationale is rarely put forward for this hope. By looking at the idea of modelling, however, we can see that pictures of others can too readily be formed and that, even if such stereotypes are totally inaccurate, it is these which control subsequent social interaction. Such inaccuracy is particularly likely when information is as restricted as it is between distinct groupings of people. By participating in groupwork, staff and inmates increase their opportunities for exchanging information, modifying their impressions of each other and thereby improving the communication between them.

(h) Projection

One particular piece of jargon which has been imported into groupwork is

that a person can "project" onto one or more of the group members certain parts of his own personality that he wishes to deny. I have always been unhappy with the concept of projection but the process of modelling—which highlights the exchange of information and its incorporation into models of self and others—does make it a little easier for me to understand. Taken that participants will find it more or less difficult to fit others' comments into the models they have of themselves, some information may be totally unacceptable at that stage and a recipient may defend himself by finding in other people the very thing of which he feels accused. That is, the unacceptable is rationalised away by distorting the information.

The concept of "group mentality" used by several authors (and the frequent resort by some group practitioners to the phrase "The group feels . . .") may also be evidence of a similar process. During interaction we look for indications from other people of what we expect to find or what we ourselves are feeling or thinking.

(i) Continued experience

Another consequence of resistance to modifying the models we have is that a series of evaluations is usually required in order that people will accept new information. It is to provide such a series of evaluations and hence facilitate model-changing that a group needs to continue meeting.

(j) Sensitivity training

No one is immune to the dangers and shortcomings of stereotyping others or misrepresenting himself. There are many obstacles to successfully running groups and training people to do so, but there is little to alter the old adage about "nothing ventured, nothing gained" in either case; there is no short cut or series of techniques which can be employed. Training staff for groupwork is most appropriately experiential and personal rather than pre-packed and oven-ready because each individual needs to assess his own performance and to question his own assumptions about social interaction. These are the goals of what is called "sensitivity training".

Two aspects of staff and inmate training which might usefully be focussed on in the future are the centrality of modelling in meeting and working with other people and the importance of model-changing as a rationale for undertaking and continuing groupwork.

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The Prison Chaplain— Search for a Role

P. J. LYNN

IN a recent study* of four English prisons, the author interviewed 10 prison chaplains in terms of how they saw their role in the prison. The results were as follows:

Four chaplains saw their role primarily in spiritual terms; three chaplains saw their role in terms of casework; and three chaplains saw their role in terms of welfare.

The perceptions of other persons interviewed within the prison system also showed a great divergence in terms of how they saw the chaplain's role. A total of 123 persons were interviewed. These included prison officers, governors, medical officers, education officers and trade instructors. These persons saw the chaplain's role as follows:

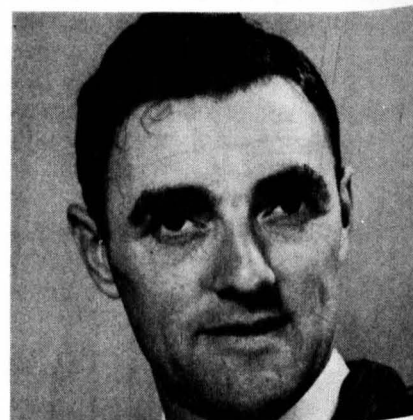
- 47% gave the chaplains a spiritual role;
- 6% gave the chaplains a casework role;
- 20% gave the chaplains a welfare role;
- 8% saw no role for him; and
- 19% were not sure of his role.

There is thus a wide disagreement about the chaplain's current role within the English prison system.

In one sense, the debate about the chaplain's place in the prison system concerns two interpretations of his role. Is he a specialist with specific skills to contribute? Or, is he a "generalist" and can he be both at the same time? If the chaplain is part of a team, what particular contribution can he make to that team and is it possible to be a generalist within a team of specialists?

At a 1967 Chaplains' Conference,¹ the role of the chaplain was discussed.

* "Role Conflict in the Prison Welfare Services". M.A. thesis, Manchester University.



Peter J. Lynn was born in Liverpool in 1932. He emigrated to Australia in 1954 and joined the Prison Service in Victoria. Having graduated from Melbourne University in arts and social studies in 1966, he worked in several correctional areas in the Social Welfare Department. In 1972, he completed his M.A. at Manchester University. This study related to "Role Conflict in Prisons". On his return to Australia he was appointed Deputy Director of Prisons in Victoria

In a paper delivered by H. Searle, it was stated that—"Christian attitudes are by no means normative today and the chaplain must not expect the enthusiastic support of all members of staff for all he does. The chaplain may find he is a voice crying in the wilderness. The chaplain must spend at least twice as many hours talking informally with individuals and small groups as he does in taking services in the chapel, working at his desk or running the Church of England Men's Society".

Another speaker, A. Hoyle, saw the chaplain's role as helping, along with the whole staff and inmate population, to create a therapeutic family group which will conduce to evangelism. "The tendency today is for the chaplain to be given an opportunity to play his part in policy-making. He is no longer

a sentimental attendum but a member of a team."

In the report of the Chaplain General to the conference, he urged the use of scientific research to make more effective the work of the chaplain. "If we are to be effective in our ministry to the individual we need not only the wisdom of theology but the skill of therapy. We need to make a valid diagnosis and draw up a plan of treatment, and to exercise professional skill in bringing the treatment to a successful issue. It is urgent to find out what are the possibilities of applying to the moral and religious areas the techniques now used in individual and group psychology, psychiatry, social sciences and professional counselling."

This appears to mean that chaplains should be professional spiritual case-workers, working in a like manner to social case-workers and using the same techniques.

At a chaplains' conference the following year² the issue of "professionalism" was raised and during the discussion the chaplain from Wakefield Prison said: "We are professionals just as other members of the Service are in their respective spheres. For many years we were regarded as such and it is only recently that the word 'professional' has been used as if it were something new to the Service. We may venture as amateurs into certain fields but we have all received considerable training for our priestly and ministerial roles. We may be poor examples, but this alters not one wit the fact that we are professionals in the presentation of the 'good news' and its interpretation. We must not be afraid to use our professional training in the diagnosis of the spiritual needs of the individual, the group or any situation within the penal institution in which we exercise our ministry. This does not mean that we do not need to acquire other skills for our particular ministry as prison chaplains—we do—but this is in addition to the professional training which we have already received... we must be sure of our priesthood and we must be sure of our role. Only thus can we make a recognisably sound contribution".

Here is further spelt out the chaplain's role as a spiritual counsellor. However, the Chaplain General himself got to the crux of the matter of roles when he cited a research project aimed at relating prisoners' needs to the staff members who could meet these needs. In the research one prisoner with a squint was referred to a doctor; another prisoner with domestic prob-

lems was referred to the welfare officer; another was illiterate and was referred to the tutor-organiser. At no point in the research was there found a need which could be referred to the chaplain.

It was also stated that unless the chaplains defined their own role more specifically, others would define it, and perhaps not so well. The Rev. Stanley Pearce³ has elaborated further on the difficulties facing the chaplain regarding the presenting problems of prisoners: "It is rarely that a man who is not a committed Christian will seek the solution of a spiritual problem (as such) in isolation from practical concern over some domestic or marital difficulty. In an atmosphere of understanding and personal interest an inmate may be helped to come to terms with himself and his environment. It may be that he will begin to discover a new respect for his own potential worth and value on the basis of the Christian belief in God as one of life's fundamental realities".

In this study chaplains did not perceive their roles unanimously. Of the 10 chaplains, four saw their role predominantly in spiritual terms, that is, they were first and foremost ministers of the gospel. Three saw their role very much in terms of casework; of forming and developing a relationship with prisoners, in much the same way as prison welfare officers, and using the relationship to assist the personal and social development of prisoners. Three others perceived their roles in terms of welfare—that is, in terms of helping prisoners by doing things for them and making it easier for the prisoner to serve his sentence. These are not mutually exclusive perceptions but they do represent, as the writer saw it, the prime orientation of the chaplains.

The differing emphasis on aspects of the chaplain's role was also shared by all respondents in the study. Thus, less than 50 per cent of respondents perceived a "spiritual only" role for the chaplain. There was a wide spread of perceptions with almost one-third of respondents either seeing no role or unsure of the chaplain's role. This includes 20 persons in the governor grades who were also in this category. This seems to support the comments made at the 1968 Chaplain's Conference that others will define his role for him if the chaplain does not do this for himself.

A confirmation that institutional staff are unsure of the chaplain's role was given at a conference in 1970⁴. At

one borstal the appointment of a full-time chaplain was seen by the governor as "the highlight of the year", whilst at another borstal a similar appointment was seen as being "entirely unnecessary but I have no doubt work will be found to justify the appointment".

At the same conference the Chaplain General indicated that there were persistent demands for a definitive statement of the role of the chaplain in prison. He said that he may have been reluctant to make the attempt partly because once having defined the role there was a danger of being encapsulated within it. However, if no attempt was made others would do so and the chaplain would have no real ground for complaint if they disagreed with the definitions. The Chaplain General then defined the chaplain's role under three headings:

A. Prophet

Bringing theological insights into the planning and decision-making. Having something to say about the uniqueness of personality and responsibility as part of the dignity of men. In this role, the chaplain would be a member of the management team involved in policy-making, a member of various boards. He would communicate with and understand the contributions of others.

B. Priest

In this role he links the man with God's scheme of redemption; he administers the sacraments and preaches the Word.

C. Pastor

This role is shared with many others who are concerned with men. He sees men as unique and distinct persons and will go to men where they are bringing to them understanding, friendship, forgiveness, hope, significance according to their needs. His should be the listening ear.

There appears to be little danger of chaplains being encapsulated within these definitions of role. The third role in particular is fairly broad and could presumably be that of a social caseworker, counsellor, pastor or welfare officer. The question then, of whether the chaplain is a social caseworker (as defined earlier) is not determined in these definitions.

Elkin⁵ believes that the chaplain's and the prison welfare officer's roles are quite distinct—"A chaplain may have an inspiring influence as a religious teacher and yet not be well informed as

to how to tackle some practical difficulty that the social worker has been fully trained to meet. The two types of work are really quite distinct and cannot gain by being combined". However, in discussions with chaplains from the prisons, it was indicated that in numerous instances prisoners preferred to discuss their personal problems with the chaplain and often went to him after being dissatisfied with the prison welfare officer. This confirms a 1967 report⁶ that—"Many men go to the chaplain to discuss domestic or social problems or to seek his support during domestic crises. Sometimes the application is really an appeal for help with a more deeply rooted problem".

At the open forum section of the 1971 Chaplains' Conference⁷ the role of the chaplain in the welfare of prisoners was discussed. One chaplain stated that he was reluctant to relinquish his welfare work because it was through this that he was able to establish a relationship with a prisoner. Another stated that chaplains had a right to carry on welfare and they must insist on this right. A third chaplain stated that because prison welfare officers were not available at week-ends he had no choice but to become involved. We thus see three aspects of chaplains' attitudes towards welfare. A *reluctance* to relinquish it, a *right* to be involved and *no choice* but to be involved.

Some chaplains, however, see welfare as being a relatively unimportant part of their function and they would stress their evangelistic role.⁸ "... The effectiveness of this role will flow from the conviction that the minister is a shepherd, a pastor who must do his utmost to lead and shepherd his sheep into the sheepfold of heaven", or, the comment of a chaplain that⁹—"We should be concerned whether they went to heaven or not and not whether they came back (to prison) or not".

Chaplains over the past five years or so have become interested in examining their own role; in examining the differences between what they are doing and what they are perceived as doing by others—"What we so often seem to be 'perceived' as doing is wanting to be involved but not committed, to 'freelance', to be accountable not to powers within the structure but to powers outside those structures, laying claim to a privileged position".¹⁰

Thus, the chaplain's role boundaries are fluid and uncertain and there is very limited integration into the prison team. He can forge his own role depending on his personal qualities,

his inclinations and the perception of the governor. The price of freelancing however, is ambiguity, misconceptions of role and the possibility of conflict with specialist staff within the prison.

In a real sense, the chaplain's search for a role within the English prison system has yet to be resolved.

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Day Training Centres

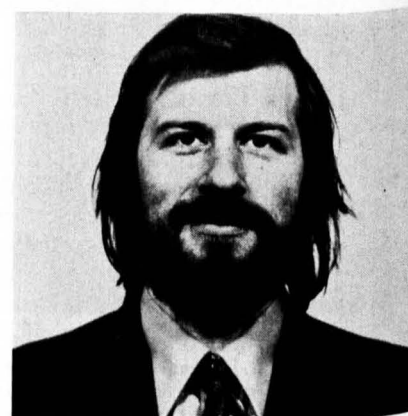
C. J. HART

IT is now approximately one year since the first four experimental day training centres opened their doors in response to the Criminal Justice Act 1972. At this stage the Home Office Research Unit is at the very beginnings of their evaluative study, but it is probably appropriate that an account should be given of the first year's experience even though this may prove to be unworkably impressionistic.

THE ORIGINS OF THE IDEA

The fashions in penology are as cyclical as fashions in dress, and for this reason it is fatuous if not irrelevant to delve too deeply into how and why we made these steps into the non-custodial treatment of the offenders. Perhaps the inference, based on the changes formalised in the Criminal Justice Act 1972, is that society, as represented by its government, had adopted a view of the offender as being morally responsible for his actions but perhaps less open to condemnation in default, and at the same time has acknowledged responsibility for the causation and subsequent resocialisation of its offenders.

There are three papers published within a short period which, using divergent arguments and terminology, preceded the institution of day training. Priestley, in the N.A.C.R.O. paper: "The problem of the short term prisoner", argued against the dustbin label, "Inadequate personality" as continually applied to the recidivist short term prisoner, preferring to examine the success with which a typical short term prisoner acts within his various role situations—husband, cohabitee, job applicant, D.H.S.S. applicant, etc. He establishes that in



Cedric Hart graduated in psychology from Exeter University in 1968. After a brief interlude working in commerce he took up an appointment as psychologist at Bristol Prison. He is currently senior psychologist at Cardiff Prison. He has a responsibility to the Pontypridd Day Training Centre for the assessment of the training needs of the trainees and also is currently involved in investigating the incidence of brain dysfunction in various groups of criminals

all these areas the recidivist is trapped in a spiral where his difficulties are progressively worsened. He proposed a community training centre to re-educate recidivists, to teach them skills in dealing with what he saw as a society based predominantly on middle class ethics.

The Home Office Working Group on Probation recommended, in slightly less emotive terms, a form of treatment for those with "Fragmented work records, ill-health, broken or difficult family situations, poor management of money matters". The treatment was based on a training in educational, social and work skills with the aim to "foster self-confidence, reduce feelings of personal and social inadequacy".

The Government paper: "Non-custodial and semi-custodial sentences", if it does not actually spell out the need for the equivalent of day training, sets the scene against which it becomes logical. The inference is there that this paper had some considerable influence when the sections of the 1972 Criminal Justice Act relevant to day training were drafted.

We have now four experimental centres in England and Wales (one each in Sheffield, Liverpool, Inner London and Glamorgan). The trainees are sentenced, at the recommendation of the centre staff, to a period of probation with a condition of the order that the trainees should attend the centre for a period of not more than 60 days—this amounts to a 12 five-day-week period. The staff are at liberty to shorten the training period if appropriate, where for example, a suitable job is offered to the trainee which has to be taken up immediately; and similarly, the 12 weeks can be extended to allow for absence. The normal sanction of breach proceedings are available for use against recalcitrants.

During training, the trainees are not in a position to take up work and are therefore ineligible for D.H.S.S. benefits. The probation office, however, makes regular payments, equal to their normal benefit.

The description of the regime of a day training centre that follows is particularly based on my experiences with Pontypridd and it is to be acknowledged that this is not fully typical either of the other three establishments or of any individual establishment over a period of time—the regimes are still subject to evolutionary changes. It would be unfair to draw too much of a comparison between Pontypridd and any other centre as such contact as I have had with other centres is limited.

RATIONALE OF TREATMENT REGIME

Each centre was allowed a fairly free hand in designing its regime in order to give as broad a base as possible to the experimental design. In one way or another, however, they all aim to deal with the social problems of their trainees. Pontypridd aims particularly at a combination of training for work (including developing skills appropriate to dealing effectively with officialdom, in that situation) and training in do-it-yourself skills. It is hoped that with a developed interest in work and leisure activities there will be more incentive for the trainees to maintain their freedom.

The main areas that are covered can be summarised as follows:

Practical skills. Carpentry, plumbing, decoration, electrical maintenance.

Education. Remedial teaching, conversions to metric standards, form filling, art and hobbies.

Social. Group discussion, role playing, home management, work for the underprivileged.

Preparation for heavy work. Log-cutting, canal clearance, gardening, concrete mixing.

It is intended that each trainee should sample all the activities initially and should develop his own particular interests. Within reason, projects are built around these interests particularly if, as in the case of two elderly trainees who re-found an interest in gardening, it is thought that developing the interests might open up job prospects. Throughout the period of training the tempo of work is steadily increased and more time is devoted to manual tasks, in order that by the end, the trainee hopefully is capable of full-time employment even as a labourer. Additional training for employment is given in the rigid adherence to a schedule of attendance hours and rest periods.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

To a large extent the selection of trainees is predetermined by the courts' sentencing policy and the regime, these restrictions can be formalised under the following criteria:

- (1) That the offence justified imprisonment.
- (2) The offender lives in the centre's catchment area.
- (3) The offender undertakes to comply to the probation order and its conditions.
- (4) There is a vacancy at the centre.
- (5) He is not in full-time employment.
- (6) He is not required to attend for psychiatric treatment under Section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948.
- (7) He would benefit from the regime.

The centre has set for itself less formal guidelines as an expansion of criteria, which can perhaps be summarised in the form—"underachieved persistent offender of limited intelligence and neurotic introverted personality".

In practice I have found that the level of intelligence for the trainees is on average a little lower than for a

prison population and for at least a third of the population their reading ability is substantially lower than is predictable from their intelligence. A summary of certain characteristics for the first 29 to attend the centre is tabulated below:

Age:

Under 20, 1; 20-30, 12; 31-40, 10; 41 and over, 6.

Marital status:

Married, 16; separated, 4; cohabiting, 1; single, 8.

Length of unemployment at time of sentence:

Less than 1 year, 10; 1-2 years, 1; 2-3 years, 4; more than 3 years, 14.

N.B.—At least nine took occasional casual work during these periods of unemployment.

Main present offences category (total greater than 29):

Theft, 19; fraud, 3; violence, 5; motoring (including T.A.D.A.), 4; sexual, 1.

Number of trainees who have served previous sentences of (total greater than 29):

Borstal, 12 (8 of which have also served a prison sentence); prison, 16 (including those above); suspended sentence, 8; probation, 26.

All trainees were drawing social security or sickness benefit at the time of sentence (or, in some cases, just prior to remand).

MEASUREMENT OF SUCCESS

The Home Office Research Unit is responsible for a full-scale investigation into day training centres—"(1) conventionally in terms of reconviction; and (2) in terms of the effectiveness of the courses in influencing the everyday behaviours of the offenders attending, e.g. budgeting behaviour at home when budgeting has been taught".

It is obviously very early to make any interim assessment, not only because of the small numbers so far involved but also because of the Hawthorne effect (the ever-present finding in innovative experimentation that any development will produce a positive effect which often reduces once the novelty has worn off). However, the preliminary results are encouraging.

(a) Reoffending

Of the 24 that have so far completed training only five have reoffended and of these only two have been returned to prison. This is with a time at risk of between four and 13 months (one would expect that for this population reoffending would be well-established at this point, although obviously not at its peak).

Without falling into the trap of post-hoc rationalisation it is of significance that one of the ex-trainees who is now imprisoned caused concern

because of his highly disturbed behaviour whilst in training and has spent all his time in prison in the hospital wing. The three who have offended but have not been returned to prison showed a poor response under training and none of them subsequently found employment.

(b) Employment

The results as measured by employment give a more substantial claim to success. Of the 21 at present eligible for work and not precluded by invalidity, 12 are currently in full-time employment and one is expected to return to work shortly, after a period of illness. The remainder have not made a determined effort to gain employment or retain jobs initially secured. The table below, which sets out current employment status in comparison to status at the point of sentence, would imply that success is spread throughout the range but that success is slightly attenuated with increasing chronicity of unemployment.

LENGTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT AT
TIME OF SENTENCE

	<i>Currently employed</i>	<i>Currently unemployed</i>
Less than 1 year	5	3*
1-2 years	1	—
2-3 years	1	2
Over 3 years	6	6*†

Clearly results like these could not be matched by a prison population—imprisonment, if anything, reducing the chances of future employment. In this particular case one would expect the inflated results due to the Hawthorne effect to be counter-balanced by the rather difficult economic situation at the end of last year and the beginning of this. By comparison with the efforts of industrial rehabilitation units which have a 50-60 per cent success after a six-month follow-up period, on what is probably a less chronically unemployed population, these results become very significant.

In summary, then, it would appear that the first steps taken in the non-custodial treatment of offenders as demonstrated by the Pontypridd Day Training Centre show a great deal of promise. The cost of training, with a full complement of trainees (something which has not been achieved as yet, for administrative reasons) is projected to run at about half that of imprisonment, but a much shorter period is involved which increases the differential per trainee. Re-offending after a training

period is not as yet shown to be worse than would be expected after imprisonment and may actually be less.

Nearly a year has elapsed since writing the original article on "Day Training Centres" and it seems appropriate to review some of the earlier findings. Training has followed broadly the original pattern, at Pontypridd, although the other centres have been forced to modify their regime. The trainee population has changed slightly, particularly in terms of its age—because of a lack of suitable referrals, relatively more younger offenders have been taken on.

In terms of initial reoffending and employment

the centre appears to be as effective now as before. However, of those originally considered there have been a number of failures. For those with a history of chronic unemployment there is a marked tendency to return to unemployment after a time. For the original population there has been a fairly considerable rate of offending recently and for those who have been at liberty for a year or more it has reached almost 50 per cent. However, a custodial sentence has been resorted to in only a small number of cases of subsequent offenders, and it would appear that a large number of the offences are, for the offender, trivial in nature and represent a de-escalation in offending.

SELF DEFENCE WITHIN A TOTAL INSTITUTION

OLIVE TREWICK

A Lancastrian, Olive Trewick is presently employed as a matron at Guys Marsh Borstal. She is a graduate sociologist—B.A. (Manchester) and Diploma in Public and Social Administration from Oxford University. Following graduation, gained experience with an educational research foundation, an industrial training board and the British Institute of Management. Returned to social work via hospital service and two years as a prison welfare officer at Kirkham. She maintains her interest in social anthropology through the R.A.I. and is a member of the British Association of Social Workers. Keenly interested in the impact of illiteracy/poor communication skills upon persistent criminality

THE total institution is all-embracing in its provision to meet the physical needs of those in its custody—whether hospital patients or criminal offenders.

Those entering the care of such an institution bring with them a wide variety of expectation patterns, based on a configuration of life-experience, guesswork and hearsay. One of the problems of any staff/inmate relationship has its origin in the hidden strength of institutional myths. Half-truths and half-explanations—quoted out of context and often inappropriately—are believed with a fervour which would gladden the heart of any religious or political leader.

This pattern of expectations is not the prerogative of the new inmate. New staff members are in a similar position. Whether new to the relevant service or fresh from a "conversion" training course, they have other experiences of employment and social life which they bring to bear upon their "new" situation. In some cases, they may be able to offset the "total" impact of the institution on themselves by living out. Often, however, this counter-balance is limited in impact, as "living out" means occupying a house or flat which is close to and— even more important—under the same management as the employing institution.

INTER-DEPENDENCE

Even within the total institution, individual people become involved in

relationships to satisfy both physical and psychological needs. All interpersonal relationships bring their own intrinsic pressures to bear upon the partners. In addition, pressures are exerted by the environment. In the "outside world" a person who finds the pressure of an individual relationship too hard to bear can move out of that particular situation and gain some respite, at least for short periods of time. Within the institutional setting, however, an inmate does not have so much choice in the matter of activating one set of relationships in preference to another. The choice which is available is very limited and may be extra-painful because of a kind of "domino" effect on other relationships. A man who depends on a specific partner in a hospital chess tournament must think twice before dispensing with his friendship on other occasions—at least until the crucial game is out of the way. Within a penal setting the individual's immediate choice is limited by the scope of his workshop or dormitory contacts.

Another important aspect is that of the stereotype, the impact of which must not be underestimated. A new staff member who might prefer to treat those in custody as human and individual beings, finds he has to contend with the fixed ideas of his colleagues. He comes to realise there is a collective stereotype of the inmate; staff behaviour patterns have become

* Includes 1 currently in prison.

† Includes 1 fully disabled ex-trainee.

typified responses to this stereotype. Such models—and the associated interaction they produce—are very powerful influences. Such is this influence, that it can cut right across policies which may be laid down from above, in an attempt to recognise research findings and implement new policies.

VIOLATION

For his part, the new inmate (especially if he is undergoing this experience for the first time) may be the victim of quite severe cultural shock. He finds himself in a new situation but, even more frighteningly, he is placed in the same category as people he views as quite different from—and possibly inferior to—himself. On entering the institution, he has gone through a process of violation which carried within it the potential of severe emotional damage. Inch by painful inch all evidence of his own personal identity has been removed and he finds himself in a strange environment, wearing strange clothes, following a strange programme—maybe answering to a strange number instead of his own name. He becomes “123 Bloggs” or “... the gall bladder in the second bed on the left...”. Even without hospital or criminal connotation, many who have served in the forces will remember the initial shock this has on a “rookie”. “Bloggs” or “... gall bladder...” finds himself with others in an uneasy confrontation with staff members at various levels—but mainly in the lower echelons. This is very important, as the most enlightened higher administration depends upon policy being implemented by main grade staff.

In the penal version of this setting, an inmate's more private relationships are open to what seems to him to be public scrutiny in a very harsh way. Telephone calls, correspondence and visits are controlled by individual officials acting within a framework open to a certain amount of interpretation on their part. This interpretative function is exercised by people who have knowledge of one's personal affairs far more comprehensive than any one public official in the outside world. This makes the inmate very vulnerable and, conversely, the official very powerful—or such is the inmate's view of things.

POLARISING FOR MUTUAL CONVENIENCE

What are the practical implications of such stereotyping for the individual inmate and his staff counterpart?

The official has to face the conflict between his custodial duties (and the

expectations of his employing agency); the expectations of his colleagues (upon whose co-operation he has to depend at various times, e.g. switched duties) and his own expectations of job satisfaction. His custodial duties—with the necessary restraint he has to impose on other men—may be easier for him if he “depersonalises” his relations with those in his charge. For him, in this sense, stereotyping serves a necessary function. It makes it less painful to deal with another in a way which ignores notions of inter-human obligations, such as are taken for granted in off-duty situations.

From the inmate's viewpoint, stereotyping is useful in two ways. Life may be easier if he accepts that, in the interests of everyone concerned, he and his fellows are expected to stop thinking for themselves, to carry out instructions, to speak when addressed and avoid even the semblance of self-determination. So much for his new self-image. Concurrent with this, he finds it useful to brand all the staff alike—as unfeeling individuals whose aim is to make life easy for themselves, pleasing to their bosses and aggravating to their charges. Thus he can justify his own feelings of aggression towards the staff.

This description of the outlook on both sides is exaggerated—but so are stereotypes. No doubt there are individual exceptions but I would suggest that most, if not all, institutional relationships demonstrate some element of stereotyping to a greater or less extent. This is not necessarily a conscious process in every case—or even in the majority of cases.

On the level of personal contact with the people involved, this process can be quite disconcerting. Medical staff who seem quite civilised outside their institutional setting change when they don a white coat and, with it, their non-human, working attitude. A prison officer who is an amiable expert on fishing, motor-cars or the local hostelrys undergoes a similar change coming on duty and, like his medical counterpart, may be thrown off-balance if one refers to his charges by name.

THE ONLY CHOICE LEFT

On the other hand, I have come across male offenders who have demonstrated in demeanour, posture and gait, institutionalisation to a gross degree. One gave this reason for refusing to be considered for parole. He seemed surprised when no attempt

was made to “hard sell” the advantages of early release on licence and I restricted myself to making sure he understood precisely what he was doing. This was probably the one decision still within his power to make—and he made it! Making it—and having it accepted—proved the first of several steps to restoring that full individual autonomy without which no human being is full realised. Over the next six months, though still in prison, that man changed almost beyond recognition. Much of this was his own effort in relating again and, virtually, rising from the death of complete indifference to himself, his environment, his life and future possibilities.

On a less dramatic level, the phenomenon of institutionalisation is heightened when the long-term hospital patient or prisoner is reaching his release date—for such it is seen to be by both kinds of individual. The outside world assumes a reality which has been missing—despite the links provided by letters and visits. It is as though incarceration (for whatever reason) is only bearable if the individual submits to having his vision restricted to the daily round of the institution concerned. He knows the “normal” world is still going on and that he will have to face the problem of taking his place there as and when the time comes. In the meantime, however, there is a limit (varying according to the individual) to the amount of thought and emotion he can expend on life outside his present environment.

In conclusion, self-defence is seen as essential to many within the total institution—both inmate and staff; for the former to guard against the power he perceives others holding over his present daily life; the latter, to resolve the conflict between himself (as individual) and the work he has to do on behalf of the community at large. The combined role of custodian and counsellor is an ambivalent one—but in many instances this ambivalence has been overcome with success. One hopes that the new proposals being discussed will allow for the staff concerned to receive the support needed to increase the counselling element of their work.

One answer to recruitment problems may lie in providing a wider range of work possibilities for officers.

N.B.—Anyone wishing to read more about really total, lifelong *Little Communities* should consult the book of that title published by the American anthropologist, Professor Robert Redfield.

BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEWS COMMITTEE

RICK EVANS, MIKE GANDER, RAY MITCHELL (*Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield*)MARK BEESON, (*Leeds University*)CRIME, CRIMINOLOGY AND
PUBLIC POLICY:

Essays in Honour of Sir Leon Radzinowicz

Edited by ROGER HOOD

Heinemann 1974. £12.50

Wherefore Welfare?

PRISONERS OF SOCIETY:
ATTITUDES AND AFTER-CARE

MARTIN DAVIES

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974. £4.95

THIS is a welcome book. Since Pauline Morris' and Monger's valuable studies several years ago there have been few general studies of substance relating to after-care. Martin Davies' book, therefore, meets a real need in this area and fulfils it admirably for a number of reasons.

For one thing, the book holds the reader's attention throughout. It has the merit of avoiding too much reliance on statistical tables, although there is plenty of well assimilated data used in a way which naturally assists the arguments. For another, it is a book which is likely to make practitioners think hard about both their assumptions and working methods and has also the merit of being written with the commitment and concern for after-care that one would expect from an author who has been involved in the field.

Martin Davies takes a comprehensive look at statutory and voluntary developments in after-care, including parole. He also has sections which refer to the growing problems of homelessness and employment of prisoners. Such a thorough review of developments in itself should make this book a useful point of reference for students and practitioners alike.

The most interesting aspect of this book is that, running through all its sections, is the debate (not new but challengingly re-presented) between social work on the one hand and the fact of imprisonment on the other. Are these two at all compatible? Does, for instance, the welfare officer's casework function "... give him a status likely to usurp a small but increasingly important segment of their own (prison staff's) work"?

Whilst sentencers (and perhaps society in general) continue to see their role as one largely of social control and retribution, of deterrence and the protection of the public, the job of both the welfare and the after-care officer will remain that of picking up the pieces and starting again with the offender on discharge. "At the end of the day we are faced—as the probation officer is faced—with the reality of total separation, with the emptiness of 'doing time', and with the fact that, sooner or later, the prisoner must once again resume his place in society."

Perhaps we ought to recognise the inevitability of scapegoating, and that welfare and after-care are what Martin Davies calls "an apology for vengeance", representing a minority view which seeks to provide a counter-balance. In this kind of situation, the after-care officer's work is necessary to assist offenders through the obvious stresses of readjustment but is futile in the sense of achieving any social change. It might be different if offenders were not scapegoated but seen as needing to establish their identity and significance as members of society.

The development of *through-care* is discussed and is seen as an important movement in involving the probation officer even more actively in prison; *after-care* is only "a way of employing an agent to reduce the pains of imprisonment". This distinction is not easy to follow as surely *through-care* is a method which supersedes *after-care* and which is as much concerned with what happens to an offender after discharge as during imprisonment. In fact, one of the hypotheses behind the *through-care* approach is that by early intervention (at sentence or before), with concern and help being offered to both the offender and his family by maintaining their contact during sentence, his chances of an effective transition and resettlement are enhanced. If, however, Martin Davies' view of the effects of imprisonment is correct, *through-care* is probably only a more humane and sophisticated way of seeking to ameliorate the total separation and emptiness of custody by reducing the polarisation between outside and in.

Perhaps if there is to be any social change, and if offenders are ever to be recognised as members of society in their own right (and this applies to other minority groups), it will only come when the community is more aware and involved. At one point Martin Davies picks up the theme of community involvement when he briefly discusses the use of volunteers. He finds them rarely used to their full potential by the Probation Service and points out the lack of any rigorous enquiry into this.

This book makes a valuable contribution to the *through-care* theme and should be widely read.

J. A. PENDLETON,

Assistant Chief Probation Officer,
Nottinghamshire.

THIS book is a tribute to a formidable man who is accustomed to work on a grand scale. It has turned out to be something of a monument, more than two inches thick and weighing around three pounds—and costing four times as much as that. As a monument, the book marks Sir Leon's token retirement and certainly not his interment.

Monuments are, as they say, for the birds. They are usually too lofty, too gross and too stylised to serve any other creature. Blowing them to bits provides an entertainment for those who do not share the values of those who erected them, but for the common man, they might as well not exist. A good guide, however, and a sympathetic listener may sometimes manage to breathe life back into the frozen posture. There is life in this book which deserves encouragement and recognition.

In the book, there are some 30 contributions from an international galaxy of talent with whom Radzinowicz has worked. Relatively few of the contributions present any analysis of crime as a phenomenon and those which do are not substantial since they tend to have been overtaken by articles in journals. The contributions which matter are those which examine how the criminal justice system works and how it has developed and shifted in more recent years. Implicitly or explicitly, these articles are about the exercise of power and influence in the making of criminal policy. Since Radzinowicz consistently worked to forge criminology as a study which would inform policy-makers, it is fitting that the most telling articles in the book should pursue this theme. It is a sad reflection, though, that there is so little in the book which bears directly on policy-making within the prison system.

Readers of Taylor, Walton and Young's *The New Criminology* might have thought that there was scarcely anything worth reading which might emanate from "orthodox" criminology. Yet, in the contributions from Thomas, Williams, Christie, Bottoms, Hood and Vassalli, in particular, it is clear that there is still plenty of scope for penetrating analysis laced with conjecture. Two articles are concerned with discretion; one, by Thomas, with its exercise in legislation and in sentencing and the other, by Williams, with its exercise by the police. Thomas goes out on a limb in advocating "a new legislative style" which, while not endeavouring to specify offences in extravagant detail, does discourage the wanton use of discretion. He also argues that "parole procedure should ... be reconstructed so as to conform with normal minimum requirements for administrative decision-making—a fair informal hearing, disclosure to the applicant of adverse information tendered to the board ... and the statement of reasons for decisions". In discussing how the police choose whether or not (or how) to prosecute, Williams applies a beady legal eye and calls for a more open declaration of policy on the part of the police, in part to protect them from charges of neglecting their public accountability.

Nils Christie cuts through a lot of nonsense by using plain language and his essay faces up to the punitive intentions of many sentencing decisions. He scorns euphemisms like "sanctioning".

tions", "treatment" or "training" and "inmate", preferring the blunter terms like "punishment" and "prisoner", since "on the whole, the best protection is afforded to the weakest party in a system employing compulsory measures if these measures are given their harshest names". Christie offers reasons, other than the best protection of "the weakest party", for his criticisms of the obscurity of sentencing decisions. He is keen to have the courts function as arenas in which society's basic values are expressed, visibly and forthrightly. Then, rather than "side-tracking... the politics in criminal policy" by cloaking sentencing in a tangle of objectives, the courts would play their part in encouraging an open debate about the basic values. This might not be a peaceful debate, but then Christie sees the courts as having a *conflict-creating* function. After all, if conflict is a possibility, then it would be improper for the courts to behave in such a way as to confound it.

A. E. Bottoms has a fascinating chapter, "On the Decriminalisation of English Juvenile Courts", tracing the false run-up to and the eventual passage of the *Children and Young Persons Act*, 1969. It is, to some extent, a speculative exercise, plucking straws out of the winds which have blown up and down Whitehall since the days of the Ingleby Report in 1956, on into the Act and its aftermath. The author commits himself to some very broad statements, particularly about the ideologies of both the Conservative and the Labour parties, and their publicists, who associated themselves with the ebb and flow of the argument. Bottoms sees the psychoanalytically oriented social workers as particularly influential, supported as they were by D. H. Morrell, "at the top of the Children's Department of the Home Office", who proved to be at the right place at the right time. Although Bottoms acknowledges that this paper "is not based upon extensive research", he has done enough to show the force of such a "case study" approach to contemporary developments in policy.

Roger Hood's section is, apart from one from a South African judge, the longest in the book and is undoubtedly the most substantial. It examines the relationship between criminology and penal change by means of a case study "of the nature and impact of some recent advice to governments". The two issues which Hood selects for particular attention are the suspended sentence and the emphasis put upon "community-based" measures by the Wootton Committee. He sets these two issues in a wider context, however, discussing the work of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders, the Royal Commission on the Penal System and the Advisory Council on the Penal System. In passing, he embraces the variety of White Papers and study documents from the two major political parties. The account also makes extensive use of the texts of parliamentary debates. Among other things, the section is a vindication of the positions taken by Radzinowicz as one member of a number of the influential bodies which have acted in an advisory capacity to successive governments. There are other celebrated figures who are judged more harshly by Hood, condemned to inconsistency, wishful thinking or sheer bluster.

Radzinowicz is a very astute man who forgivably imagined that, in arming criminology with the Institute at Cambridge, he would be in a position to contribute to informed policy-making. Hood's chapter documents Radzinowicz's defeat, in this respect, by his

Anglo-Saxon contemporaries. First, Hood asks whether British penal policy has developed and sustained a master plan or whether it has hopped from one piece of *ad hoc* advice to another. The second alternative fits better. Meanwhile, the Royal Commission on the Penal System foundered on a sea of opinion and failed to generate the kind of enquiry and research which its task required. Secondly, Hood follows up the exquisite illogic of the fate of the suspended sentence: it switched magically from being "wrong in principle", at the time of *Alternatives to Short-term Imprisonment* (1957), to being highly expedient and right in principle at the passing of the *Criminal Justice Act*, 1967. Thirdly, Hood examines the inspiration behind the *Wootton Report*. He links it with the *Widgery Report* in which reparation in money terms provided one means by which "the specific consequences of the offences" for the victim could be diminished without letting the offender get away with an abuse of "the privileges of an affluent welfare state". The *Wootton Report*, on the other hand, had a more complex motivation; "a response to the idealistic spirit of the Community Service Volunteers movement: a movement of mainly middle-class educated youth for the alleviation among the old and under-privileged". "The proposition that such service (on the part of offenders) would be effective must, of course, have been based upon some assumptions about why crimes are committed or, indeed, why they are not committed. But none of them are made explicit." Instead, the proposals rested on ideas like the possibility that friendships with volunteers might give the offender "a rather different outlook on society". But "most sociological research and theory... indicate a picture of the delinquent... who may have moved far beyond the point of being influenced simply by the 'wholesome influence of those who choose voluntarily to help in the community'". Without stricter thinking and careful research, Hood argues, the inspiration for these sorts of ideas "will depend more on their political appeal than their likelihood of making a major impact upon what is in danger of becoming an intractable problem: the provision of alternatives for that 'three-quarters of the prison population for whom... loss of liberty is an inappropriate, useless and expensive sanction'".

The last discussion in the book is Vassalli's. It presents an account of a major Italian enquiry into the operation of the Mafia. It is a fascinating story with which we in Britain can reassure ourselves. At least things have yet to reach that point in our struggle with social control.

There is more, of course, in this tome of 650 pages. Before it is consigned to the museum of unwieldy relics, it should be well and truly thumbed for those parts which deserve a wider circulation.

MARK BEESON,

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CAUGHT IN THE ACT:

Children, Society and the Law

MARCEL BERLINS and GEOFFREY WANSELL

Penguin Books 1974. 40p

THIS short examination of the *Children and Young Persons Act*, 1969, is easy to read and immediately intelligible. The authors are

journalists and their book is refreshingly free from jargon and from academic ideology. The book is not an attempt at a profound analysis of adolescent crime, but a study of young offenders in our society and current methods of dealing with this group under 17 years old. The historical review of the 150 years is succinct, compact and sets the stage for the major social reforms involving young offenders of the post-war era, culminating in the 1969 Act.

The authors are informative without being boring and throughout the book have striven to maintain a balance between the interests and concerns of the social work profession and of the judiciary. Their account is interesting in highlighting how the change of government in 1970 had the effect of thwarting the full implementation of the 1969 Act, which itself had sought to bring together the varied and not always compatible thinking embodied in the reports of reformers and in the ministerial White Papers of the 1960s. In the event, the partial implementation of the Act in the 1970s has attracted criticism from all sides, which the authors describe in some detail and illustrate with quotations from respected academics and from practitioners in the social services and community home system.

The book is a salutary reminder for penal staff engaged in the custody and training of delinquents aged 14 upwards that the 1965 White Paper on The Child, the Family and the Young Offender suggested the age of 16 as the appropriate threshold to bring young offenders within the purview of the courts and the penal system. How long ago that particular White Paper seems now! The authors do not shirk the ultimate criticism of the present state of affairs—that in reality there has been little improvement on the law and practice relating to young offenders of a decade ago.

The 1969 Act intended to limit borstal training to those over 17 years and to do away gradually with detention centres. The incoming Conservative government did not confirm these changes, perhaps to the regret of many in the Prison Service who had come to feel the needs of the school-aged would be better served outside the penal system. The change of policy satisfied a number of magistrates who had increasingly used their powers to commit persistent offenders between 14 and 17 years to penal custody, often in desperation no doubt and after a succession of failures in the care of the local authority social services.

The conjunction of two major legislative reforms—the *Children and Young Persons Act* and the *Reorganisation of Local Government Act*, 1969, which brought together the various specialist welfare departments as generalists within the one authority in local government—proved, initially, to be a major disabling factor which impeded the satisfactory working of the new Act. It also led to a climate of hostility and a lack of mutual confidence between some social workers and some of the magistracy which has persisted but is now diminishing.

The book describes with clarity how, in previous years, public antagonism to the role of the juvenile bench, expressed in elements of the Act, fed a sense of exasperation and of betrayal in magistrates. Events—notably the marked rise in crime committed by juveniles and the apparent inadequacy of the sanctions at their disposal—seemed to herald the breakdown in law and order which they had prophesied.

Berlins and Wansell have performed a service by setting out with some conciseness the major pressures and constraints in the contemporary situation. Unhappily, their own solutions emphasise the limited nature of their experience. In the concluding chapter, they call for the provision of special services for the persistent delinquent child. These services amount to secure custody and much improved resources all round—which would be agreed to, in principle, by everyone involved in the care of delinquents. It is an over-simplification, however, for the authors to suggest these measures could resolve the daunting problem of juvenile recidivism. No doubt they would provide a much needed improvement, but experience within the United Kingdom and in all advanced societies emphasises the irremediable and irreversible character of much criminal experimentation by grossly deprived youth. No matter; the authors have given us an informative review of the most vexed of subjects. It should be read and should also stimulate one to further reading.

J. L. SMITH,

Governor, Pucklechurch Remand Centre.

EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT COACHING

EDWIN J. SINGER

Institute of Personnel Management 1974. £1.25

AN understandable reaction to yet another book on management would be to ignore it. There are so many such books that seem to say very little that is of help or use to actual managing. In the case of *Effective Management Coaching*, however, that reaction would deprive one of an extremely useful and thought-provoking book.

The author's style is uncluttered by jargon and abstruse management language. Instead, the reader is introduced easily and effectively to one of the most important of managerial areas: the responsibility a manager has for the work of a subordinate and the necessity of helping that subordinate to achieve improvements in his performance. What can be gained from this book by Prison Service readers? I suggest, at the very least, new insights into old problems; at the best, a whole new way of conducting their managerial activities.

Edwin J. Singer has taken the situation of the boss and the bossed and considered it as a relationship where the superior coaches, not directs or orders, his subordinates to ever higher performances. If this sounds as though managers are being invited to stop managing, nothing could be further from the truth. The author makes it crystal clear that coaching is not an easy option. It is a demanding approach to the management of people—one of a few that starts from an acknowledgement both of the worth and abilities of those managed and of a manager's responsibilities to encourage and assist every subordinate's development.

A bare list of the chapter headings would not be enough to give the scope of the book but a glance at the mnemonic for coaching indicates, I feel, the scope and the comprehensive nature of the book:

"C—Confidence: do you display confidence in your subordinate's abilities to perform tasks—if not, why not?"

O—Objectives: are they clearly defined for yourself and your subordinates?"

A—Analysis: are you analysing the real needs of your subordinates and their jobs?"

C—Competence: are you competent in the skills of coaching?"

H—Habit: is coaching a regular habit and do you make full use of all opportunities to coach?"

I—Information: do you know how your subordinates are progressing and do you pass to them all the information they should know?"

N—Next: have you planned or are you planning the next objective, task, stage of development, etc?"

G—Guidance: are you giving your subordinates the guidance that they need?"

In the final chapters, the author has some useful things to say about performance appraisal. Because the department has recently gone into the appraisal field, at a time when many organisations have been leaving it, the insights and assistance given in this section of the book will doubtless be of help to all who have to perform in an appraisal. The function of the appraisal routine is to increase managerial improvement as well as the performance of the subordinate.

Buy this book, please. It will pay for itself in no time!

MIKE GANDER,

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Wakefield.

IMAGES OF CRIME: OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS

Edited by TERENCE THORNBERRY and

EDWARD SAGARIN

Praeger 1974. £5.50

HAVING selected these papers from the 1972 Interamerican Congress of Criminology, Thornberry and Sagarin are right on target in giving criminological priority to the critical analysis of the *images* of crime which stand between the observer and the fact. In a recent book, *The Mafia Mystique*, Dwight Smith has shown how images of syndicated crime—from the Al Capone kind of set-up to the nationwide organisation of the Mafia—have falsified the recorded history of the criminal and entrepreneurial aspects of American society. Such a study of the origins and functions of images powerfully confirms the judgement of Thornberry and Sagarin in broadening this line of attack in their book.

Images are sometimes called stereotypes: they simplify and distort an object and so mislead the public which accepts them. Of course, there is a plurality of publics, as John and Robin Reed show in their paper. The Reeds used opinion surveys to establish the different images of the criminal which are accepted by different groups. Common to a large section of the public they questioned—80 per cent of the total survey population—is an image of person-centred criminality: the criminal is seen as having a personality which is psychiatrically defective and/or morally condemnable (insecure, disturbed, lonely, mean, evil, lazy). Another, smaller section of public—older, blue-collar, church-attending, rural males—holds an image which is also person-centred but which focuses on biological

rather than psychiatric identifying factors. In short, the spirit of Lombroso is alive and well and flourishing in the mid-west today, as indeed it still is in some European academic circles!

Images entertained by non-criminal publics, widely or narrowly observed, are only one obstacle to insight. There is also the *criminal's image* of our criminogenic society. This book is decidedly naive here, though no more so than one might expect given the narrow range of criminals usually asked. As Werner Einstadter observes in relation to robbers, the ones who talk are the loudmouths and the less able. The book's only clear statement by criminals about themselves and others is cited in Harry Scarr's article on burglary rings: "The whole society is full of people ripping each other off: it just so happens I was unlucky enough to get caught". But our own more recent work in a northern conurbation in the United Kingdom suggests that even quite low-level operators are much more discriminating than that. They say that they are *criminals by habit*: they got into it and didn't get out—but X there, he is different, he has a *criminal mind*. While Y and Z, two very able performers whom they would place near the centre of the networks, are not criminals: they are *businessmen* with wide and varied connections—which, by the way, is the view of one or two High Court judges who have been required to give an opinion on Y and Z on the basis of such evidence as the law permits. Most other people are not criminal at all. The police are there to defend this law-abiding majority from the depredations of the criminal minority and to serve the criminal himself over the wide range of his non-criminal roles (for example, as father of a child who might get lost). Truly, the criminal's image of our criminogenic society is a topic on which analysis has hardly begun.

A third aspect of the "images" approach has to do with the *criminologist's image* of crime and criminals. The editors quote the increasingly popular view that crime is just another occupation—one that happens to operate outside the pale of the law, but one that can be analysed in terms of the sociology of occupations. While I myself have made this point quite strongly, it must be rigorously qualified and placed in its appropriate context. The statement "crime is an occupation" refers only to those individuals who are of above average ability and who work full-time at their job and not—as the editors of this book imply—to all operators including those who commit bizarre, violent crimes. The only thing bizarre violent have in common with able property offenders is that the law has grouped them together under the rubric "criminal". It is this persisting image, which ascribes sociological reality to legal descriptions, which has made nonsense of a great deal of criminological writing.

The remedy for the criminologist's disease of image-addiction is, of course, to study the radically different sets of phenomena called *criminal one at a time* and to develop precise behavioural and clinical analyses of the individual and social activities which characterise distinct criminal patterns. Some of the papers in this book, notably a brilliant summary by Clockars of his pioneering study of a major Philadelphia receiver and an analysis by Einstadter of robbers as risk-takers, are as good as anything which has appeared in recent years on this topic; they should be read along with the studies of front-line "professional" operators and background organisers.

which are summarised in my book, *The Crime Industry* (1975).

The recent development of criminological interest in the victims of crime is reflected by three other papers in this collection. One in particular, that by Thornberry and Figlio on "Victimisation and Criminal Behaviour in a Birth Cohort", reinforces the findings of a number of studies: high proportions of "victims" are also "offenders". These are further grounds for the criticism of those images of crime which take too little account of the sub-cultural setting within which such reciprocal relationships seem to flourish.

Professor JOHN MACK,
Glasgow University.



VICTIMOLOGY

Edited by ISRAEL DRAPKIN and EMILIO VIANO
Lexington Books 1974. £7.30

THIS book of readings meets an urgent need for a collection of the main pieces on victimology under one cover. It will, however, shortly become of primarily historical interest when the study by Sparks and his colleagues at Cambridge is published. The forthcoming book is not as wide in its coverage as the present one, but it carries both the methodological issues and the evidence to a higher level.

All of the material in this reader has appeared before and it makes a very curious mixture, both in style and context. The opening article is a reprint of the quaintly pompous few pages of Mendelsohn's from *Excerpta Criminologica* (1963). From such a start it is difficult to take seriously the idea that the subsequent contents will be any more meaty. However, some of them are.

Glaser's "The Theoretical Implications of Victim Survey Research", for instance, packs a lot of incisive comment into its seven pages. The "Organisation as Victims" piece, reprinted from *Issues in Criminology*, introduces some interesting conceptual novelty and the chapter by William Ryan on "Blaming the Victim" is particularly stimulating.

On the debit side, there are a number of articles which, although valid and interesting, are of doubtful relevance. Halleck, generally a noteworthy criminologist, proves to be very informative on the sexual superiority of woman, but this is not where I would expect to find such instruction. Likewise, his remarks about the old are really outside the scope of what most of us understand by victimology, being more truly concerned with social unkindness and injustice.

One service the book does is to provide substantial illustration that criminology without any consideration of the victim is incomplete and that as a topic, leaving aside Mendelsohn's fussing about whether or not it is a discipline, victimology cannot be ignored. Most of the articles are examples of empirical work, presenting numerical data, but largely supporting what would have been expected from enlightened common sense. Some victims invite trouble; it comes to others seemingly at random. Some victims can be easily recompensed; others cannot. The experience of the crime may be perceived very differently by the victim, by the offender, and by the officers of the law who take action. While it is reassuring to read this kind of

thing, it is fairly predictable. The editorial insertions between the various readings do help to extend the concept of victimology and are, in some ways, the most valuable part of the book. I doubt, though, whether the available material justifies the theoretical framework which is constructed for it and which is subtly emphasised in the table of contents.

The book makes quite pleasant reading on a train journey because, like the weather, it never goes on the same for very long. Prolonged concentration is not called for as it would be by a major theoretical text: with 23 contributions in 240 pages, none is very long although some are very wordy and dull. Since most students will want to refer to the background literature on this topic at some stage and the book provides a convenient way for them to do so, there should be a copy in every criminological library. Only professional academics are likely to need or wish to have their own copy.

Dr. R. BURNHAM,

Senior Lecturer in Criminology at Keele University, was previously an assistant governor.



HOMELESS

DAVID BRANDON

Sheldon Press 1974. Hardback £3.50,
paperback £1.50

NO FIXED ABODE

ANTON WALLICH-CLIFFORD

Macmillan 1974. Hardback £3.95,
paperback £1.95

FOR about 10 years I worked among the homeless and so know not only the background against which these books were written but also many of the places and people mentioned —both the disadvantaged and those who sought, and still seek, to help them.

Both books were written with the intention of making the reader aware of the predicament of the homeless. They tell of the personal pilgrimage of the writers, their introduction to the complex needs of homeless people and their contributions towards alleviating the problem.

In his introduction to *Homeless*, David Brandon sets out the purpose of his book: "To lay part of myself bare", to describe his work in a community for women and to allow voice to those women whose case histories occupy six of the book's nine chapters.

During the period that he worked with the homeless in London, David Brandon appears to have learned much and to have become deeply involved and concerned with those whom he sought to help. He very soon experienced anger and frustration with the "official" attitude which appeared to care more for policies than for people. One wonders what would have happened to the statutory organisations if he had stayed in one of them and assisted in correcting some of the misdeeds he accuses them of perpetrating.

I was sorry to read his direct and indirect criticisms of individuals and of some very worthy religious bodies. These criticisms and generalisations (like, "voluntary societies have long been dominated by nineteenth century attitudes") reflect a lack of knowledge and Brandon is very unkind to some of the splendid

people who "cared" within the statutory framework.

Nevertheless, his book paints a vivid and generally accurate picture of the desperation and confusion experienced by some homeless people, going into great detail about methods of running communities for destitute and dispossessed women. It makes compelling and informative reading as Brandon relates his experiences of various regimes and recounts the case histories of several women he has sought to help.

In the last chapter he reveals that he is now, in his present position, accepted in high places. I hope he has retained his earlier anger and enthusiasm as he treads the corridors of power and can influence further developments with the same dedication and concern for the homeless that he possessed when he mixed with them in Soho and on the Embankment. The organisations that he advised, and sought advice from, still struggle on against relentless bureaucracy and the increasing flood of human flotsam which congregates in cities and large towns. The continued efforts of these organisations, however unco-ordinated, still ensure that the large number of homeless are fed, clothed and have a roof over their heads.

No Fixed Abode is fired with missionary zeal. Anton Wallich-Clifford writes of his introduction to the plight of the dispossessed, the way in which he became involved with them and his arrival at a point where he could call the most disreputable, damaged person his friend. Knowing him, I can vouch for his genuine compassion and intent and there is little doubt that many of his "friends" have had much added to their impoverished lives by meeting and being helped by him and the organisation he founded. Clearly, he has gained an immense amount of satisfaction from spending much of his life in this way and his work has been personally fulfilling.

Wallich-Clifford's book is the story of the Simon Community and its ancillary groups which can now be found throughout this country and abroad. An amazing amount of ground is covered in the book and an accurate picture is painted of the various types of work which have been done over the years in London to meet the needs of "drop-outs".

Interspersed with his account of his work are references to many individuals he has met and one is left with much more understanding of the deprivation encountered and the intractable stances adopted by his "clients".

Wallich-Clifford pulls no punches and spares none of the sordid details. If one has not actually experienced work with such people, his graphic descriptions provide valuable insight into their situation. For those with conventional life-styles, much of the book will appear quite crazy but most readers will be impressed rather than critical by the time they have reached its end.

In his book, David Brandon points out that society can easily forget the large number of homeless in the "human warehouses of prisons and psychiatric hospitals". Indeed, one of the declared aims of his book is to "have some effect on the way in which our prisons and mental hospitals are run": Anton Wallich-Clifford would doubtless wish the same for *No Fixed Abode*.

Having read these two books one wonders how many of us who work in prisons really know, or try to understand, the deprivations

and way of life of the "seven-day drunk" or of the meths. drinker who got involved in a drunken brawl. People end up in prison as the last link of a chain of events, revealing not so much their criminality as their dispossession. In order to meet our obligation to "rehabilitate", the more we understand the better equipped will we be to fulfil this task in the institutions where so many of these men and women, about whom these two books have been written, spend at least part of their wretched lives.

JOHN PUDNEY,

Assistant Governor, Channings Wood Prison.



EXPLAINING MISBEHAVIOUR

NIGEL WALKER

Cambridge University Press 1974. 40p

THIS pamphlet gives the text of Nigel Walker's inaugural lecture at Cambridge University. While the author modestly describes it as a combination of philosophical insights and commonsense, he successfully demonstrates the extent and the importance of the issue he chose to discuss.

Walker pleads for more attention to be paid to philosophical questions when considering explanations of misbehaviour. Neglect of these questions, he suggests, has contributed to the confusion and misconceptions which are common in criminology. Important distinctions between different types of explanations have become blurred and require clarification if progress is to be made. Such clarification should extend to the concepts and intentions of criminology. Walker discusses the differences between approaches which endeavour to *explain* and those which endeavour to *provide understanding* of what happens. He distinguishes between "descriptions" and "explanations"; between explanations which explore "possibilities" and those which deal in "probabilities". Walker rather quietly dismisses "formal causes" as a satisfactory tool in criminology, which will probably disturb labelling theorists who have, to some extent, succeeded in producing significant evidence in support of their ideas. The discussion is laden with serious implications which could make heavy reading were it not for the frequent examples, definitions and descriptions which the author gives.

Explaining Misbehaviour caters for both the knowledgeable and for those who have not encountered the criminologist's jargon. The reader is encouraged to reflect on the issues and on the important matter of clarification.

R. BRODIE CLARK,

Assistant Governor, Wetherby Borstal.



CAN YOU POSITIVELY IDENTIFY THIS MAN? GEORGE INCE AND THE BARN MURDER

PETER COLE and PETER PRINGLE

Andre Deutsch 1974. Hardback £2.95, paperback £1.50

THE authors of this very readable book are both journalists. Peter Cole is a reporter with the *Guardian* and Peter Pringle a member of the *Sunday Times* "Insight" team which has produced several notable pieces of investiga-

tion. Although the journalistic style of the authors is apparent, they have made an effort to avoid sensationalism and they are obviously sincere in the interest they develop in the efficacy of identification evidence.

The book contains vivid, dramatic and well researched accounts of the robbery and murder at the Barn Restaurant in November, 1972, and of the Mountnessing Roundabout bullion robbery in May, 1972, for which George Ince, amongst others, was eventually convicted. The Barn murder becomes even more horrific because of the unemotional and clinical way in which it is reported. The police investigations into that crime are recorded in depth and the analysis of the evidence particularly related to identification is detailed and comprehensive. The way in which George Ince was selected as prime suspect highlights the weaknesses in the identification procedures used, particularly in relation to the chief witness who it appears had been shown eight photographs of Ince on three different occasions before picking him out on an identification parade. The investigations into the bullion robbery are recorded in rather less detail but give even more cause for concern because of the incidence of retrospective identification in the peripheral investigation and the discrepancies between the witnesses' original descriptions and their final identifications.

The descriptions of the two dramatic trials of Ince at Chelmsford in May, 1973, (which stimulated so much public interest and discussion) are quite brief, but illustrate clearly the frustration which Ince was suffering when faced with the unshakable evidence of the two main identification witnesses who, by that time, were "100 per cent certain" that it was he who had committed the crime. Fortunately, the identification evidence, upon which the prosecution case was entirely based, contained anomalies which caused the jury at the second trial to find Ince not guilty. However, it is apparent that even after the trial the police officers concerned were convinced that the guilty man had been freed and made little effort to pursue the investigation further. Were it not for the eventual confession of the real murderer's accomplice it is doubtful if the case would ever have been solved.

The book concludes with an examination of the present identification rules with particular reference to the use of photographs. There is considerable implied criticism of police conduct in both the Barn murder and the bullion robbery investigations, but it is suggested that the recommended procedures are also controversial and likely to produce frequent error.

The recent cases of Luke Dougherty and Lazlo Varig have caused public concern and have called seriously into question the validity of the identification parade as a means of determining whether or not a man has taken part in a crime. The human memory for faces is so fallible that evidence of identification becomes virtually worthless—especially when one takes into account the human propensity for endeavouring to please in that sort of situation. The report of the committee set

up by Roy Jenkins in April, 1974, to look at the whole question of identification, under the chairmanship of Lord Devlin, has not yet been published. After reading this book I await its appearance with interest.

RAY MITCHELL,

Tutor, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.



CORRECTIONAL PSYCHOLOGY: Themes and Problems in Correcting the Offender

ROBERT J. WICKS

Harper and Row 1974. £3.25

I TRIED hard to identify in this American publication a unifying theme or message and to find some relevance to the British prison scene. Both efforts failed.

The book is essentially a review of current psychological involvement with American offenders. It is divided into 10 chapters, each covering a specific penological problem or type of work. There is, perhaps, too much space devoted to the numerous varieties of groupwork (many of which are arguably identical). What bothers me is that there is little attempt to evaluate the different approaches which are outlined, or to examine how they might be used to solve practical problems. For example, the section on "Prison Riots" contains a dramatic account of riot behaviour, a case history of a leading rioter, and much criticism of prison administrators. Then there comes a section entitled "Riot Prevention and the Behavioural Scientist". Are we now to find the answer to the "indelible psychological scars", the "buckshot and tear gas", the "pervading panic" so dramatically evoked in paragraph one? Well, no, actually. What we find is one long paragraph about the political obstacles put in the psychologist's way, and one short one suggesting a few timid reforms. Are these suggestions based on scientific evidence and will they be relevant to the riot situation? Er, not exactly. In fact, the author puts forward no such evidence (and I for one don't know of any).

This is typical of the book, which is long on prescriptions but short on prescriptions. It is even shorter on facts and figures. Indeed, despite frequent references to "behavioural science", the author completely disregards the usual scientific practice of supporting one's assertions with established findings. The excellence of the professional is taken for granted and no need is seen to justify his invasion of other people's daily routines or to say precisely what he is going to do.

The author concentrates entirely on the direct involvement of professionals with offenders. He neglects the important point that prison treatment is the total impact of a regime upon a prisoner and that this impact is mediated largely by the uniformed staff. A section on "non-professionals" turns out to be concerned with a kind of social work auxiliary, not with the prison "guard", who fails to get a look-in (except, presumably, as the wielder of "buckshot and tear gas" in prison riots). Similarly, there is no discussion of prison management, of the behavioural scientist's role as management adviser, nor of his potential contribution to the design and evaluation of treatment regimes. Yet many prison psychologists would agree that

these are the areas into which they are moving today.

These omissions are serious in a book with such an all-embracing title. This is a pity because, although criminology books are plentiful, there is probably no reference work which is written from the specifically behavioural point of view. Such an emphasis on behaviour, studied scientifically, is the only uniquely psychological contribution to the field. Those seeking to be informed about it should avoid this book.

BOB FORDE,
Senior Psychologist, Hull Prison.



PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIAL WELFARE: AN INTRODUCTORY ANTHOLOGY

2nd Edition

PAUL E. WEINBERGER

Collier Macmillan 1974. £2.95

PROFESSOR WEINBERGER has selected 30 articles and extracts from American social work literature to provide a survey of the main arguments and issues that engage social workers at the present time. The anthology, a basic textbook for students, gives examples of the spectrum of viewpoints and values from which the organisation of social welfare can be approached. The book is arranged in six sections, the first three comprising an introduction to what may be called social administration, the fourth and sixth concentrating on the role and skills of the social worker, and the fifth on the question of race in American society with the implications of this for social work practice.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1969; five years later most of those articles have been replaced, an indication of the pace at which the literature is growing. More significant, however, is the sombre note of many of the articles, and especially of Weinberger's introductory notes to each section. This stems from three sources. The first is that the "War on Poverty" during the sixties signally failed to eliminate poverty, although there was a massive increase in the number of people receiving financial assistance; the second is that "carefully designed evaluations of social work intervention have failed to document conclusively that M.S.W. social workers render a professional service that is superior to that of individuals without graduate degrees, or that social work intervention made a significant difference in reducing delinquency"; the third development is that there has been a trend towards radical activity demanding far-reaching social reorganisation. At the same time, the many new doctoral programmes started during the expansion of social work education in the U.S.A. during the sixties have only slightly increased "the amount of utility of substantive research findings". The result has been oddly paradoxical. The poverty programme has resulted in a greater awareness of social injustice and a demand for a radical restructuring of welfare and economic institutions with a vision of the poor and dispossessed

somehow heading this thrust. At the same time, as Daniel Moynihan points out in "The Professors and The Poor", the persisting "social fact" of this literature of poverty is that it involves the dissection of unusually unsuccessful groups by representatives of unusually successful ones! This is a paradox underlined by a Catholic worker, John Cort, in an article describing his experiences of a lifetime in trying "to organise the non-union poor so they can confront the power structure with something more than total powerlessness", when he says, "I am tired of reading and listening to stuff by people who have never been there".

The articles centre about the dichotomies of the wholesale and retail approaches to social work and of community action and personal, individualised help. The readings fairly represent both points of view. Weinberger's own bias is towards a re-evaluation of the objectives and results of social work activities, especially in safe-guarding an emergent profession against advocating particular political solutions which could cause it to be captured by one party—the liberal way of the Democratic party—and thus endanger its professional autonomy and judgement. He favours a modest approach concentrating on the welfare of the family rather than straining our capacity by immersing ourselves in a vast and unpredictable range of social programmes which over-extend our basic areas of expertise. That will strike a sympathetic chord in many a British social worker overwhelmed, especially in the social services departments, by a plethora of major social problems and unrealistic public expectations. The most helpful article about what should be the focus of social work is one by Schwarz, "Private Troubles and Public Issues". He suggests that every social agency is an arena for the conversion of private troubles into public issues, that individuals need the agency and in some sense have created it. A social worker's task is to intervene between the client and the system, reaching out towards the client so that he can use the service effectively, to monitor the agency's effectiveness and to protect it against its own rigidities. The same skills—sensitivity, decoding covert messages, enabling negatives to be faced while maintaining a sense of self-esteem—are required and directed both ways, towards resource providers and managers as well as towards clients.

This anthology is well produced and it effectively introduces students to major issues of social welfare. Unfortunately, all the articles are American, and some of them are so rooted in American social provision and legislation as to be only marginally useful to British social workers. On the other hand, a number of the articles, especially those concerned with delineating a professional boundary and some of the threats to it which have been experienced in the States, would be especially helpful to social work teachers and administrators for they foreshadow many of the dilemmas which we are now experiencing.

MALCOLM R. LACEY,
Regional Training Officer, Probation and After-Care Service, Midland Region.

PAROLE: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PENAL SYSTEMS

Edited by D. A. THOMAS

Institute of Criminology, Cambridge
University, 1974. £1.75

It is tempting to think that penal policy in Britain and elsewhere, having been generally confused in its objectives and unco-ordinated in its enforcement, has muddled along from one reform to another. It begins to look, though, as if the British system has put such an enterprise into question by introducing parole. This is the lesson of Thomas's booklet which collects together some concentrated thinking about parole from papers presented to the Cropwood Round-Table Conference in December 1973. Three of the papers, in particular, demonstrate that parole has exposed major inconsistencies in the working of the criminal justice system. The argument is, in effect, that either the parole system urgently needs reconsidering or that the whole criminal justice system—including parole—demands a fresh examination in the light of experience. There can be no doubt that these papers are of enormous importance in stimulating discussion about the directions in which sentencing is to go, about the development of the relationship between the judiciary and the executive and about the future of imprisonment.

Between them, Hood, Borrie and Thomas mount an overwhelming onslaught which, taken together with other recent comment, calls for decisive answers. In his paper, Hood—besides advocating major and detailed alterations to the parole system—criticises the opportunism of its introduction, objects to its intrinsic unjustness (or "injudiciability") and itemises the dilemmas entailed in its operation. Borrie, a lawyer, follows on by objecting to the offence to "natural justice" which parole represents in failing to take proper account of the prisoner's interests in the procedure. Thomas, in a very penetrating analysis, contrasts the principles by which sentencing operates with the presumption of "treatment and training" which is implicit in parole. Sentencing, punitive though it may be, is at least subject to the accountability of the courts to the public while parole, quite improperly, is not.

"In making these (parole) choices on its own criteria, upholding some decisions of the courts in favour of deterrence by denying parole, and ignoring others by recommending parole, the board is performing a sentencing function and has effectively assumed the role of a second appellate tribunal within the sentencing system.

"There are grave objections to this approach to parole in terms of politics, penology and principle . . ." (page 50).

Two linked contributions from the late Sir George Bean and Sir Arthur James reflect very usefully on parole for life-sentence prisoners, while Lord Hunt contributes the text of an address to a conference of probation officers. Lord Hunt advocates an extension of parole, in terms of those to whom it should

be granted, though his other proposals—apart from “a significant scaling down of the present sentencing tariff”—are more conservative than Hood's. Gordon Jones' discussion of supervision of parolees by the Probation Service is a valuable and frank review which, given a wide readership, could do a lot to improve understanding between that service and the staff of the Prison Department.

Given the general excellence of the papers, the booklet has two disappointing features. The first is the contribution from Howden, who represents the Prison Department; the second is the summary of the discussion resulting from the conference. The first does not achieve the standard of the other offerings. It does not present a lively or controversial approach to the development of parole and is over-optimistic about the concerns which have arisen in prisons. One even has to rely on the summary to provide a suggestion of the profound influence of the assistant governor's recommendation on the ultimate parole decision, when one might have expected Howden to have made some direct observation on the issue.

The disappointment of the summary lies in its failure to provide any material reconciliation of the dilemmas which have been so tellingly identified in the principal contributions. It offers no consensus on the prospects of involving prisoners more directly in the decision-making of the board—despite Lord Hunt's own expression of concern in this respect; it also offers no solution to the inequity of the system. There is no doubt that the summary *does* provide a faithful account of the nature of the discussion, but this discussion seems not to have provided a meeting of critical minds so much as a stalemate between declared positions. This, perhaps, is the reality in which penal policy is temporarily, if not unusually, locked—but the signs for the future are surely to be found in this extensive and eloquent collection which deserves the widest possible circulation.

MARK BEESON,

Lecturer in Criminology, Leeds University.

MEET YOUR FRIENDLY SOCIAL SYSTEM

PETER LAURIE

Arrow Books 1974. £1.25

“YOU can't beat the system.” This book is one man's account of what the system is, how it works and how it manipulates us.

Peter Laurie, having obtained degrees in law and mathematics at Cambridge, worked for *Vogue*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Telegraph* until joining the *Sunday Times* in 1964 as a regular contributor. During this period of self-analysis, he discovered that people in his walk of life were treated fairly well by the system and, in fact, were being paid to put a good face on a bad business. He wrote this book in the hope that it would strike a chord in other people and that it might contribute a little to a discussion about how we might change our society.

Laurie argues that the system locks each of us rigidly into place in a social structure whose nearly every feature—education, work, poverty, crime, sex—contributes to an inescapable, iron pattern. Although we may deplore many of its manifestations, its roots lie wholly within us—in our minds, perceptions and attitudes. In a chapter on education, Laurie outlines this social structure: “At the top it needs a small number of completely reliable decision makers—people, that is, whose reactions are predictable because they think according to predetermined rules, who ignore their own self-interest and have a strong, though hidden, *esprit de corps*. In the middle, it needs a larger number of obedient executives and supervisors; towards the bottom, a great many producers and consumers who had best not think very much; and right at the bottom, a smaller number of people who live in poverty, as an example to the rest of us, who had best not think at all since the conclusions they reach can only be critical”.

From this point on, the writer concentrates his attention on the lowest group and on how the system works to ensure they retain their place at the bottom of the heap. He compares British slums with Russian concentration camps and asserts it is only the ultimate possibility of ending up in a slum that makes people turn up at the factory gates each morning. We are told that the main aim of government is the prevention of mobs and riots, “consisting of people who live so wretchedly that they have little to lose and everything to gain through violent action against the establishment”.

Mr. Laurie, dipping his pen in dilute vitriol, proceeds with diligence to castigate all and sundry. Nothing escapes Laurie and the cynical level to which he reduces all facets of society. He describes religion, for example, as being “about a god who so loved the world that he nailed his only begotten son to a tree”. “We have one man tortured to death to persuade his father not to condemn everyone else to everlasting hell fire.”

The final 11 pages of the book are devoted to asking “so what?” but it is no good looking for a shaft of light at the end of the passage. Laurie predicts that, with the increased use of computers, there will be 20 million unemployed in the foreseeable future, and that far from bringing increased leisure it will bring increased control with a regression from the liberal attitudes of the fifties and sixties to more openly fascist attitudes against the immigrant, the poor and the dissenter. He sees police forces becoming bigger and tougher and thinks it no coincidence that London's police, having killed no one since the siege of Sydney Street in 1911, shot three people dead in two affairs within a month of each other in 1973.

Society is evidently proceeding along a path of self-destruction but the reader, having laboured through this chronicle of doom, is assured by Laurie that he can expect no quick arrival of the millennium. If we are ever to experience in the future a period of good government, of great happiness and prosperity, then we must “free ourselves from the lethal armour of primitive expansionism and learn to live in physical and spiritual harmony with each other and the planet”. There's no answer to that.

JOHN TUCK,

Principal Officer, Pentonville Prison.

CHILDREN IN DANGER: The Causes and Prevention of Baby Battering

JEAN RENVOIZE

Routledge and Kegan Paul 1974. £2.50

JEAN RENVOIZE's book on the topic of baby battering is sympathetically written, easy to read and comprehensive. She studies the subject from all possible angles, devoting chapters to social workers, police, medical personnel and parents. Apart from reference to the Maria Colwell case, she uses two excellent tape-recorded discussions with battering (or potentially battering) mothers to introduce and summarise her book.

In assessing “What is Baby Battering?”, the differences between child neglect, child abuse and baby battering are discussed. Most battered babies are not neglected; they are, on the contrary, often spotlessly kept in well maintained homes by parents who wish them to be perfect. Often, the parents are extremely ambitious for their children, wanting them to have all the things of which they themselves were deprived. They expect the child to love them in return and take any crying as a rejection of themselves.

Baby battering often takes the form of throwing a child across a room, shaking it too violently, banging it against a table, burning it with cigarettes or hot irons or placing it in too hot a bath. These sort of acts cause anything from surface bruising to fractures and brain damage. X-rays on such children often show old bone breaks healing up. Sometimes a parent uses a form of mental baby battering whereby the child is threatened with an iron or held over a hot bath. This sort of activity, although at least as damaging in the long term, is much more difficult to detect at the time by doctors and social workers.

The problems of detecting the battered baby and then being able to do something about it are the main issues of this book. Most battering parents take their children to a doctor or hospital themselves in due course, but not always immediately. They have, at this stage, worked out a story to fit the injuries: “He fell from his cot”, “The door slammed on him”, “His brother threw his tractor at him”. These stories sound reasonable and the parent is obviously concerned about the child and cares for it well. Very often the doctor does not pick up the signs because he treats the injury without examining the baby all over. The child may, or may not, be beaten again. In many ways, it is easier for the doctor not to recognise the problem. He has very few resources to assist him in dealing with it and he is subject to all the problems of confidentiality.

In the hospital situation, a doctor may be able to keep a child in overnight and refer the problem to the social worker or police. However, unless the injury itself is sufficient to warrant this action, other staff will have to be informed of the situation with the danger of unjustified prejudice being shown to the parents. These and many other problems of the medical involvement are discussed.

The shortage of resources available to the helping agencies is particularly stressed in a discussion of the social worker's relationship with the baby batterer. Jean Renvoize argues that the battering parent wants support and company, not for five minutes every two weeks, but as a regular, dependable contact—somebody who knows the family well enough

to be able to assess levels of stress and watch when the child is in particular danger. The use of ancillary, volunteer social workers in the capacity of gossip/friend to a young, lonely mother is forcefully argued.

The role of the police varies a great deal from one area to another. Many social workers and doctors consider the law to be a "blunt instrument" and may not refer cases until it is too late. In some areas, notably Northampton, regular consultative meetings are arranged between doctors, social workers, policemen and N.S.P.C.C. inspectors to discuss particular cases and all contribute to any decision about removing the child from its home. Elsewhere, communication between the various sections involved can be non-existent or, even if it takes place, negative. The police argue that if they are not brought in immediately it is difficult to obtain all the facts required in an investigation. On the other hand, the appearance of a policeman on the scene often causes the parents to become defensive and unhelpful. Jean Renvoize feels that, in baby battering cases, the Home Office should be more dictatorial in its instructions to the police, discouraging them from threatening to prosecute at the first opportunity and giving them guidelines for working more closely with social workers.

A recent instalment of the *Z Cars* series—"Innocent and Vulnerable"—portrayed many of the problems discussed in this book extremely well. Certainly, the subject of baby battering is now one of general public interest. In the Prison Service, particularly the women's service, baby batterers come to us when all else has failed and often after the child is dead. The courts appear to be very flexible in their approach, awarding anything from 12 months' probation to life imprisonment, since obviously no two cases are ever the same. This book provides an excellent, objective, unemotional and readable account which manages to provoke many questions and much thought on the subject. Good reading for anyone, but especially for all those with a professional involvement.

DIANA MASSERICK,
Assistant Governor, Holloway Prison.

THE HUMAN PARADOX

ANTHONY MANN

The National Marriage Guidance Council 1974.
Hardback £2.50, paperback £1.00

This small book looks at marriage counselling in the context of human experience. The author successfully manages to connect the specialised function of counselling with the universal aspects of behaviour through reference to case studies and examples from the arts—books, films, music, plays and architecture. By these illustrations, and his analysis of our responses to them, Anthony Mann shows the process of conflict, change and growth which is possible through counselling. This puts into a wider context many of the textbook situations which otherwise remain clinical experiences. There is none of the usual casework jargon and consequently the book presents the reader, experienced or not, with a fresh look at the counsellor and counselling.

The *Human Paradox* of belonging and separateness, the principal theme running through the book, is likely to stir each reader and the forceful presentation of conflicts in

various stages of development will ring bells. Since the art of counselling is dealt with alongside the scientific study of the process, the reader cannot escape from the implications for himself, neither on a personal nor a professional level.

Anthony Mann is a marriage guidance counsellor and has been a regional officer for some time. His book concentrates on marriage counselling (looking at "the second most intimate relationship in most lives") but it also refers to other relationships in some detail. The past is seen as having a strong influence on all relationships—"the past follows and accompanies us all, but it need not hold us to ransom". The possibility of change is open to us all although the number of choices open to any one person may vary. Growth has to be worked at and this calls for recognition of reality.

In looking at conflict, both between partners and within each of them, the significance of counselling is established: "a meeting of human beings in which the counsellor tries to understand and help others who are caught in uncertainty because conflicting feelings paralyse decision and block a way out". No movement is possible between partners, nor for the individual, without open, clarifying conflict. The relationship between counsellor and client has to provide the opportunity and the confidence to work at contained conflict in a trusting interaction which can lead on to growth. The relevance of this concept to the interaction between staff and inmates in the Prison Service is vital and one which should be examined by staff at all levels, especially those who are in a counselling role. This book will help in such an examination: it will challenge our motivation in counselling situations and provide us with a poetic and sensitive look at the power of human interaction.

TIM NEWELL,
Deputy Governor, Hatfield Borstal.

THE USE OF BAIL AND CUSTODY BY LONDON MAGISTRATES' COURTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT 1967

A Home Office Research Unit Report by
FRANCES SIMON and MOLLIE WEATHERITT.

H.M.S.O. 1974. 57p

SECTION 18 of the *Criminal Justice Act*, 1967, imposed restrictions on the powers of Magistrates' Courts to refuse bail in certain types of cases. This report is based on a study of the bailing practices of 15 London Magistrates' Courts before and after the 1st January 1968, when this section of the Act came into force.

The research team compared a "before" sample consisting of the 945 cases dealt with in January 1966, with an "after" sample consisting of the 1,423 cases dealt with in January 1969, at the same 15 London courts.

Broadly speaking, Parliament intended that magistrates should use remands in custody more sparingly and required them to grant bail in cases tried summarily or in cases where summary offences were tried by a jury. Further, the Act made it clear that Magistrates' Courts had a discretionary power to grant bail even in serious cases triable on indictment only. The varied and complicated nature of the whole

subject of bail demanded that the Act contain provisions for exemptions to the granting of mandatory bail and these exceptions, plus the lack of certain information for the 1966 sample, made the task of the research team a complex one.

The main findings of the research show that only a minority of people for whom bail is now mandatory were being refused bail prior to the Act. However, between 1966 and 1969 there was a significant increase in the granting of discretionary bail in most categories of cases. For some years prior to 1966, the granting of bail had been increasing but the climate of opinion revealed during the discussions surrounding the Act appears to have helped courts feel able to grant discretionary bail more freely.

The report refers to a number of interesting factors relating to bail. In both samples it was found that courts granted bail in nearly all cases where the police had done so and that the percentage of people bailed by the police increased from 37 per cent in 1966 to 46 per cent in 1969.

For those interested in the introduction into this country of the Manhattan Bail Score for determining admission to bail, it is worth noting that "in a rough and ready way" the decisions of Magistrates' Courts already reflect the kind of information that the Manhattan Score would provide.

Examination of the evidence regarding bail jumping indicates an increase from 4.2 per cent in the 1966 sample to 6.7 per cent in the 1969 sample, the rise being due to cases where discretionary bail had been granted. Drunken offenders, as might be expected, have the highest absconding rate.

Reference, albeit briefly, is made to the influence of the type of offence and previous court record on the decision to grant bail; to the relationship between remands and the result of the case; and to the type and incidence of special conditions attached to bail.

On reflection, one is left with the impression that the number of remands in custody is still too high in spite of the provisions of Section 18. Perhaps the time is ripe for further discussions on this difficult but important matter.

GRENVILLE SWIFT,
Senior Probation Officer, Sheffield.

BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE AND MODERN PENOLOGY

Edited by W. H. LYLE and T. W. HORNER
Charles Thomas, 1973. \$11.95

WERE one to draw up the specification of a book with *Prison Service Journal* readership in mind, then one could hardly do much better than a book of readings designed specifically for the training of prison staff jointly edited by a prisoner and a prison administrator. No one who has ever been engaged in such training programmes, as organiser or recipient, could be unaware of the opportunity that such a book presents or of the gaps it might fill in the present literature. The connections that might be made! What do contrasting perspectives in the philosophy of punishment actually signify in everyday institutional practice? What does it mean to be a prison officer and how do debates as to

the function of prison relate to the exigencies of control in a custodial setting? Do such issues impinge upon prisoner perceptions and what is the relationship between the prison mandate, the prison regime and inmate culture? Regrettably, this volume grasps none of these opportunities.

Lyle is a former chief psychologist of the Federal Penitentiary in Illinois and Horner a prisoner from the State Penitentiary in Nashville, Tennessee. The introduction, a spare four pages, tells us nothing of the editors, justifies the collection in terms of in-service staff training and touches on root issues only to skate over them. Thus, we are informed that the fourth section, "The Implementation of Correctional Theory", "zeroes in on the social lag extant in the field of corrections". Admitting the use of cliché, and quite failing to go beyond it, the editors argue that penological "theory is miles in advance of practice" and urge that the gap be closed lest "those from outside the system may in haste abandon it (penological theory)". No attempt is made to analyse the nature of the gap, neither is there any suggestion that its existence might in some way reflect upon the quality of the theory rather than . . . what? —the ignorant conservatism of prison staff?

There are few interesting pieces amongst the 33 contributions. Several are from distinguished and familiar authors but, reprinted from lesser known American journals, they are not likely to have been available to most British readers. The themes are invariably old and the treatment so tired that I doubt they will constructively serve a training programme. Only one contribution is from a prisoner and had the footnote informing me of this been omitted I would not have guessed. It contains absolutely no reference to the experience of imprisonment.

Most disappointing of all is the section on the training and selection of correctional officers. Not only is there no contribution from an officer, but there is often a total disregard for the basic duties and responsibilities of uniformed staff. I could not help wondering whether the professor of psychology who wrote "neither guard nor keeper, the correctional officer has now to be seen as teacher and mediator of the process of education" had ever been in prison. On such occasions I was reminded of the memorandum submitted by the Assistant Masters Association to the Royal Commission on the Penal System: referring to remand and detention centres the association took the view that such institutions "should be so organised and managed as to produce in them the atmosphere of a good school". Prisons are not schools, neither are they mental hospitals: were those who write about prisons more conversant with the perceptions of prisoners, and with those of officers who are employed to contain them, then they would use fewer facile and misleading analogies.

ROD MORGAN,
Lecturer in Sociology, Bath University.

EVALUATION AND CONTROL OF TRAINING

A. C. HAMBLIN

McGraw-Hill 1974. £4.25

TO PARAPHRASE Max Weber, the evaluation of training is not like a cab that one can choose whether or not to board. That is not the choice. Training courses are inevitably

being evaluated both by the participants and by the trainers. The question is not whether evaluation takes place but, rather, how systematically it is organised and how effectively the data are used. This is a practical and common sense assumption upon which this book is based. Yet, it must be admitted, these are not self-evident truths to all involved in training. Some clue as to why is to be found in chapter 9, "The Problem of Measurement". Here Hamblin distinguishes between what he calls the "scientific" and the "discovery" approaches to evaluation. The former approach follows the hypothesis-testing procedures of the scientific experiment and aims to establish a scientific truth. The latter does not aim to prove anything but, instead, to find things out. The purposes of the discovery method are to steer on-going programmes and/or to improve future programmes. Indeed, entirely new goals may emerge as a result of interaction with those undergoing training. Evaluation, in this sense, is an integral part of a training/evaluation cycle rather than a separate activity. Not only training programmes but also evaluation techniques are likely to become more effective as the training/evaluation cycle is developed.

The notions of a continuous training and evaluation process—a self-correcting training system—and a series of levels at which evaluation may be undertaken are not, of course, new. In this book, however, Hamblin has combined them in a novel, workable model to enable trainers to identify appropriate evaluation strategies and to operate them. The model is embodied in a diagram on a handy, pull-out page at the back of the book. Most of the first half of the book is a detailed explanation of the model and how it works. Its possibilities are illustrated by many practical examples. The second half of the book is concerned with techniques appropriate to the various levels at which evaluation may be undertaken. Not all are fully explained but a thorough bibliography is provided—making a full and useful guide for the trainer's bookcase. In keeping with the practical tenor of the work, Hamblin does not advocate slavish adherence to established methods but encourages adaptation and innovation.

In presenting his model and explaining its use, Hamblin draws attention to two factors which are not always sufficiently stressed. The first of these is the "Hawthorne effect", often associated with systematic evaluation, in which trainees respond positively to the interest which they infer from the questions they are asked. Evaluation, in short, may itself have a beneficial effect upon the programme being evaluated. The second factor is that the effectiveness of training is to some extent, possibly to a great extent, dependent on features of the organisation from which the trainee is drawn. Thus, even if something is learned effectively, it will not be used for long, or at all, when neither recognised nor reinforced by line-management in the back-home situation.

In a final chapter, Hamblin goes on to argue that in time training will of necessity become merged with other management functions. This last chapter is out of keeping with the rest of the book. It may well be helpful for an author to declare his bias but if he wishes to justify it he should allow himself more space. One feels sure that a person of Hamblin's standing can justify his beliefs, but what comes across here is a rather tenuous argument and some rather emotive polemic about educational technology. It is suggested that

... educational technology can be seen as a *backlash* movement, designed to bolster up the declining authority of the trainer by increasing the bureaucratic controls at his disposal". Bureaucracy, as an inappropriate organisational form in a time of rapid social and technological change, receives what many regard as well-deserved criticism. It is arguable, however, that many of those that have been developing educational technology in general, and programmed-learning in particular, also saw themselves as attacking a manifestation of bureaucracy. A feature of all bureaucratic organisations is routinisation and a feature of routinisation is the transformation of means into ends in themselves. This continues to happen in bureaucratically organised training and education. To borrow the terminology of Eric Berne, much of what passes for education and training is of the nature of a ritual or a game. There is an undeclared contract between most trainers and trainees. Trainer: I will lecture and hold classes but I will not *really* expect you to learn and to apply your knowledge. Trainee: I will conform, not question the relevance or importance of your material, so long as I do not *really* have to learn and apply my knowledge. Centralised control and the omniscience of the man at the top are not the only stultifying features of bureaucratic organisation, get-nowhere games and rituals are as stultifying. Educational technologists, it may be argued, break up the games and are, in this sense, anti-bureaucratic. Although it must be admitted that educational technology is singularly well adapted to abuse by bureaucratic organisations, it does not follow that the possibility of such abuse is what motivated the people who developed it.

A readable, practical book for the trainer but also one which has importance and relevance beyond his specialism. It should be said that much of what Hamblin writes about setting objectives, implementing programmes and measuring their effectiveness could, with a modicum of imagination, be taken up and applied in the management of penal establishments.

DEREK SHAW,

Head of the Induction Training Department,
Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield



SOCIALIST CRIMINOLOGY: Theory and Methodology

E. BUCHHOLZ, R. HARTMANN,
J. LEKSCHAS, G. STILLER
Saxon House 1974. £8.00

THIS well-produced and, at first glance, well-documented book will be a great disappointment to those who are hoping to learn more about criminal behaviour in the socialist countries of eastern Europe. It is written by four professors of criminal law (at the Humboldt University in Berlin and the "Walter Ulbricht" German Academy of Constitutional Law), each of whom is responsible for one of the four parts.

Readers, however, will be left in no doubt as to the socialist basis of criminology in the German Democratic Republic. This is clearly stated in the introduction and repeated continually throughout the book. Indeed, the repetition of the doctrine is so frequent that it appears in different ways in virtually every chapter, whatever the topic may be.

"Socialist criminology sees the Marxist-Leninist concept of the causes of crime as its principal scientific foundation. This concept, moreover, must be formulated as a directive for action". "This enlistment of criminology in the communal task mapped out by the Constitution in the form of a legal principle, moreover, demands that Marxist-Leninist social theory, which forms the basis of the policy of the working-class, must be made the principal theoretical foundation of the further evolution of theory and practice."

At the same time, we are reminded that "it will take a fairly long period of time to give shape to the fully developed system of socialism". The socialist struggle against crime is realised on the basis of democratic centralism in two main directions: first, by the "creative moulding of socialist social relations" and, secondly, "through the active prosecution and rejection of committed criminal offences...". These general statements of socialist criminology are contrasted with the approach of bourgeois criminology. "All those who, openly or secretly, admire present-day bourgeois criminology for its extensive methodological apparatus should always remember that a methodology based upon a historically reactionary system as an unquestionable axiom is subject to limitations in its scientific character, limitations which, beyond a certain point, make it useless for any comprehensive scientific discoveries." Bourgeois criminology, therefore, "leads science and society into a dangerous blind-alley". "What it has proved is not the eternal existence of criminality but the fact that criminal patterns of behaviour inescapably stem from the nature of bourgeois society itself."

The argument is clear but it would be more convincing if the authors showed some familiarity with the enormous variety of western criminology and, above all, of the writings of sociologists during the last 10 years. A discussion of the evils of Nazi Germany is an inadequate basis for their critique.

Prepared as we are for the authors' own analysis of socialist criminology in the remaining three parts of the book, little of any value emerges. Again there is a reminder that Marxist criminological conclusions are far more fundamental and deeper than anything that can be produced by detailed specific research. The complexity of the concept of causation is emphasised and there is a simplistic and lengthy discussion of motivation and personality. Finally, the techniques of social research are presented in a rudimentary form.

In spite of the poverty of its criminological understanding and the frequent side-swipes at the threats from the immorality and imperialism of West Germany and the United States, the book deserves a reading. Its authors are genuinely concerned to show the importance of criminology to the working of the criminal law. No doubt they may have helped their own students to appreciate this point.

Professor JOHN C. SPENCER,
University of Edinburgh.

CONTROL: THE BASIS OF SOCIAL ORDER

PAUL SITES

Martin Robertson 1974. £7.45

This American book is an interesting contribution to sociological theory but, to appreciate

its finer points, you would have to be familiar with concepts like "functionalism", "symbolic interactionism" and "organicism".

Despite the book's heavy sociological jargon, Sites demonstrates that control is "the most fundamental component in individual and social life". Understanding the way in which people—on their own or in groups—structure others' behaviour, as well as their own, is at the heart of understanding power and authority. In this book, Sites investigates the need for control and examines issues in which it is particularly evident. These include the process of socialisation (by which children are brought up) and the issues of religion (through which meaning is imparted to life) and ideology (in which theoretical positions about society are adopted).

The focus of the work, however, is an attempt to synthesise current sociological theories. In the two central chapters, Sites lists the major approaches which are used to "make sense of the social world" and sets about integrating them around the theme of control. In this, he seems to succeed—after all, control is a concept fundamental to all social situations and one which is strong enough to provide common ground between the various theories. At the same time, the treatment is disappointingly theoretical, leaving the synthesis at a level too general for immediate application or for the understanding of everyday situations.

More interesting are the sections which describe the tactics of inter-group control (part of chapter three) and which classify the strategies and methods by which control is actually exerted (chapter six). In passing, there are three pages "On Love"—"that one human relationship in which the control component is at a minimum". In unselfish love, Sites argues, all needs are gratified; there is no necessity for those control mechanisms by which we attempt to meet our needs in other situations. Unfortunately, the book's treatment of deviancy is equally limited. Sites reflects that the process of labelling other people's behaviour as deviant says more about the needs of those in judgement than about the malefactor or the behaviour itself. Put simply, those with more control are in a position to label certain actions on the part of other, less powerful, people as deviant. From the viewpoint of readers in the Prison Service, it is a pity that Sites does nothing more to explore this idea, being content merely to subsume so-called deviancy theory under his own theory of control.

Overall, there is little in the book which is of immediate, practical concern. The emphasis is very definitely on theory and the successful synthesis of different sociological approaches around the notion of control. It would be hard work to link this usefully to the world of the Prison Service.

RICK EVANS,

Senior Psychologist, Prison Service
Staff College, Wakefield.

YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS

An Examination of the Younger Report by the
Working Party of the London Branch of the
National Association of Probation Officers

1975. 25p

As expected, the London branch of N.A.P.O. has come out strongly against the proposals of the A.C.P.S. report on *Young Adult*

Offenders. The probation officers do not accept that fewer young people will be held in custody if the proposals are implemented. They feel that, with no increase in resources offered, the custody and control and the supervision and control orders are impractical and, indeed, open to abuse. In particular, the proposed 72 hours detention order is "totally unacceptable". Their main criticism, however, centres around the report's stress on *controlling* the delinquent in the community. Individual control is only one approach to the problem: the probation officers argue convincingly that more attention should have been paid to the social context and the effects of milieu on behaviour.

The A.C.P.S. report is also said to underestimate the demands it proposes to make and the contradictions it could bring about in the role of the probation officer. A summary states: "We feel that the lack of attention given to the present work of the Probation Service has been one of the report's key failings".

Instead, the London branch of N.A.P.O. calls for a public education programme and strategies which would de-escalate, rather than increase, the conflicts between individuals and groups: this is in keeping with the social nature of crime, emphasised by modern criminological theory. Changes would include removing certain behaviours from the criminal law, making the penalties for more crimes non-imprisonable, reducing the length of sentences and extending the parole system. These would enable the Probation Service to expand its role in the alternatives to imprisonment—like community service orders and deferred sentences—and to develop the voluntary and preventative aspects of its work.

This pamphlet is difficult to summarise adequately. It is radical but effectively argued and—unlike the Younger Report, in its view—well substantiated by criminological evidence. It is recommended reading for anyone wishing to understand the apparently tough line being taken by many probation officers over the A.C.P.S. report.

INTERIM REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MENTALLY ABNORMAL OFFENDERS

Home Office and Department of Health
and Social Security. H.M.S.O. 1974. 14p

In issuing their interim report, the committee under Lord Butler have marked "the urgency of the provision of several units providing some 2,000 beds for the treatment of psychiatric patients, and especially for patients who have committed offences". They "urge that... the greatest possible encouragement and help should be given by the central Government to the responsible regional health authorities, to ensure that the units will become available in the shortest possible time". It will be interesting to see whether there is any action before the full report appears.

A RIGHT TO READ

The British Association of Settlements,
1974. 20p

"THERE are at least two million functionally illiterate adults in England and Wales. They are either quite unable to read or write, or they have a reading age of less than that you would expect in a nine-year-old child. More still have a reading age of between nine and

13 years. Thirteen years is functional literacy level as defined by U.N.E.S.C.O."

Just what "functional literacy" means is spelt out very clearly in the first part of the pamphlet: it includes examples of literature from newspapers, household articles, consumer instructions and official leaflets, all of which illustrate how fundamental is the need to read well. There are also several case studies which bring home the limitations and consequences faced, in this supposedly literate society, by the many people who cannot adequately read or write.

The second part of the pamphlet presents a policy to eradicate adult literacy. It calls on the government, local authorities, employers, unions, publishers and the media to help in specified ways. Volunteers are encouraged, too, and those who believe in a *Right to Read*—be they formal representatives or simply individuals—are urged to write to the British Association of Settlements.

BRITISH POLICE IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

WILLIAM PURCELL
Mowbray, 1974. £4.50

THOSE who have seen Anouilh's *Antigone* will remember how he describes the guards: "They are policemen, eternally innocent, eternally indifferent, for nothing that happens can matter to them". In our changing society, it seems to be the public which is becoming indifferent and which could progressively undermine and destroy the police system that we have known for a century. A policeman operates with the support of the public: after all, he is outnumbered by a thousand to one. By tradition, he is a member of his community. But community spirit is disappearing under the pressures of rapid change.

But we may well ask if the situation is as bad as it looks. According to the *Guardian* of 27th February 1975, Londoners have given their police an overwhelming vote of confidence. Doctor Belson, the director of an L.S.E. survey, believes that one reason why the police underestimate their support is that the people who take up most police time, criminals and young delinquents, have a low opinion of the force.

Mr. Purcell has done his homework. In his book, he quotes T. A. Critchley of the Home Office: "The police are in business largely to deal with young people". He quotes a senior constable: "There's no respect from youngsters. We are looked upon by their age group as the enemy". With half the population of the country under 30, many apparently prepared to demonstrate violently at the drop of a hat, it is hardly surprising that the police feel nobody loves them. But it must be remembered that it is from young people that police recruits come. The author interviewed recruits in the training school: "Why did I join the police? Enforcing the law—yes. Yet doing more—assisting people". They wanted job satisfaction and the social service motive was strong.

Social responsibility brings a strong moral sense and Mr. Purcell has composed a photofit of what the police consider as the typical moral man. He is heterosexual, a firm father, a good husband, fair, helpful to the helpless, dislikes violence and has respect for property not held in excess. The question the author

asks is whether such an ideal is appropriate to modern conditions. As far as the police are concerned, the author thinks it is surely better to have a policewoman disgusted by fornication at a pop festival or a drug squad officer deeply troubled by the tragedies of addiction than a morally uncommitted, solely professional individual who is indifferent to both.

Social scientists are apt to sneer at anecdotal evidence but Mr. Purcell uses it with telling effect in his interviews with police of all ranks and both sexes. One realises that he cannot generalise because all are individuals and perhaps have only one common trait—that they enjoy their work.

The author gives his opinion that we know too little about our police. His book does much to relieve that ignorance and leads us to agree with his conclusion that Britain's police service is unique, admirable and strong. Once gone, it could never be replaced.

ARNOLD YATES, K.P.M.,

Wood Street Mission, Manchester.

PROCESS OF CASEWORK

JEAN NURSTEN

Pitman 1974. Hardback £3.50, paperback £2.00

THIS book, written by a senior lecturer in applied social studies at Bradford University, is intended "to provide the social work student and the social work practitioner with a book of case studies which shows the wide variety of problems that people have to face and the effectiveness of casework as a helping process". More specifically, "the purpose of the book is to give students a grounding in the dynamics of human behaviour, and to provide a deeper understanding of disturbed functioning and ego psychology which will help individuals with their problems".

The book is divided into five main sections, each dealing with a particular constellation of behavioural problems requiring social work intervention. Each section is illustrated by two or three case studies. The sections are entitled: "Anxiety and Symptom Formation"; "Severe Disturbance in Reality Testing"; "The Borderline between Neuroses and Psychoses"; "Character Disorders—Repetition, Compulsion and Acting Out"; and finally, "Loss, Grief and Depression". (This last is presumably placed at the close of the book in order to help the reader come to terms with the ending of the narrative!) Each section begins with a very short introduction to the general theory relating to the cluster of problems illustrated and ends with a bibliography which usefully lists more articles than books.

The fourth section, dealing with character disorders, is perhaps of most interest to members of the Prison Service since so many of our clients are said to be in this general group. Indeed, this section contains the only case study in the book in a residential setting, even though the worker is not resident but visits the remand centre from a local clinic. This case concerns Len, a 15-year-old black adolescent whose delinquent acts include larceny and assault. "Casework at the residential setting involves helping him in his reaction to authority and channels his need for activity in a constructive way." One notes that it is

casework "at" the residential setting rather than "in" the residential setting.

The whole book assumes the reader to have a good grasp of the concepts and terminology of ego psychology and approaches each case with an unquestioning confidence in the validity of the psychoanalytical model. There are no concessions to any other perspective and in this lies the book's strength and weakness. Its strength is the purity and vigour of the treatment model deployed—the reader certainly knows where the author stands. On the other hand, a more eclectic approach with acknowledgement to the insights of other, more recent disciplines, might have been more illuminating.

As with much case material, one would have welcomed more information about particular cases and, especially, more about the workers involved. This is, however, an inevitable feature of the intrinsic interest generated by live material.

The theoretical introductions to each section can be helpful. "For the neurotic client, treatment aims to liberate from guilt, anxiety and self-blame, but in the case of clients with character disorder, treatment must bind, set limits, reduce impulsiveness and produce elements of guilt and anxiety rather than be reassurance and release from such conditions." But sometimes the jargon can be obtrusive ("In terms of psycho-sexual development, it could be said that the parents had phallic strivings and were on the threshold of the oedipal stage but had problems around success.") and the comments banal ("His conflict probably originated in his early relationship with his mother").

Nevertheless, within the limits it sets itself, the book does succeed and provides interesting material for the practitioner to examine.

ALASTAIR PAPPS,

Assistant Governor I, Wakefield Prison.

STREETWISE CRIMINOLOGY

Edited by DUANE DENFIELD

General Learning Press, 1974. £5.50

THIS book is a collection of almost 70 articles taken from a variety of journals and magazines and written by law makers, law enforcers and law breakers.

The editor's approach is to observe the criminal justice system through the writings of people within the system. This is not claimed to be a more objective approach but one that might be more brutally truthful. The hope voiced in this collection of first-hand accounts is the possibility of scientific gain and a contribution to the development of theory. Objective statistical study of criminal behaviour dominates the field. Denfield proposes that there is benefit, both theoretically and methodologically, from the study of first person accounts of the criminal justice system. He claims that this method offers the opportunity to study information from the uncaught and unconvicted, people who may be very different from the incarcerated offenders who are usually the subjects of sociological studies of the criminal justice system.

An example of this approach is found early in the book. It is a poem by Etheridge Knight. Asked by the warden of the prison why the black boys don't run off like the white boys do, Knight replies: "I reckon it's because we ain't got nowhere to run to". Malcolm X is quoted as saying that if you are black and

born in America you were born in gaol. Denfield uses those two statements to suggest that the absence of a dramatic difference between the prison of the ghetto and the State prison may be a lower black escape rate.

Within this approach, there are three recurring themes:

- that everyone is criminal;
- that crime is learned; and
- that the response to a criminal offence depends not so much on the economic or social cost of the crime but rather on the status of the offender.

Many of the contributors are coloured Americans, some are political activists who are unashamedly at war with the police whom they see as representing white laws which are repressive and anti-black. The overriding impression from the articles is one of violence and hatred. Accepting that the authors are not representative of all Americans, the book nevertheless portrays a frightening and depressing picture of America.

On the lighter side, I was amused by the "catpurse" who claimed the best place to stand when looking for potential victims was next to the "Beware of Pickpockets" sign in any department store. This is where people automatically check whatever pocket their money is in.

The section written by sexual deviants of all kinds I found boring and trite and it was not until I reached an article describing an interview with Angela Davis that the pace and interest quickened. This part was the most frightening in that it dealt with "unnecessary laws" and most of the articles come from coloured and other minority group representatives.

I found the two most interesting articles were the ones dealing with the enquiry into the Cummings Farm Unit in Arkansas—compulsory reading for those involved with the running of penal institutions—and the other by a former prison director on a visit to the now closed Alcatraz. He calls for a hospital for research into abnormal behaviour to which severely disturbed prisoners could be sent for study and treatment. His thoughtful and balanced article is headed "Prisons of the Space Age" and I wondered where that leaves Grendon? The writer ponders what kind of legacy his generation of prison administrators had left and whether in fact the groundwork had been set for a new era of progress.

I was left with the impression that, overall, the book had not achieved its stated aim and would not be particularly interesting to those working in prisons. If it has any value it may be read with benefit by those who criticise our own society, police and prisons. We may have a lot of shortcomings but we seem to be a good deal further along the road to progress than those critics would have us believe.

MIKE LANGDON,
Governor, Appleton Thorn Prison.

CONVICTS, CODES AND CONTRABAND:

The Prison Life of Men and Women

VERGIL WILLIAMS and MARY FISH

Ballinger, 1974. £4.80

This book sets out to look at the subculture of the institution from an economic rather than a sociological standpoint. The rationale for the book is that economists have been notably absent from the research and literature

on penal establishments and that this omission should be made good in the belief that an analysis of the economic activity (both official and illicit) may shed some additional light on the informal social organisation.

A brief comment on the methodology is called for. The authors have relied for their material on a mixture of participant observation (as teachers) and an extensive inmate literature, preferring fictional accounts to non-fictional ones on the grounds that an inmate need not feel constrained by peer group loyalty if he is writing a fictional account. Such fictional work is quoted widely throughout the book and gives it a distinctive flavour with such gems as: "Think of all them fools out there bustin' their arses so them bitches can sit under those hair dryers . . .".

The main interest of the book lies in the two central chapters describing the illicit economic systems of men's and women's prisons. I suspect the early part of the book, introducing the reader to the background literature, will prove too familiar and scanty although the reference to the work of Warden Watkins at Draper Correctional Center is tantalisingly brief.

For me, the authors have raised two fundamental issues:

- Is the inmate subculture a functional response to the pains of imprisonment (as Sykes suggests) or is it a continuation of the criminal subculture of society outside?
- Are the inmate roles as depicted by Schrag and Sykes rooted in the social organisation or the economic organisation of the subculture?

The first of these leads into the very interesting question of whether the illicit economic activity of the inmate community merely mirrors the entrepreneurial activities of many members of society outside or whether it is a functional response to the scarcity of goods and services. The authors suggest that there is a discrepancy between the prescribed code (something akin to Christian socialism) and actual behaviour, a fact which seems to be generally true of the operation of the entire inmate code.

This book is not wholly successful in clarifying some of these issues which it raises, but it must be counted as a significant addition to the literature on institutional theory.

RICHARD TILT,

Assistant Governor, Ranby Prison.

FIRE AND FIRE RAISERS

DONALD SCOTT

Duckworth 1974. £3.45

THIS is a most entertaining book. I read most of it in the waiting-room at Exeter Station between trains and became oblivious to my surroundings. I found myself fascinated by the descriptions of the great fire of London, convulsed by the activities of the Leopold Herr's gang and intrigued by the mental illness which afflicted the man who set light to York Minster in 1829. The author, Dr. Scott, is consultant in clinical encephalography at the London Hospital: he tells a tale well and has the knack of describing a case history in such a manner that the patient comes to life for the reader.

Dr. Scott divides his fire raisers into four groups: people who deliberately set light with a view to financial reward; political fire raisers, as in Northern Ireland; those who destroy themselves by fire; and those whose motives he describes as deeply perverted. This last group includes those who light fires in revenge or as a result of their "voices".

The first group is illustrated by a hilarious account of the Leopold Harris gang which operated a fire-raising business. Mr. Harris was a fire assessor who was expert at dealing with claims on behalf of the unfortunate people who had lost their possessions in fires. Since he received a percentage of the compensation money, he decided it would be profitable to get his clients to stock up their showrooms with cheap or damaged stock and then set fire to it. Mr. Harris then dealt with the claims which were, of course, far more than the stock was worth. Surprisingly, Harris and his associates operated for some six years before their activities were stopped.

The second group, the political fire raisers, includes Guy Fawkes and those responsible for the Reichstag fire. More relevant to the present time, however, are the problems of Northern Ireland and Dr. Scott diverges into a discussion on the learning of aggressive behaviour by children living in a criminal subculture or in strife-torn areas. In discussing the third group of fire raisers, Dr. Scott describes the suicide of Jan Palach, who burnt himself to death in Prague at the time of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1969. Was he mentally ill? Dr. Scott thinks not: this was an example of frustrated, aggressive feelings which, unable to find an outlet, were turned inwards and led to self-destruction.

The remainder of the book is given over to the apparently motiveless fire raisers. This section gives some explanations of the probable reasons as to why people start fires and it includes the more obvious types. These are the exhibitionist, who lights a fire and then makes himself the hero of the hour by taking a major part in discovering and putting out the fire, and the psychotic fire setter who lights fire for thrills. It also mentions the fire fetishist: this is a term I have not come across before but one which describes the solitary man who gets sexual excitement from fires.

There is a brief discussion of the legal issues involved and the problems of treating fire raisers. The need for a period of assessment in secure conditions is mentioned and nobody would quarrel with this. Neither would most psychiatrists disagree with the statement that it is extremely difficult to decide, in a particular case, whether treatment has been successful. Indeed, of all the people the psychiatrist deals with, fire raisers are the most worrying since a relapse could, even though not intended, cause loss of life. There is nothing more difficult in the field of forensic psychiatry than to have to assess the dangerousness of a patient who has started a fire, albeit only a small one. A mistake could be disastrous.

Fire raising is sometimes an inexplicable crime and one is often left with a feeling that one really cannot understand why a particular person did start a fire. Dr. Scott's book goes some way towards enlarging this understanding. Please read it, you will not be disappointed.

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