

OCTOBER 1975

FIVE PENCE

**No. 20**  
*new series*

# **P R I S O N S E R V I C E J O U R N A L**





## Editorial Board

DAVID ATKINSON  
H.M. Prison, Leyhill

IAN DUNBAR  
P4 Division, Home Office

GEORGE FERGUSON  
H.M. Prison, Pentonville

KEN MOODY  
H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs

JOHN ST.Q. ROSS  
South-west Regional Office, Bristol

Reviews Editor

RICK EVANS  
Staff College, Wakefield

# PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Board: H.M. PRISON, LEYHILL, WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE, Glos.

For orders through H.M.S.O. for delivery by post:

Single copies . . . 11½p  
Annual subscription 41p for four quarterly issues } *Second Class*

*The editorial board wishes to make it clear that the views expressed by contributors are their own and do not reflect the official views or policies of the Prison Department*



## Contents

Editorial . . . . .	1
Social Work in Prisons . . . . . K. Ward	2
Langley House Trust and the Problem of the Homeless Ex-offender . . . . . Anthony A. Greenwood	5
The Walls Came Tumbling Down— Or Did They? . . . . . P. C. Bibbey	8
"In Honour of Primary Caregivers" . . . . . Mrs. Yvonne J. Craig	10
Letters to the Editor . . . . .	13
Book Reviews . . . . .	14

*Our cover picture shows Wing Grange in  
Rutland, one of The Langley Trust fully-supportive  
communities.*



© Crown Copyright 1975

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

## EDITORIAL

In October 1974 the Home Office issued a consultation document entitled "Social Work in Prison Department Establishments" and this paper has been—it was the intention—the subject of many discussion groups and conferences (not to mention private arguments) in prisons and borstals, and in probation and after-care offices up and down the country. Essentially it is about the role of the prison welfare officer, who is a probation officer by training and profession; but equally it is about the prison officer (and assistant governor), who are something quite different in terms of accountability, tradition and employment. The document raises issues which are fundamental to the achievement of effective and efficient care and treatment of offenders in custody.

No one working in a custodial institution, and no one who has taken part in a joint conference of probation and prison staff, can fail to recognise that these issues are still largely unresolved. In some institutions a high level of personal commitment, a happy conjunction of like minds, a local management determined to make it work, have achieved some success. In others, the divide is as wide as ever, which seems to suggest that the problem is organisational rather than philosophical. Many probation officers, especially the younger element, in our experience have enormous difficulty in accepting the authority part of their role, at least within a system which they feel is archaic and oppressive. Similarly, there are many prison officers too willing to reject and devalue the specialists' contribution—partly at least through jealousy, which arises from their own feelings of being undervalued.

In his article, Ken Ward is unequivocal in his view that the partnership is unworkable. It is just not happening in the way the Home Office fondly imagines, we have misused scarce resources, and it would be best to unscramble the egg without delay. We do not share this view, not only because of the notorious difficulties involved in unscrambling eggs, but more positively because we have seen glimpses here and there of better things. (Or were they a mirage?) We think Peter Bibbey's concept of walls and bridges holds out more hope for realistic progress, and we regret that thus far no prison staff have come forward to sponsor that approach. Also that it has been left to a social worker and magistrate (Mrs. Craig) both to demonstrate the compatibility of apparently alien roles, and to plead for more compassionate understanding at the grass roots of worker/client (or worker/prisoner) contact. Which after all is what this is *really* about.

Also currently under discussion in prison circles is the long-awaited report of the Management Review (third stage). From a quick perusal of this very complex document it is apparent that fundamental changes in the role and structure of staff and administration in Home Office establishments, incorporating a totally new approach to the functions of "line" and specialist management, are at least future possibilities. It may be through the eventual implementation of some such changes that a solution to the "welfare problem" will be found. But the debate remains very much open, and we hope that our readers will be stimulated by these arguments into sending us their views.

# Social Work in Prisons

**A problem of ephemeral expertise or professional impotence?**

**K. WARD**

THOSE of you familiar with Joseph Heller's brilliant novel *Catch 22* will understand quite clearly the basis of the analogy I want to outline in connection with a chapter in his book where he deals with the movement of the "Bomb Line" and the recent document on social work in prisons. Those of you practising social work in any capacity not familiar with his novel should perhaps drop what you are doing for a week and read it.

In the novel, some "Smart Alec" decides it makes more sense to move the bomb line on the operations map forward, showing the area he should bomb to have been captured and so obviate the necessity of further missions over an extremely dangerous area. I mean who, in his right mind, wants to fly over heavily defended territory when there is a good chance of being shot down before he manages to release his own load of destruction? Where self-preservation is paramount, it is difficult to fault the logic of such tactics.

Now some equally bright, well-intentioned individual in the Prison Department, has decided to adopt similar tactics on behalf of the probation personnel in prisons, if we are to follow the suggestions outlined in the recent document "Social Work in Prisons". It is well-known, of course, that these poor shell-shocked, demented souls have been occupying "no man's land" for some nine years now, absorbing the artillery fire that the Prison Department and probation service can pound them with from time to time. "Why don't we tell them they are fighting a battle that they are simply ill-equipped to fight and absorb them into our ranks" seems to be the attitude of a perplexed Prison Department. Not surprisingly, some of the beleaguered ranks of the probation service can see a nice conflict-free haven in these latest peace proposals

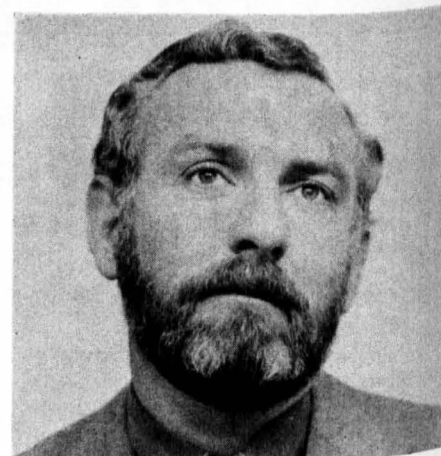
and may want to accept what amounts in my view to nothing less than terms of unconditional surrender. I say not surprisingly, because its supply lines have never been very effective and to a large extent its leaders have only themselves to blame for this state of affairs.

These observations and following comments are not based on sudden revelations as to what the work of a prison welfare officer entails, but a firm view of a situation experienced for some years now, the themes of which will have a familiar ring to colleagues in the prison and the probation service who have often regarded them as close to heresy.

To begin with, the probation service entered the prisons almost apologising for its intrusion and to a large extent has persisted with such a presence mainly, I suspect, because it has allowed itself to be continually deflected from what should be its primary objectives, by the undoubted seduction of the large institutions it has found itself in. I don't think it would be exaggerating the point to suggest that it has often looked to the Prison Department for its *raison d'être* in prison. All of which, of course, has kept it in a highly vulnerable state, unable to stamp its professional authority on the situation.

There are many good reasons for this state of affairs it seems to me and I hope, by outlining a few, it should be possible to show that the probation service has a respectable professional function to perform in prisons without adding to the monumental conflicts that the staff of the prison departments face.

In the first place, one of the main reasons why the probation service has been unable to establish its identity in the prisons has been due to its almost untenable basis of secondment.



Ken Ward served with the Probation Service in the old West Riding area and currently in Devon. He also served periods of secondment in Prison Welfare Departments at Wakefield and Exeter, where he is now Senior Welfare Officer

Now where else in social work do we find a parallel situation to this state of affairs? At a national level we find there is no overall policy of secondment, and that the guide lines which do exist give no assistance at all in solving this basic management dilemma. And so we may find that almost every probation area has its own method of dealing with the problem and perhaps hoping to get by without wanting to recognise that a basic problem does exist in this aspect of the work.

Let us ask what secondment to a prison implies in terms of man-power and we discover that approximately 10 per cent of our most precious resources are used in this process of secondment. Secondment, however, generally on very short terms, and herein I would suggest lies the basis of the probation service's difficulties in failing to establish its identity in an acceptable manner in the prisons. Acceptable that is to its professional principles and clearly understood by the Prison Department. To date we have failed in this and so the Prison Department looks for ways to ease our situation and offer what I consider an eminently unsuitable alternative.

I have noted comments in various journals during the past few years from colleagues who have served in prison welfare departments and attempted to give the impression that all the probation service has to do is to continue with its present hit and miss policy of secondment and all will be well at some time in the future.

The main question to be posed in connection with this aspect of the job is surely, what benefit does the service

and its personnel derive from the experience and knowledge gained empirically over short engagements? If this isn't a fundamental managerial problem facing the service then I would suggest that it has no problems at all. It will be argued, no doubt, that any experience is a good one in the long run and I would agree with that. What I find difficult to accept is how the service is failing to consolidate the knowledge it gains and use it to the benefit of the service as a whole and new colleagues on secondment specifically. Ephemeral expertise is of little use in helping colleagues to enter the prisons and operate on lines which give quite adequate satisfaction.

It may be, of course, that the probation service does not really want to work in prisons and that the management support services avoid their responsibilities in this area in the hope that such a state of dissatisfaction will be created by the secondment process that the only logical course of action will be to withdraw completely.

### NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY

This may be over-stating the problem to some extent, but not very much I would suggest. The evidence for such a thought is clearly available at regional meetings between the probation and prison departments. It will be apparent to anyone attending such meetings over a period of years. That is difficult to arrange for a start, because so few staff have remained in welfare departments long enough to realise just how long the basic problems of professional identity, case work in institutions and role conflicts have remained unresolved. I think the regional prison directors will be able to confirm this point. It is my view that a tape recording of such a meeting in 1966 or 1967 would reveal the same areas of anxiety and conflict at any meeting held in 1975. If such a state of affairs does exist, does it not underline the element of ephemeral expertise in this field and the obvious problems therein?

Clearly then, in my view, to date we have been unable to establish in a totally unambiguous manner on what basis we are prepared to operate in prisons. We have allowed ourselves for too long to wallow in uncertainty and apologise for our presence to such an extent that the Prison Department feels it should help us out of this dilemma and itself suggest a basis for our operations.

That wouldn't be too bad really, if the Prison Department had been able

to arrive at some reasonably acceptable conclusions about the place of social work in prisons. Unfortunately, its thinking is focussed in a totally different manner to that of the probation service. The best example I can put forward of clarifying this statement is contained in a comment I read about the differences in the philosophies of those two early German giants in that discipline, Kant and Hegel. It is suggested that Kant's approach was concentrated on the individual and that of Hegel on the collective. That definition I find is applicable to outline the clear distinction to be made in the difference of approach between the probation service with Kant's individual as the central focus for consideration and the Prison Department's with Hegel's concentration on the collective condition.

It is not so much that the probation service has a philosophy of its own whereas the Prison Department does not have one. I fail to see how any Government department (which merely reflects society's views) can be expected to have a particular philosophy if the society it is representing has no coherent policy of its own.

This notion of the collective condition also highlights a major problem area in the training of staff in prisons. It was identified by Rousseau when, as a servant, he wanted to make his mark with a woman he admired but regrettably concluded "she judged me less by what I was than by what she had made me; and since she saw nothing in me but a servant she prevented my appearing to her in any other light". Can prison staff successfully avoid this dilemma no matter how their focus on the job is directed; seeing prisoners merely as prisoners? This is not just a problem for staff, of course, because the dynamics of the process have, as Bettelheim pointed out, obvious dangers in stereotyping amongst prisoners themselves.

### NOT OUR BUSINESS

Given an understanding of that clear distinction in approach to the work of the two departments, could the Prison Department have made the suggestions they do in their recent paper *Social Work in Prison Department Establishments*? This paper carried with it the basis of that department's perennial problem, i.e. what it thinks it is in business for. It's no good the probation service being caught up in any other organisation's dilemma, in my view. To do so only weakens its

ability to focus on its own ever-changing situation. The Prison Department has the money and resources to pursue its own solution-seeking enterprises, we don't have such resources and we delude ourselves in thinking otherwise.

### ROLE CONFUSION

Anyone familiar with the problems of the Prison Department's difficulty in finding and establishing a consistent attitude to the care of its charges will be aware of the rather bemusing set of solutions it has respectively discovered and dropped over a period of 20 years. Group work, case work and now management have all been seen as the "answers" at different times. Caring these days, it seems, needs to have a rather pedantic professional label if it is to be presented as acceptable to other organisations. It is fatuous in my view for either the probation service or the Prison Department to attempt to put forward any claims to be the sole source of caring in our prisons or that alluding to Rousseau "one cares as a matter of principle as opposed to one who cares as a matter of true compassion".

Fortunately, it now appears that the Prison Department has at last moved away from the idea that case work training will provide all the answers it needs to give its caring the professional aura.

Unfortunately, it is also suggesting that the probation service too should abandon case work as a method of dealing with an individual's personal problem areas. In its document *Social Work in Prisons*, the Prison Department suggest a role for the probation service as consultants to prison staff on the social situations of prisoners and their families rather than the traditional individual involvement with prisoners as counsellor. Its paper boldly announces that "first, there has been a move away from the medical analogy that persistent crime is a sickness susceptible to individual diagnosis, treatment and cure". A clear abandonment here on the state of the individual. "Come and join us in the problems of the collective", seems to be the only suggestion they can make to the probation service which, by the Prison Department's startling unsupported hypothesis, should accept such a statement without much question and reassess its role in prisons more in line with what the Prison Department would like to see.

It is not difficult to speculate on how the Prison Department may have

arrived at such a conclusion if we consider their changes in overall training trends during the past 10 years or so. When the probation service entered prisons in 1966, the Prison Department was quite excited at its "new found" solution to all its problems, that of case work training for a selected number of its assistant governors. I have always been an unashamed and unyielding critic of such a policy and waste of public money. How on earth anyone should expect such a body to cope with its over-riding emphasis on good order and discipline; with its hierarchical structure based on power; attempts to rationalise its totally unfounded basis for saluting senior personnel and then lay claims to focus its attention on the prisoner as an individual is totally beyond my powers of comprehension. I am somewhat relieved, therefore, that the Service has moved away from that position to a recognition that management or administration is a perfectly reasonable and tenable occupation, because that is what I have always assumed governor grades should be accepted in. After all they do carry the executive power in the establishment so what else could they be?

This acceptance of a fundamental shift of emphasis by the governor grades is quite proper then in my view. But why should they assume that the probation service should also change its course? To do so would amount to a denial of the basis on which the probation service operates outside institutions, for it should not, in my view, be operating any differently inside institutions. It should not be operating, for instance, merely on the discovery or rediscovery of Caplan's crisis intervention theory, but on the whole variety of case work concepts accepted and practised every day in the field of social work. To confine the approach to one of crisis intervention alone is in a way, an admission of professional impotence. A further obvious danger, of course, is just where the Prison Department may next decide to place its emphasis. Do we again shift ground to accommodate its particular caprice?

It may not be a totally unjustified exercise for the probation service at some time in the near future to ask why it relies on highly suspect induction courses for prison welfare officers with the venue of the Prison Service Staff College. Personal experiences of these courses leaves me with the distinct impression that at the very outset of what should amount to

extended professional training, we find ourselves almost totally pre-occupied with the perennial problems of the Prison Department. From there, of course, the die may well be cast in ensuring that prison welfare officers become so concerned with another service's over-riding problems, that they fail to look at what they think they should be in business for; or are we to think that prison staff are the only inhabitants of prisons?

### GOVERNMENT BY WHIM

Why do the Prison Department see such a clear cut distinction between their methods of operation and those of hospitals? Are the social workers in hospitals continually told there is no basis for dealing with the individual and his problems? Do nurses continually request a take-over of the functions of the social workers? Do management personnel in the hospitals suggest a different emphasis by social workers in utilising their skills?

If it isn't the Prison Department as a body putting forward suggestions for a change in role for probation officers in prisons, then occasionally a particular prison governor may decide quite unilaterally that he has the "solution". One cannot overlook this problem of the idiosyncrasies of individual governors who may, with the best intentions, attempt a uniquely individual style of operations and draw the welfare department into that style. Not only can they effectively de-skill the individual welfare officers in such a process, but their tenure of office is for a limited period, and what happens when the successor decides on yet another totally different individual style of approach? Can we risk leaving prison welfare departments to the individual whims of governors, then, and merely compound the problems of those departments in trying to establish their patterns of work?

### BORSTAL MODEL

It should not be necessary for welfare departments to fall in with such practices in my view. Either the system permits a viable operation of the probation service in prisons or it does not want the probation service there. If the latter state of affairs exists, then chief probation officers should stop vacillating and merely waiting for a change of governor in the hope that all will change eventually. Isn't it time that the probation service stated its terms for operating in the

prisons and stopped waiting for some new era of enlightenment in the Prison Department which may, hopefully, allow such a state of affairs to come about?

If the Prison Department is genuine in its desire to find more job satisfaction for its own personnel, it can surely make some quite basic management decisions to effect some fundamental changes, or do the Prison Department and the Prison Officers' Association speak different languages on this issue? I would suggest they make a start in the borstal system where the probation service do not yet operate in the only identifiable area the Prison Department can think of as offering job satisfaction to prison officers, that of "welfare" and whatever they think that means. At the moment, of course, it means just about everything and nothing in this particular area of concern.

The way is open in borstals to permit a system whereby every prison officer takes responsibility to act as mentor for a particular group of boys throughout their period in a particular institution, irrespective of inter-wing transfers, etc. Over a period of, say three years, it should be possible for the Prison Department psychological services to assess any appreciable differences in attitudes and performances of staff and inmates.

At least that would be a start, because I believe that such a pattern of establishing and sustaining relationships between officers and inmates is possible even in local prisons. I am not overlooking the existing conflicts of staff shortages and hours of overtime worked, but it is no good merely to keep arguing for specific duties such as increased commitment to "welfare" and at the same time denying one's ability to carry them out due to other pressures of work. It will mean some major reorganisation of duties perhaps, but to many of the problems raised some solution could surely be found. A start in that direction is more meaningful in my view than a statement from the Prison Officers' Association and National Association of Probation Officers suggesting rather nebulously "that the personal relationships between prison officers and inmates are of major importance and that prison officers should accordingly be involved with the welfare of prisoners". There are, I suspect, numerous other avenues offering increased job satisfaction to prison staff, but it will have to be recognised at a very early stage in such changes that expecting changes in other people involves giving more of



ourselves into these human situations and no mere change of duties alone will bring that about. It has obvious implications for the training of all grades of the Prison Department, and could they effectively change their emphasis to cope with new demands?

It should be evident from all this, that I believe the probation service has a valuable (but no more valuable than any other department) part to play in prisons in the overall care and concern for the plight of those unfortunate enough to be sent there. It is not easy

copied in any society which so easily resorts to alienation of those who are themselves victims of processes beyond their own control in many cases, whilst at the same time clamouring for a more liberal approach to the offender.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Catch 22*. J. Heller.
2. *Confessions*. J. J. Rousseau.
3. *Social Work in Prison Department Establishments*. Circ. Inst. 48/74.
4. *An Age of Revolution*. E. A. Hobsbawm.
5. *The Informed Heart*. B. Bettelheim.
6. *N.A.P.O. Working Party on Prison Welfare Officers Document*. N.E.C. 15/75.

# Langley House Trust and the Problem of the Homeless Ex-offender

ANTHONY A. GREENWOOD

MOST readers of the P.S.J. will probably know that Langley House Trust is the largest organisation in its kind of aftercare in this country. It has a central administration, including selection and is recognised and supported financially by the Home Office. The structure of the Trust will gradually unfold as the article progresses.

What is the basic problem which we in Langley are trying to tackle? As far as can be established from published figures a minimum of 8,000 men leave prison each year with nowhere to go and nobody they can truly call their own. The figure may be as high as 16,000. These men are different from the average man in the street in many ways. The difference with which Langley House Trust is most concerned is that they don't belong to any network of people and associations which make up the "tribe" to which most of us belong. We have a mass of friends, relations and authorities who both bolster and chivvy us into keeping a stable position in society. There are the tribal taboos on the one hand and the rites and ceremonies on the other that control and fill our lives. Most

important of all, nearly all of us have at least one person who fills a special place in our lives; someone for whom we feel responsible and whom we would not let down at any price. The homeless and rootless ex-offender has none of these supports and relationships. For our purposes it doesn't matter in the least whether it is his own fault or somebody else's that he is alone in the world. Compared with the lot of the average man, when such a man leaves prison he is going into a world which is doubly hostile and unsympathetic, because he does not bear the marks of the "average man". Lacking, as he does, the circles of support the rest of us have, he is destined to suffer continued rejection by his fellow men. The plain facts are that men leaving prison and having no support do not manage to survive honestly for very long when they try to cope with life on their own. At the same time it must be stated also that some men returning to adequate support revert to committing crime. Turning back to those who are quite on their own, it could be said that lots of support is available in the form of

workingmen's lodging houses, reception centres, soup kitchens and individual charities of various types, but these are short-term help not in depth and are unlikely to lead to the vital change in the pattern of the man's life which is needed.

Part of the problem is that only a small percentage of the total of homeless men leaving prison ask for or will accept such support as is available, in spite of the fact that a very high percentage of those who do not have any form of support when they leave prison commit crime in quite a short space of time. Within Langley we have not so far seen it as within our task to persuade such men that they need help.

What is the philosophy of Langley House Trust in relation to this problem? The trustees and general secretary who set up the Trust in 1958 felt they had to get involved in the man's life, to provide the beginnings of a framework to which he could belong and, hopefully, thereby detach himself gradually from his earlier way of life. This is seen as a long-term job. Some men leave after too short a stay, feeling they are capable of taking their place in society without further support. When this happens, there is frequently an early clash with the law, showing that their self-confidence is without foundation. A statement regarding the philosophy of the Trust is not complete without a word about the victims of crime. Although we address ourselves mainly to the deficiencies of the ex-offender, we feel very much for the victim and are working to bring about a reduction



Anthony A. Greenwood, aged 59, has had two successful careers; one in the army (major) and one in commerce (overseas development and exports manager), before taking up social work in 1971. Joined Langley in January 1972 and now administrator and leader of Hanby House, a fully-supportive community

in crime by helping the offender to deal with his problems and become a useful member of society instead of its enemy. A man roaming the streets not knowing where his next meal is coming from or where he will sleep tonight, is a much greater threat to all our homes than a man who has his basic needs for survival.

How is the Trust implementing its philosophy? It now has 12 houses with 240 beds between them. The houses divide into three main groups. All deal with men only.

1. Half-way houses.
2. Fully-supportive communities.
3. Homes for retirement-age men and others who are younger but with no further work expectancy.

### THREE KINDS OF CARING

In each case a caring, family-like home is established where a man is asked to make a commitment in becoming a member of the "family". He is given consideration and learns to have consideration for others. He is welcomed into what is hoped to be an atmosphere of love and peace where he is accepted as he is and helped toward greater stability along the lines he wants to progress. The house-parents and their co-workers encourage each man to come to terms with himself, his neighbours and his environment at his own speed. His length of stay is open-ended to meet his individual needs. Whatever advice we may give a man regarding his length of stay, so long as his behaviour is within the limits of toleration, his decision is always respected. If it is thought that a man is ready to move on, he is so advised, but if he feels he needs longer, he is not pushed to go. On the other hand, when a man is anxious to go even though it is felt he is not ready, if after advice he still wants to go, his wishes are respected and he is given whatever help is possible as well as impressing on him to come back to us if things start to go wrong.

You will be interested to know that the cost of keeping a man in a Langley House is about £25 a week at the time of writing. This is raised by (a) the Home Office grant, (b) a board and lodging charge paid either by the man himself or the Department of Health and Social Security on his behalf and (c) from charitable sources (the Trust is a registered charity). It is currently costing the tax-payer nearly £60 a week to keep a man in prison.

The half-way houses are for men

who can go out and do a day's work and earn their keep. Hardly any of our men have paid-up the necessary contributions to be in benefit while out of work, so they have to apply for benefit from D.H.S.S. after registering for employment. Until a man receives his first wage packet, his board and lodging are paid for him by D.H.S.S. and he is given a personal allowance by them. From the time he receives his first wage he pays his own board and lodging. The amount he pays falls short of the total cost of his residence, but is the average level for the locality.

The fully supportive communities are for men who are not capable of obtaining or holding down a job; men who are too institutionalised or with emotional or personality problems which make things like punctuality, work discipline, co-operation, taking instructions, staying on the job, etc., impossible for them. To attempt to force such men into a normal work situation would almost certainly cause them to run away and commit further crime. Whether a man commits that crime for survival, to draw attention to his plight or to get back to the security of prison, the damage, loss and inconvenience suffered by other people is exactly the same. In such communities, therapeutic work areas are set up. This may involve working on the land or indoors on various handicrafts. It is aimed at having a variety of activities so that wherever a man's latent talents may be, there is an opportunity for him to discover and develop them. In these surroundings where a man is accepted as he is and not judged or condemned, some can be led on gradually until they are in the position where they can cope with all that is involved in doing a day's work and taking responsibility. We have five of these communities which are graded according to many factors including the extent of a man's inability to cope with life or to work and maintain himself. A man staying in one of these communities receives a board and lodging allowance and a personal allowance from D.H.S.S. just the same as an unemployed man at a half-way house, but with the difference that he is so supported for the whole length of his stay in that community. To encourage a man to make the effort, the Trust makes an additional ex-gratia payment of £1 a week to each man in the community. The possible withholding of this in whole or in part is at the discretion of the house-parents.

Both types of houses described have a degree of specialisation according to

age; all ages can be accepted within the Trust from 16-year olds upward. Then there are very fine "specialisations" which are dependent on the personalities and individual skills of staff as well as the attitudes of the local inhabitants in the neighbourhood of each house. These are known to the selection secretary who uses his knowledge when making placings.

The description is self-explanatory in the homes for the older men. These houses also take a number of younger men who are disabled in the sense that they have no further work expectancy. Men with physical or mental disabilities requiring specialised nursing or care, however, cannot be accepted.

### STIMULATING APATHY

Each house works closely with the probation service and has its own liaison probation officer. The relationship is a very happy and fruitful one from which the Trust has gained much. Perhaps a closer liaison with prison officers and prison welfare officers is needed, for, in the view of the writer, to help ex-offenders change the pattern of their lives, a combined operation of all our services is necessary. In addition to the statutory services, the help of ordinary people of goodwill is needed. The Trust can supply a man with a home, food, clothing and help him find work, but cannot provide him with a circle of accepting friends, apart from themselves, except with the co-operation of members of the public. This subject ties up with leisure time, which is, perhaps, more problematic than work. Left to their own devices, many of the men who have been through our homes have been found to be as lethargic about the use of leisure time as they are about work, if not more so. Efforts to organise outings, events, study groups, discussion groups, etc., are generally met by apathy. Most houses are equipped with a snooker table, dart board, table-tennis table, chess, scrabble and card games, etc., but while snooker is always popular, the games generally are most used when visitors come in and challenge our men to a game or a tournament. The most successful attempts to stimulate men to effort in new spheres of activity and endeavour occur when volunteers come in and take an interest in our men. It is as though they need someone who, as they see it, is apart from the "professionals" to signify acceptance in place of the usual rejection, someone who can be seen to be willing to give them

another chance and treat them as if they had never done anything wrong.

From this brief description of Langley House Trust and the working out of its philosophy, it will be seen that within it there is scope for flexibility in the progressive treatment of ex-offenders. If a placement proves to be wrong for an individual he can be moved, with his approval, to a more suitable home with the minimum of trauma, sense of rejection or sense of failure, all the while remaining under the same family roof, so to speak. In the case of correct initial placings, men can progress through the Trust to meet their current needs.

What measure of success do we have? This is almost impossible to assess. If and when we find an appropriate formula we shall still only be able to measure the result of the accumulative efforts of all who have been concerned with the man at all stages. To measure the effect of our efforts in isolation is quite impossible. One of our houses, however, was able to keep careful records which show that after five years of existence 43 per cent of the men who had been there had settled down to take an honourable and stable place in society at the time the records were collated. Some of these had married or been re-united with their estranged families. These statistics could be knocked on the head tomorrow if all of them went out and committed a crime. The records further show that 10 per cent were known to have reverted to crime. All contact had been lost with another 25 per cent. The remainder had gone on to some other kind of care.

What are the limitations of Langley House Trust? No agency making a serious attempt to understand some of society's problems would try to tackle all of those problems. To be credible and effective, such an agency must define its limits. Langley would like to help all ex-offenders if it were possible, but that brings us face to face with our first limitation. With 240 beds and an average stay of six months per man (this is the mean between the longer sojourns of the more inadequate and those whose stay is quite short, for whatever reason), we cannot take more than 500 a year. Secondly, it is only stating the obvious that we can really help a man only if he is aware of his need of help. This factor will be touched upon later. Then there are certain categories which are clearly unlikely starters with us. We try to keep our parameters of acceptance as wide as possible so as to include many

of the difficult cases which are rejected by some other agencies. Much thought has been given as to whether we can help the man with a persistent record of violence; at present we feel we cannot cope with him. The same applies to a man who has been a recent, persistent sex-offender, as the young residents and children of our staff must be considered. Neither are we able to deal with drug-takers or alcoholics in our present set-up. We are uncomfortably conscious of our shortcomings in these areas of great need and, perhaps, with public support we may be able to set up homes with specialist staff and provision to deal with these in the future. In the meantime, all doubtful cases should be referred, as each one will be assessed objectively by our selection secretary and help offered if such is considered to be appropriate.

What kind of people become the staff in Langley House Trust? Those who join are widely different in personality, outlook and back-ground. There are clerks, steel-workers, builders, commercial executives, agriculturalists, teachers, hoteliers, nurses, ministers of religion, social workers, military officers and other ranks, people qualified in law, theology and science. The one point of uniformity is that all are committed Christians, though they may be of any denomination. Very few would claim any special qualification for the job they are now doing. Perhaps most would say that they are doing this work to satisfy their own needs in trying to understand and meet the needs of others. The casualty rate is fairly high with a turnover of staff commensurate with all highly demanding residential work. Staff recruitment goes on continually. A high degree of job satisfaction is achieved in this work which can also take its toll of human resources.

What response do we get from men in prison? The writer finds it surprising that although a minimum of 8,000 homeless men leave prison each year, we get rather less than half our 900 referrals a year direct from prison. It is appropriate here to mention and thank the various prison welfare officers, albeit anonymously, who, during recent investigations, gave willingly of their own time to talk with great frankness about their work. These are quoted in the belief that they are typical of the whole Service. Prison welfare officers from three different prisons speak of such large case loads that there is not the time to work in depth with each man and give him adequate preparation

for discharge. The pressure on them is such, they say, that often they can spend time only with men who ask to see them and then, rather than there being a time-consuming mutual effort to lay a practical pathway for the man to follow, all that can be attempted is to find out the basic essentials a man feels he needs and try to lay on just that.

As an outside observer at risk of failing to see the real issues within the prison walls, the writer would like to be permitted to say that he wonders why the prison officers' profound knowledge of men in prison and their ways of thinking, is not used more in a welfare role. Surely, this knowledge would be invaluable in helping all inmates in general, and the homeless ones in particular, as they prepare to leave prison and especially to impart understanding of the universal need of support common to everybody in every walk of life. Another relatively untapped source of post-sentence preparation and dissemination of relevant information are the chaplains who would also be ideally suited to preaching the Gospel of the universal need of mutual support. Members of staff at any nearby Langley House would generally be glad to be incorporated in any prison team with the function of post-sentence preparation.

Why do such a large percentage of homeless men reject post-sentence support? The writer does not feel able to answer this question authoritatively, but enquiries at various prisons and among men living in our houses have suggested some answers which are offered as food for thought, with comments where appropriate. First, what are the facts? Our investigations seem to indicate that about 80 per cent of homeless men leaving prison either do not seek or actively reject post-sentence support. Here then are the ideas we have collected about this reticence:

1. Men in prison seem to be unaware of the universal need of support in life. Whatever hidden fears a man may have about discharge, the prison sub-culture seems to demand that they shall not be recognised or admitted. Many think it is unmanly to accept help on leaving prison. The feeling seems to be that a man should leave prison and take care of himself. If he fails he should commit crime to survive and, if caught, return to prison and "do another stretch, like a man".

2. Many men have no knowledge of the services and support available in Langley House Trust and other organisations. Many of our men have said "If



I had known about Langley years ago, I would have come here then and saved myself many years in prison". The question remains, would they have ignored the prison sub-culture?

3. The institutionalisation of prison makes the man want to flee any other possible institution and its likely regimentation.

4. Fear of some sort of "Christian manipulation". Although all Langley staff are Christians, they are not preaching Christians. All men may be sure they will see Christianity at work

only and not hear about it unless they ask the question.

5. Fear that the police will be notified in advance of their movements and themselves subjected to constant harassment. In fact the reverse happens. If the police are investigating a local crime they ask the house father and if he assures them that none of our men could be involved, the men themselves hear nothing about it. Our experience is that the police proceed with great sensitivity and do much to forward rehabilitation.

We would be glad to hear from any one who would like to offer suggestions as to how we can improve our service in co-operation with the Prison Service or who can suggest ways of informing men in prison of our facilities and interesting them to the point of making use of us. Correspondence and referrals should be addressed to: Mr. Alan Whittall, Selection Secretary, Langley House Trust, 25 Pine Crescent, Chandlers Ford, Eastleigh, Hants. Telephone: Chandlers Ford (04215) 61952.

# The Walls Came Tumbling Down— Or Did They?

P. C. BIBBEY

(Based on a paper presented to a joint conference of prison governors and chief probation officers from the Severn and South Wales Area at Caerleon on 23rd April, 1975)

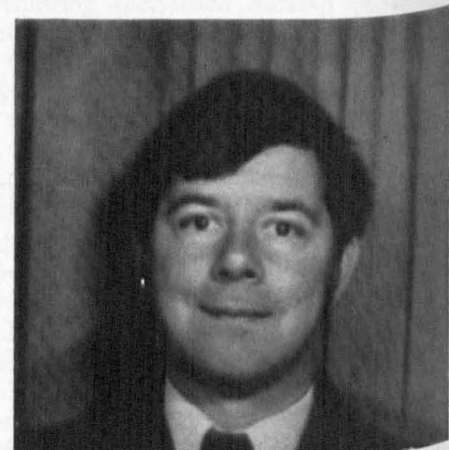
THE two words "pre-release" and "post-release" indicate the important factors in getting a man out of prison positively. They indicate not only a division between the two respective events but also a continuum between them; the division of a wall and a continuum of a bridge. In looking at our joint work both before and after a man comes out of prison, I want first of all to look at the walls that I think are built up inside which stop this transition from being effective.

The most obvious walls are the walls between the prisons and the community. We only have to look at the situations and the structure of our main local and high security prisons to realise that the walls are there as much to keep the public out as to keep the inmates in. There is thus a division between the insiders and the outsiders. Even in more open prisons there is this division which may be indicated purely by a hedge, but nonetheless is an invisible wall that the inmates know about and the public are aware of, if not certain of its exact position. Society is often very happy to hide prisoners as it does its mentally ill, a long way away behind a wall so that they can forget about them.

If you take for granted one of the prison tasks, that of security and containment, and within that context look towards the possibility of helping a man settle back into the community on his release, then one must look not only at the wall between the prison and community, but also the many walls that are set up within the prison separating the various people who should be working together to help the man.

Before looking at this I would however like to make three basic statements that should not be ignored when we are looking at institutions. The first is that institutions themselves can do very little more than contain, unless a considerable amount of effort is put into ways of destroying the *persona* of the institution itself. If nothing is done then it is extremely likely, indeed more likely than not, that institutions will do negative things to all people inside, just by their sheer size.

Secondly, the atmosphere in the prison is influenced by the kind of management. That is by the attitudes of the Prison Department and the attitudes at the top in any institution of the governor, chief officer and all



Peter Bibbey studied at Queen Elizabeth's Barnett and Queens' College Cambridge; obtained his professional qualifications at the University of Nottingham and joined the Liverpool Probation Service in 1965. He served in Liverpool as a Probation Officer, Prison Welfare Officer, Senior Probation Officer (training) and Assistant Principal Probation Officer. He has been employed in his current post as Chief Probation Officer for the newly formed West Glamorgan Probation and After-Care Service since its creation in March 1974. He is a married man with one son aged four and apart from his family, his main interests are the local Methodist Church, studying the Welsh, and squash

the way down the line.

Thirdly, any progress that will be made in better aiding the men inside can mainly be made by the greater involvement of prison officers in the whole person of the prisoner in the living unit, or wherever the man is living. The prison officers are the men who can make or break the ideas of a home secretary, a governor or a welfare officer. Therefore any progress must not ignore this movement towards this greater involvement of prison officers.

First of all one needs to look at what has happened over the past nine or 10 years. Over that time it seems to me that walls have hardly come down between various sections of the prison; the governors, the discipline

staff, the education staff, the welfare staff. Maybe in some areas they have got bigger. Attitudes between the various sections of the staff in prisons seems to me to be governed much more by the walls of tribal images, and folklore, and vested interest, and demarcation, than any constructive bridge at all. These walls have been built because each section is ambivalent about its present and future roles and is threatened by the other sections of the prison who might just conceivably do their job better than they themselves.

Firstly, let us take the prison welfare officer. The first vested interest of the welfare officer of course is his name. Many probation officers working in welfare departments wish to be called probation officers because this is what they were before they came in and what they are still employed as. However, those who work in prisons know that whilst the title is comforting to the probation officer, it can also be seen as provocative to the many other vested interests in the prison. They also can see positives and negatives in the idea of certain tasks being taken away from them. On the one hand, they continually complain about the amount of mundane and first-aid work which interferes with "real case work", but on the other hand, there is then a lot of talk about presenting problems producing a trusting, a trusting by the men which would enable one to get to deeper problems. If prison officers can do the major tasks in welfare work that the welfare staff do, what does that say for the status and professionalism of the probation officer in prison? Whilst walls might well be built up for inside there are occasions when the building materials are produced from outside. Perhaps the welfare officers' anxieties and walls are built up by statements coming out of the Prison Department such as "the welfare staff will retreat from all case work contact with clients and will be subject to social work decisions made by the wing manager", who may be a principal prison officer. Another wall is created by the attitudes to prisoners. The prison welfare officer is on the one hand happy to be cast in the non-authoritarian role in the prison, but resents being seen by the discipline staff as soft and out of touch with reality and able to be conned all the time, identifying with the prisoner to the exclusion of society.

Prison officers too have built walls round themselves. They say they want to take welfare tasks and have said so in the past for over 10 years, but in

many ways are frightened of showing too much caring and compassion for the men in their charge. They feel their "butch" image is manly. They see that many of their number are able to relate to the men in their charge better than any other person in the prison. They then say that they can take over the total responsibility for the living unit without, as far as I can see, giving serious consideration to the changes in selection and training, as well as changes in prison management that such a development of their role would require. They have ambivalence about their future involvement in working with the whole prisoner which must entail a certain element of unpredictability and also will mean a lessening of the prison officers' discipline image. For instance, many prison officers do not like the new uniform because it has not got military-style pockets and does not have the old-style belts. They look like bus drivers. Another wall the prison officers create is that whilst seeing their involvement in the whole man as being helpful, they see the involvement of the community in their domain as being disruptive. The community in these terms means anybody who is not a prison officer, including prison governors who, when all is said and done, go away after two years, with their own particular idiosyncracies, and the prison officer can then get on with the job. Similarly, the prison officers' hard line to new careerists, ex-offenders, is based purely on wall building, keeping other people out and making themselves secure, rather than on looking at whether the involvement of former offenders is effective in helping the prisoners get back into society or not.

I suggest that the governors too are a group of people who are very unsettled by new ideas because they are unsettled about their own role. In borstals, governors are social workers; in prisons they are managers. Perhaps they are uncertain as to why there is a need for a chief officer and a governor, especially if uniform staff move away from their disciplinary role into a more helpful rehabilitation planning role. From some documents, it would appear that prison governors are not even going to be wing managers. They are less able to manage in the traditional paramilitary manner, but are more beholden to uniformed staff.

Many of the troubles between prison governors and chief probation officers and their welfare staff are due to walls that have been built up to protect the

social work status of the governor. This perhaps was one of the reasons why he came into his post and certainly is one of the advertising criteria which has been used recently by the Prison Department. The many occasions prison governors decide social work matters unilaterally, without consultation either with the welfare staff or the chief probation officer, are also examples of wall building and forgetting who is on the other side of that wall.

In the analysis of the walls that have been built so far, I have hardly mentioned the prisoners because in a way they are irrelevant to the walls that are being built in prisons. They are only there peripherally. For if we remember the prisoners we shall have to concentrate on the task rather than on our own status and our making and repointing our own walls.

Thus far I have not spoken at all about pre-release and post-release. This is quite deliberate because it seems to me that the reason present arrangements have not worked is primarily nothing to do with the lack of ideas about pre-release work or post-release work, but because these walls have not been bridged. The walls within the institutions are still there and do not allow anything to happen that is of any real relevance to the men who are coming out. To do this we must look at tasks but not ignore the fact that attitudes affect the task.

It seems to me, therefore, that we should start building bridges over those walls. This conference is one of them. We must first of all be honest about our feelings for each other and express these feelings and get them out of the way first. This can be done in "T" groups; small tasks groups; trying to be honest. For if we are not, we are then building a wall which we may feel will protect us or protect the other party and indeed it may, but it has nothing to do with the common task we have. Indeed very often when we meet we suppress the feelings of anger and hostility by being over-defensive about what we said, e.g., "I was not really supporting confidentiality", or "I was not really having a go at you". In looking at these ways of bridging the walls and making them eventually become irrelevant, we must get to know each other, we must learn to feel that the other party has something to offer and that we do not have anything more than 1 per cent of the total knowledge there is. We must look at our own weaknesses and listen to what is said to us by other people to see what validity there is in their

comments, and we will find that there is considerable validity in their comments.

How do we do this? It seems to me that groups from institutions, including probation staff inside and outside, including prison staff of all levels, and the community, and, dare I say it, maybe even including a prisoner or two, must get together to look at tasks. For it is by looking at the task that is set, which could either be to do specifically with pre-release or post-release work, or any other task to be agreed; it is by working together that we create an understanding and sympathy towards each other. These groups it seems to me should be based on the individual prison and its catchment area, where it is at all possible. There is also a need for other groups; there is a need for multi-disciplinary "T" groups. There is a need for liaison at the trade union/professional association level by the

N.A.P.O. and the P.O.A.

There is obviously an opportunity for experimentation and it should not be beyond the areas of possibility for a small prison to be selected for an experimental period in which the prime task is to forget about the demarcation between the various categories of staff and to focus on the task of crossing the wall between the prison and the community by a bridge which all have constructed. There is a need for common learning groups and, in all, this programme will take years. Even if it takes three, four or five years, this would seem to me to be a much more important priority towards which to work. It is important that we do not enter this experimental prison with fixed stereotypes about our own or other people's wrongs, for if we use our present prototypes for the new prison system and if this is imposed by the Prison Department or by the

probation service, then all we will get is a re-shuffling of positions and maybe, a demolition of a few of the old ones. But if we get a rebuilding of the walls and a much greater isolation of the governors from the probation staff, from the prison officers then in the middle of all this, the poor old prisoner will be in a much worse situation.

The test of the commitment of the various parties to this unstructured role situation would be shown in such an establishment. I believe the probation service is ready and would find the appropriate staff for these posts and I hope this would be true of the other members of the prison staff. It would be by this experiment that one would see the possibility for the future of institutions rather than anything pre-ordained by Home Office circulars, circular instructions or chief probation officers' memoranda.

## "In Honour of Primary Caregivers" ... 1 Cor. 12, 25

Mrs. YVONNE J. CRAIG, J.P.

*(Primary caregivers are workers who actually tend those who cannot look after themselves responsibly, as distinct from observers, administrators and legislators)*

IS THERE not a Parkinson's Law variant which indicates that the more closely workers are involved in practically dealing with problems the less public recognition is given to their responsibilities, the fewer acknowledgements are made of their special knowledge, and the smaller number of social rewards are offered to encourage their vocational skills? Does not the equally noteworthy alliance between conservative lawyers and radical reformers in their opposition to "sentencing as a social act" (as proposed by Sir Kenneth Younger through Local Review Committees) imply a mutual devaluation of the special insights primary caregivers develop through their intimate knowledge of an offender's progress? Will not the ever-harmful separation of criminological theory from penal practice be increased by the present fashion for revealing the total failure of institutional rehabilitation, and (as Rod Morgan wrote in a 1974 P.S.J. review) by shifting our gaze "from the

criminal behaviour of the individual to the process which designates it as such"? Surely such conventional wisdom from those who, from outside the Prison Service, unlike those within it, have the freedom to publish their ideas and impressions, concepts and complaints, is seriously unselfcritical, and far too myopic, patronising and prejudiced?

### DEMORALISATION

For to talk about the failure of rehabilitation, suggests the failure of the rehabilitators, with the reactionary inference that it is a waste of public money to try and improve the prison system. There can be no more demoralising way of trying to attract vocational workers to care for inmates. Professor Stanley Cohen, a distinguished specialist in human relationships, with a lifetime reputation for deprecating the negative reinforcements society gives to the deviant's self-image, inverts his values, and patronisingly calls



Mrs. Craig is a social worker member of N.A.C.R.O., N.A.P.O. and the I.S.T.D., who now does crisis counselling. Her previous hospital and community work involved the daily care of severely handicapped and maladjusted children. She also nursed at home her own elderly relatives and leukemic child throughout serious illnesses and death. Thus her concern for primary caregivers and their dependants springs from these combined professional and personal experiences

prison officers "the caretakers of a human warehouse" (*New Society* 3.11.74). Other academics show an extraordinary unscholarly agility in climbing on the popular Mitford bandwagon, apparently only concerned, in their research projects, to demonstrate that two-thirds of all prisoners are reconvicted, rather than study why the remaining one-third seem to have been sufficiently rehabilitated. (The I.S.T.D. could give me no information about work done in this area.) Similarly, with the present intellectual bias against institutional care



in favour of community treatment, many criminologists conveniently ignore the Home Office Research Unit Study referred to in *The Sentence of the Court*, in which a five-year follow-up project demonstrated that adult offenders on probation had a 60 per cent recidivism rate, against that of 59 per cent for those in prison. Those penal reformers who have come to terms with such disappointments in community rehabilitation (Empey and Erikson's evaluation of the Provo experiment) seem to feel that the only thing left to try is Schur's "radical non-intervention model". *Critical Criminology*, by Taylor, Walton and Young, argues, amongst other things, for a decriminalisation of most activities resulting in summary offences, and also some indictable ones. Here, social and political pressures are blamed for creating early delinquent behaviour which should be left to burn itself out without counter legal, social and penal action which, it is said, will only increase the deviancy. Basically, this is a defensive "poor parent model" in which social care of, and provision for, young people suffering traumatic experiences, is renounced as being unproductive or counter-productive. Again, just as, in the past, a delinquent's family has been censured for its unsatisfactory care, so now, replacement parent figures such as penal field-workers have their roles denigrated. Unfortunately, this comes at a time when the general public, roused by the Maria Colwell tragedy, have had their own negative feelings about social workers increased. It is also now unnecessary to call us "do-gooders" pejoratively, as we have been sufficiently scapegoated by the resource failures of the C.Y.P.A. 1969 which have led to so many serious juvenile supervision inadequacies.

### QUALITY AND VARIETY

For the real argument is less about institutional versus community care—we all want far fewer people inside prison for shorter sentences on a more accurately selective basis—than about the quality and variety of care we can provide in whichever medium is most appropriate. These are the issues, in which the roles of the primary caregiver prominently figure, which have been the developing concern of practical reformers in the improvements all too slowly made, and in the innovative non-custodial measures barely past the discussion stage. Yet the public for encouraging these, and for reinvigorating all those workers on whom such progress depends, seems to be deliberately frozen by the rarified

atmospheric critique of theorists who have no daily experience of the situations about which they preach their alternative millennial directives.

Although they are supposed to be experts in communication, with a self-set task of demystifying criminology, radical deviancy theory employs a vocabulary of "sociologese" which doubly devalues primary caregivers by making them feel unable to understand what is written about them, or those they care for. This mandarin approach to the sharing of knowledge is most inequalitarian, and increases the tragic gap between practical and theoretical learning. Ironically, this Marxist-based sociology thus becomes divorced from its working-class roots, superimposing its critique, rather than using its fine intellectual capacity to develop a community criminology based on peer learning concepts, in which all the workers involved, including the primary caregivers, contribute *equally* to an ongoing, creative quest for practical answers to penal problems.

I have argued for the acceptance of the principles of the peer learning community approach in a *Probation Journal* recent article, "Brothers and Keepers", (advocating closer professional and working links with the probation and prison services). It is a view which considers that each individual worker, community or institutional, professional or voluntary, has an experience to contribute to the assessment, understanding and proposed resolution of common problems. There is a secondary belief, based on evidence from hospital and educational group work, that when workers feel their experience to be so valued, the negative aspects of their own work diminishes, mutual criticism becomes acceptable, joint objectives become raised, intra-personal hostilities are minimised, professional identities become less rigid, and caring services are more humanised. Many personnel managers have already consistently used such multi-disciplinary methods for getting the maximum effective and pleasurable response from their workers, and see John Heron's P.L.C. concept merely as a new way of giving intellectual recognition and respectability to the Biblical command that the worker community should encourage its members to care for each other.

In fact, many groups of workers have increasingly sought to develop their self-awareness and co-operative functions by learning and practical projects on these lines—even magistrates are joining with social workers in local

and regional consultations with regard to improving their juvenile services. The Northampton Child Abuse Service is an excellent example of the way in which the primary caregivers involved, the social and medical workers, the police, probation, and N.S.P.C.C. officers, plus concerned magistrates and lawyers, have collectively tried to co-ordinate resources so that preventative, protective and therapeutic services are maximised.

### SUPPORTING THE CAREGIVER

However, these advances, although receiving verbal commendation, have little material encouragement. Although primary caregivers are the chief cornerstones on which both community and total care have to be restructured, they have inadequate pay and training, and, as already indicated, no prestige accorded them for the difficult, and often dangerous, responsibilities they bear. (There was no Press coverage given to the social worker stabbed by a battering mother who had already killed one child and was refusing to allow another to be taken into care.) Hostel wardens also suffer from violence, for which they want no publicity, but for which they should be awarded compensation. As it is, there is an increasing refusal to take "hard" cases because hostels have insufficient facilities for caring for difficult residents, yet it is for these that non-custodial measures are sought. Thus we have the currently disgraceful situation in which over 4,000 juveniles per year have to be remanded to prison because the existing community homes will not, or cannot, take them. Here magistrates are the convenient social scapegoats, although, in fact, it is the social workers who demand the "unruly certificate"! There is neither a comprehensive official policy, nor a realistic philosophy of care and control, to enable primary caregivers to devote themselves thoroughly to the disturbed adolescents (of all ages) who make life such a misery for themselves and the community. Although there is a profession of confidence in the agents of supervision by Government departments, there is no collateral support for their necessary, and improved, functioning. Residential primary caregivers suffer particular discrimination, being regarded as the cinderellas of the social services, whilst the P.O.A. proposals for a home ownership scheme appear to be treated with the same lack of consideration for the welfare of the worker's family, which is too often typical of much short-sighted social planning, as police wives also know to

their cost. Principles of secrecy and confidentiality need urgent reappraisal. So do ways of increasing democratic procedures so that the individual dignity and maturation of both the caregiver and the care receiver is promoted and optimised, role exchange and "new careerism" being valuable experiences.

There is a welcome, if belated, official awareness that rehabilitation success is positively correlated with intensive personal caregiving, and the Home Office Research Studies No. 22, "Social Work in Prisons", indicate the good results which were obtained from (merely) weekly interviews with welfare officers by prisoners during the final six months of their sentence. Similar experiments by probation officers in the field tend towards the same commonsense conclusion—that vulnerable, inadequate people need intensive support in many situations where their identity and purpose is unstable, and where socio-economic, health and family pressures seem unbearable. This is a practical reflection of the deviancy theory which sees delinquency arising from poor socialisation, this in turn arising from inadequate families. The resultant dependencies and behavioural breakdowns arise from developmental failures so that the personality cannot grow to complete individuation (Jung), self-actualisation (Maslow), the fully-functioning person (Rogers). Here John Shaw's new book, *The Self in Social Work*\* helps all primary caregivers to understand how to foster maturation processes through the intimate and continuing contact their work offers.

#### THE PRISON OFFICER AS WELFARE WORKER

I draw the attention of P.S.J. readers to this aspect of increasing the quality of primary caregiving because I feel that it may be through the restructured and regenerated daily care by prison officers that the most fruitful interpersonal relationships and results could develop. Although I appreciate that the probation service has a responsibility for providing throughcare for offenders and their families, before, during and after imprisonment, it has always seemed to me that it is the prison officer who is the basic agent of hour-to-hour counselling, treatment, therapy or whatever term you fancy to describe the actual personal care and wing regimen developed. In this context, I have always regarded the prison officer as a fellow social worker, although one who is not accorded this

status, nor given the full opportunities for realising his skills, enriching his insights, and contributing his expertise towards helping those in trouble. Instead, as I have already suggested, his position is negatively formalised in custodial duties which offer little attraction to younger workers seeking a vocational caring job, he is given little professional approbation from fellow workers in the penal area, and any creative initiative is often accredited to, or devolved upon, imported workers. There is no professional intermobility between the correctional services, and as there is no thorough, consistent recognition that the prison officer is the main primary caregiver to society's most damaged and dangerous individuals, his work is neither used to advantage, nor given advantage.

It would be presumptuous of me to venture further in suggesting how training interchange schemes might benefit both probation and prison officers in more collaborative professional programmes, and how social and Prison Service departments and senior staffs might jointly assess educational and therapeutic projects for helping offenders remotivate their lives. Yet it is this task of remotivation towards useful and satisfying new patterns of life which is the basic aim of all primary caregivers, in their endeavour to help complete the parental, familial process vitiated through poverty of health, heredity, environment and will. Although improved penal conditions will help significantly, as will the privileging of deprived neighbourhoods and other preventative measures, the most simple and effective way of remotivating disordered and unhappy lives is through one-to-one warmly nurturing human relationships. All available casework evidence of personal growth studies, and that from crisis intervention research work (for the tragedy of criminal conviction, sentence and prison/probation is often regarded as an area for crisis intervention practice), shows that it is through such deep-quality primary caregiving that healthy reorientation progresses.

It is no easy task. In fact it is so costly in personal terms that some workers have to harden themselves to stay the course; others thankfully ascend the professional ladder above the fray; the theorists are so emotionally distanced from the problems that they have no accurate feelings as to what is really going on in the intimate interaction involved. Most non-penal intensive care units now realise the importance of having regular ventilative

and supportive staff group discussions, (some also including patients and families), which, although sometimes appearing threatening and confusing at first, eventually help the caregiver's personal growth as much as that of the inmates. Prisons working in a similar way will experience equal eventual benefits, especially from new, young officers. For intensive primary caregiving is work involving the deepest feelings, which, like the frightened child, the anxious parent, the nervous spouse, we too often suppress or repress, rather than examine and regenerate in positive ways. One might risk the hypothesis that the rehabilitation rate of prisons might increase, as it has done in mental hospitals, if primary caregiving relationships were deformed, unnecessary regulations minimised and regimens programmed for their educative value.

We all draw on our own life experiences, and caregiving within the family provides the basis for our emotional growth. In my own case I believe that it was from this source that developed the understanding I feel for the frustrations and difficulties of those working in the primary caregiving role, amongst whom I include prison officers. It is from this source that we derive any beliefs we have, not necessarily in a new system, a successful treatment, or some ideal transformation, but in the strength and purpose to help others, involved in extreme social breakdown, make a breakthrough to more meaningful lives.

## Articles for Publication

in the  
**Prison Service Journal**

produced quarterly in  
**JANUARY  
APRIL  
JULY  
OCTOBER**

should be sent to

the Editorial Board

at H.M. Prison

Leyhill

Wotton-under-Edge  
Glos.

\**The Self in Social Work*. John Shaw, 1974. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £1.50.

# "In Uno Tria Juncta" — and all that

## A brief correspondence in lighter vein

THE EDITOR,  
*Prison Service Journal*.

Dear Sir,

On the stars issued with the new uniform of prison officers there appears the motto *In Uno tria juncta* which roughly translated, appears to mean "three things in one". Can anyone enlighten me how this seemingly strange motto came to be attached to the Prison Service and what is it intended to convey and to whom?

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. A. E. KEEN,

*Education Officer, Maidstone Prison.*

Dear Mrs. Keen,

I refer to your letter of 8th May.

I will endeavour to discover the reasons and relevance of the motto embossed on the badges of rank on the new uniform for officers and we would like to publish your letter and the reply

in a future number of the *Prison Service Journal*.

In the meantime, my congratulations on the acuity of your vision!

Yours sincerely,

*Editor.*

COMMENT BY ESTABLISHMENTS DIVISION  
3, HOME OFFICE.

Those of us who have always been too busy to look at the small print on metal insignia are grateful that this potential consumer trap is now being looked into. (Incidentally, another educationist complained recently that the Latin was wrong. This is a triumph of modernism, since the phrase seems to have got past the Roman censors).

Sadly, it has to be said that *tria juncta in uno* is not a divinely-inspired blinding-flash insight into the whole nature of penology; nor is it even a pointer towards the economic possibilities of fitting three limbs into one set of leg-irons. It occurs on "pips" worn by officers in any of the services under the Crown, and may reasonably be

taken to refer to the union of three kingdoms in one.

### NEW STYLE UNIFORM

ADDITIONAL COMMENT FROM DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLY

The stars are not as originally recommended by the committee. The recommendation was for a five point star (smaller than the one now used) similar to the badges of rank of U.S.A. Army generals and like these worn on the lapel. It is believed that the present stars were originally produced for use when the three armed services were brought under one ministerial head in the Ministry of Defence. This would seem to indicate that the new style badge of rank is, in truth, Government surplus stock.

EDITOR'S COMMENT (*not necessarily final, because who knows what we may have stirred up here?*) *We preferred the old familiar letters "H.M.P.", which we were told on joining the outfit stood for "Honesty, Modesty, Purity".*

## UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE—INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

### Cropwood Short-Term Fellowships

THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY is again offering Cropwood Short-Term Fellowships to persons working in the field of criminal justice, crime-prevention or the treatment of offenders (including juveniles). Fellows will be attached to the institute for a period of work or study varying from six weeks to six months, according to the scale of their project. The project may involve a specific piece of research, or the completion of an inquiry already begun, and the presentation of results in the form of an article or longer monograph; the preparation of special lectures; or intensive study of a topic of practical concern.

Awards will cover living expenses in Cambridge. Fellows will have access to the institute's library and other facilities, and will be provided with study accommodation. The institute's senior staff will be available for consultation and guidance.

No formal qualifications for candidates are specified, but it is essential that they have experience relevant to their project. A well-conceived and detailed proposal is required as evidence of capacity to take advantage of the Fellowships. Candidates should also enclose a *curriculum vitae*.

Applications should be sent to the Director of the Institute at 7 West Road, Cambridge to arrive not later than 31st December 1975



# BOOK REVIEWS

## NICK-KNOCKING

### HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE NICK

JONATHAN MARSHALL

Allison and Busby 1975.

Hardback £3. Paperback £1.50

THIS book is a fascinating, if somewhat biased, account of life in Her Majesty's prisons from the inmate's point of view.

Ex-prisoners who read it will be heard to exclaim, "That's right: that's exactly what happened to me". Prison staff may take a more jaundiced view and grumble, "Just what you would expect from an ex-con". Personally, I thought the book was hilarious in some places, insulting in others and, on occasion, extremely perceptive.

Sentenced to three years' imprisonment for an offence described by the judge as the most despicable he had ever had to adjudicate on, Marshall leads his readers through the prison jungle, pausing frequently to offer advice to the uninitiated or to ridicule and abuse prison staff. On receiving the prisoner, the reception officer describes the prisoner's wrist-watch in the cold, impersonal manner of officialdom—"One yellow metal wrist-watch".

You: But it's gold, sir.

Screw: I say it's yellow metal. I'm not a fucking jeweller.

You: Sir?

Screw: One yellow metal ring with red stone.

You: That stone's a ruby, sir.

Screw: Am I supposed to be a miner as well?

Few prison officers reading this will be able to suppress a chuckle. That particular yellow metal has the ring of truth and the whole incident is a gem.

Later, describing the examination by the doctor, Marshall reminds us "to say you've got dodgy plates (plates of meat = feet) it may help you get a reasonable pair of shoes". In addition, should you prefer a cell to yourself, "make an application to the governor saying that you feel that, if you have to continue sharing a cell with two other people, you will become anti-social and violent towards them. Or that you feel being cooped up with two other men is having an effect on your sexual fantasies, so much so that you think you might turn into a homosexual".

The author's long prison experience, it would seem, has provided him with an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes and advice to amuse the reader. However, there is a darker side to his tale. The constant denigration of prison officials, in particular prison officers, is at first funny but on repetition irritating. The constant use of the word "screw" is intended to insult and will certainly be regarded as such by prison officers who are notoriously sensitive to this label. Similarly, the allegation that prison officers are willing to accept bribes, gratuities or other illicit gifts from prisoners or their families is likely to be hotly denied.

Most of this book is concerned with the anti-authoritarian half-truths we are all familiar with. Yet there are times when Marshall touches the sympathy of the reader and drives home the reality of imprisonment very much more effectively than when abusing

prison staff; for example, the description of a prison cell, "like a hole in the wall, like a world of thought, like an optical illusion. . . . Being locked in a cell is one of the unhappiest things you could imagine".

If you are about to be sentenced, read this book immediately—it's likely to be prohibited in prisons. Potential members of prison staff may also care to read it, if only to better understand the regard in which they will be held by some of their charges. Remember, there are a whole lot of Jonathan Marshalls both inside and out.

Yes, I enjoyed this book. A lot of people are going to buy it and enjoy it too. My advice for his next book?—try centre forward rather than the left wing and *don't* call me a "screw"!

SYD MALCOLM,

Principal Officer, Wormwood Scrubs

### HOLLOWAY PRISON: THE PLACE AND THE PEOPLE

JOHN CAMP

David and Charles 1975. £3.95

ANYONE who expects this book to be controversial in its content will be disappointed. In the introduction the author says that Holloway Prison had fascinated him since the days of his childhood. The reader should therefore be forgiven for assuming that the reason for John Camp's research into the origins of this penal institution, and the happenings within its walls, was mainly to come to terms with his feelings of nostalgia rather than to enrich the literature on the subject of "total institutions".

The writer renders a detailed account of the efforts that were required to undertake the task of designing and building a new prison in the middle of the 19th century, following a long period of searching, and negotiating for, a suitable site. The choice of staff to run the prison "efficiently and economically" seems to have presented problems to the Aldermen of the City of London and there is a vivid description of the difficulties faced by those whose function it was to perform to high expectations in a new environment.

The book is well illustrated and most of its chapters contain interesting facts and figures with regard to the effects of penal legislation on the prison population in general and on the inmates of Holloway in particular. The picture that emerges supports a well-known fact, namely that the kind of inmate and the developments in the treatment of offenders held in Holloway have been and still are invariably linked with the social and political scene.

For those readers with a taste for the more "colourful", there is a chapter on notorious inmates and there is sufficient space devoted to forced feeding and executions. Regrettably, the author makes numerous inaccurate statements in his discussion about women offenders today and their treatment, which makes for irritating reading—especially as sources of the information presented in the book have been obsolete for many years. The writer has achieved a more acceptable level of objectivity in examining the role of the prison officer and the concept of the new Holloway. However, there is no mention in his book of the additional burden which staff have had to bear since work in connection with the rebuilding of the prison started nearly five years ago and which made it necessary for them to function in the remaining half of the old building. They will require a great deal of support in years to come.

MISS H. LIESSNER,

Deputy Governor, Holloway Prison.

### THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE

D. C. BASIL and C. W. COOK

McGraw-Hill, 1974. £4.50

THE impact of rapid change, a phenomenon of current society, was popularised by Toffler in his book published in 1971. *Future Shock* was a pessimistic treatise. Toffler proposed that there was generally little we could do about rapid change except learn to live with it. In *The Management of Change*, Basil and Cook table a more optimistic view and suggest that, as man creates change, he can also control it.

The first half of this book restates a lot of Toffler's work, but with a managerial rather than a social bias. It succinctly analyses the origins of change, examining in detail institutional and structural change, technological change, and social/behavioural change. It looks at how organisations have attempted to cope with change to date and why some have failed. The analysis of the failures provides the clues to what needs to be done to encourage, create and control change in any organisation. Much of what Basil and Cook propose is an echo of Donald Schon's book *Beyond the Stable State*, but with a slightly different emphasis here and there. Like Schon, they suggest that an organisation must be structurally loose to cope with fast-changing conditions; that a lot of discretion needs to be given to people working at the interface, where the organisation's primary task is being pursued. They argue that the task of control or top management is to monitor the experience of those at the periphery and detect the overall trend of change, and so provide appropriate responses. By implication they say that the bureaucratic model will not be able to cope with change as control is too tightly held at the centre. Indeed, they go further and suggest that, in the turbulent environment of the last quarter of this century, the bureaucratic structure will always encourage wrong decisions and the formulation of inappropriate strategies because it is always out of date. By the time a reorganisation has been effected, the environment has changed.

What Basil and Cook do not dwell on, and this is the problem of applying their work to the Prison Service, is the fact that the nature of the organisation's primary task may dictate the structure required to achieve it. Neither do they suggest means of coping with change and the pressures placed on organisations, like the Prison Service, which have conflicting tasks. However, as it cannot divorce itself from the rapid changes in society, the Service will have to adapt and, moreover, if it is to be seen as credible, to try and anticipate pressures for change. Basil and Cook's book suggests strategies and structures which could help us do this.

J. L. UZZELL,

Assistant Governor I, Prison Service  
Staff College, Wakefield.

### ESSAYS IN THE ECONOMICS OF CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Edited by GARY S. BECKER and  
WILLIAM M. LANDES

Columbia University Press 1975. £1.85

How much crime can or should a society tolerate? To ask the question is to astonish the ordinary citizen as well as many workers in the fields of crime prevention and social improvement. To tolerate that which we condemn seems to be a contradiction. Yet to condemn a state of affairs, and at the same time do nothing more, surely implies that we do tolerate that state of affairs. Of course, toleration does not imply approval: we tolerate

a degree of ill-health, of industrial and other accidents, either on the ground that they are unavoidable or on the ground that they are amenable only at a disproportionate cost. When may costs be said to be disproportionate? Put otherwise: are there criteria for determining the distribution of resources between competing claims?

To answer that question we turn to economics as being the science of the alternative uses of scarce resources. It is evident that relative to human wants resources are scarce, therefore some wants must go unsatisfied: for example, shall we subsidise the postal charges of trade unions or appoint two research workers into the causes of delinquency? So, the cost of the former is the sacrifice of the latter: to do one is to deny the opportunity of the other. This is not to say that opportunity cost determines an actual decision: our decisions will depend on valuations which appear non-economic—for example, we may value the "democratic" procedure of trade unions more than we do research into delinquency and accordingly we shall give our money to the former. But the cost of so doing is to forego the alternative opportunity. The convention of money has the effect of disguising real costs, yet to compare costs we must reduce or express them in a common unit—that is, money. So, if we ask what is the cost of crime today in this country we raise a problem: what items are to be included in money costs? This, pre-eminently, is a question for economists.

It is a truism that a law having no sanction or which is not enforced is, *pro tanto*, no law. Law, to be realised, must be effective. Accepting this, we may raise two questions—the normative question and the empirical question. The first essay in this collection ("Crime and Punishment—An Economic Approach") sets out to answer the normative question and also, briefly, to suggest that by the economic approach "a useful theory of criminal behaviour can dispense with special theories of anomie, psychological inadequacies, or inheritance of special traits and simply extend the economist's usual analysis of choice". In short, the suggestion is that offenders can, at least in absence of distinct evidence to the contrary, be assumed to be motivated like other persons. Such an hypothesis, if true, could have important consequences for the selection and distribution of law enforcement personnel—for example, should we recruit more police and fewer probation officers? The normative question is put thus: "how many resources and how much punishment *should* be used to enforce different kinds of legislation? Put equivalently, although more strangely, how many offences *should* be permitted and how many offenders *should* go unpunished?"

The empirical or historical question—how many offences and how many offenders escape detection?—can be answered only very approximately. It is fairly evident that not all crimes are investigated with the same degree of rigour; in fact, the more serious crimes have priority with the result that proportionately fewer homicides remain unsolved than other crimes. An interesting statement, not unrelated to inflation, is that the increased ratio of cash to other forms of money which have also increased (for example, credit cards) provides an indirect index of crime—cash has obvious advantages over cheques in illegal activities.

The first essay can be read with profit as an attempt to view crime as an activity like any other calling. Readers should not be put off by the mathematics: the text can be intelligently followed without the mathematics while, for

the mathematician, there is an appendix—which most of us can do without.

The second essay ("The Optimum Enforcement of Laws") is brief and mercifully free from mathematics. Perhaps this would be the best starting point for most readers. This essay seeks to formulate "a theory of rational enforcement". The key-note is set: "The goal of enforcement, let us assume, is to achieve that degree of compliance with the rule of prescribed (or proscribed) behaviour that the society believes it can afford. There is one decisive reason why the society must forego 'complete' enforcement of the rule: enforcement is costly". Granting that cost prohibits complete enforcement so that at least some, perhaps many, offenders escape punishment, is there any other method whereby enforcement could become more effective? The suggestion is put—and historically it has been the case—that those who are convicted might be given exemplary punishment which would deter others from the commission of offences. Increased punishment to those already convicted would not add much relatively to cost. But if such increased punishment were accompanied by a diminished probability of conviction then the expectation of punishment might remain constant or even diminish and consequently deterrence would not be increased.

The remaining essays in the collection examine participation in illegal activities, the bail system, the courts, and the behaviour of administrative agencies. To explain the arguments of these essays would require a very extended and detailed review. Suffice it to say that they raise important questions of policy which the student of systematic criminology (and penology) cannot ignore. This is not to argue that the essays provide anything like a complete theory of criminal behaviour; but they do show that, at least for policy making, there are questions of an economic kind and that the variables are quantifiable.

As remarked above, readers should not be deterred by the mathematics. For the most part the text is intelligible without detailed examination of the mathematics. For teachers of criminology and administrators, the essays provide a useful textbook at least as an instrument for the formation and analysis of policy. It may be added that a second and a third reading will exhibit the economic law of increasing returns.

ALEX KELLY,  
Leeds University.

### (1) SOCIAL WORK IN PRISON

MARGARET SHAW  
£1.45

### (2) SOCIAL WORK IN THE ENVIRONMENT

MARTIN DAVIES  
£1.10

### (3) IMPACT: VOLUME 1

M. S. FOLKARD and others  
59p

Reports from the Home Office Research Unit  
H.M.S.O. 1975

OF THESE three publications, the most relevant to our work in prison is written by Margaret Shaw—*Social Work in Prison*. This study, which began in 1968, was designed to investigate the effect of extended contact with welfare staff for a group of men during the final six months of their imprisonment. The men were selected at random for the study: 80 from Ashwell open prison and 96 from Gartree. They were impartially allocated to either an "experimental" or "control" group and (after 26 cases were dropped due to transfers,

absconds, etc.) 150 men remained for the group comparison.

All the men in the experimental group were to see a welfare officer for about an hour once a week during the last six months of sentence; the control group was to continue normal, minimal contact with the welfare staff, seeing them when called up or when they themselves asked for an interview. Prior to commencement of this experimental programme, information was collected on the social backgrounds and criminal and institutional histories of the men. All of them were interviewed by research workers to assess their attitude to prison and welfare staff as well as to complete a number of psychological tests. Following the programme, the men in the experimental group were interviewed again to find out their reaction to the treatment. The welfare staff was also interviewed at this stage and asked to assess each man's response. Two years after release, reconviction data were collected for both the experimental and control groups and an after-care follow-up was also attempted.

In the event, the average number of contacts during the six months' experiment was 11 at Ashwell and 14 at Gartree although, ideally, both should have been about 24. The sessions varied around the recommended time of one hour, the majority lasting about 40 minutes. By contrast, the men in the control groups at Ashwell and Gartree had about six interviews in their last six months. Over this period, the *actual* average difference between groups in extra time with welfare staff was about six hours at Ashwell and eight hours at Gartree. It is the effects of these differences which were in fact being estimated in the experiment. Put like that, it seems unlikely that there would be much difference between the two groups, particularly in terms of reconviction.

What were the results? Information from the interviews with the inmates suggested that the experimental group had a more positive approach to welfare following its extended contact; its "general attitude" to welfare improved and the sessions were said to be helpful. In coming to these conclusions, however, the researchers combined the information from Ashwell and Gartree. The welfare officers confirmed that the reactions to interviews by the experimental group at Gartree improved significantly, although there was no such difference at Ashwell. For some reason, the researchers did not combine the two groups for *this* analysis.

To my mind, the most important result was the effect of the experience upon reconviction rates: 57 per cent of the total experimental group was reconvicted compared with 76 per cent of the control group. This result is highly significant, in statistical terms, and the conclusion is that the extended contact for the experimental group led to this reduction of almost 20 per cent in its reconviction level. Remembering the *actual* difference in contact for the experimental and control groups this result is quite surprising. Closer inspection is called for! In fact, the statistical difference between the groups is based upon the information from Ashwell and Gartree *combined*. Analysis for each institution (which is given in an appendix) shows that the result was of minor significance at Gartree and was not significant at all at Ashwell. Combining information improves the statistical significance by increasing the size of the groups. Adding together information from such different institutions, however, is something to be avoided. A great deal of evidence is presented

in the report showing how dissimilar the Gartree and Ashwell men were in a variety of respects and to combine information, in the way the researchers have, is possibly misleading.

They should also have been far more thorough in their consideration of whether the control and experimental groups were in fact comparable. This question is crucial in research of this kind. In the report, we find full demonstrations of the well known dissimilarities between open and closed prisons but only a few paragraphs (on pages 65 and 66) about the differences between the experimental and control groups. In these paragraphs, the researchers conclude that there were three important differences, two of which suggest that men in the control groups were more likely to be reconvicted anyway. These could even account for the difference observed in the reconviction rates at Gartree. Unfortunately, we cannot examine this question further because the research workers do not give sufficient detail, nor is it possible to disentangle the information from the two institutions.

In summary, there is a lot of valuable information reported in *Social Work in Prison*, but I do wish that material had been treated as coming from two separate experiments, one at Ashwell and one at Gartree. The institutions, their populations and welfare facilities are too different to justify adding information together and reporting it as one experiment. Incidentally, one of the most interesting conclusions was that non-welfare staff, particularly officers and civilian instructors, might take on a more "welfare orientated" role. This, as well as the question of the effect on reconviction of extended welfare contact, merits (as the researchers point out) "more investigation".

Another H.O.R.U. report is by Martin Davies and is called *Social Work in the Environment*. This is the second report of a trilogy on probation and after-care. It describes the work carried out by probation officers in the environmental setting—the homes, employment, friends and family of clients aged between 17 and 20. The study was descriptive rather than involving any experimental intervention and consequently many of the conclusions are necessarily tentative. Davies does conclude, however, that there is little evidence that environmental treatment within the current probation system is of much significance in reducing the level of environmental stress of clients. He suggests that research is needed to evaluate the ways in which the practitioner can be more effective and concludes that this can best be done through experimentation. Towards the end of the report, Davies describes a theoretical model which he suggests helps in conceptualising the relationship between the probationer and his environment and in considering the probation officer's intervention.

The final report is about *IMPACT*—intensive matched probation and after-care treatment. It is the first of two reports, the second of which will be published later and will give the main findings and conclusions. The present report, however, describes the implications for *IMPACT* of previous Home Office probation research and goes on to describe the *IMPACT* research design and to give an interim evaluation.

The general aim of *IMPACT* is to set up a co-ordinated series of experiments to investigate ways in which more intensive and varied treatment can be matched to the needs of

different high-risk offenders. Briefly, it is hoped to define a typology of offenders, involving personality and situational dimensions, and to explore the effect of "support" or "control" applied individually or through the situation in which the probationer lives. The research is based on four different areas throughout the country where eligible cases are randomly allocated to an experimental or control group. The design is complex and ambitious and is likely to generate a mass of interesting information. The interim evaluation given in this report describes the development of treatment methods within the context of smaller case-loads as encouraging and reports that the probation officers showed a favourable response to the experiment. When the main findings and conclusions are published they should make very interesting reading.

GLORIA LAYCOCK,

Senior Psychologist, Wormwood Scrubs.

## POLITICS AND CRIME

Edited by S. F. SYLVESTER and E. SAGARIN  
Praeger, 1975. £5.50

Given the flood of books on all aspects of social science and the rapid inflation in their cost, together with a world-wide paper shortage, one wonders whether books such as this should have ever been published. It comprises a collection of papers given at the Second Inter-American Congress of Criminology in November 1972 and, basically, that is what is wrong with it, for a collection of conference papers does not necessarily make a good book.

Conferences aim to provide an opportunity for scholars to meet and exchange ideas and swap criticisms. Conference papers need not be finished products and they are more often a presentation of ideas in progress so that further development may benefit from the comments of colleagues. This book comprises three types of contribution which bear the hallmark of being simply conference papers:

1. There are papers which seek to report developments in a particular field, review the situation and evaluate progress. For the British audience, these are largely irrelevant since they focus almost exclusively upon the American scene rather than upon generalities that might apply here.

2. There are some highly competent but very specialised papers which ought really to have been published in specialist journals. One which stands out is a paper on the viability of the "Grand Nuremberg Defence" within the American legal system.

3. There are a number of papers which, with further development and greater elaboration, might have become significant contributions to their field. For instance: a study of the way the record industry convinced law makers of the need to extend the copyright law to cover their products; a case study of how external pressure is brought to bear upon law courts; and the ways in which the informal demeanour in court presents an aura of guilt around the accused. However, published here, they show all the signs of prematurity.

The book purports to have a clear theme, but I found it hardly discernible. The editors claim the book is about iatrogenics (a medical term referring to treatment which makes the condition worse) and decriminalisation—which does not mean reducing recidivism, but removing certain offences from the criminal statute book. True, "decriminalisation" did appear occasionally in the text, but it hardly can be said to have provided integration for the whole.

P. A. J. WADDINGTON,  
Leeds University.

## "PERSPECTIVES ON ORGANISATIONS"

CHARLES PERROW, MARTIN ALBROW and  
DAVID SILVERMAN

Open University Press, 1974. £1.60

*Perspectives on Organisations* forms the basis for the concluding part of an Open University course entitled "People and Organisations". Being a conclusion, there are times when it assumes a knowledge of the rest of the course, but this detracts surprisingly little from the value and validity of what it has to say. It is an essentially cautionary book. Each of the three authors takes a look at the field of the study of organisations, at its inconsistencies and incompatibilities, and in his own way highlights the problems and points out the difficulties.

Charles Perrow likens the study of organisations to that of a zoological garden inhabited by a variety of strange beasts. Our ability to find out about them is hampered by all the zoologists being blind and the difficulties are multiplied by each of the enquirers looking at a different specimen or a different part of the same specimen. Translated into the field of organisations, this means that what is happening is that like is not being compared with like. Yet, Perrow argues, those who have studied organisations have shown considerable concern that they should be able to produce an all-embracing model. Common ground can be found, but the statements which emerge tend to be of that lowest-common-denominator variety popularly known as blinding glimpses of the obvious. The major problem is perhaps that each researcher moves into the field with a different perspective or interest in the subject. Three of the many possible viewpoints are that of management (with the object of increasing efficiency), of the workforce (with the object of creating a more congenial working environment) and of plain curiosity. As well as each researcher's perspective or interest being different in some way, it also changes over time, something not frequently admitted openly by researchers. Perrow concludes that perhaps diversity does not matter so very much. If the study of organisations aims to give each individual a working understanding of the organisation that concerns him most, then the wealth of material available gives him ample scope to choose such bits and pieces as make most sense of his own situation.

Martin Albrow looks at a different problem in the field of the study of organisations by asking whether a science of organisations is possible. Even if one is not very concerned with the answer to the question there are one or two very interesting points which emerge from the study. First, for any organisation there can be a technology, a set of propositions and approaches that can help it function better. This is something that concerns us all. An understanding of business organisations may not help us much in running prisons, but a deeper understanding of what goes on in prisons cannot be anything but good. Secondly, what we think goes on in fact affects what happens. If a researcher thinks that something happens in a particular way, and everyone concerned accepts this as a reasonable description, then the chances are it will start happening even if it was not before. Maybe we should be a little less ready to prophesy doom and court despondency.

David Silverman concludes *Perspectives on Organisations* with a short postscript. He argues that we should not be too concerned with abstract truth, knowledge and universal validity. What matters most is usefulness and the study of organisations is producing for us the tools by which we can come to a better



understanding of how a particular organisation works and so learn how to make it work better.

Like everyone else, we in the Prison Service live in a changing world. Habits, attitudes and practices long accepted are being swept away. We need to know how change is best introduced, how what actually happens relates to what we hope is happening. The field of the study of organisations provides us with some of the theories we need to cope with change. *Perspectives on Organisations* has one very encouraging message for us: by all means find out what happens elsewhere, but don't be afraid to draw up your own rules and work things out for yourself, because all that really matters is that a particular approach works for you and your organisation.

R. P. HALWARD,  
Assistant Governor, Gaynes Hall Borstal.

### "HACKS, BLACKS AND CONS: RACE RELATIONS IN A MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON"

LEO CARROLL

Lexington Books, 1975. £8.55

PERHAPS all that an author or researcher can do in the context of prisons and race relations is to warn. This Leo Carroll sets out to do in *Hacks, Blacks and Cons* after six years of experience in prisons, first as a guard and later as an observer.

Taking the real, but fictitiously named, Eastern Correctional Institution (E.C.I.) as his model, the author argues that humanitarian reforms within prisons effect no substantial change in the level of brutality and violence. His analysis of race relations in E.C.I. shows it to be a reflection of the society it serves. In other words, a humanisation of American correctional prisons presumes a humanisation of American society. Looked at in this way, Carroll confesses that he is not optimistic about the possibilities of humanisation. He still hopes, however, that his book will contribute at least in a small way to its realisation.

It is difficult to relate his warnings to the British system because of the different staff structure and administrative procedures at E.C.I. Certainly we would not want to see the politically-appointed governor in this country. This, however, does highlight the problem of "political" interference, which reduces the governor to a "puppet on a string"—interference by people who, in many cases, have the power but not the responsibility. Such interference led to the institution of a reform-orientated policy to cope with an increase in the black inmate population, black consciousness and a series of racial disturbances. As a result, contradictory goals were assigned to the institution which in turn resulted in ambiguous roles for the officers ("hacks"). Whilst being ordered to be more "reformist" the officers were, in the emotive situation at E.C.I., expected also to retain a commitment to the goal of custodial control. The politicians, through the governor, were in effect asking for the best of both worlds. In any country, this would tend to bring about a deterioration in working relationships between the management and the staff.

With their coercive power eroded, the staff at E.C.I. attempted to maintain order and protect themselves by allowing their authority to be corrupted. Off the job, they engaged, through their union, in a minor rebellion against prison administration. The objective was to secure more stringent custodial regulations which they saw as necessary because they recognised that the resources at their disposal had been depleted by the reforms.

What they perhaps did not fully realise was that their capacity to mobilise their still considerable resources had been impaired by their anomic state.

Carroll breaks the white prison population at E.C.I. into its component parts. These "cons" comprised 78 per cent of the population. The prevailing relations between the many cliques were competition and conflict, so that the "whites" could be described as an aggregation of individuals having little sense of loyalty to others beyond their immediate associates. They behaved in a variety of ways that had their origin and support both within and outside the prison. Unlike the "whites", the "blacks" were united. Their racial solidarity was grounded in "soul" and "black nationalism" imported into the prison via the Afro-American Society.

Race was significant in the field of staff/inmate relations at E.C.I. Two interrelated conditions influenced disciplinary outcomes: (1) racial biases of the custodians and the actions to which they gave rise; (2) the differential resources of "blacks" and "whites" to combat the power of the staff. This led to "blacks" being disproportionately reported for disciplinary infractions, especially for those of a serious nature, and was due to the custodians viewing the "blacks" as dangerous and conspiring revolutionaries. This in turn led to closer surveillance and control of the "blacks" and to minor refractions being magnified. In this respect, officers' fears were not without foundation because "blacks" had the ability to mobilise others in their support. In short they could, and did, intimidate reporting officers. As a result of this threat of direct physical force from the "blacks", light punishment was meted out. This made the maintenance of staff morale difficult. Perhaps the most damaging thing, however, in the context of race relations at E.C.I., was the under-reporting of the so-called "white mafia". The "blacks" saw this group as relatively immune from control. They noted this example of unequal treatment and it strengthened their belief in pervasive discrimination.

Despite our different and more soundly based system, it is to be expected that the problems of race will grow in our prisons as they become a clearer reflection of our increasingly multi-racial society. If this is so, then we cannot ignore the fundamental message of this book which is that we should be carrying out more research into conditions affecting race relations in prisons. Unfortunately, it is difficult to see the therapeutic communities, which Carroll favours, as being entirely free from conditions that inflame racial antagonisms. One thing in their favour, if they were small enough, is that separatist demands are a concomitant of the size of the institution.

*Hacks, Blacks and Cons* is a warning we must heed. If we seek a monument to ignorance in the field of race relations in prisons then we find it in Attica. Carroll is telling us, and showing us, that this is something we cannot afford.

JACK SHARPE,  
Principal Officer Tutor, Prison Service  
Staff College, Wakefield.

### CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY

Edited by IAN TAYLOR, PAUL WALTON and  
JOCK YOUNG

Routledge and, Kegan Paul 1975. £2.95

IN 1973, the three editors produced *The New Criminology*. On the back cover it said that the trio would provide another book on *Marx on Crime, Law and Society* in the same year.

That book has not appeared and the current book seems to have replaced it. The newcomer is a collection from 10 contributors. Five of the pieces are not new, being reprints of recent articles. This mixture of "old" and new is curious, and is a sign that the editors are, as they say themselves, very much involved in "work in progress" rather than in delivering an analysis in which they have reached a final position. Certainly the book does not read as a complete entity but as an assortment which does not greatly advance the earlier arguments but which overflows from them. There is a very genuine concern in the book, particularly in the first chapter, to provide a lead for the "new" approach the authors call "Critical Criminology". It is as if, having scaled the cliff of ideology in *The New Criminology*, the editors are now free to explore the plain beyond. The trouble is, the earlier book may not have satisfied many people that the plain was worth getting to or was worth exploring. Nevertheless, the present book is valuable in showing the sorts of questions which can be asked from an avowedly Marxist position.

In their opening chapter, the editors do not beat about the bush! They have taken sides with the powerless, they reject pussy-footing research which hesitates to "rock the boat". They are interested in research in a different sense, research which provides the powerless with the means by which to escape from their predicament by contributing to the reconstitution of society. Research and theory, they say, which doesn't embrace this approach implicitly supports the status quo and is open to exploitation by the powerful to suppress the powerless.

In making this declaration, the editors trace the development of "radical criminology" from the National Deviancy group, of which they were central members. Their analysis is fairly crude; they set up "conservative" and "liberal" criminology to be knocked down and they blur important questions about who the powerless are and whether there are not other forms of power in society beside those of orthodox capitalism. But beneath this, they forthrightly declare their belief: "that the processes involved in crime creation are bound up . . . with the material basis of contemporary capitalism and its structures of law" and "that it is possible to envisage societies free of any material necessity to criminalise deviance" (page 20). But, rather significantly: "It is the task of radical theorists . . . to raise . . . the troublesome questions of a socialist criminology and penology" (page 28).

On the way, they assume that those involved in R.A.P., P.R.O.P. and other radical approaches share their concern and they depend upon a rather caricatured approach to the prison troubles of 1972, to the attitudes of the judiciary, prison staff, prison security, to social workers (a section of the "non-commercial middle-class") and even to our "morally bankrupt society".

The last quarter of this chapter presents Marxist method and philosophy applied to law, in the first instance, and crime, in the second. The thrust of this section is to show where the jig-saw of theory is incomplete and to show where further theory is needed. But, in this context, the editors are referring to a rather traditional sort of theory, to be constructed from an intense study of Marxist writing and from the development of an understanding of how legislative changes occur in response to power groups in society. They are, after all, not ready for instant revolution as their earlier idea of research would have suggested.

In the next chapter, Young is on his own, confessing to his "crassness" in the original deviancy movement in Britain. Young is no more coherent here than, on his own admission, he was in his earlier writing, though he is funnier. He does, however, recognise that the working-class largely supports existing law and order and has some good reasons for doing so—like self-interest. He also puts forward a much more monolithic picture of social conformity, a more pessimistic view of the prospects of radical social change than runs through the first chapter. It is a view in which he even goes to the lengths of almost rehabilitating both the criminal statistics and Eysenck. Young implicitly argues for the recognition of some "crime" as "justifiable", so long as it is soundly aimed at an assault on the existing social order, while some other, unspecified, crime will have to continue to be regarded as crime as we know it. Few of us, I suspect, would accept Young—or the working-class—as our judge, regardless of the ultimate rewards of throwing ourselves on his—or its—mercy.

Pearson's chapter on "Misfit Sociology" is an exuberant piece, arguing forcefully against the narrow direction of the first two chapters, revelling in the freedom that comes from identifying with misfits of all kinds. He rejects the polemical criticisms which have been levelled at those who have been tempted into an appreciative stance, pointing to: "... the shared ambition of understanding the workings of power and interest in the lives of subjects" (page 159) which underlies the writing of Goffman, Matza and Garfinkel.

Chambliss has a useful short chapter which starkly contrasts Durkheim's view of crime with that of Marx and his disciples, quoting one of those wild, wry cracks that Marx used to go in for, about the usefulness of criminals in calling into being: "the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc., and all these different lines of business which... develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new wages (ways) of satisfying them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions, and employed many honourable craftsmen in the production of its instruments" (page 168).

The same passage appears without misquotation in *The New Criminology* (page 211), so it is evidently a favourite! Chambliss goes on to produce some sketchy and impressionistic data about crime in Ibadan and in Seattle which he interprets as refuting the Durkheimian position and supporting the Marxist.

Quinney has a doctrinal chapter declaring his Utopian commitment to what *could be*, in contrast to the sad state that *is*. It is an elegant statement, heartfelt and bold, which gathers together the threads of growing doubts about the survival of capitalism in the U.S.A.

The book ends with a republished exchange between Paul Hirst and two of the editors, who knock each other playfully about the Marxist ring, quarrelling about what the bust in Highgate Cemetery *really* meant. I suspect that Marx would have raised Hirst's hand in victory had he not been too busy with the Socialist International to notice the encounter.

Altogether the collection is not what one would call a book in the accustomed sense. It looks like one, opens up like one, is full of words, has about 350 items in the bibliography, some of which have yet to appear. But it is a mess of contradictions, is repetitious and poorly proof read. It smacks of something that was delivered to a publisher who took a chance on it being taken for a book. Either

that or it is a new sort of book—a straggle of half-formulated notions, put together to keep ideas on the move and to advertise the recruitment of some established figures to a Marxist bandwagon. Some of the ideas are rich, vital and urgent. Many are garbled, impetuous, ill-formed and out-of-touch with quite proper (and even Marxist) questions about varieties of crime, social organisation and disorganisation, social control. By and large, the offering compares unfavourably with the broader and very promising new *British Journal of Law and Society* which first appeared last summer with Banton, Frankenberg, Cohen and Laurie Taylor on its editorial board. Several of its articles are really going to get under the skin of lawyers, policemen and court officials while *Critical Criminology* will simply put them off, more's the pity.

MARK BEESON,  
Leeds University.

## MANAGEMENT: TASKS, RESPONSIBILITIES, PRACTICES

PETER F. DRUCKER

Heinemann 1974. £7.00

DRUCKER is one of the chief architects of Western management. His popularity comes from his ability to simplify and illuminate "management" and his latest book (over 800 pages) is his summary of forty years of intense and diverse organisational experience.

It is fashionable today to talk about the challenge to authority and the implication that everybody should "do his own thing". Drucker does not belong to this school of thinking. He stresses responsibilities rather than rights and focuses on performance. However, he tends to assume agreement on goals and I doubt if he has given enough weight to such things as power sharing and matrix management.

Most books on management are on the WORK of management. They look at management from the inside. However, Drucker's book starts with the TASKS and in Part 1 he looks at management from the *outside*, studying the dimensions of the tasks and the requirements in respect of each of them. In Part 2, he turns to the work of the organisation and the skills of management, and in Part 3 to "top management", its tasks, structures and its strategies.

Drucker's analysis of service institutions has messages for the Prison Service. He states that the public service institutions—hospitals, schools, universities, prisons, armed services, professional associations—have been growing much faster than businesses in this century, that they are the growth sector of a modern society but performance has not kept up with growth or importance. Drucker has tried to explain the lag in—or absence of—performance in the service institutions and he offers suggestions as to what is needed to manage service institutions for performance.

Drucker asserts that an organisation that wants to build a high spirit of performance recognises that "people" decisions—on placement and on pay and promotion—are the *true control* of an organisation. They model and mould behaviour. For the "people" decisions signal to every member of the organisation what it is that management really wants, really values and really rewards. Indeed, an organisation tends to over-react to the "people" decisions of management. What to top management may look like an innocuous compromise to remove an obstacle will be a clear signal to the organisation that management wants one kind of behaviour, whilst preaching another.

Placement and promotion are the most crucial "people" decisions. They should never be made on the basis of opinions or on a man's potential, but always be based on a factual record of performance against explicit goals and objectives. Essentially promotional decisions have the highest symbolic value. They are highly "visible" and signal to the entire organisation, "this is what this organisation wants, rewards, recognises".

Drucker discusses the emphasis on organisational structure in the management boom since the 1950s and pinpoints the pitfalls that have already occurred in the area of re-organisation and re-structuring. He suggests that certain organisations seem forever to be engaged in re-organising and being re-organised.

Drucker's analysis of what ought to be done centres upon his basic belief that any work on structure must start with objectives and strategy. *This is perhaps the most fruitful insight we have in the field of organisation*. It may sound obvious, and it is, that some of the worst mistakes in organisational building have been made by imposing a mechanistic model of an ideal organisation.

The author has an interesting chapter on "developing management and managers"; he stresses that the manager needs development as a person more than he needs developing as a manager. He suggests that many managers are likely to find themselves in a state of spiritual crisis in their early or mid-40s. By that time the great majority will have reached their terminal positions and many will cease to find the same degree of satisfaction in their work. What was tremendously exciting to a man in his early 30s, when the job was new, is boring and humdrum 15 years later. Drucker asserts that we will have to learn to develop *second* careers for many accomplished managerial staff when they reach their late 40s or so.

Drucker concludes that the management boom in the 1950s and 1960s focused on management skills and management competence. But it largely defined the management job as internal. It was concerned with organisation and motivation, with financial and other controls, with the management sciences and with manager development. He says this was understandable and also right—one has to know one's own craft. But, if the years of the management boom have taught us anything, it is that the technocrat as manager is not enough. In an organisation it is precisely because there is no leadership group other than the managers that *more* is required than technocracy—something of which we in the Prison Service are only too well aware.

J. J. CHILDS,  
Deputy Governor, Leeds Prison.

## PRISON LIFE AND HUMAN WORTH

PAUL W. KEVE

University of Minnesota Press 1975. £5.75

PAUL KEVE has been connected with prison work for several years including a period as commissioner of corrections for Minnesota and director of adult corrections for the state of Delaware. His book is a balanced, thoughtful and perceptive account of the traditional prison system and its ills, together with a recommendation for improvement: although it is based upon American institutions and practice its analysis has some relevance to our own situation.

The early chapters cover much the same ground as that provided by Graham Sykes in his book *The Society of Captives* as Keve recounts the "pains of imprisonment" and the tension, fear and overwhelming boredom of the traditional, large security prison.

However, he goes further and, with the advantage of hindsight produced by the tragic violence of Attica, he examines how the traditional form of prison management has broken down in many prisons. Much of what he says relates to the peculiar American habit of making the warden a political appointment so that real power remains in the conservative hands of the deputy warden. But there is one area which is of considerable interest to us and that is the appearance of prisoner organisations composed of prisoners with a heightened political and social awareness—the like of which makes P.R.O.P. seem reasonably harmless by comparison. We know that prisons only operate effectively because the vast majority of inmates are isolated, disorganised and have no wish to be disruptive. The new found cohesiveness discovered by American prisoners has, in Keve's words, the potential either "to disrupt profoundly prison management and control or to improve greatly the whole operation." Prison management must develop the skill to determine that these organisations become positive and not disruptive forces.

One result of this phenomenon is that divisions occur between prison administrators and prison guards who see management apparently giving in to prisoners—in their turn they become better organised and more militant. However, prison staff are always in the minority and the day that these emerging prisoner organisations become dedicated to a common goal is the day when the traditional prison becomes inoperable. Coupled with this development is the fact that social events in the past ten years or so have led American courts to the view that "a prisoner retains all the rights of an ordinary citizen except those expressly, or by necessary implication, taken from him by law" (6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals). The effect of this judgement has been to excite the interest of a new breed of radical young lawyers who have used it to mount an attack upon this particular aspect of society's methods of social control. This is the generation which was frustrated in its attempts to hasten American withdrawal from Vietnam or to change the glaring anomalies within the social system. Needless to say the effect upon prison administration is extremely galling. Courts now have the power to lay down highly detailed instructions concerning specific points which in effect strip prison management of any discretionary powers. One particular area of court involvement which is particularly threatening to prison management is that concerned with the "maintenance of good order and discipline". U.S. prisons are receiving more and more "political" prisoners like Angela Davis or Eldridge Cleaver, people who are usually intelligent and vociferous in their opposition to the normal methods of control within the prison. They present an open challenge to the institution which usually meets it for it is the militant's hope that he will be caught and over-punished since then he will have legal grounds for defeating the system. In this situation the prison authorities lose twice: once in the courts and once more when the prisoner is returned to his fellow inmates. Keve sees this involvement by the courts as one more example of the way in which the traditional prison will have to change but he also sees it as a sign of hope for, by acting in this way, the courts force society to reconsider its policies towards offenders.

Keve devotes a lengthy chapter to ways and means of improving prison life but his message is that, even if these are introduced, inmate

unrest will increase. He argues that so long as prisons exist they have to be improved because not only is it right for this to happen but court actions and prisoner actions will force change anyway. However, no amount of improvement will materially reform prison inmates nor will it protect society from their actions on release. Except for the dangerous few, prison—as we know it—must be abolished.

The author ends his book with an examination of alternative means of treatment. These are conventional enough although it is interesting to see that he regretfully considers that part of the court's sentence may include a maximum period of six months to be spent in prison as a pure punishment. He reasons that society is not yet ready to renounce punishment totally as part of the judicial process and it is healthier to recognise this than disguise it.

I enjoyed reading this book. The author has the ability to communicate his points with simple clarity and this makes a pleasant change. It is of particular interest to us in its accounts of prisoner organisations and court involvement for, although our social and legal situation is not the same as that in the U.S.A., it is highly probable that the whole question of "political" prisoners and prisoners' rights will come under close scrutiny in the immediate future.

A. H. RAYFIELD,  
*Governor, Gloucester Prison.*

#### THE POINT OF ENTRY: A Study of Client Reception in the Social Services ANTHONY S. HALL

Allen and Unwin 1975. £4.50 and £2.45

THIS book will have the effect of making social workers sit up and think about what they are doing and that is always an exciting, if uncomfortable, experience. It should, however, be required reading not only for social workers but for everyone who provides a service for others who come in confusion and need, wondering if they have chosen the right place, in what manner they will be met, if what is offered is what they seek, and whether they will leave strengthened or humiliated. The message of the book is clear: reception is not a simple, preliminary process, after which the real work of the agency can go forward. On the contrary, what happens at reception affects what follows.

In the small probation office I worked in for many years, our secretary/receptionist was an important member of our team. Typically, she would ring through to my office; "A Mrs. Brown is here. She's got no money and three children to feed". "Well, can't Mr. Jones (my colleague) see her?" "He's out." "Well, it's nothing to do with us. Send her along to the children's department/social security/citizens advice etc. . . ." "I think you *ought* to see her. She is very distressed." So I would see her, and our receptionist was quite right. I, in common with most social workers, was wrong in not recognising the importance of what happens at reception: more was involved in it than bringing together the caller and the social worker.

*The Point of Entry* is a study of the reception process in four very different children's departments in 1969 and early 1970. Tony Hall demonstrates how the way the visitor was received, and in many cases the actual service he obtained, not only varied from one office to another, but could depend crucially on the receptionist herself. The social worker may think that decisions about help offered are made for good social work reasons: this book shows that this is not so. Instead, the recep-

tionist is used, especially when the department is under pressure, as a buffer between the client and the worker, a way of rationing demand and resources.

None of the reception staff had received any instruction for their work and what emerges from this situation is an implicit devaluation of the reception process and a need for roles and areas of responsibility to be clarified. In three of the four offices, the major source of job satisfaction for the receptionists was their contact with visitors and this is something that needs to be valued and given due weight in any consideration of role and function. If reception is so important, perhaps social workers will say this is something they should be doing themselves. But it might be that the receptionist in my office was doing a better job than I would have done: certainly, I think we made an effective team.

Tony Hall sees the answer in training, an explicit intake system and limits to the extent of available discretion. I would like to consider this from another angle and wonder at social work's failure to ask relevant questions. Everyone has his blind spots, but one must ask why social workers have been prepared to accept lack of privacy and discomfort for their clients—and impossible working conditions for themselves—and whether social work education with its concentration on The Relationship is entirely blameless in this respect. This book throws a blistering light on an apparently small but very important area. So why have social workers not turned their attention to it before now? If we are so blind in this area, what else are we missing? This study should be read by everyone who works in an organisation where visitors are received who are seeking a potential service.

ROSEMARY CHANT,  
*Probation and After-Care Training  
Centre, Cromwell Road, London.*

#### THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF YOUNG OFFENDERS

Edited by J. B. MAYS  
Longman, 1975. £3.00

THIS book of readings provides material about methods of handling young offenders, assembling articles which follow a sequence from more punitive approaches to those concerned with non-custodial measures. It covers legislative reform and institutional and community-based forms of treatment. The editor's introductory essay follows developments in penology and examines the attitudes which lie behind policy. He makes the point that the see-sawing of policy between punitiveness and treatment is one of the chief obstacles to penal reform.

The book itself is divided into four distinct parts, each of which is self-contained but which link the different approaches. Part 1 is entitled "The More Punitive Approach" and comprises six papers devoted to punishment. The first two deal with attendance centres. One of these is vividly descriptive, giving the "feel" and atmosphere of a centre. The other is more analytical, providing an evaluation of a centre and a detailed follow-up of ex-attenders. The next two papers cover detention centres. One deals with their history and development, outlining their uncertain origins and uneasy progress. The other paper is a personal account written by a former inmate. It is a graphic account which recalls the hardships of the regime—initially overwhelming but which quickly became routine. The fifth paper reproduces the conclusions of an enquiry into corporal punishment by the Advisory Council



on the Treatment of Offenders (1960). The sixth item is a newspaper report based on an interview with a Channel Island youth who was recently birched—it is a brief, simple article which conveys the 'malfeasance' or evils of judicial whipping. Part 1, then, makes its punitive point though, in the case of attendance and detention centres, it is acknowledged that constructive relationships are formed and some attempt at treatment is made.

Part 2—"The Re-educational Approach"—includes seven good papers, looking at probation, approved schools and borstal. The selection is provocative and informative. The first four papers cover the role and scope of probation: between them, they examine the relationship basis of casework, the use of authority and the development of a personal approach to casework. The next article examines the contrasts in styles of leadership in approved school regimes and is followed by one which exposes the conflicts and obstacles inherent in attempts to change such regimes. This pair is excellent—complementing each other as one focuses on the general points made in the other. The final paper in the section follows the development of borstal training. With the exception of minor technical inaccuracies, David Lowson traces the evolution of borstal, taking stock of the current situation.

Part 3—"The Group Approach"—is a pot pourri of seven pieces. The coverage is broad, from a group approach to treatment in a residential school for delinquent and maladjusted boys, to a youth project centred on a cafe. In between, there are articles on the probation setting, probation camps, a borstal, a mixed community of privileged and delinquent young people and a boys' club. This section highlights the change in penal attitude from prescription—in which the treater diagnoses the trouble and applies "the treatment"—to one of consultation, the sharing of experience and the breaking down of barriers.

In the fourth part, "Special Aspects and Specific Issues", the first three contributions deal with the role of schools in providing help to young delinquents. A common theme is that schools should "switch on" to their pupils' problems and should try to recognise and meet needs beyond the academic. In the fourth piece, predictive techniques are discussed together with the problems of developing a reliable forecasting device. Paper five examines police juvenile liaison work—noting the success of such work in a Scottish city. The following essay, "Rootless in the City", is a penetrating description of the plight of homeless youngsters and the attempt of one project to meet their neglected needs. The last two pages deal with intermediate treatment, indicating the kind of facilities and programmes that might be incorporated and continuing with the editor's own ideas about how such a programme might operate. Generally, Part 4 proposes that delinquency is a social phenomenon and that the best method of treating it should be within a caring community.

The wide scope of *The Social Treatment of Young Offenders* means that it has little new to offer the informed practitioner, but the style of the compilation provides a fluent blend of analytical and graphic articles for the layman. It is an excellent base from which to explore the penological maze, giving supplementary references for further reading. It would be useful for newly appointed prison officers, opening up a wider vista in their chosen field of work.

RAY DOUGHTY,  
Assistant Governor, Everthorpe Borstal

## SOCIAL TREATMENT:

An approach to Interpersonal Helping

JAMES K. WHITTAKER

Aldine 1974. £4.85 and £3.00

## SOCIAL WORK TREATMENT:

Interlocking Theoretical Approaches

Edited by FRANCIS J. TURNER

The Free Press 1974. £6.95

THE two books under review have similar titles and probably a similar target readership. One is the work of a single author, the other a collection of papers contributed by fourteen different people at the invitation of an editor. Apart from authorship, the books are obviously different in terms of scale—270 pages of paperback against 517 pages between hard covers. However, on the strength of close acquaintance with both books, I can reveal that there is no necessary relationship between quantity and quality.

Professor Whittaker's book is a concise exposition of what he means by 'social treatment', a form of interpersonal helping which provides for the possibility of intervention at "macro" as well as at "micro" levels. Professor Turner's book is also ostensibly about treatment, for he believes that practice is still stronger in social work than its knowledge base. But he is not so much concerned to find a conceptual framework which can take in the treatment sequence from intake to after-care (whatever the method of intervention) as to discover the implications for treatment of different theoretical systems and leave it to the individual social worker to choose the method, or combination of methods, most appropriate to each case. Neither author believes that a unitary theoretical system can underpin the vast range of practice, but Professor Turner is perhaps more hopeful that links will increasingly appear between one theory and another.

Whittaker's attempt to systematise practice is concerned with—but is much more than—finding "a good fit between the technology of interpersonal helping and clients' problems". He is well aware that different methodological approaches involve different value assumptions. He makes this clear when he discusses the validity of traditional narrowly-focused treatment with its almost exclusive preoccupation with the client's emotional state and its apparent willingness to ignore the relatedness of clients' problems to wider social processes. "In facing these multiple dilemmas, the professional helping person may find that his value-system no longer matches the real-life situations he faces and is of as little help in actually solving problems as the psychodiagnostic nomenclature he long ago discarded as meaningless". This last reference is to such nomenclature as 'delinquent', 'maladjusted' and 'mentally ill' and indicates Whittaker's stance towards the older definitions of clients' problems on the medical model which assumed an individual pathology and has hitherto "gone a long way towards shaping the form of organisation that delivers the helping services". It also indicates that Whittaker is prepared to be reasonably radical about the issue of social control, particularly where clients' problems are predominantly associated with "social system disease", and his plea is that social workers should be zealous in exposing any "dehumanising practices" which are inherent in 'the system' and in seeking remedies for clients, wherever possible, by representation and advocacy.

In view of Whittaker's enthusiasm for exploring fundamental issues in his earlier

chapters, it must be said that his subsequent analysis of the treatment sequence is disappointing in its conventionality. It is not that he does not spell it out in detail or show that there is a due place for the different modes of intervention. But having surveyed these modes and their theoretical bases under four main headings—psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, social systems theory and humanistic-existentialist theory—he sells the reader short in terms of 'application'. Somehow one had been led to expect that when the phases—of intake, assessment, determination of change goals, selection of treatment, through to termination and after-care—were broken down into sub-processes like "identification of problem" (on the worker's side) and "fear of self-examination" (on the client's side) and even more novel activities like "demystification of helping process", the differential emphases of the major theoretical schools would have been pointed up and heavily underlined.

This of course was an unrealistic expectation without a considerable additional input of case illustrations for discussion at every stage. Probably Whittaker has done the only thing possible in supplying instead a lengthy appendix in which he summarises very succinctly the main variations of method and strategy in social treatment, from casework, crisis intervention and certain individual therapies to a whole range of groupwork forms of help, including milieu treatment and transactional analysis; and he has added to each section an up-to-date list of references.

Where perhaps Turner's book scores is in the scope he allows each of his contributors to examine and elaborate upon the 'application' of different modalities of treatment. Not all of them take equal advantage of this, but the question of the relevance of the theory to practice is kept in focus.

The book begins with four papers, very consciously in the psychoanalytic tradition. They expound lucidly in turn orthodox Freudian theory, the development towards ego psychology, the development of 'psychosocial theory' (largely *a la* Hollis up-dated to include the 1972 edition of her book, *Casework: a psychosocial therapy*) and the development of problem solving theory (largely *a la* Perlman up to her *Perspectives in Casework* of 1971). At least these are contemporary accounts, written with some degree of hindsight. Specially noteworthy among the first four papers is Sidney Wasserman's spirited championing of ego psychology theory as the most readily applicable body of knowledge and "one of the few means left that is concerned about the protection, care and uniqueness of the individual".

The next four papers are for me the most exciting in the book. Taken together, they represent a humanistic or 'person-centred' line of development in man's understanding of himself which is radically different from the Freudian. It is a line which replaces the view of man as motivated primarily by his instincts with a cognitive or even an existential view which gives full value to man's total potential for growth and to the importance of understanding as a determinant of his behaviour. Beginning with an account of the functional theories of the Pennsylvania school of social work, this development is traced admirably by Donald Krill through Carl Rogers' client-centred theory to the cognitive theories of Albert Ellis, William Glasser (of 'reality therapy' fame), Abraham Maslow and others—unaccountably, no reference is made here

to G. A. Kelly—and finally to the quasi-existentialism of Rollo May, Victor Frankl and Fritz Perls (the originator of Gestalt therapy).

Having regard to the general philosophical approach of these writers, the accent in therapy and in social work is seen to be on liberating inner strengths by authentic person-to-person encounters, by facilitating the client's making of choices, taking his own decisions and being genuinely responsible for his actions and by the client consciously monitoring feedback whenever significant action of this kind is undertaken. The emphasis on conscious processes is surely a healthy corrective to the over-preoccupation with the unconscious of the psychoanalytic school, but the task still remains for the cognitive/existentialist school to come to terms with the teachings of ego psychology about the personalities of ordinary men, who have a normal defensiveness in their make-up. It will not do to say, as Harold Werner does in his paper on cognitive theory, that "thinking is the principal determinant of behaviour" and then simply to except "the psychotic, phobic and severely addicted" from this judgement, as if the sheep can really be divided from the goats in this unequivocal fashion.

Then follow five papers on role theory, social systems theory, communications concepts, behaviour modification and crisis theory. These illuminate different aspects of social work intervention but surely do not represent modes of intervention in their own right—despite Richard Stuart's claims in his workmanlike paper on behaviour modification.

The last remaining contributor is Sandford Sherman on family therapy. If in practice family therapy really does involve keeping four main foci continually in view—the family as part of the community; the family as a whole; each individual as a part or member; and each individual as discrete—then it provides the most comprehensive base for intervention of any described in the book. It also comes closest to Whittaker's all-embracing concept of 'social treatment'. It is a form of psychosocial treatment more inclusive than Hollis's because it is not tied to psychoanalytic thinking.

At the end of the day, then, is the practitioner better served by Turner or by Whittaker? Turner's own commentary complains of the dearth in the literature of nitty-gritty 'practice theory' but only a few of his contributors attempt to provide it. Whittaker, with his greater sense of urgency about bringing practice down to reality, goes at least half-way towards providing it. It is refreshing for me to find in Whittaker a social work teacher who is dismayed by the inability of practitioners to catch at theoretical support, from whatever quarter it may come, to meet the unique demands of each case. He is also dismayed by their professional inability to strike a proper balance between the ends of remedial action and those of social and structural reform. It may well be that his 'systems' approach holds the answer to both these problems. Even more fundamentally, he may be right that "we need a value-set... an orientation—whether in corrections, health or welfare—which stress(es) growth and development rather than illness and treatment and seeks to diminish rather than highlight the differences between the helpers and the helped".

A. L. LAYCOCK,

Tutor to Social Work Courses and Senior Lecturer in Social Psychology at the University of Leeds.

## DECISION ANALYSIS: AN OVERVIEW

REX BROWN, ANDREW KAHR and CAMERON PETERSON

Holt Rinehart and Winston 1974. £2.00

If you've ever tried to decide how to make better decisions then "decision analysis" is for you. This fresh approach to decision making has a growing number of followers who find it provides rational but practicable techniques for a wide variety of situations. It helps them make decisions which make sense—because it incorporates into a logical structure their personal estimates of the likelihoods and worths of all the possible outcomes. It is this marriage of objective procedures and subjective information which makes decision analysis stand out from other managerial aids.

At first sight decision analysis looks technical, but it is basically a very simple process which helps to make clear the decision maker's expectations, values and assumptions. This book successfully uses the case-study approach as its backbone and adds some readable and realistic flesh which brings decision analysis easily within reach of the non-mathematician. Exercises and practice pieces are included, if you want to complete them. As for any procedure, it obviously helps to know the language and the rough outline of the theory but anyone who has started to read other articles and books on decision making or has been introduced to "decision trees" and their analysis while at the Staff College will find the book interesting and assimilable.

Inevitably, the most articulated examples, the easiest techniques and the widest experiences of using decision analysis are those found in the world of business. In investment, marketing and manufacture most decisions are reducible to units of money. In other sectors, however outcomes are not based solely in profit-making: for medical, military and governmental decisions, the outcomes are often valued in terms of prestige, satisfaction, public support, rehabilitation and so on. Little space is devoted to such non-monetary, multi-attribute outcomes in this book. There is, however, a growing technology which enables comparison and analysis to be made in terms of personal or organisational values and this is explored further in *Decision Analysis for the Manager* (same authors, publisher and date but a much bigger size and scope).

The techniques of decision analysis are being increasingly used and improved. It is a recommended technology for any problem which merits more than momentary consideration. This book is the best introduction to decision analysis you are likely to come across. Perhaps your next rational decision could be whether to buy, borrow, steal or ignore this very good book.

RICK EVANS,

Senior Psychologist, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

## HUMAN RELATIONS IN ADULT CORRECTIONS

Edited by NORMAN FENTON

Charles C. Thomas 1973. \$8.95

ON a shelf in the Staff College Library you will find a row of well-used, orange-covered books and some of us may still have our copies of the companion volume in a blue cover. Members of the Prison Service whose memories go back to the late 'fifties will have no difficulty in recalling these as the handbooks on group counselling by Norman Fenton. It was from California that we imported the techniques of group counselling (to some it was the panacea, the big breakthrough) and

Norman Fenton was our guide; our guru.

Whatever happened to group counselling? You may well ask. Norman Fenton has produced many volumes, not least *Shell Shock and its Aftermath* published as long ago as 1926. The old master devotes the final section of his present volume to a prophetic look at "Prisons in the Year 2000"—"An Optimistic Vision", he calls it. The reader must not be misled by this reference. Many of the chapters by Dr. Fenton and his colleagues are benign, rather wordy accounts of past concepts and achievements and touch very little on present day problems in penal treatment. The publishers state that "The presentation of the volume is tailored for use by penologists in their everyday activities". My own reading of *Human Relations in Adult Corrections* was spread over many weeks. I did not find it a riveting book and it seemed to have little bearing on my everyday activities.

The volume is a symposium divided into five parts. Seven of the 18 chapters are written by authors who describe work in which they are engaged (for example, "California's Special Institution for Narcotics Offenders" by its superintendent, Roland W. Wood) or discuss old questions such as 'treatment versus punishment'. Dr. Fenton contributes six chapters and two further chapters are written by him in association with others in the correctional field. In addition, Dr. Fenton offers a "Commentary" as introduction to the three main sections of the book.

One chapter is entitled "An Inventory of Constructive Influences from the Outside World". It is just that and contains little that is new, although "the rodeo at Huntsville Prison in Texas is a rather spectacular means of giving the public an exciting experience while also raising funds for inmate welfare". An outline of the "Prison Chaplaincy Program" leaves one with a poor image of the chaplain who seems to have a much less secure place in the treatment team than does his counterpart here. "The Role of the Business Manager in the Treatment Program" is unlikely to inspire a hard-pressed administration officer but a short chapter by Edward M. Glaser on "Administration Arteriosclerosis in Correctional Institutions" is concise and perceptive. Work with prisoners' families is discussed by Dr. Fenton. It is a pity that paragraphs which state the obvious have not been pruned but his advocacy of family counselling is sincere and is now seen to be relevant not only in California.

This volume will have its place on library shelves but will not, I think, be as well-thumbed as its editor's works on group counselling. It should not, however, be ignored as it serves as a tribute to Dr. Norman Fenton and other like-minded colleagues who have done so much to help the offender and have played at distinguished part in the field of Adult Corrections.

DERMOT O'C. GRUBB,  
Governor, Bedford Prison.

## ALCOHOLISM AND CRIME

Helping Hand Organisation 1974. 15p

BY way of advertising the Helping Hand Organisation's attempt to provide rehabilitation centres for the chronically alcoholic, this pamphlet marshals facts (and some non-facts) about the link between alcoholism and crime. Perhaps the linking is not as simple as the pamphlet suggests and perhaps the cure for alcoholism may not always be with agencies like Helping Hand, but the 15p that the pamphlet costs will at least help worthwhile projects.

## SOCIAL WORKERS, THEIR CLIENTS AND THE LAW

MICHAEL ZANDER

Sweet and Maxwell 1974

Hardback £3. Paperback £1.40

THIS 117 page book developed from the author's participation in a study group on legal studies set up by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work. Michael Zander, reader in law at the London School of Economics, outlines his main aim to be the provision of a basic, brief text for social work students and their teachers on law and society. He attempts to examine three basic areas. First, "law and society", seen as the general function and nature of law. Secondly, the "administration of law", seen in the structure and workings of the courts and tribunals and of the legal profession. Thirdly, and with particular emphasis, "general law", which is seen as law that affects the day-to-day life of the ordinary citizen in his role, for example, as husband, wife, tenant, social security recipient. Zander does not see the purpose of his book as being to examine "professional law"—"which concerns the carrying out by social workers of their professional duties".

The book opens with a short chapter on "The Nature of the Law" and quite usefully spells out the wide ranging implications of "law" beyond the boundaries of the criminal courts. Zander stresses the value of using the law as a tool to secure benefits in cash and kind for social work clients. Subsequent chapters note the wide variety of contacts a client may have with various aspects of the law and the settings in which it functions. The chapters are short and clearly sub-headed. The main chapters focus upon dealing with a legal problem generally: law related to landlord and tenant, the family, social security, the consumer and, of course, criminal and civil courts. There are also very short chapters on abortion, racial discrimination, wills and losing one's job. The factual information, up-dated to summer 1974, includes time limits applicable to making claims and appeals. It also attempts to clarify the occasions when a solicitor's help and advice may be necessary.

The limited, basic information is presented in clear, concise and rarely ambiguous language. Unfortunately, there is no bibliography and only limited references are made to existing literature, mainly on social security and general law. Zander generally prefers to refer the reader to a specific organisation or body for further information. One has the feeling that the Citizens' Advice Bureau may have a sudden, substantial growth in customers if clients accept Zander's numerous recommendations to contact the organisation!

In general, despite its limited aims, this book seems to present only a very small amount of information regarding the general function and nature of law. Neither does it present much information on the structure and workings of the court, the legal professions and especially tribunals. Furthermore, the references to the actual role of the social worker are rather limited. The real strength of the book would seem to be its basic wide ranging coverage of law as it affects the lives of clients when they may be, for example, ill, separating from a spouse, about to be evicted, losing a job, injured, on social security or even dying. It is a useful guide for the layman and it certainly achieves one of its major purposes in providing a structure for the student social worker.

Whilst probation officers and prison welfare officers obviously will find this publication to

be of only limited value in relation to criminal and civil court work—indeed the Probation Service is not mentioned in the book—it should have a useful function as a brief introduction to other aspects of the law. The book may serve a similar function—or as a refresher—for members of the Prison Service. Furthermore, as a reference work it presents all social workers with an opportunity to pass on to clients more concrete information regarding legal matters. It enables workers to be more certain of criteria for referring matters to a solicitor. Zander's work can only encourage the helping professions to be more positively active on the client's behalf. Such activity plays an important part in helping to meet the many needs of the more deprived social work clients.

STEWART COLLINS,

Senior Probation Officer (Training), West Yorkshire Probation and After-Care Service.

## PUNISHMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Edited by MILTON GOLDINGER

General Learning Press 1974

THESE essays report vividly and succinctly the American debate on crime and punishment—the philosophical background to *Kojak*. The rising crime rate is producing, as in our own country, a strong public demand for more severe punishment—an attitude met by the counter-claim that this is to be barbarous and lacking in compassion. Other people press the need for the gradual abolition of imprisonment and the substitution of 'therapy'. Rising expectations about all the social services, including the Prison Service, complicate the debate as it becomes obvious that the training and reformatory aspects of imprisonment are not in fact reducing crime.

Fortunately, in the United States as well as in this country, there is a growing demand for informed discussion of the ethics of punishment. The present collection of essays is written to meet this need and analyses the moral principles involved, rather than listing empirical and statistical data. Distinguished philosophers contribute clear and untechnical discussions of the following major issues: "Punishment and Morality" (by the editor, Milton Goldinger), "The Theory of Criminal Rehabilitation" (Sidney Gendin), "Delinquency and Mental Disease" (Anthony Flew—with whom English readers are most likely to be familiar as a moral philosopher), "Mental Abnormality and the Criminal Process" (Michael D. Bayles), "Punishment and Moral Responsibility" (T. L. S. Sprigge), "Punishment and Excuses" (Gertrude Ezorsky), "The Morality of Punishment of the 'Moral Criminal'" (H. J. McCloskey), "A World without Punishment?" (Hugo Adam Bedau).

All the essays are written with clarity and often with wit and can be thoroughly recommended as providing a valuable analysis of the problems with which they deal. In every case their strength lies on insisting that moral theories are important and that there are real dangers in using medical or psychological language for discussing the punishment of an offender.

Hugo Bedau goes to the heart of the matter quoting some stray remarks of Wittgenstein: "Why do we punish criminals? Is it from a desire for revenge? Is it in order to prevent a repetition of the crime?" And so on. The truth is there is no one reason. There is the institution of punishing criminals. Different people support this for different reasons, and for different reasons in different cases and at different times... And so punishments are carried out".

To summarise the arguments I chose these sentences: "A world without punishment,

unless it is also a world without crime, a world without the unjustified violation of the rights of individuals, is certain to be a world with coercion and restraint just the same, with 'hospitals' substituted for prisons, 'therapists' replacing prison guards and so on. The net result may be a greater loss of human dignity as many have argued...".

"The prison system (jails, penitentiaries, prison farms, half-way houses, juvenile detention centres) touches the lives of more than a million offenders every year in this country. It was not built in a day, and it will not be dismantled in a day, not by administrative directive from above, nor by scholarly critique from outside, and not even by riot or rebellion from within. As a human institution, punishment has a disgraceful past; it probably does not have a glorious future. Still, punishment under law as a systematic way of dealing with dangerous and harmful conduct may be the least ugly, the least destructive institution available to us. Bad as it is, the alternatives are worse."

*Punishment and Human Rights* is well worth publishing in England. It has the virtue of being rigorously argued and challenging, and would be valuable for the groups examining the prison system, discussing over-criminalisation and the treatment of prisoners of conscience, as well as the classic theories of deterrence, retribution and reformation. The General Synod of the Church of England has appointed a group, under Judge Curtis Leon, to report on prisons and prisoners in our society today. This and similar bodies will welcome these essays introducing the transatlantic discussion.

ALAN WEBSTER,  
Dean of Norwich.

## SOCIAL DISABILITY:

Alcoholism, Drug Addiction, Crime and Social Disadvantage

DAVID MALIKIN

University of London Press 1974. £5.50

*School-boy's view of ex-junkie counsellor: "Addiction can't be too bad if you end up in such interesting work!"*

*Quote from "Story of an Ex-Con": "You wouldn't dare tell the gang you helped an old lady across the street. They'd think there was something wrong with you. But if you told them that after helping her across you mugged her, they would understand—that was acceptable!"*

This book's aim is to provide facts, opinions and a review of the literature on four major social problems—alcoholism, drugs, crime and social disadvantage (roughly speaking, 'poverty'). It has been written as a text-book for interested parties arising out of a project run by the American Agency for Vocational Rehabilitation. Dealing mostly with the mentally and physically disabled, the Agency suddenly discovered that alcohol, drugs, etc., figure strongly in 8 per cent of their quarter-million annual rehabilitation cases. Concerned about the bad effects of these phenomena the book therefore argues that the socially disabled too should receive public support and treatment rather than the punishment they're used to. This involves the two-step process of 'diversion', keeping some offences out of the scope of the criminal law, and then allocating resources for treatment.

Like the deserving and undeserving poor the public have always been less than big-hearted about people who have apparently contributed to their own downfall. Realising this, the authors place the blame for these four disorders firmly on society rather than personal weakness. *Social Disability*, their umbrella term, sounds like yet another example of the



mis-use of language as found in recent years with bizarre definitions of words like violence and fascism. However, a clear definition of their meaning is provided and it is one which places them as supporters of the theories of Robert Merton. "Social Disability is a condition of anomie and disorientation which prevents people relating meaningfully to their society... (which)... establishes certain standards and ground-rules for living and then makes it virtually impossible for large segments of the population to observe them!" Familiar stuff. There's nothing like a dose of ideology to get readers foaming at the mouth and the authors bang in their tribute to the Great Society with a few pungent examples of the dream-land immortalised by that excellent London hamburger joint, the Great American Disaster.

The book divides each of its four topics into three parts—for example, Alcoholism is dealt with by a statement of the problem, a case-history ("My name is Joe and I am an alcoholic"), and finally a review of treatment methods and research. I found this unusual format helpful and well-balanced. The case-histories are all absorbing and the research sections useful, but I have some reservations. To my mind, Poverty does not combine too well as a subject with the other three and is not amenable to the same kind of discussion about methods of treatment. The section on Crime is patchy, with a few gems, but generally disappointing, too specifically American, and with a weird collection of data including references (yet again) to men rotting in prison, examples of the numbskull prison governor at work ("use negotiations only when all forms of force have failed"), and attempts to reduce recidivism by plastic surgery! All very colourful.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is a very short article, by a prison administrator, called "Punishment or Rehabilitation—does anybody really care?" I grew visibly older trying to decide whether I loved or hated it. It contained, for example, a page-long quote from an article by an ex-prisoner that told one as much about prison as Goffman and Victor Serge put together. Also a reference to what is called 'bird-shot penology'—"the old blunderbuss is filled with a little work, a modicum of education, a bit of religion, some medical care if necessary, and a good deal of recreation... Then it is fired at the inmates and the result is what is called rehabilitation." It is sensationalist and biased but refreshing precisely because it doesn't try to be objective. As far as readability is concerned, thank God for people with an axe to grind.

The book is intended as an introductory text-book—as such it is well worth reading. Students expecting sophistication and academic respectability should approach with caution. Prison Service readers may find that the sections on drugs and alcohol are more useful than the others. In conclusion, it is short, readable, heavy enough to throw at the cat, and unlikely to be made into a film.

TONY LEWIS,

Assistant Governor, Kingston Prison.

#### NOT MADE OF WOOD:

A Psychiatrist Discovers his own Profession  
JAN FODRAINE

Quartet Books 1974.

Paperback £1.75. Hardback £3.50

WHEN Dr. Foudraire went to America in 1961, having trained as a psychiatrist in Holland, he took with him his misgivings about the traditional, medical views of mental illness.

This book, already a best-seller in Holland, is a diary of his development as a psychiatrist and the experiences which led to his beliefs about schizophrenic patients and therapeutic communities.

At one of the best and most expensive private clinics in America, devoted to psycho-analytical treatment, Foudraire found the staff "forcing patients further in their roles of helpless invalid". Traditional ward management and nursing perpetuated the notion that the women, who had been diagnosed as schizophrenic or psychotic, were "sick": they had become "professional patients" who had no responsibilities and for whom everything was done. Foudraire therefore sought to rehabilitate them by turning the wards into self-help communities: doors were unlocked, nurses persuaded to discard their uniforms and adopt educational, rather than treatment, outlooks. Eventually, he developed what was called "a school for living" in which patients became "students" and doctors were renamed "educators". His position moved increasingly from one in which "medical patients" were treated (or mistreated) towards creating a community for people "who simply found living a difficult and troublesome business".

Foudraire argues strongly that a human, rather than a medical, approach is appropriate. In this, he is following Szasz, Goffman, Laing and others who believe that mental hospitals undermine individual dignity and responsibility. Once a diagnosis has been made and the person labelled, he tends to be "treated like a piece of wood" even by the best-intentioned staff. Foudraire maintains that it is a pity psychiatry and "mental illness" became tagged with a medical label. Medicine can continue to be one of the physical sciences but psychiatry must become a separate field: the bulk of cases need a psychiatry rooted in "moral science" and therapists trained in sociology, psychology and psychoanalysis rather than in medicine. Unfortunately, Foudraire does not take these suggestions to their logical conclusion. Doctors *could* screen all cases, treating what they believe to be those with exclusively medical conditions, but Foudraire is less convincing about the skills and qualifications of the psychotherapists who would deal with the others. What special expertise do they possess to distinguish and help those patients who are genuinely trying to cope and those who are possibly trying it on?

If schizophrenia is caused by family and social conflict and is not (as other doctors would maintain) an illness with a physical basis, then Foudraire's non-medical position is tenable. Working closely with schizophrenics, he learnt that they "are people like you and me, and not 'different' or 'uncontactable'. Just people in...dire need...and for that reason all the more human". Many psychiatrists refuse to accept that so-called schizophrenics talk in symbols. Foudraire says: "Their talk is not gibberish nonsense although it often sounds it, but a symbolic language and it is up to the psychiatrist to find a way of decoding this and finding the meaning of what they are saying. It is no good refusing to accept the validity of a person's language and labelling them sick, then trying to use some alienating medical treatment. That way they are driven further into their world of total fantasy". Foudraire's breakthrough was in sharing their fears and anxieties by learning to talk in their way (which Lewis Hill has described as "schizophrenese").

"Foudrairese" is a little easier to understand. It is certainly readable, with a minimum of psychoanalytical symbols, though it can be a

bit pompous at times. At the end of each chapter there is not only a list of references but a valuable commentary in which excerpts from other books and articles are noted.

In some ways, Foudraire's views have been overtaken by more radical ideas. It seems to have taken a good many years for him to have reached his present position although his personal story is an insightful exploration of psychiatry. His recommendations for the reform of mental institutions are reported to have affected Dutch mental health laws and since his views are written so agreeably, should certainly help add fuel to the flames of doubt surrounding our own system of psychiatry. His observations of the way people are labelled and all too easily adopt institutionalised roles could also be usefully examined by prison staff.

BEN KLASSNIK,

Medical Officer, Holloway Prison

#### 1. SENTENCING

#### 2. GROUP AND COMMUNITY WORK WITH THE OFFENDER

Council of Europe 1974.

THESE two reports from the European Committee on Crime Problems continue the regular output. With Britain's endorsement of her membership of the Community, this series may be expected to assume greater relevance.

The report on *Sentencing* includes a paper from a sub-committee and a number of rather technical appendices. The marked differences in the legal systems and cultures of member countries mean that the attempt to study sentencing systematically across the whole of Europe is fraught with difficulties. Nevertheless, the discussion is stimulating. The evidence suggests that the greater scope for information from social workers, the closer sentencing is to the preferences of those who prepare reports on offenders. An interesting thread runs through the report: the relationship between the sentencer, the offender and those responsible for executing the sentences—especially the responsibility of the sentencer in the supervision of the sentence. This highlights European differences in the operation of parole and in the offender's access to the courts in protecting his own rights.

The report on *Group and Community Work with the Offender* is uneven. Its earlier sections provide almost a catalogue of group methods, giving examples and a useful account of techniques. These tend to be implicitly based on institutional experience, with very little emphasis on group methods outside the custodial setting. The community work discussion is focused principally on the Henderson Hospital example, although additional sources might have been used to advantage. Peter Nokes contributes a characteristic paper on the evaluation of the outcome of penal measures and his hand is apparent elsewhere. For those looking for a brief summary of group work in practice, the report as a whole is a valuable source.

#### NEW TRENDS IN THE TREATMENT OF YOUNG OFFENDERS

Council of Europe 1974.

THIS recent report from the Council of Europe Sub-Committee on Young Offenders identifies the trends in treatment as being away from punishment: "... imprisonment in any form should not be used for young people at all: it is not only inappropriate but at best it has no effect and at worst is a hardening process which makes subsequent treatment more difficult" (page 19). The move is towards treatment in the non-residential setting, which includes the offender's family, his peer group and, where

appropriate, "the alternative society".

All those concerned with the management of young offender establishments would do well to read this report. It provides a useful summary of some of the latest work being carried out in young offender treatments. Detailed appendices include: (1) the Karl Halton School in California which operates a token economy system of behaviour modification; (2) the O. H. Close School which provides a transactional analysis programme, the instructional lessons for which are reproduced in the appendix; (3) the Guided Group Interaction Unit in San Francisco which uses intensive group techniques in a non-residential setting; (4) the Dutch use of an organised section of the alternative society; (5) the experiment with vocational training in Norway, with the conclusion that it was no better than ordinary imprisonment; and (6) Youth Treatment Centres in England, whose intentions but not results are described.

#### SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES IN CRIMINOLOGY—VOLUME 5

Edited by NILS CHRISTIE

Martin Robertson 1974. £3.95

ANY attempt to make criminological research from abroad available to the English reader in translation should be worthy of praise. But this volume, which reproduces nine papers prepared over recent years, generally falls short of one's hopes. The ground covered tends to be either very well known or, in one case, rather obscure. Make no mistake—the whole text is interesting, but not particularly novel.

The first paper, on victimology, presents a rationale for a new area for research. It offers, too, cautionary words for those tempted towards the extreme positions where the victim may be seen almost in the role of offender himself. There is an essay on international criminality pointing out, amongst other things, the vast profits which can accrue contrasted with minimal risk of detection. Two papers concern themselves with analyses of violence in Scandinavia. They reach the hardly revolutionary conclusions that the official statistics are broadly accurate, that few violent offences are "serious" and that in most offences of violence, except robbery, offender and victim are known to each other. There is an essay on "Our Non-deviant Criminals"—another expedition into hidden criminality based on self-reporting—and a paper examining the inmate cultures of three Danish borstals. In a piece with rather limited appeal, there is an account of the development of child welfare legislation in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Norway.

Two papers in the collection are of quite some value. In "The Societal Tasks of Penal Law", Klaus Makela carefully considers concepts of criminality and penal law from a Marxist standpoint. He suggests that the law as traditionally applied can be repressive where there is social conflict. Where there is apparent calmness in the capitalist social order, then one of its functions is to reinforce the class structure. The arguments are familiar, but are presented particularly clearly. Dr. Makela is painstaking in his use of references and has achieved perfectly the delicate balance between succinctness and a comprehensive examination of his subject.

In the other paper, Anne-Marie Stokken examines and evaluates an attempt (in a new town near Oslo) to provide more effective social control by modifying the customary police approaches particularly in respect of young delinquents. She illustrates the distinction between social control in the "total local

community" and in the "divided urban community." She spent the period of her research as observer with the Urban District Police, a group seemingly having much more in common with the various juvenile liaison schemes in this country. She found that the largely unbureaucratic structure of the U.D.P.'s role, together with their emphasis on preventive measures led to an exercise in social control more akin to that found in local communities. The effectiveness of this was however minimised by the lack of reciprocity in information-sharing characteristic of the smaller community.

After reading the book I was left feeling as if I had emerged from a *Readers' Digest*—there was plenty to whet the appetite, though nothing new. This is a pity since one's expectations of the Scandinavians is that they will be pace-setters in fields of criminology. It is unfortunate, therefore, with such fields to tap, that the editor could not have provided the reader with more significant papers than the ones in this collection.

PETER QUINN,

Assistant Governor, Hollesley Bay Borstal.

#### CRIME, RAPE AND GIN

BERNARD CRICK

Elek/Pemberton 1975. £1.95

THERE is such a thing as essential reading. By that I mean reading which is essential if one is to do one's job half-adequately. However, I doubt whether this book would be seen as such by most practitioners. It deals with the moral basis upon which judgements about violence, pornography and addiction might be made and represents the reflections of a political philosopher on these contemporary issues. It is not in the same class as *Standing Orders*—but it is a good deal more interesting and probably better for you.

Bernard Crick introduces his book in the following way: "I would (wish to) make a startling contribution to the controversy of what is called on all sides 'the permissive society': a blast of angry commonsense". He is angry because he feels that the controversy has put the central issues out of perspective. Though important, they are not as important as the partisans of both the permissive and non-permissive lobbies would claim. If violence, pornography and addiction are seen in perspective, society may be able to consider them gravely and coolly as separate social problems and so control them "by whatever means seem best with due regard for balancing both social, welfare and individual liberties." He would consider, however, that much of the present argument generates more heat than light and is often hysterical silliness—which is serious insofar as it threatens the ability of society to achieve betterment through a commitment to, and a belief in, morality and reason. So he proceeds to examine these issues rigorously, using a moral (not moralistic) frame of reference.

The book is very short. Perhaps because it is a collection of lectures, it is not difficult to digest and is often entertaining. What it certainly does is generate light rather than heat. Bernard Crick is very lucid. The clarity and discipline of his thinking was good for my mind. However, I would commend this book not just as a cure for muddled thinking. Given that the Prison Service is a focus for strong feeling about social problems on the part of outside society, and yet has to mediate between that society and the prisoner, a dispassionate appraisal of these problems can only be helpful.

MIKE MILAN,

Assistant Principal of North Downs Community Home, Kent, was formerly an Assistant Governor in the Prison Service.

#### HEROIN ADDICTION IN BRITAIN

HORACE F. JUDSON

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1975. £2.75

HORACE JUDSON makes it quite clear in the preface to *Heroin Addiction in Britain* that he is writing for the general public. This book is enlarged from a series in the *New Yorker* in 1973. It must be judged in the context of the readers for whom it was intended; it makes no pretence to be either a scientific study or a personal account of an involvement with addicts, the two approaches that generally seem to motivate books about illicit drug taking. I think it gains from this as Mr. Judson is a reporter with a nice turn of phrase and a resolute determination to report the facts.

The book falls into three parts: an historical review for the first 60 pages; research and practice at the English addiction treatment clinics for the next 60; and, for the final 34, Mr. Judson addresses himself to "the unfinished business of society"—a section ostensibly to do with what America might learn from the British practice of legal heroin but, in fact, about the addict as a sociological phenomenon in the modern world.

In the first part, the history of heroin addiction in Britain is filled out with relevant information about narcotic laws in the States and how these came about. There is a particularly interesting vignette of the debate in the U.K. during the 1920s describing why we did not follow the U.S.A. with a prohibition policy. Dr. Griffiths Edwards of the Maudsley Hospital opined that the two important factors in this decision were the British Civil Service, which has the capacity and power to take the long view and the independence of British medicine which, the author comments, is "truly startling". This particular independence is further explored in the context of the 1950s when the Government proposed to ban the manufacture of heroin but had the entire profession ranged against it and finally abandoned the idea.

The second section, on research and experience in the clinics, provides an excellent account of the myths connected with heroin addiction. There is a lot of objective evidence from units such as the one at the Maudsley, with further interesting comparisons made between the British and American scenes. I particularly liked the remarks on the myth of withdrawal where Mr. Judson stresses the lies by addicts about the combination and amounts of drugs they take and the distress they feel without them: "Some addicts can fake withdrawal with great skill; in the States an addict cannot really himself know the level of his addiction, he merely reckons it in dollars".

The last section widens the debate to such matters as other drugs, alcohol and the place of the addict in society. Here the views of Dr. Zinberg, psychoanalyst at Harvard University, who has made several visits to England, are quoted at some length. He has some most interesting and stimulating ideas about addiction in today's society; for example, "What the United States has done is to push these people, the addicts, outside of any such social control, while what the English have done or, at least, begun to do within the framework of the clinics—is to establish viable social rituals for narcotics".

This is not a book which represents the views of the addict but, since Mr. Judson makes the point over and over again that many junkies are most unreliable people, this seems a reasonable omission. He is attempting to give evidence and put aside the myths that have developed over the years.

There are many comments in this book

which are most thought provoking—not only those of Dr. Zinberg but also of Griffiths Edwards. He asks the questions, "For whose good do we legislate, criminalise, open another clinic, issue another report, mount another television spectacular, lecture at that class of school children, engage in all our actions, hold our own assumptions? Can the assumed good be demonstrated? *Cui bono?* The medical voice is too timid if it does not ask that question". Perhaps society should address itself to the question too.

Who would benefit from reading this book? The answer is anybody who is interested in drug addiction in however vague a way and those who come into contact with addicts in the course of their work. It is a very readable book and contains far more accurate, hard information than appears at first sight.

MARY ELLIS,  
Senior Medical Officer, Feltham Borstal.

### JUST HOW JUST?

DAVID LEWIS and PETER HUGHMAN  
Secker and Warburg 1975. £3.90

THE book claims to be a concise, balanced and challenging assessment of the criminal law and its administration. This, the authors feel, is necessary in the light of recent research and they make a plea for facts to be considered rather than emotive assumptions. It is difficult to quarrel with such a worthy aim and if the book could have achieved this it would become compulsory reading for all involved in the administration of the criminal law. Unfortunately, but predictably, the aim is not achieved. The book is concise or at least short; 179 pages examine, diagnose and suggest remedies for the system of criminal justice. It is hard to regard a piece of work as balanced when it employs innuendo and the scurrilous anecdote as its main weapon. If this were not enough, the authors persist in interpreting research findings in support of what appear to be preconceived ideas without considering other equally possible interpretations. The book can claim to be challenging, though as a piece of propaganda rather than a well-reasoned argument.

The book covers many areas including the granting of legal aid and bail, appointment of magistrates, sentencing, police powers of prosecution and interrogation, jury trial, some rules of evidence, and rights of appeal. It would be impracticable to summarise here all the conclusions reached but, as a sample of the quality of argument, the section on the power of the police is interesting. The authors advance the argument that police power to initiate prosecutions leads to the possibility of corruption and is not in the public interest. Using the "Rhino Whip Case" (Sheffield, 1963) as evidence, they draw attention to the pressure of work on detectives and assume it to be unremarkable that breaches of discipline are condoned by colleagues and senior officers. The authors feel that the conditions in Sheffield, which helped create the abuses of police power, are duplicated in many other cities in England. They conclude that misconduct of a similar kind is widespread and enjoys official support. One does not need to be a logician to see the fundamental weakness of this type of argument and its dependence upon unsupported assumption.

Despite its many limitations, the book has the advantage of being racy and easy to read. It stimulates one to think again about the problems of our present system of criminal justice and its administration.

PHILLIP WHEATLEY,  
Tutor, Prison Service Staff College,  
Wakefield.

### SELF-DETERMINATION IN SOCIAL WORK

Edited by F. E. McDERMOTT  
Routledge and Kegan Paul 1975.  
£4.80 and £2.40

THIS collection comprises a series of extracts by social workers and philosophers. Starting from Hart (1955) and Biestek (1957) it comes up to date with previously unpublished contributions from Stalley and the editor. The first part of the book contains eight contributions based on the concepts of self-determination in social work. Part two is a collection of philosophical writings which are relevant in as much as the concepts discussed are themselves relevant to self-determination. Practitioners are likely to find this part heavy-going. Fortunately the editor, in his introduction, concentrates on linking the concepts and in so doing will save many a lot of effort.

Overall, these essays create grave doubts about the usefulness of self-determination in social work. A value from our liberal society is incorporated as a basic professional ethic. Is this really to maintain society's values or is it a rationalisation to satisfy the conscience of a liberal professional group which has been given the task of limiting self-determination? In the sphere of penology (but also child-care and mental health) basic agency responsibilities run contrary to self-determination. Yet not one author starts at the point of agency responsibility; rather, as Biestek develops most clearly, the agency is seen as a limitation.

The critical authors among this selection base their arguments on the failure of social workers to live up to their expressed values. Soyer points to the inaccuracy of diagnosis and to the questionable practice of facing the client with "reality" based on such a diagnosis: Whittington illustrates the pretence of self-determination when "non-directive techniques" are used to reinforce desired responses; and Benn's review of advertisers' manipulative techniques has a close parallel with the attempts to "motivate" the prisoner. Perlman lays herself open to this type of criticism. She argues that the social worker helps the client towards maturity by encouraging self-determination, but fails to tell us who decides what is maturity.

Interestingly, though, it is Perlman who provides one of the clearest perspectives of self-determination. Her conclusion, that it is 9/10ths illusion, but a worthwhile and "grand illusion", indicates that eventually it is a matter for "believers" and "non-believers". Such a formulation cuts through to McCloskey's conclusion that it is not "an ultimate irreducible ideal" and pre-empt's Bernstein's discussion on "king or citizen in the realm of values".

One superficially attractive point made by McDermott is the suggestion that self-determination is not primarily to do with the client but a means of constraining the worker. However, he suggests that when the phrase takes on a persuasive (i.e. value laden) quality it loses this function. The essential, persuasive nature of the concept as it is communicated in this collection seems to lead to the conclusion that the potential constraints never materialise in practice.

This book reflects the weakness of social work's philosophical base. It deals with an issue which has intrigued the profession's academics while provoking less interest among agency-based workers. But, for so long as self-determination maintains its favoured position with examiners, woe-betide the

student who attempts the question without having read this book.

JOHN WEBB,  
Senior Probation Officer, Bradford

### OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME:

A Panorama of Years of Search and Research  
SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK  
Charles C. Thomas 1974. \$12.75

THE Gluecks have been writing about criminal prediction for forty-five years and this book attempts to put into perspective a development covering half a century. Sadly, it begins by recording the death of Eleanor Glueck and one appreciates that an era is drawing to a close.

The book contributes no new research. To some extent it is a kind of summary of all the other volumes and it is difficult to say whether what is written constitutes a successful elaboration by expressing some new attitudes about old work. The Gluecks will perhaps be best remembered for their explorations of family life, of psychiatric and psychological characteristics and of physical constitution of individuals, all in relation to delinquency, and this work shows the very wide range of their investigations.

Assessing the probability of a future event and trying to base informed decisions on that probability is a common enough pursuit; it is, for example, part of the normal operation of insurance companies in calculating our premiums. Yet the Gluecks have had to contend with a mass of difficulties and arguments in attempting to apply prediction to crime and probably one of the best features of the book is the way in which it gives the historical context for this. In approaching their work, they managed to establish an entirely new standard in the collection of precise follow-up data, which should still be an example to us. Constantly, they seem to have had to battle against people putting statistical, logical and philosophical booby-traps in their path. At least, this is the way the book reads; it is presented as a vindication of a lifetime, a justification against the reported condemnation by critics who would have wished greater stress on sociological and environmental factors.

Perhaps most reactions to this book will stem from its style of presentation. This does not refer in the first instance to the long and ponderous sentences or the American neologisms, both of which can disturb ease of reading. Some people like their work on prediction to be tidy and restrained; in particular, they feel that it should be parsimonious, not venturing very far beyond what the data can carry. These people will not accept this book insofar as it goes on to social philosophising, prophecies and sermonising, and acceptance of theories which the data do not rigorously confirm. It is here that the book is most at risk.

The present volume, although seeking to vindicate all that the Gluecks have done, fails to escape from their own world or to examine their work in the context of prediction efforts generally. The student of prediction will need to look elsewhere in order to get the work of the Gluecks into perspective. It is easier to acknowledge the tremendous achievements of the Gluecks as early pioneers than to accept the position which they have striven to sustain here.

VERNON HOLLOWAY,  
Principal Psychologist, Young Offender  
Psychology Unit.



Copies may be obtained from  
**HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE**

49 High Holborn, London, W.C.1  
Brazenrose Street, Manchester, M60 8AS  
13a Castle Street, Edinburgh, 2  
Southey House, Wine Street, Bristol, BS1 2BQ  
109 St. Mary Street, Cardiff, CF1 1JW  
258 Broad Street, Birmingham, 1  
7 Linenhall Street, Belfast BT2 8AY  
or through any bookseller

*Printed in England*