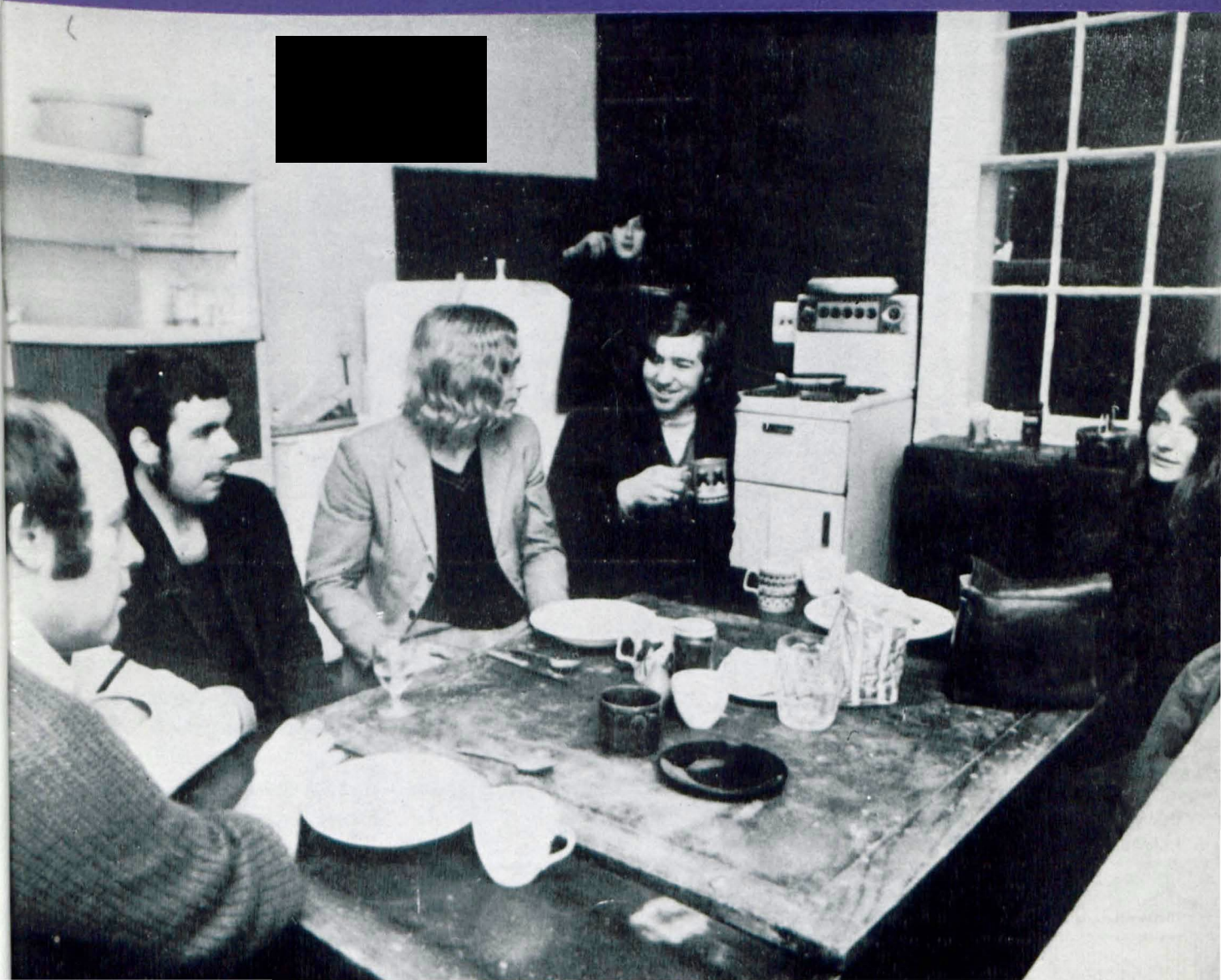


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Our cover shows an informal group at an
After-Care hostel in the South-west.



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EDITORIAL

With bombers and assassins near at home it came as no surprise to find the familiar battleground of capital punishment occupied again. Despite the recent Commons decision (to which, surely, the current successful policy of the police in dealing with terrorists must lend additional credence) we have probably not seen this spectre laid for good.

Individual members of the Prison Service, like politicians, police and the public itself, are divided on this issue, and it would not be possible or appropriate to advance a "Prison Service view". Nevertheless, it is noticeable that in all the arguments about abolition one rarely hears considered the rather special interest of that branch of the public service charged with the grisly process of arranging an execution. We have rightly had much debate on such questions as the possibility of judicial error, on the culpability of females, minors, confederates and associates, and on the whole twilight area of reprisals, hostages, martyr-making, etc., but precious little about the effect upon this country's penal system and those who work in it or their families if hanging were brought back. It seems not unreasonable to ask whether a Service whose task is the humane custody, reform and rehabilitation of offenders, with the professional attitudes that this implies, should be associated again with an act which denies all these things and offers gross offence to many of its members.

But while the debate continues in the country, as it will, there is another area of evidence which so far as we know has been too seldom explored. There are alive today substantial numbers of still comparatively young men who have experienced the sentence of death and survived it (i.e., have been reprieved). There are still greater numbers who can speak about deterrence from first hand, and there are also many members of staff of prisons who have an intimate knowledge of the mental processes of men who have killed, before and after the event. There exists here a relatively untapped source of material—subjective, perhaps, but a good deal less conjectural than some of the "beliefs" which are offered as evidence in this argument.

The alternative to death of long—perhaps endless—sentences, is only marginally more tolerable, yet it is one that is being faced by the Service without complaint. Prison staff share the repugnance of their compatriots for the terrorist with whom they are nevertheless prepared to try and work out a viable co-existence. The problems of long-term imprisonment are increasing numerically and in intensity as the system fills up with people who have killed indiscriminately, not just from the familiar human passions, but with some kind of self or group-given licence. It is a new twist to a still largely unresolved problem, the security and treatment aspects of which are both fraught with enormous difficulties.

Some insight at consumer level into the minds of the more "traditional" long-term offender is provided by Davison's account of a study undertaken at Hull Prison. On the other side of the street, Nigel Whiskin writes about providing for ex-prisoners in terms of modern needs. And this, of course, is the other great question to which better answers need to be found—not just for humanitarian reasons, but in the long-term constructive interests of the rest of us, for recidivism is a less spectacular but more implacable enemy than the bomber, even if "they all come out" is not as unequivocally true a statement as it once was.

MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES IN BORSTAL

FELICITY CLARKSON and ROGER M. DAUNCEY

The instant reaction of many people when Management by Objectives (MbO) and management of penal establishments are mentioned in a single breath is to smile disbelievingly and then pityingly! Nevertheless, much interest has been shown in what is believed to be the first application of the theories and practice of MbO to the management of a British penal establishment. This article is written to enable those who are interested in or responsible for management to know about it and to learn from the experience gained by two members of staff in its implementation. Their joint involvement covers the setting up of the system, its maintenance and development until January 1975*

Felicity Clarkson joined the Prison Service in 1967 at Wormwood Scrubs. Following post graduate training at the Tavistock Clinic she has been Senior Psychologist at Feltham Borstal since 1971. She is married to a former Prison Chaplain and has three children

Roger Dauncey took up his present duties in the North Region of the Prison Service in 1957 as Deputy Regional Director. Before that he had been Governor of Feltham Borstal for four-and-a-half years and Usk Borstal and Detention Centre for five years. As Deputy Governor he served at Hollesley Bay Colony and as a borstal housemaster at Pollington, Feltham and North Sea Camp, where he joined the service in 1951. Educated at Bromsgrove School and Birmingham University, his previous experience was in engineering in which he served an apprenticeship, and in the Royal Navy as an electrical artificer.

SHORTLY after R.M.D. assumed governorship of Feltham in the autumn of 1970 the Prisons Board approved the terms of reference for the third stage of the Prison Management Review and it was agreed, as part of that review, that a system of MbO should be tested out in one establishment. The main purpose of this decision was to examine the validity of an MbO approach to organisational structure and management methods within a penal environment and also to find out whether it produced substantially different, or more effective, results and conclusions from those derived from the conventional O. and M. approach to be used in the rest of the review. Feltham and

Finnamore Wood borstal was selected for a number of reasons, one of which was that it provided as wide a range as possible of the features that were likely to cause difficulty in most establishments. Implementation of the system was started in October 1971.

DEFINING OBJECTIVES

One of the first difficulties encountered was to define the aims and objectives of the establishment. The Aims and Tasks of Prison Department Establishments†: i.e. "the purposes for which an organisation exists", had been defined in broad terms by the then Controller of Operations and were easily adopted or modified to give aims for Feltham and Finnamore Wood borstal in equally broad terms. For example, one of the aims set out for Prison Department Establishments generally was appropriate without modification as an aim for Feltham and Finnamore Wood: "The aims of those responsible for custodial care are to ensure that:

- (a) the treatment of the inmate is such as to promote and preserve his self respect; and
- (b) the harmful effects of removal from normal life are minimised".

However, the setting of objectives was a very different matter and had, in fact, never been done for the borstal—although various departments within

the establishment had attempted to do so. If we consider for a moment the nature of "objectives" the reasons for these difficulties may be appreciated. Objectives are statements of specific targets to be achieved or bettered within stated periods of time. Obviously, some objectives of penal establishments can be defined without difficulty and many are set statutorily in Prison Rules or Standing Orders. For example one Standing Order states "in the preparation of food the authorised dietary scales will be strictly observed". But in areas of "treatment" (which covers everything that happens to an inmate) or "training" (providing things for him most likely to help him develop and adopt a non-delinquent behaviour) to define objectives is much more difficult, since these objectives may mean commitment by management to explicit beliefs about penal philosophy and to certain specific methods of treating and training law-breakers in custody. Unfortunately, as things stand, there are about as many theories about "crime" and ways to "cure" it as there are prison staff; and each one of these might have a different set of objectives

*R.M.D. relinquished the post of governor in January 1975 on his transfer to the north Regional Office of the Prison Department.

†"Aims and Tasks of Prison Department Establishments" is available as annex "B" to Circular Instruction 48/1974, dated 11th November, 1974.

he would want to adopt for his particular treatment system.

At the present time, knowledge about law-breakers, their motivation and possible ways of promoting change in their behaviour is such that one faction is as likely to be right as any other. In our view, before one can be said to be more successful than another, the regimes of penal establishments should be committed to certain specific goals with specific methods of treatment systematically carried out and evaluated. But first we should look at how success is to be judged.

The difficulties in stating goals for penal establishments are considerable as many goals acceptable to one section of society may be unacceptable to another. For example, if an objective of the Prison Department was declared to be "to provide each inmate with a radio set" or "to provide opportunities for prisoners to receive a visit once in six months" objections on each from different parts of society could be anticipated. For these reasons it is sometimes argued that objectives are better left unstated.

While an abscond rate of about 20 per cent of the receptions is the norm in some borstals, surely it would be better to state as an objective: "to achieve an abscond rate of 15 per cent or below" rather than to adopt the unrealistic objective "to achieve an abscond rate of 0 per cent"? Yet the public expect a figure of 0 per cent.

Theoretical models of MbO stress that objectives should be stated in terms of output not input, as Reddin (1970) states it: "A sound objective must be *measurable* (his italics); without this quality its achievement cannot be established. It should be *quantitative* so that clear cut values can be placed on it. . . . It should focus on *results* rather than activities; that is it should focus on what a manager achieves rather than on what he simply does".

It is often said by civil servants that this is an approach valid for industry and commerce, where output is measurable in profitability, but that it has no application in a non-profit making enterprise such as the Civil Service whose business is people. Writers such as J. P. Clarkham and S. B. Walker (1970)¹ advocating MbO in the Civil Service, repudiate this. "Effectiveness can be calculated only in terms of aims and objectives. MbO emphasises this."

J. Garrett and S. B. Walker (1969)⁶ give a long list of the type of potential field for the application of MbO in the

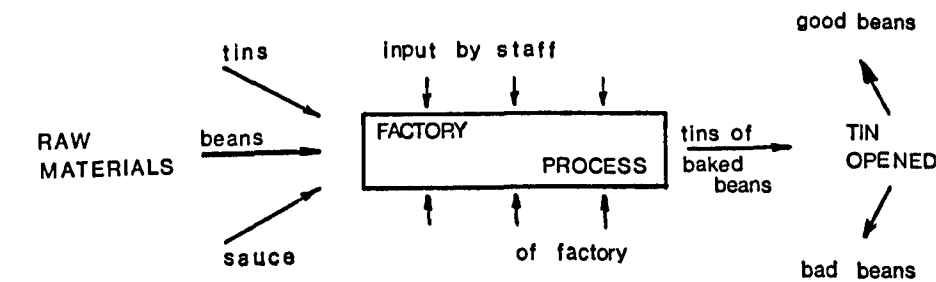


Fig 1.

Civil Service, with the caveat—"Though we believe MbO to be very widely applicable in the Civil Service, the most suitable branch or division for the pilot run would be one where output is quantifiable; which is at least as self-contained as possible; in which the work mostly forms a regular routine; in which parliamentary or ministerial interest is at a premium, and which has been long established in its present activity".

A psychiatrically orientated institution for disturbed young delinquents does not have many of the above features except the last, so it may be stating the obvious to say that defining objectives for a penal establishment in terms of its output presents considerable difficulties in this context.

JUDGEMENT BY RESULTS

The whole business of judgment by results (output) is worth examination in the penal context. Although there has always been much discussion as to the criteria of the successful detention centre, borstal or prison, understandably there is some agreement that "staying clear of trouble" by its ex-inmates is one way of measuring success. Accordingly the reconviction rate, often played down, of discharged inmates has always been the criteria of success. The current rate of 65-70 per cent for Feltham and Finsbury Wood borstal, therefore, could be used as an argument that the borstal is conspicuously unsuccessful in its methods,

although this must be set against the lack of information about reconviction rates without intervention by court procedure and its consequences.

The "baked bean" analogy is helpful in considering the appropriateness of a reconviction rate as a measure of success of the penal system and its constituent establishments.

The manufacturer of baked beans accepts the responsibility for the quality of his product and their condition on the opening of the tin, but only for a certain period of time after it leaves the factory and then with certain restrictions about methods of handling and storage; although if the condition of the beans is found to be favourable while outside the "safe limits" he sets he is usually only too willing to accept praise and promote publicity! He clearly does not accept responsibility for any adverse condition of the beans after the tin has been opened and the contents exposed to the atmosphere and environmental conditions for other than a very short time. The assessments as to whether the beans are good beans or bad beans is made on what comes out of the tin when it is opened—which measures the manufacturer's ability and skill consistently to obtain good raw material and provide efficient and effective processing and canning. The process for law-breakers is, of course, very different.

As will be appreciated, the penal system has no control whatsoever over the quantity or quality of its

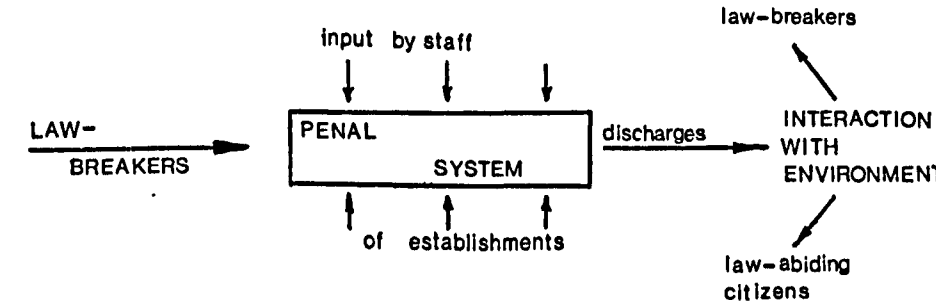


Fig 2.

input of "raw material" and, after all the processes within the penal establishment have taken place, little if any over the interaction of its output with the environment, after the can has been opened so to speak. Yet it is interaction with the environment by ex-inmates which establishes success or failure; for example, the inability of an ex-inmate to find and keep employment and accommodation (factors critical to his staying out of trouble) may well result in his reconviction.

While conventional MbO, and indeed most currently fashionable management theories, favour measurement of success by output, our experience leads us to put forward a case for assessment of the performance of a penal establishment by measuring the contribution (input) from staff and quality of that input rather than the behaviour of the inmate after discharge. Whilst top management must be held responsible for devising training programmes aimed at enabling trainees to keep out of trouble ("contamination resistant" with baked beans) if the trainee fails, as a result of an inadequate training programme, it is the training programme which should be criticised not the staff who administer it. The House Manager and his subordinates in a borstal should be held responsible for ensuring that a trainee receives the selected combination of training (for example trade training and education) designed—within the available knowledge—to help him on discharge and be assessed on their ability to achieve that, rather than be held responsible for the trainee's failure or success on release. In reality, of course, the House Manager can be held responsible *only* for that over which he has control, i.e. his input to the trainee's potential success; he cannot be held responsible for the trainee's behaviour on release, indeed this must rest entirely with the trainee.

The key area and standard of performance (by which a manager is assessed) from a manager's guide in Feltham and Finnamore Wood, drawn up early in the application of MbO, is shown above and is an example of how set and conditioned we are to "factory" terminology in our thinking where trainees are involved.

It is not the manager's performance that would be assessed by applying the above standard but the performance of the trainees. It might be more realistic if the standards of performance were along the following lines:

- (1) When trainee has been interviewed twice weekly by his group officer.

KEY AREA	STANDARD OF PERFORMANCE
Help each trainee improve his relationships	When trainee is better able to relate to people

Fig. 3

- (2) When trainee has completed his training in social skills.

These are two standards on which the *manager's* performance could be assessed.

EFFECTS OF MbO AT FELTHAM

Since MbO was introduced three years ago we have begun to be able to measure some of the effects it has had on the establishment and we now present some of the findings from two studies and discuss their implications for the practice of MbO in the Prison Service.

In the first, Helen Fergus of Brunel University undertook a study in July 1973, "to evaluate and report on staff perceptions of the effects of MbO on the management and organisation of the establishment". In October 1974, Mike Davey and Rowan Bayne of the Behavioural Sciences Research Division (Civil Service Department) carried out an examination of the MbO installation at Feltham and Finnamore Wood, paying particular attention to the use of the managers' guides, the role of the management development advisers and managers' perception of MbO.² The interviews for this study took place early in 1975.

Not surprisingly some of the findings from these two studies were similar and therefore gather weight by being established in two quite independent studies. Both studies found that the attitudes to MbO varied between grades and rank of staff. Helen Fergus found that while the "greatest proportion of respondents feel neutral (33 per cent) the second greatest (28 per cent) feel very positive. . . . There is more of a negative feeling amongst senior officers than other groups and more of a positive feeling amongst specialists than other groups". Eighteen months later Mike Davey found, "staff above the principal officer level consider that benefits have accrued as a result of MbO with regard to the organisation of their work and their knowledge of the aims and objectives of their house or department and forward planning and communications generally. Staff below this level have

generally felt that MbO has not affected their work".

It was encouraging to find then that 81 per cent of the senior staff considered that MbO had slight or considerable advantages as a style of management and 45 per cent of staff of principal officer level and below held a similar view. (Although an appreciable minority (28 per cent) felt that it had considerable disadvantages). In particular, it was found that specialists felt they had benefited from having drawn up a guide for their job, which had been "reconciled" with both the functional boss, the governor, and the professional boss usually from headquarters or regional office. Of course, it was not necessary to have MbO to do this, but MbO provides a framework for a systematic and thorough approach to individual jobs.

Both authors wonder whether staff at senior officer level are really managers and consider that if they are not their negative attitudes to what they understand of MbO are not surprising. After all they are not consulted about the appointment of their subordinates and nor do their subordinates see them as their boss. Indeed their situation is more akin to that of a supervisor, but as John Garnett in "The Work Challenge"³ says: "If the importance of a supervisor is stressed under the heading of structure then it will not do to set up a system of communications that ignores his presence". At Feltham, as elsewhere in the Prison Service, the job of senior officer is ill-defined either as a supervisor or manager.

Both studies found that job reviews had not been carried out regularly for most managers and for some not at all since a guide had been prepared for them. Where they had been carried out most managers found them helpful.

Following on from this, it is not surprising to learn that although the "suggestions for improvement" column was regarded by most staff as quite or very important, nearly half the staff at principal officer level or below said that no action had been taken on their suggestions for improvement.

A point stressed by Helen Fergus is the lack of clarity with which organisational structure is perceived by many of the managers in her sample. She found, "they lack a clear conceptual understanding of their organisational relationships with other people, particularly where these relationships were not of a straightforward vertical, boss/subordinate nature". This point was highlighted in her analysis of perceptions of staff in two units, in which no two managers had the same views of the organisational structure of their units.

We suggest that the findings emphasise the difficulties of introducing MbO into a fairly rigid hierarchy. Underlying the philosophy of MbO is the assumption that if a manager has participated in the process of defining his own objectives, his commitment to the organisation is likely to be enhanced and his need to achieve in the work situation increased; an important part of this process is "suggestions for improvement". Individual managers should feel free to suggest modifications or changes in routine or procedures which they feel will facilitate their own, or the organisation's, achievement of objectives and if, in practice, suggestions for improvement made by a junior manager are not generally actioned by his boss it may be because these bosses are not themselves free to make suggestions for improvement. They do not accept that this freedom can exist in a hierarchical structure without threatening management's authority including their own. It would seem, from the authors' experience, that although the managers' boss may agree to an improvement suggested by the manager, nothing happens because of a deep-rooted practice in hierarchies for change to be initiated from the top downwards rather than at the initiative of those further down the scale.

It has been our experience, and we are sure readers will be able to recall many examples from their own experience, that on some occasions members of staff in their concern about a difficulty or problem appear more willing to explain how it has existed for a long time and how it is insoluble (thus perpetuating it and maintaining the status quo) than they are to seek a solution; indeed on many an occasion dismissing, almost out of hand, any suggestion that offers a possible solution and later becoming hostile to anyone that persists.

We are reminded of Barbara Dockard-Drysdale's theory of The Impossible Task based on her work as a consultant

to staff groups in approved schools and other institutions". She describes the "theory" as being the "basic assumption that people cannot change (except in superficial ways)—an idea subscribed to by families, institutions and managing bodies". She continues: "There is plenty of encouragement for those engaged in the task of changing or helping delinquent and difficult children. Child-care workers are praised and admired as unselfish, dedicated people making great sacrifices in order to devote themselves to a hopeless but worthy cause. This encouraging, praising attitude continues through all sorts of crises, breakdowns or failures, but changes to anxiety and suspicion should any success attend the struggles of the people involved in this kind of work."

"The theory of The Impossible Task is to be found among child-care workers themselves, who will work with devotion, accept instruction and advice, learn theory and so on, but do not in fact believe that their efforts will lead to results. Some people actually choose this kind of work just *because* they believe it to be impossible—like climbers assailing a peak which they believe to be unconquerable."

"Long ago I remember there was a student at the Bush who could not manage a play-group of three disturbed children. She left us after a few weeks, and when we next had news of her, she was working for an organisation aimed at achieving world peace."

This brings us to some areas of difficulty that have been said to have been caused by MbO but, in reality, were existing difficulties only highlighted or thrown into relief by it, indeed we found that MbO provided a number of possible solutions to many of these previously unresolved difficulties. If these difficulties then continue to be experienced it is because of a reluctance by staff, for many and varied reasons, to test out or adopt a possible solution. An example of this is the difficulty caused by the traditional roles and behaviour expected of particular ranks in the Prison Service which frequently have a severely limiting effect on the ability and potential of the members of staff holding those ranks. MbO requires the defining of aims and objectives, the use of all available staff resources in the most effective way, and individual managers to organise their own and subordinates' work in such a way as always to contribute towards the agreed aims. Some members of the Prison Service may feel that they cannot accept those requirements because to

do so might mean that in organising their resources they would set precedents which they fear would be unacceptable to colleagues either in their own or other ranks and grades (but not on the grounds of cost/efficiency or achievement of task). Because of the nature of these fears, which are held equally strongly by some members of top management, possible new ways of work and fuller use of resources are not tested out. For example, at the present time in a penal establishment it would be quite out of the question to create a post of "personnel manager" to be in control of the deployment of *all* staff resources and to fill it with any one particular grade of staff. Although in industry this is seen to be an effective, efficient and well tried method of controlling staff resources and although this idea of a personnel manager must have been thought of and discussed at all levels in the Prison Service any formal discussion of it as a proposal or testing out of it as an idea has been avoided until now.

MbO AND THE PRISON SERVICE

MbO faces staff with the necessity, if they are to maintain their efficiency, to be constantly task orientated and this encourages flexible use of all resources including staff. But in the Prison Service to keep in role (defined by grade and rank) is all important and to be "out of role" is a cardinal sin. Often staying in role (traditional) is a way of avoiding being task orientated whilst at the same time appearing (superficially) to provide a virtuous example of responsible behaviour. Of course unless the task is clearly defined, as it is in a system of MbO, there can be and is widespread collusion to avoid acknowledging and examining such behaviour.

Another example of a problem all too frequently avoided or skirted around, but one that MbO helps to resolve, is the clear requirement for governors to absorb and integrate professional specialists into their management structure and for the governor, or one of his subordinates as appropriate, to accept the responsibility of agreeing the specialists' roles and tasks in the form of managers' guides. This task is frequently avoided because, traditionally, some specialists have achieved a kind of separate and "untouchable" status in the hierarchy of the establishments in which they work, but it must be faced now that opportunities for change exist. The integration of these specialists, more than anything else, places demands on them and their governor to work together

in a professional way, but these demands may be resisted by those who are reluctant to be held accountable to a different grade, or to accept responsibility for the management of specialist resources. For such specialists, governors and managers, MbO is a demanding but rewarding method of management for, by its use at Feltham and Finnamore Wood, it has demonstrated its ability to provide a format for the integration of specialists both full and part time (such as chaplains, doctors, psychologists, teachers) with an accountability through the management structure to the governor and for the resolution of conflict among staff and departments. Satisfactory integration of specialists can only lead to more efficient use of staff and an improvement in effective management.

MbO encourages an emphasis on the objectives and tasks to be performed in an organisation. This means a re-examination of traditional roles, jobs and responsibilities. Herein, it seems to us, is its value; but herein also are the inherent difficulties. The Prison Department, as an organisation, was not designed to fulfil a task other than to contain convicted offenders; it just grew,

and the way it grew from simple beginnings to a complex and confused organisation has been well documented elsewhere (Thomas).⁸ Whilst it was a mistake to think that MbO could be applied effectively to one unit alone within the organisation of the Prison Department as a whole—and experience in D.H.S.S. as recounted by Walton (1975)⁹ is relevant to this point—and with the Report of the Management Review Team on the Organisation and Staffing Structure for the Management of Prison Service Establishments now

available for reading, the experience and learning from the introduction of MbO at Feltham and Finnamore Wood and its potential as a vehicle for change should not be ignored.

The changes that are suggested by the application of Management by Objectives at Feltham and Finnamore Wood have implications that reach far outside that establishment and present a challenge to the organisation as a whole to become more flexible and task-oriented than is possible with its present structure.

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Accommodating Offenders in the South-west

NIGEL WHISKIN

Regional Organiser, N.A.C.R.O. in the south-west

Nigel Whiskin has been working for N.A.C.R.O. in the south-west since 1971. Before then he worked as a probation officer in Bristol from 1966. In his article he takes a look at the way the community can be involved in the business of accommodating offenders, based on the experience with voluntary organisations in the south-west

"Nothing we have attempted in the south-west is particularly new or original. We have tried to establish projects which answer some of the needs for some offenders. So far we are at the 'two cheers' stage"

AFTER-CARE hostels are dirty words to most people in prison. This prejudice, often based on limited yet valid experience, runs on a theme which will be familiar to all. It goes "why should I go from an all male institution, full of thieves and layabouts, where I'm bossed around all day to another all male institution, full of thieves and layabouts, where I'm bossed around all day and conditions are not so good". The expect-

tation of sharing a dreary room with a stranger in a crumbling Victorian ruin in an urban area full of cast-off people and cast-off charity furniture, run by do-gooding pillars of society and featured regularly in the local Press is unlikely to be attractive to the man who wants to get stuck into some freedom.

Such attitudes, planted in yesterday's bad experience, nurtured by the peer culture, fertilised with that most readily

available commodity "national moan" and watered from the river of fantasy in which dreams of independence flow, are getting to be just a little out of date.

Part of the difficulty lies in the way we use the term "hostel" to embrace a multitude of accommodation facilities for sinners which range from doss houses to purpose built units with lofty corridors and shining floors to self-

contained and self-catering flats. In a heap of confusion we tend to lump together a variety of different facilities.

This confusion is exacerbated by the simple fact that few members of prison staff have any concept of what the facilities being offered are like if they know of them at all. Thus, with a few exceptions, in the prison situation there is no antidote to the prejudice.

During the last 20 years or so just over 1,800 places have been established in the community to provide accommodation for the offender population by voluntary organisations. About 500 of these have been created in the last two years, an unprecedented rate of expansion and one which is likely to continue. The impetus for this movement stems from widespread concern, articulated by successive Home Secretaries, to reduce the prison population by treating more offenders in the community and by improving the caring facilities in the community. It has been aided by the growing strength of the housing association movement and a willingness on the part of the community to involve itself in this work.

A particularly pleasing aspect of this development of accommodation and support facilities is the willingness of voluntary organisations to widen the range and type of accommodation and support. Increasingly we find projects attempting to break out of the "half-way" house model to provide a different range of facilities geared to the needs of the customers and, in some instances, offering elements of choice. There are some indications of an effort to make these facilities more available to the customers by encouraging self-referral and by involving the customers in the management processes.

PROBLEM OF REFERENCES

All this, however, must be seen against the backcloth of a growing shortage of rentable accommodation in the community. Successive housing acts which, quite rightly, sought to protect tenants from landlord exploitation are causing many landlords to go out of business. In some places in the south-west, landlords are asking for six months rent in advance plus two satisfactory references before granting tenancies on furnished flats and bedsits. What chance does the man just out of prison stand in the face of such demands even if he can find a vacancy? Quite frankly, for most people coming out of penal institutions, it is a waste of precious time and emotional energy to even start looking.

The situation is not made any easier



NIGEL WHISKIN

by the absence of any hard and up-to-date information about the accommodation problems which people in prison confront on discharge. A number of surveys have been carried out over the years for different purposes and these have resulted in "guesstimates" of the number of homeless prisoners between 2 per cent and 45 per cent, a wholly unacceptable variant. Most prison welfare officers say that few men leave penal institutions without an address to go to but that many don't have a home and leave to go to addresses which are unlikely to provide them with any kind of foundation on which to make a bid to stay out of trouble. Without any evidence other than experience it would seem that the need is to have a wide range of accommodation facilities which offer not only the elements of shelter but also security and social support and which is readily available and accessible to the consumers.

MEETING THE NEED

It makes sense to pass the obvious comment that no matter how successful the prison system might be in character, jobs and educational training and how successful the probation service might be in providing casework support, it comes to nothing if the individual concerned has no place to live when his discharge date comes up. And it equally makes good sense to say that the better the quality of the individual's accommodation arrangements, not only in the material sense but in terms also of the emotional and social environment in which he lives, then the better the chances of him being able to survive in the community and keep out of trouble with the law. Of course, good accommodation does not guarantee success but, at the very least, it minimizes the chances of failure.

In broad terms there are four types of accommodation needs:

1. Crisis Accommodation

There is a clear and urgent need to set up units which will offer accommodation to people who have nowhere to go and which will provide them with the basic means of survival.

2. Specialist Accommodation

Many people returning to the community have a particular problem with which they will need specialised support. These include people with drink or drug abuse problems, people suffering from mental illnesses, people limited in their coping capacity by reason of age, intelligence of past experience and people with certain behavioural or personality disorders.

3. Short-term Accommodation

Many people returning to the community need short-stay accommodation to go to immediately on discharge from which they can make their own living arrangements. The main effort of such projects should be to support the individual in his efforts to re-establish himself in the community.

4. Long-stay Accommodation

Many people in prison have very long term needs. To people who have lost, or even never had, a home which all its implicit connotations of security, belonging, people and its plugging-in point to the community, there is no short-term situation. To think in terms of "half-way" houses is to deny the reality that it takes many years for people to develop their life style and a sense of identity with a particular community. We expect too much of our fellowmen who have had many years, often a life time, of fragmented or damaging family life. It often takes as long to get it right as it did to make it wrong.

Of course, these basic accommodation needs largely go unmet. If we add to the number of men and women discharged from penal institutions who are either homeless or have severe accommodation problems those who are known to the probation service, the police and the courts, we may well be speaking in terms of 40,000 people. The 1,800 beds funded by the Home Office After-care Bed Grant Scheme only begin to scratch at the problem. Even if we count in the commercial lodging houses, the reception centres, the spikes, the landladies schemes and projects which lie outside the Home Office scheme, we are still left with a depressing and really rather disgraceful shortfall.

Voluntary organisations have then started to make an impression, albeit,

a slight one, on meeting some of the needs. Unhappily, little or no research has yet been undertaken into the effectiveness of these schemes. We can only assert, from our own observations and experience, that, by and large and for most of the time, they are doing a useful job.

INVOLVING THE COMMUNITY

During the last three years in the south-west we have spent much of our time and energy attempting to plug some of the obvious gaps in the existing provisions and in trying to improve the quality of the caring facilities. Our method has been to involve people from the community and to use, as far as possible, community resources.

There are a number of reasons why we believe our emphasis on involving the community is correct.

(1) Since the purpose of most rehabilitative processes is to facilitate the re-entry of the individual into society it makes sense to involve the community in that process.

2. Within the community are resources of caring skills which are an invaluable addition to the scarce and expensive professional casework skills and which are relatively easy to tap and harness.

3. These caring skills in the community are qualitatively different from those traditionally associated with the statutory agencies and enables the project to broaden its range of activities.

4. By involving people from the community in our work we increase society's awareness of the problems we are trying to tackle and develop a nucleus of people who are sympathetic to the cause.

The general pattern of project development in the south-west has been to acquire the property through using a housing association set-up specially for the purpose. Local authorities, and now the Housing Corporation, are empowered to give housing associations 100 per cent mortgages subject to local valuation, planning permissions and public health requirements. In certain cases conversion grants and loans are available.

The housing association then allows the property to be used for the project for a rent equivalent to the mortgage repayments plus a small service charge. The rent and service charges are met from the rents collected from the residents. The housing association retain the freehold of the property and generally look after external repairs.

They reserve the right to withdraw the use of the property if the project is being mismanaged or the rents not forthcoming.

This method of acquiring the use of a property has a number of distinct advantages for the voluntary organisations. First, the voluntary organisations do not have to mount a massive capital fund raising venture, an exercise which has incidentally become increasingly less fruitful over the last few years. Second, the housing association take the financial risk involved in property management. Third, the housing association have developed considerable expertise in overcoming planning permission obstacles and so on.

These three factors enable the voluntary management committee to get down to the business of deciding what kind of project they are to run.

The high cost of property throughout the west country and the high interest rates mean that it is essential at an early stage to get the financial viability of the project right. In a number of cases we have had to raise capital from charities or from statutory funds to reduce the mortgage commitment which in turn enhances the revenue position. But, even with the most careful planning, the revenue from the customer is just insufficient to cover staff appointments.

FINANCIAL SUPPORTS

The Home Office After-care Hostel Grant Scheme has gone some way to provide the funds for support staff by way of a deficit grant. At present the grant provides £215 for each approved place for offenders and a higher grant of £350 per annum per place to specialist units which provide facilities for alcoholics, drug addicts or any other clearly defined category of offender requiring a high level of social support.

The grant is conditional and the following requirements have to be satisfied:

1. There must be a management committee responsible for running the hostel and it must have on it a representative of the probation and after-care committee—usually a senior probation officer.

2. A specific number of places must be reserved for offenders, and the general policy on selection agreed with the probation service.

3. Residents over 18 must be charged at least the appropriate rent for the area as indicated by the Supplementary Benefits Commission.

4. Records must be kept and these, as well as the project itself, must be open to inspection by the Home Office.

5. The probation service will appoint a liaison probation officer for the project to provide day-to-day advice and support to both residents and staff.

From this description it will be clear that there is a line of accountability and control over the voluntary projects through the probation service. Equally important though is the basis which these conditions lay down for a partnership, or, at least, working relationship between the service and the voluntary organisation.

It will be clear from the above that the initiation of any project is dependant upon the marriage of a clear need to available resources solomnised in a working relationship with the probation service and given away by the housing association with the Home Office providing the dowry.

Within this loose and fragile framework of resources we have attempted to start a number of projects, the operation of which is strictly inhibited by the resources available.

OPEN MANAGEMENT

Our main focus has been to try and find workable models of providing long stay accommodation. The first task was to find a group of people in the town where we were working who were willing to make a commitment to the project. We were anxious not to recruit people who were addicted to committee service or who were grinding a particular axe. We wanted a group who could combine specialist professional skills—legal and financial experts—with reliable, consistent, caring skills and who could work together as a team. We had to have a group who would be capable of accepting the brief, working it up to the operational stage and to sustain it once the project was started. Our aim was to make the group independent and self-sufficient for they alone, would carry the heavy task of sustaining the project. We got the management groups to adopt a model constitution which made provision for the election of officers, the production of accounts and annual reports. There are many different kinds of management committee models. We were anxious to create one which would discharge its official functions effectively, win the struggle for credibility with the statutory agencies but which would be in touch with the customers and share the business of running the house and all that happened therein with them. Many voluntary

projects make the error of filling their management committees with prestigious personages who, though a powerful ginger group, have little to offer the customer in terms of continuous and consistent support.

This open system of management makes heavy demands on time, patience and goodwill especially in a setting where the customers live communally. We set out with the intention of involving our customers in management in a situation where there was no residential staff and where we wanted them to create their own life-style and where there was to be a minimum of rules. All we asked was that our residents should pay the rent, keep the peace and attend a weekly project meeting. We had already determined to set up small units, partly because they were easier to manage and partly because we did not want to start ghettos.

The problems we encountered were manifold. First of all the people who came to us were much more difficult to handle than had been anticipated. Many were unable or unwilling to really participate in management and most were ill-equipped by previous experience to do so. There were persistent difficulties, common to all projects, over the payment of rent and the cleaning of communal areas. It was sad to witness our residents passing formal resolutions to keep the house clean while flicking their ash on the floorboards, the carpet having been illicitly sold off. The weekly project meetings soon degenerated into mutual recrimination sessions which caused a divide between the managed and the managers and which reinforced everyone's sense of failure. This provoked management to become less interested in the participation model and more concerned with survival and thus more reactionary. Second, for the communal group to work without a residential staff structure it seems that its members either have to have a common identity or cause for living as a group and have to have chosen to do so. To recruit a number of individuals whose common ground is their delinquency is to run the risk of creating a strong delinquent culture. The only solution is to appoint a house leader.

The management committees were fairly soon caught up in conflict situations with which every residential project will be familiar. Here we are providing accommodation and support to a person who appears to need help. But the person does not pay his rent, steals in the house, upsets the neigh-

bours with his record-player, refuses to do his share of communal cleaning and so on. If we chuck him out we are simply doing what everyone else has done to him in the past. If we do not chuck him out will the project survive?

One of the snags with each new management group is that it each has to learn to "re-invent the wheel". Groups of people in residential situations function like any dynamic group. For weeks one builds up a stable group, one no longer dreads the phone, all is peaceful and quiet. Suddenly it blows up. With hindsight you can spot the little interactions, the pressures on the group to have a scapegoat, to throw up a dictation, to have a tilt at authority, to block and to destroy and to be reconciled, supportive, caring and loving.

For the new management group this process of learning how to handle and how to live with such pulsating dynamism is pretty painful and at times depressing. And yet only one management group has folded. And despite this emphasis on problems and difficulties and tottering along the crisis road a lot of bent people are a bit straighter. The point is that each management group has to learn how to cope for itself.

There are three noteworthy strengths in these particular voluntary projects. The first is their flexibility. The management committees have all been willing to look fairly objectively at what has been happening and to change and alter their methods if they were obviously failing. Second, there is no doubt that the customers want to come to the projects and that some prejudices traditionally associated with after-care have been overcome and that many of the customers have identified with the schemes. Third, the voluntary management groups have displayed, again and again, a remarkable capacity to stick with individuals despite their failures. This stickability has resulted in some quite remarkable success stories in which one or two "no-hopers" have got into the good life.

With a dozen or so projects now operational we think we have developed sufficient technical experience to move quite quickly at plugging some of the gaps as far as long term accommodation provision is concerned in the south-west. The success of the bed-sit and flatlet schemes, with all their attendant advantages of offering the customers what they want in the way of accommodation, independence and privacy, is most encouraging. With growing sup-

port from the housing association movement there is no reason why we should not be able to meet the existing needs over the next five years.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

This still leaves a wide range of needs unmet. In broad terms we have come round to the view that voluntary organisations are good at running small projects which offer long-stay accommodation with a limited amount of social support. The economic structure of such projects, the quality and level of management problems, the nature of the relationship with the consumer group all lie well within the capacity of the volunteers.

When we look at crisis units, referral centres, specialist units and group living situations the picture is less clear. Voluntary organisations can run such projects but only when they have the financial resources to employ the appropriate level of staff to provide the supervision and support to people who clearly by their very situation need it. And these financial resources must come from statutory funds. Charity money is just not there.

Many of the voluntary groups in the south-west, both those which we have helped establish and those who got going on their own, are slowly starting to win the confidence of the staffs of penal institutions. Since both prison staff and the projects share the common task of trying to get inmates back into the community does it not make sense to try and find ways of sharing the task in a purposeful way.

There are a number of ways in which this could be done:

1. Members of prison staff to join voluntary project management groups.
2. Voluntary projects be established linked to particular institutions and to cater for the needs of their inmates.
3. Information about the projects be more readily available to the staffs of institutions.
4. Information about the problems which inmates face over accommodation be more readily available to the projects.

At the end of the day it must be right to suggest that if we are concerned to get offenders back in the community we must be jointly involved with the community to ensure that his basic needs are met. And that he stands a chance of survival.

Readers Write

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

THE OUTREACH OF WAKEFIELD

Dear Sir,

The article on the women's prisons of Kenya in the last issue of the Journal, besides awakening memories of my committee there in 1959 and a subsequent visit in 1961, when we had to try to sort out some of the Mau Mau problems and not least the tragedy of Hola, when 11 Africans were beaten to death, set me thinking about the way Wakefield has spread its influence over many parts of the world. And of course there are at least two members of the Service today who were serving in the Kenya prisons at the time of my visits. The fifth U.N. Congress will be meeting shortly in Toronto: if my experience of the preceding four is anything to go by (true in 1970 I only got to Kyoto in time to deal with the conference leftovers on the Experts Committee) I would say that a Wakefield old boys'—and girls'—reunion would bring together a goodly company. Moreover, it will be 30 years this coming January since I opened what we still did not think it odd then to call the Imperial Training School, though the sun of Empire was already beginning to set.

But, of course, the contribution of Wakefield and the Prison Service generally to the overseas territories began a long time before the I.T.S. opened in 1946. Alec Paterson became a commissioner in 1922 and before the end of that decade he was already encouraging young men from the Service to volunteer for responsible posts overseas. We have only to think of Garratt in Malaya, Cameron in Africa, Bob Taylor and his borstal in Burma, Child in Jamaica, Norman in Hong Kong and Rocksborough Smith in British Columbia—and there were many others. Then there came the reverse movement: some of these and their territorial colleagues were brought back on what we somewhat irreverently called Paterson's colonial circus, involving a Cook's tour of English prisons, culminating in a visit to Wakefield and a typical Yorkshire banquet provided by the late Dudley Ackroyd, for years the chairman of the West Riding D.P.A. The last of these, I think, occurred in 1950 or 51, when Sir Philip Allen was deputy chairman, and we ended up with a splendid river trip down the Thames

and dinner in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. These tours, though not necessarily the dinners, were a bit indigestible; the sort of courses mounted for our overseas colleagues, including seminars arranged through the European Committee on Crime Problems by the Staff College have become more realistic, especially after discussions with the Colonial Office and its successor, the Ministry of Overseas Development.

The departure of Tom Hayes this year for Botswana is but the latest incident in a missionary movement which has continued over the years. Just after the war, Nicol Hilton, the first Director of Prison Administration and a much loved Assistant Commissioner, led Tom Hayes and Dennis Venables on a special tour of duty in Greece. Denis Malone went to Cyprus to become Commissioner there. In the middle 50s, Sir Lionel Fox and I were called to Cyprus in the middle of the first round of "troubles", as both Paterson and Hilton had been called on previously to America and the West Indies. From 1955 onwards it was my lot to go to Jamaica, British Guiana, as it then was, Barbados and Kenya. Sir Arthur Peterson, when he was the last chairman of the Prison Commission, became a visiting lecturer at the U.N. Institute in Fuchu, outside Tokyo, where I followed in 1967, and where Hugh Kenyon followed again on two lengthy tours. And I suppose we should now include the members of the Service assisting in Northern Ireland.

My memory of some of these happenings was sharpened towards the end of 1973 when I was asked to join a Civil Service task force under the Rt. Hon. Aubrey Jones in Nigeria, serving a Nigerian commission with Chief Udoji as chairman. It was not only that Paterson and Cameron had reported on Nigeria's prisons before me. It was that on tour over that vast territory, I either came across officers from the director downwards, who had been to Wakefield, or to places like the excellent open prison and borstal at Kakuri, opened by Adrian Arnold. Wakefield these days, as I have already hinted, is much more sophisticated than in my horse and buggy days, and is more understanding of the conditions under which our colleagues in distant lands have to work. It is no good bringing them here and say: "Just copy this". The social, welfare and financial situations are totally different. But sadly I found that some of the results of our ancient ways still lingered. In the three officers' training schools I visited I

found exact copies of the notes in use which were prepared for principal officers' lectures at the I.T.S. in my day—and before! Founded on English practice as they were they had no relevance for Nigeria either then or now, and I said so.

Difficult as is the work of prison officers in this country, I was humbled to see the difficulties that had to be surmounted there. To the problems of over-crowding and the delay in bringing accused to trial, with which we have long been familiar, must be added the hazards caused by distance and the lack of proper communications. With Lagos as prison headquarters, one had to fly, for example, 1,000 miles to Maiduguri, in the North-Eastern State, with its local prison and assistant director in charge, but his furthest prison was 500 miles away. Population returns and other more urgent reports from some out-station began their journey by donkey, and having survived floods and other impediments, reached Lagos perhaps three weeks later. And of course, to the ordinary responsibilities of the gaoler were often added the custody—I could not use the word care—of the mentally sick, either within the prison compound or in an adjacent, primitive asylum. By aeroplane, car and boat, I visited some 20 prisons in six States, in order to understand the problems of the Nigerian prison service, whom I was constrained to call "the forgotten servants of the State". Once I had the tables neatly turned on me. The Emir of Kano graciously granted me audience, and half way through our pleasant conversation about Nigeria, he suddenly asked me my opinion of what *The Guardian* had said about Holloway! I said I was glad to find we both read the same paper.

Wakefield is a place, whether as staff college or prison, still held in high honour by our friends in distant lands, both in and beyond the Commonwealth. It will be a sad day when the present two-way traffic ends, they coming to us and members of our Service being ready to go out and share their work with them.

DUNCAN FAIRN.



TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

I found the letter from Mr. J. H. Rumball in your April issue 1975 posing the question of a cadet scheme most interesting and I believe, both he, and perhaps other members of our

profession, would find of interest the cadet scheme in operation by the New Zealand Department of Justice.

The Prison Officer Cadet School was established at the point Haswell Department of Justice Staff Training Centre in January 1967, while Mr. Hanan was Minister, to upgrade the professional training of prison officers, to augment recruitment and to provide a greater reservoir of potential for future leaders in the Service. The age group tapped was 17 to 20 years old and the minimum academic qualification for entry was set at three years, secondary education. This training scheme appears to be the only one for cadets in the English-speaking world, in fact, rather is different in concept from any other prison officer cadet training.

The two-year course provided can, to some extent, be broken down on paper into academic extension, vocational training and personal developments. An attempt at academic extension is required of all cadets: those without School Certificate at form VI entry level try for it, those with School Certificate but without university entrance try for this, those with university entrance or higher take two units of Div. A of Dip. Crim. at university. In the second year those who show potential are encouraged to continue further and are usually keen too. The vocational training includes study of criminology, penology, practical penology, Acts and regulations, and related subjects, and also includes observational and practical and activities grouped as developmental include both practical skills peripheral to the basic job and also such courses as may contribute to the personality development, integration, maturity and general knowledge of the individual cadet.

As cadets may be only 19 years of age on graduation and entry to the field it is obvious that this latter aspect of training must receive considerable attention.

The course is a demanding two-year programme and though cadets go out into the field as basic grade officers and must gain field experience before consideration for promotion selection, their graduation entails qualifications at the level of intermediate officers' examinations, together with several special skills, and they may also have qualified in some sections of the senior officers' examinations. To achieve this the cadet day commences with physical training before breakfast, then continues with a programme of ten 40-minute periods between 8.15 a.m. and 5 p.m. with the first year cadets and some of

the second year cadets attending judo and self-defence classes two evenings a week as well. To cope with the course it is essential that cadets supplement this with private evening study.

The point raised by Mr. Rumball in reference to jealousy amongst staff who join in the present accepted manner, was well taken. However, the New Zealand system places the cadet, on graduation, into the field of general prison duties where he must compete with those who were recruited in the normal way and who have to their

advantage their maturity and general past experience to aid them in their work.

To those interested in staff training, it is obvious that the days of the "bullet-headed, broken-nosed screw" are past. The cadet scheme is a great flip towards a greater professionalism within the penal service.

J. C. CHAPMAN,
*Staff Training Officer,
New Plymouth Prison,
Taranaki, New Zealand.*

The Consumer Guide to Radzinowicz

CLIFFORD DAVIDSON

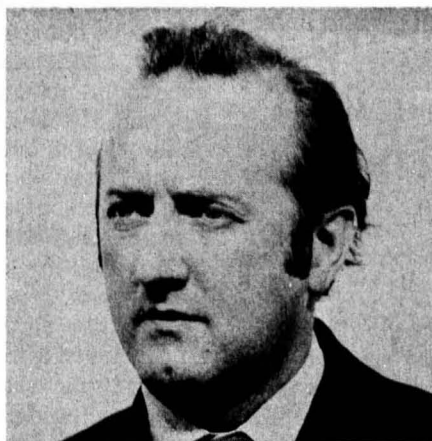
IN February 1967 a sub-committee was set up by the Advisory Council on the Penal System to consider a regime for long term prisoners detained in conditions of maximum security.

The following are the views of a group of men who have experienced that regime and their thoughts on how it could be improved, not only for the humane containment of men, but to help in their eventual rehabilitation.

The group was representative. All the men were in for violence. It was hoped that the group would help them learn more about themselves, their attitudes towards society and each other, and that it might be therapeutic in allowing ventilation of anger, fears, hopes and frustrations. The members were selected for their relative stability, reasonableness and intelligence.

The conclusions can only provide a "straw poll". A closer evaluation would have taken a great deal longer. I meant the article to come directly from the prisoners in the group to readers of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL.

None of these men had read the Radzinowicz Report and none had attended classes on criminology, soci-



C. N. Davison spent 13 yrs in the R.A.F. as an Engineer, then joined the Probation Service and did one year training at Sheffield and Leeds; 4½ years normal probation duties in Hull; then just over two years in the normal prison. He has four children: his interests are family, Camping, and Hull City A.F.C. Secretary of local N.A.P.O. branch for three years.

ology or psychology. In other words, my view is that their ideas were mainly their own. I will place their comments under four main headings: first, the philosophy of imprisonment and the regime generally; second, work, education and leisure; third, families and children; and fourth, the helping agencies and moves towards discharge.

1. Philosophy and Regime

It was thought that imprisonment

as it now existed, in excess of three years, was destructive and in excess of 10 years, was inhumane. However, the judicial and to some extent, the general public's attitude being what they were, long term imprisonment would remain a policy for the next decade. A prisoner could adapt to a regime no matter how hard or soft, whether he was locked up for long periods or given a great deal of internal freedom and facilities. It was unanimously thought that the regime of dispersal prisons was a move in the right direction. The great, and in the end, the only deterrent of imprisonment was loss of freedom.

Four aspects of the philosophy of treatment were emphasised: firstly—the conditions within the prison should

resemble as nearly as possible the amount of choice, for better or worse, available in life outside.

Elaborations on this theme were as follows: prisoners could be given individual cell keys. Instead of prison uniform they could be given a clothing allowance to spend on an approved range of clothing of their choice. Prisoners could have access to a telephone. Calls could be booked in advance, paid for, and monitored and censored where necessary. There could be an official wing betting shop to formalise gambling and so that gambling traits could be observed. There should be alcohol available in limited quantities in, say, a wing bar. Trouble would result in certain inmates being banned, and problem drinkers recognised and treated in a meaningful way.

Work was discussed at some length. Once again it was thought that conditions should resemble those on the outside as closely as possible. Wages could be high so that families could be supported or, for the single and homeless man, a decent sum could be saved for his discharge. There should be wage and condition bargaining. Men could apply to change jobs or be sacked for poor work. Work should not be compulsory but prisoners who did not work would obviously give a truer indication of themselves and would not earn consideration for an early release.

All of these privileges would not be immediately available but, after a certain period in a normal institution, a long term prisoner's normal expectancy should be that of moving to a prison with this kind of regime. The philosophy behind the regime would be to allow the true individuality of the prisoner to develop. Choice would be a real factor in this development and choices would be made either way. Truer staff assessments would also be a benefit.

Secondly—previous record, previous prison behaviour and past life should not carry so much weight when making assessments. A long prison sentence should be a chance to make a fresh beginning. The judiciary, the penal system administration and the Parole Board organisation should have a much closer liaison. Parole and/or P.R.E.S. should be the normal expectancy of a long term prisoner, but, of course, they would have to be earned in the way previously described. Life sentence men should be given regular "signposts" as to their progress. After the first major review a date should be given to the prisoner when he can expect his next review. The present system of not knowing how they are doing or what

to expect is cruel to the man and his family.

Thirdly—the outside community should be encouraged to come in to the prison at every possible opportunity. Any non-staff member is refreshing to meet and it helps the prisoner keep in touch with the real world.

Fourthly—prisoner-staff relationships should be flexible and communication swift and on-going. Prisoners should always know where they stood regarding the rules and their implementation. Prisoners representative committees are frustrating unless the staff that sit on them have the power to implement most of the decisions agreed on within the prison in all things, i.e., allocation of jobs, cells, special letters, visits, wing changes, privileges, punishments. This latter principle was very strongly felt.

2. Work, Education and Leisure

Education should be available to all who need it. For many prisoners it was the first time they discovered a talent or indeed an urge to "improve" themselves. No reasonable request should be denied. Special features were remedial education, art and basic maths. and English. It was not thought that education as such could prevent crime, but it could help by giving a person new horizons and a sense of self respect. In some cases it could help with a future career and in some cases provide a useful basis for the spending of leisure time on the "outside". Prisoners could be developed into teachers and instructors and take classes as a full-time job.

Leisure should contrast with work to break routine of week, fulfil personality, give pleasure and develop mind and body. Persons with limited leisure pursuits came to prison which did little except confirm the worst "time-killing" aspects of their life outside. A variety of recreational activities and the influence of people coming in from outside could help. Any new face in a long term prison breaks the routine and gives fresh stimulus.

Work.—No one liked the idea of a dull routine soul-destroying job where by the time the stoppages and family commitments took the money there was nothing left for pleasure or hobby. Work ideally should be enjoying or at least fulfilling, give some personal satisfaction as well as money. Self employment was seen as the answer by some. Work in prison should not be a punishment.

Variety and usefulness should be the aims. Profits for the prison industrial section, although welcome, should never be the overriding factor. Work councils, like trade unions should be formed, to

bargain on wages and conditions. Work should give dignity, not take it away. Hobbies and crafts might be formalised into work for some prisoners. Like in education, in long term prisons, some prisoners could develop into instructors in the work situation.

3. Families and Children

The statement was made that long sentences broke marriages frequently. This was opposed by the statement that imprisonment only broke those relationships that were already weak. Divorce was only the average of the population in general and marriages of any value lasted. The group came to the general conclusion that a good family was a great help to a man if he wanted to "go straight".

Hull Prison was on the right lines and had the right attitude for visits. The setting should be as informal and "unprisonlike" as possible. Tables should not be regimented and in an ideal setting there could be more easy chairs, low coffee tables and settees. Supervising officers were important in their creation of an informal sympathetic and discreet atmosphere. One suggestion was that they could wear civilian clothing instead of uniform. The W.R.V.S. volunteers provided the right touch with their canteen.

For long term prisoners an idea was that they could, when in a position of trust, have a fortnight once a year in a holiday centre (with a security perimeter, but unobtrusive) where with the very minimum of staff supervision, they could live with their wives and children for the whole of the time. This would be of social value to very long term men whose wives were loyal, and lifers.

In view of the escalating postal charges, two free letters per week should be the standard minimum, and personalised notepaper should be available. The group did not see the need for censorship. In security matters, escape bids are not planned by letter. Unrestricted comment to anyone, including newspapers should be allowed (the newspapers would learn to discriminate the valid from the "stirrer"). Censorship, however discreetly and honestly done, as in Hull, was still a degradation for the prisoner. Domestic matters, deaths, etc., would still come to light and men would seek advice and go on application where necessary. Censorship and letter restriction served no useful purpose, as far as could be seen, has denied men basic rights, freedom of choice and did not prepare them for conditions of freedom on release.

Sex did not seem much of an issue. Homosexuality did not cause much

comment and only aroused anger when men were being pestered unwillingly or were caught in a "lovers quarrel" that led to serious upset or violence. Deprivation of sex caused some frustration, but men adapt to this. Sensual deprivation, a woman's smile, a child cuddling into a lap, the touch of a hand, all these were tantalisingly tasted on visits and were missed very much. The things that kept men human were missing and this was one of the real punishments of prison.

THE HELPING AGENCIES AND MOVES TOWARDS DISCHARGE

1. This session began with a general expression of dismay and criticism at the way the cases of Marie Colwell and the recent one involving a probation officer and a trainee social worker had shown the apparent lack of heed paid to cries of help. The lack of inter-departmental liaison and co-operation over one case was likened to all the separate departments within a prison who dealt with the prisoner and all too often had little contact with each other. Instances were recounted where a prisoner, often meeting a particular problem for the first time, was sent from one department to another in trying to find a solution. The tasks of the departments varied from prison to prison and sometimes within the same prison as the tasks were reallocated. The uniformed staff also seemed sometimes as much at a loss as inmates regarding up-to-date information.

2. Community service was discussed. The idea appealed and it was thought that it could be made a part of a parole licence. However, some cynicism was expressed that it would not be used as an alternative to prison but as an alternative to probation or fines. The view was also expressed that some "conning" by some people was going on to switch from being anti-social to being pro-social. However, properly applied the scheme was generally welcomed. Tasks were mentioned. General "navvying" would not achieve much except resentment. Working with worthwhile causes might achieve a lot.

3. New careers were welcomed. All the group felt that some ex-offenders could make the kind of contact with other offenders that "straight" people, statutory or voluntary could not do. Further information on this type of career was needed. It was thought the potential for developing schemes in each prison was real.

4. Some time was spent explaining what the probation service did. Regar-

ding after-care and hostels the group thought that these had been very disappointing in the past. Welfare staff had to "sell" the idea of contact after release and it usually fell far short of expectation. On the rare occasions the offer had been taken up, the help was very limited and the manner in which it was given, unenthusiastic. Even contact with the probation service during sentence varied and in some cases of long sentences seemed poor and half hearted.

5. All thought that the welfare section should continue to be staffed by the probation service. This was for the following reasons: firstly, accountability and confidentiality. Prison staff were subject totally to the Home Office Prison Department and the governor. Their attitudes could be changed by events, i.e. a new governor, a new chief officer, a new ruling about strictness from Head Office.

There were many good and valid relationships between uniformed staff and prisoner but certain events could alter these, i.e. a riot, stabbing, roof smashing or "sit-down" could polarise attitudes and the member of staff would be drawn by his own group pressures towards a greater solidarity, as indeed would the prisoner. Also, in times of emergency, the prison officer who had the good relationship with the prisoner also had a truncheon in his pocket to keep order and may at some time have to use it on the man he was trying to "befriend".

However, these instances were not cited as examples to discourage contact between staff and inmates. Rather the contrary. Good relationships prevented disturbances.

In confidential family matters or even personal matters discussed in private interview, inmates felt that the tradition of the probation service lent itself more to keeping these details private from other members of staff. One criticism of the present welfare "set-up" was that of availability. Not enough men were able to see the welfare officer *when they wanted to*. This was not pure selfishness, but a real gap, i.e. that on a certain evening or at a certain time during the day they felt a need to discuss their

important feelings. If no one suitable was available or even encouraging, then the feelings died and remained undiscussed even if the welfare officer was available the following day.

Two more comments about available help was that: (a) more expertise and knowledge of welfare benefits, housing, employment and general social skills should be formally taught to prisoners, perhaps in groups by welfare officers; and (b) when released, especially immediately after release, much more cash and general material aid should be available to the ex-prisoner. The first few weeks were a period of great vulnerability.

No doubt these ideas have been suggested and discussed before, but the group sessions from which these ideas emerged certainly caused me to re-think certain aspects of the task my own department was trying to achieve.

I think the prisoner, especially the sensible stable inmate, should be consulted more as to how he thinks prisons should be run. In Appendix A of the Radzinowicz Report the sub-committee took evidence, written and oral, from 60 people in seven English prisons of which 19 were inmates, and in addition took written and oral evidence from 33 other specialists, and written evidence on certain points from two prisoners.

If there is to be a review, say, after 10 years of the operation, functioning and aims of establishments for long term men, then selected prisoners should be asked for their opinions. Perhaps part of the present training task in long term establishments should be to encourage the formal criticism and opinion of their inmates.



"After 14 rejection slips 'e finally made it!"

BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEWS COMMITTEE:

RICK EVANS (*H.M.P. Gloucester*)

MIKE GANDER, RAY MITCHELL (*Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield*)

MARK BEESON (*Leeds University*)

POLITICAL CONVICTIONS?

THE POLITICAL CRIMINAL

STEPHEN SCHAFER

The Free Press, 1974. £3.95

IT comes as something of a shock to discover that Professor Stephen Schafer's book, which is described as an analysis of the problem of morality and crime, and which the author modestly calls a "long essay", does not from beginning to end mention Northern Ireland. Granted that the author received his doctor's degree in jurisprudence from the University of Budapest, and granted too that he is now the Professor of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Sociology at Northeastern University in the United States. Yet the only mention of the United Kingdom is a courteous reference towards the end of the book to "the relatively disciplined England". This in spite of the fact, as we are told by the "blurb", that from 1957 to 1961 the author was a consultant with the Home Office.

The truth I suppose is two-fold. First, that while the problems of Northern Ireland loom understandably large in the minds of an English reader, they are not all that important to readers elsewhere on the globe. Secondly, this book, excellent as it is, is essentially for the academic, rather than for the everyday practitioner.

The argument contained within it is careful and disciplined. We are led through a description of contemporary political criminals who are deliciously termed "methodological kleptomaniacs". We are then reminded of the examples in history when people have become used to the threat of violence as a normal part of daily life: this touched on my own experience in Northern Ireland. We are also reminded that the political criminal needs the support of the masses, yet the author goes on to make the somewhat surprising assertion that he is usually isolated from his followers. If this is true, we are not given examples in the book. Interestingly, we are reminded that the less possible the participation of ordinary men and social groups in the decision making processes, the easier it is to claim that all crimes are of a political nature. Do I not hear something of the cry of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland, in times gone by so very much kept out of the decision making process? This point leads the author to consider socialisation in society and to conclude that in no known society are privileges and prohibitions evenly distributed. Since all laws, he says, are formu-

lated on the unspoken assumption that they are just, though they may not appear so to all members of society, the morality of the political criminal's immorality may be understandable even though from the point of view of the ruling power's moral prescription it is unacceptable.

Schafer seeks to identify the groups into which various thinkers have separated the political criminal. There are those who do it by contrasting the powerful, in any given society, with the powerless. There are those who achieve the same result by confronting the honest with the corrupt. But the author feels that the most challenging question for those attempting this task has always been the problem of the state of mind of the offender and his emotional balance. This leads Schafer to propose the term "convictional criminal" for the sort of man he has in mind. The political criminal, he explains, is convinced of the truth of his own beliefs which in their ultimate analysis are the products of his defective perception of the moral commands of the sovereign power. The "occasional criminal" may steal a loaf of bread because of his hunger. When the "professional criminal" burgles a bank, he acts for his personal gain. The convictional criminal, it is argued, has an altruistic, communal motivation rather than an egoistical drive. I am bound to say that, as I read these carefully argued passages and reflected upon some of what I supposed to be convictional criminals with whom I have dealt in Northern Ireland, I felt the description was less than convincing. This was particularly so when the author posed the dilemma facing a convictional criminal between his loyalty to the general principles of law and order on the one hand and, on the other, to his conviction of the justice of his cause and his assumption that only crime can promote it. Admittedly, it rang true later to be reminded that the conventional criminal places great importance upon security while, in contrast, the convictional criminal places less emphasis upon secrecy and even seeks publicity for his cause.

It was, therefore, a relief that the book ended with an analysis of what the author calls the pseudo-convictional offender contrasted with the genuine convictional political criminal who often has a moral base. The pseudo-convictional criminal represents, we are told, the diabolic corruption of any honourable dispute over the pluralistic nature of moral principles. He avoids substantive issues by taking refuge

either in extreme scepticism or in religious uncertainty. Stripped of his mask he is not any different from the ordinary law breaker. Perhaps his major distinguishing feature is that, contrary to the genuine convictional criminal and to the simple offender, he is closer to offending the sovereign moral command if he violates it for his own personal greed. It is this formidable person that the author identifies as an emerging and serious threat and part of the object of his book is to awaken us to the danger.

I started by saying that this was a book more for the academic than the practitioner, and so indeed it is. But the lesson is as true and as striking for the practitioner as for the academic. We, in the United Kingdom, who have almost daily examples of the activities of the pseudo-convictional criminal have perhaps more reason than any other to read this book with attention.

WILLIAM VAN STRAUBENZEE,

*Member of Parliament,
was Minister of State for
Northern Ireland, 1972-74.*

BOARDS OF VISITORS OF PENAL INSTITUTIONS—THE JELICOE REPORT

Report of a Committee set up by Justice,
The Howard League for Penal Reform, and
The National Association for the Care and
Resettlement of Offenders

Barry Rose, 1975. £1.50

ONCE one has managed to get beyond the rather plaintive introduction to this report, in which the committee regret at length that they could not have access to every piece of information about boards of visitors that they wished, is it worth going any further? The answer is "Yes", not only because one ought to know what the "unofficial side" is thinking but because useful points are made and the arguments should at least be heard.

Many board members would agree with the report, in so far as it acknowledges the tremendous difficulties facing boards of visitors in the touchy area of "Whose side are you on?" I suspect fewer of them would agree with the recommendations for reconstituting boards, turning them into "independent advisory councils". This is the core proposal, that the boards should not only be independent but *be seen* to be independent. Independence would be assured, it is suggested, if the name "Board of Visitors" was changed to "Council of X establishment" and there was a central reference point in a national association of councils of penal institutions.

The most important proposal, however, stemming from the need for the "conspicuous independence" of boards, is for the creation of panels of professional adjudicators who would be called in to undertake those adjudicatory functions at present the responsibility of boards of visitors. It may be that the disadvantages of this proposal would more than outweigh the advantage of independence from the adjudication process.

Nevertheless, this report, if it stimulates interest in our establishments about the role and functions of boards of visitors, can only be of help to a body of people performing an especially difficult task, often without thanks.

M. R. J. GANDER,

*Tutor, Prison Service Staff College,
Wakefield.*

(1) COMMUNITY SERVICE BY OFFENDERS: YEAR ONE IN KENT

JOHN SUSSEX

Barry Rose, 1975. £1.60

(2) COMMUNITY SERVICE BY OFFENDERS: A PROGRESS REPORT ON THE FIRST TWO YEARS' OPERATION OF THE SCHEME IN INNER LONDON

Inner London Probation and After-care Service, 1975. 60p

COMMUNITY service has passed its initial apprenticeship. From 1st April 1975, the Home Secretary gave authority to probation areas outside the six pilot projects of Inner London, Nottinghamshire, Durham, Shropshire, South-west Lancashire and Kent, to set up community service schemes on a national basis. The six pioneer projects were set up by the Home Office, following the implementation of the *Criminal Justice Act 1972*, to test out the viability of the Community Service Order. The two pamphlets reviewed describe the progress of the scheme in Inner London and Kent and they add significantly to the growing body of literature on the subject including the Home Office Research Unit official account and the N.A.C.R.O. pamphlet on Nottinghamshire.

Each writer describes the basic organisation of the project and the need to gain acceptance for it on three levels—from the courts, the probation service and the community. Clearly, beyond those points, the schemes showed considerable differences in practice—urban/rural area, availability of voluntary organisations, ease of communication and the philosophy of local department staff. Kent, for example, saw community service as a sentence in its own right whereas the Inner London staff saw community service as an alternative to the shorter custodial sentence. In practice, the differences were marginal as both schemes attracted the same type of offender in large numbers. Typical offenders were male, aged between 17 and 25, with 5.5 previous convictions, some of them spent in institutions, and a present offence of theft, motoring or assault. Surprisingly, as the reports show, approximately 75 per cent of those who received Community Service Orders from Magistrates' or Crown Courts completed the order satisfactorily—average length 120 hours.

Although it is too early to say what the reconviction rate for community service workers will be over a longer period the initial results have been encouraging. Why? The pamphlets go some way to answering the question. Despite the mixed motives behind the Community Service Order—punishment, retribution, and social education—the schemes have had a basic appeal to the offender and members of the community. John Sussex, the Kent director, has a mailbag of letters from community organisations including councillors, hospital secretaries, old-age pensioners and youth club leaders, who speak in highly appreciative terms of the valuable work undertaken by those on Community Service Orders, many of whom experienced a sense of trust and self-esteem for the first time. The successful venture of placing offenders in the community has not been a hit or miss policy of chancing one's luck with a responsive organisation. The ground-work of approach to the community was thoroughly covered. Candidates for community service were closely screened at the social enquiry stage. A further, more rigorous, assessment followed the Order before an eventual placement with a voluntary or statutory organisation.

Kent developed a workshop centre in which the community service worker was assessed for the first 30 hours of the Order before being placed with an outside agency. London dispensed with its centre after a few months and relied on a decentralised system of placing offenders with organisations within their own boroughs. Placements included both practical and personal tasks and often brought offenders into close contact with the consumers of the service—the old, the sick and the handicapped, and for many this point of contact represented an experience of growth and learning. Perhaps the most poignant comment on the whole experiment ought to rest with an offender who said at the end of his Order: "It's a shame you have to get in trouble before you can get involved in something worthwhile like this".

JOHN HARDING,
*Assistant Chief Probation Officer,
Devon.*

SENTENCING
SIR KENNETH YOUNGER**CONTROL OF SENTENCING**
LORD JUSTICE SCARMANHoward League for Penal Reform, 1974.
20p each

THESE two pamphlets give the texts of talks to Howard League meetings. The first is Sir Kenneth's final speech as chairman, in which he chose to look at sentencing in the face of social change, increasing numbers of offenders and the poor outcome of penal measures. He is critical of members of the legal profession who "have let themselves fall far behind modern requirements", so that judges are not obliged to have "even the most elementary acquaintance with modern social science". One of the advantages which the speaker saw in parole was that it did open a dialogue between the judges and "the executive", to the educational benefit of the judges. Sir Kenneth looks forward to a development of the education and training of judges as one way out of the present crisis in penal policy.

The second article is a strong defence of the entitlement of the courts to fix the period of custody which offenders should serve and a denial of the case for letting prison staff and others decide when offenders should be released into supervision in the community. Strangely, this argument is not applied to parole, but is reserved for the proposals for the Custody and Control Order in the Younger Report. Nevertheless, in arguing for alternatives to prison and for maximum terms of imprisonment of five or seven years, the speaker was both critical and constructive.

M.B.

REPORTS FOR COURTS

LESLIE HERBERT and DAVID MATHIESON
National Association of Probation Officers,
1975. 60p

IN 1971, N.A.P.O. produced a paper written by two probation officers on the subject of social enquiry reports. This paper comprised extracts from the *Streafeld Report*, Home Office circulars and included comments from those experienced in preparing reports for courts. It was adopted as a working document within the probation service and the booklet now published is an up-dated version.

Alterations have been made as a result of comment and experience within the field and from the current authors' attempts to provide a helpful framework for all those social

service agencies preparing reports for courts. The authors have succeeded in providing a very readable document which goes step by step through the procedure of report writing and details points of reference where specific information can be obtained.

The book provides a clearly established case for the provision of social enquiry reports on the grounds that penal policy is currently in a reformative phase and that courts are now concerned more with treatment than with a simple finding of guilt. The options open to the court are varied and increasing and although these may include imprisonment, the fullest possible information is essential before a decision is made.

A question posed by Herbert and Mathieson concerns the fundamental aim of a social enquiry report. In this respect, they appear to have become a little too involved in the continuing debate about the needs of the individual *versus* the needs of society. Sadly, they have not provided an adequate answer to their question, for the primary aim of the social enquiry report is to enable the court to arrive at a reasoned decision and any spin-off in terms of assistance for the client or his family is a welcome bonus.

The role of the social worker in the preparation of reports is closely examined and the writers have given a clear and concise explanation of the difficulties facing those who prepare reports for court. The point is made that a report writer must not be seen to be either prosecutor or defender but that he should be very much aware of the subtle, or not so subtle, pressures that might be exerted upon him from those having a vested interest—these would include defendant, police and prosecuting counsel.

There are helpful comments on providing reports to institutions and the expectations of assistant governors, hospital staff and other social agencies are well explored. It is useful that in this context a chapter on confidentiality has been included and perhaps within the institutional setting there is much said here that could be taken to heart. The need for recommendation in a social enquiry report is questioned and, whilst the authors come down in favour of professional recommendations, it is obviously of some importance to be aware of local custom and the vagaries of the local judiciary.

All in all, at 60p (a penny a page) this is an excellent booklet which should be included on any list of essential reading for report writers.

JIM HEYES,
Assistant Governor, Onley Borstal.

PRISON WITHOUT WALLS: REPORT ON NEW YORK PAROLE

Citizens' Enquiry on Parole and Criminal Justice, Inc.

Praeger, 1975. £7.25

THIS report on parole in the State of New York can only be fully appreciated by those familiar with the American system of sentencing. It is, however, an important document for those interested in the question of parole and its place in the treatment of offenders.

The tone of the report is foreshadowed in the foreword by Ramsey Clark who says: "Parole exemplifies our enormous capacity for hypocrisy. What we say sounds good, what we do does bad. The consequences are disastrous for the system of criminal justice and for any hope of preventing crime".

It is the first comprehensive effort to review the history, practice and purpose of parole in New York, which is surprising as it has existed

since the 1860s and is approximately 100 years older than the English system. Little attempt is made to compare the English system (other than a passing reference) though it is clear that many of the complaints about the practice of paroling in New York happily do not apply here.

The committee which carried out the research on which the report is founded, observed 210 parole release hearings, interviewed 30 parole officials and over 100 "parolees", reviewed all the parole statutes since 1877 and read all the reports of the Parole Board since 1930. In addition, it checked all *New York Times* references to parole since 1932 together with a consideration of relevant legal and social scholarship.

What emerges is a fully documented and highly critical report on the system. Without any accurate knowledge of the American penal system, it is not easy to judge how valid the total condemnation is. One criticism it does make, which is common to English practice, is the failure to explain to those who are refused parole the reason for the refusal.

Three main grounds for criticism are the board itself, the status of the parole officers and the conditions upon which parole is granted and it is clear that these grounds for criticism are valid.

(A) The board comprised, in 1972, 12 members appointed for six years by the State Governor. It is suggested that some, at any rate, of these appointments are politically motivated. They each receive a salary of \$32,000 per annum. They visit each prison in panels of three. Just before the interviews begin, each member is given one-third of the files of those to be interviewed. This has the effect that out of the three members, only one has the background on which to interview the inmate and the other two seemed (to the committee) to be reading their own files in advance while their colleague was conducting his interview. The interviews appeared to be very short and were hardly fair to a man who had the tension building up in him for so long beforehand and gave him little chance to do himself justice.

In England, each member of the panel read all the files a reasonable time before the meeting. This makes it possible (unless it is a clear case for granting parole) for each member to make a contribution to the consideration of each case on its merits as he sees them. Moreover, each member of each panel has some distinct discipline or knowledge of his or her own and the membership of the board is more rapidly changed, which has the great advantage of preventing the board becoming case-hardened.

(B) The American parole officer is looked upon more as a law enforcement officer than is the case here. Among his qualifications (which educationally are high) one finds that he has to "show proficiency in the use of firearms". His manual of instructions is 300 pages long and he has a real control over many facets of his clients' lives.

(C) The American parole conditions are voluminous. There are no less than 13 standard conditions including consulting his parole office before applying for a marriage licence. In this respect, the report does favourably compare the English system with its few and straightforward stipulations.

All in all, this is an interesting investigation into parole, coloured to some extent by its premise that parole is useless in any event. It does, however, point to some steps to ameliorate its present deficiencies. Apart from those steps, which the criticisms already mentioned so clearly demand, is the call for providing low

interest loans to parolees so that they may be able to get on their feet without the temptations to crime that otherwise exist. In addition, there are recommendations for educational facilities, low cost medical services and emergency housing facilities.

After reading this book one is left with the feeling that we here have a much more equitable system based partly on very few indeterminate sentences and better after-care facilities than in New York.

Julge H. C. SCOTT, Q.C.

was a member of the Parole Board
from 1967 to 1970.

THE AMERICAN PRISON BUSINESS

JESSICA MITFORD

Allen and Unwin, 1975. £4.50

you might well have heard of this book. It had considerable publicity in the press last year—perhaps because it is an eye-opener for those who have no experience of prisons. For those who have, the book may seem "unfair" in glibly quoting evidence from one point of view. But the figures, statements and notes roll on and, even if they are only partly true, something is obviously wrong with American "reformatories". It would be nice to believe it couldn't or doesn't happen in this country but a book entitled "The British Prison Business" by Miss Mitford would probably make uncomfortable reading for us all.

Prisons do not work. Nothing good can be said about a system maintained to "degrade, corrupt, pervert, and dehumanise the men committed to its charge". Prisons do not provide deterrence, rehabilitation or realistic protection of the public. All they do is provide punishment (a word dropped from the modern penologist's vocabulary) in increasingly subtle ways. Today's "treatments"—from indeterminate sentences, extended by the parole scheme, to the systematic barbarities and deprivations of "behaviour modification"—are psychological tortures cloaked in scientific and humane terminology. Trouble-makers in particular will find themselves in "adjustment centers", "therapeutic segregation" or even "meditation".

Much space is devoted to such "treatments" and the hand-rubbing glee of administrators and specialists who are perfecting programmes that elsewhere would be called brain-washing. The vagaries and inhumanity of the parole system also come under attack. Indeterminate sentences mean longer imprisonment and recurring torment for the potential parolee. Miss Mitford's criticisms of the procedure are echoed in *Prison Without Walls* which is reviewed above. She also champions the prisoners' rights movement in her analysis of recent prison disturbances, pointing out the basic "lawlessness" of the prison system and the unfettered discretion of the authorities displayed, for example, in disciplinary proceedings that could only go on inside. The most shocking chapter, entitled "Cheaper than Chimpanzees", records the use of prisoners in drug experiments. Chemicals which produce harrowing symptoms and horrifying side-effects are administered to research "volunteers" for a pittance. Such medical experiments, suggests Miss Mitford, are comparable in their cruelty with acts for which German doctors were hanged after the Nuremberg tribunals. Part of an interview at Patuxent—Maryland's "total treatment facility"—is quoted (page 155):

"Tomlinson: Does he understand the effects of the drug?

Dr. Harold M. Boslow, Director of Patuxent: Yes, we explained the whole thing to him. We don't want any misunderstanding.

Tomlinson: Well, what are the effects?

Dr. Arthur Kandel, Associate Director: We don't know. That's what they're trying to find out."

The smooth, scientific context for such research and the detachment of the experimenters from the ethics and the effects is well illustrated in *Pharmacological Testing in a Correctional Institution* which is reviewed below.

Prisons, as described by Miss Mitford, are indeed concentration camps for the rebellious and politically militant. But if prisoners are the innocent victims then the morality of the prison staff must be at question. The "prison people", those who guard, manage and treat, are the real brutes, wasters and degraders. It is their character and mentality which should be the focus of research. A friend of Miss Mitford's remarks after a meeting about a new "behaviour modification" unit: "They struck me as such agreeable, civilised people . . . until the discussion got under way" (page 135).

The book is radical and hard. It is like being taken aside and told: "You might not believe this . . ."—readable but, in some ways, too forgettable. It is not a detached analysis but an angry tract against the American prison system. Unfortunately, its least convincing section focuses on what should be done.

The last chapter deals with the whole question of reform or abolition. Apparently, it is no good pouring money into prisons: when the budget is examined, it seems such money "floats or is propelled up to the top, there to be converted into jobs for organisation men and the latest in office equipment rather than into decent food or sufficient toilet paper for the prisoners" (page 171). This is just part of what Miss Mitford ruefully calls "The Prison Business". Neither is it any use building bigger and better: the places will be filled by more unfortunate and for longer. The answer clearly is abolition. But Miss Mitford is not naive enough to suggest that we simply "tear down the walls". With abolition as an ultimate goal, she calls for prison reforms—those in line with such a goal, not those which strengthen the prison bureaucracy and postpone abolition. Discontinue parole and indeterminate sentences; make many offences without victims non-criminal; reduce sentence lengths; make medical and social services independent of the prison administration; and support prisoners' rights movements.

Mrs. Rennie is quoted as saying to an official investigation (page 247): "Giving money to the States to build better prisons is like giving money to Himmler to build better concentration camps: it is wrong in principle".

R.E.

PHARMACOLOGICAL TESTING IN A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

STEPHEN WELLS, PATRICIA KENNEDY, JOHN KENNY, MARVIN REZNIKOFF and MICHAEL SHEARD

C. C. Thomas, 1975. \$7.75

AMERICAN prisoners commonly take part as paid guinea-pigs in the development of new, untested drugs. This short book describes a piece of research from Somers Correctional Institution, Connecticut, which examines some of the "social, psychological and attitudinal implications of pharmacological testing with research volunteers". The research team tried to mimic the conditions of a real drug trial in order to study the volunteers.

In essence, they looked for differences between three groups of Somers prisoners: 33 men who thought they were volunteering

for a "drug study", 30 volunteering for a "social interest study" and a non-volunteer control group of 30 prisoners. The drug study was described to potential volunteers as being concerned with the effects on the human body of a new drug which could help the "treatment of emotional diseases which cause symptoms of anxiety, tension, undue excitement or depression". In fact, a completely harmless substance was administered to the volunteers but—in order to better simulate a typical drug trial—they were warned of possible side-effects of "nausea, diarrhoea and loss of appetite". The social interest experiment was presented as a "study of the social interests and attitudes of the men in this institution . . . to communicate to people on the outside how you are feeling and thinking about many important things".

The study's main conclusion was that very few factors differentiated the three groups of prisoners. Taking all the demographic, criminal and institutional information which was collected on each man, together with the results of 11 psychological tests, it seemed that men who volunteered to test drugs did not differ markedly from those who volunteered for the other study or from non-volunteers. This, the authors claim, is important since it means the results from other, authentic drug studies can be generalised to the population outside and it therefore justifies the continuation of prisoners being used as guinea-pigs for new drugs.

By virtue of the type of tests used, however, the findings are fairly speculative and the authors have stretched a number of their interpretations a little too far in the direction of supporting the idea of prisoners taking part in drug trials. Some "desirable" characteristics among the drug trial volunteers are taken to reflect significant and noteworthy traits or changes of attitude, whereas some "undesirable" characteristics have their possible transience stressed when they are interpreted. For example: "The scores of the drug volunteers"—in assaultiveness—"may have represented not so much an enduring personality characteristic, but rather a compensatory reaction against some fears of physical intrusion they may have been experiencing in anticipation of later receiving the drug".

The authors conclude from these and other findings that prisoners' voluntary participation in pharmacological research is a desirable state of affairs, not only in terms of the resulting drug research findings but also in terms of the participating prisoner's "opportunities to interact favourably with well disposed individuals from society outside the prison walls, to experience the meaningful satisfaction of having been of service, to feel an often lacking sense of importance and to supplement his often intensely frustrating lack of financial resources". These conclusions are based on the findings of the present research that prisoners, who were "essentially normal in terms of an extensive array of personality variables", derive benefits in increased "self-esteem and productive orientation" and decreased aggressiveness following participation in either the simulated drug or social interest studies. The authors feel that, should other research support their findings, making participation for prisoners an integral part of prison life could: "in the face of tremendous difficulties in providing beneficially therapeutic experiences in the prison context, be a potentially subtle and indirect tool to accomplish highly congruent ends" while "imposing few if any demands upon correctional resources".

While this may be the case, it is perhaps

worth suggesting that "voluntariness" cannot legitimately be viewed in isolation from the conditions in which it occurs nor from the options that are open to a particular prisoner. Were prison conditions to be bad enough, then it is possible to imagine prisoners volunteering for almost anything to avoid these conditions even for a short while. Although there is no real way round this in terms of defining a "true volunteer" as opposed to a "coerced volunteer", the relativity of voluntariness should perhaps be a qualifying thought in relation to the sort of conclusions reached in this study.

DEREK PERKINS,
Senior Psychologist,
Birmingham Prison.

(1) ADOLESCENT DISTURBANCE AND BREAKDOWN

MOSES LAUFER

45p

(2) DEPRESSION

ROSS MITCHELL

Mind/Penguin, 1975. 50p

THE objective of the first of these pocket-sized books—*Adolescent Disturbance and Breakdown*—is to explain mental and physical growth and possible mental disturbances that can occur during adolescence. As the presentation is specifically analytical it may be off-putting to some readers but the style keeps the piece quick and interesting.

The author, by examining the relationships that the adolescent has with his parents and his peers, his attitude to his body and the various stages of his development, presents a full picture of adolescent growth. From this sound awareness of "normality" the author moves into the area of "danger signs" of possible disturbance or even mental breakdown. The areas of observation that could assist in early diagnosis of difficulties which may need "treatment" are clearly and concisely presented. Having introduced treatment, the author makes the reader aware of the variety of treatments available including the physical, the psychological and the environmental. The book closes with three case histories that adequately demonstrate the author's concern that everyone involved with adolescents be aware of the difference between normal stress and abnormal response during this very difficult period of development.

The little book on *Depression* is a must for any layman who has to deal with people who are, or may become, depressed. The subject is dealt with in a basic manner and the mystique that surrounds the medical model is totally dispelled by the simple explanation of psychiatric jargon. Reading this book is like embarking on a journey of exploration. The reader is given an insight into the nature of depression, the possibility that depression is normal is explored, and the stages at which depression may occur are examined; for example, in early infancy, in grief, and in the crises of life. Hope and practical advice are given to the reader in the chapters dealing with the outcome of depressive illness and the management and treatment of the depressed.

I feel sure that any member of the prison staff prepared to make the effort to read these books will benefit greatly.

RAYMOND LEE,
Hospital Principal Officer,
Grendon Prison.

TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL WORK

Edited by HOWARD JONES

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Hardback £3.95. Paperback £1.95

IN recent years, many social work boundaries have become blurred. The Prison Service and the Probation and After-care Service have been brought controversially into extremely close contact with each other. And, although the practice of a generic social work agency is still in its infancy, there is already a well established love-hate relationship between the Probation and After-care Service and Social Services.

It is difficult to find a common thread running through the three services, although it *ought* to be possible to establish at least a common ethic if all three are committed to people with needs and problems. However, the one inescapable factor which all three do share is *change*. And change in this particular instance is about the perceptions of each service, both on the part of those who work inside the service and of those in the press and the general public who observe critically from outside. Nor can it be forgotten that, increasingly, the client, consumer or inmate is pressing to play *his* part in changing the nature of the particular service to suit his own requirements.

We seem to be working in an environment in which a ceaseless barrage of questions is being asked—with few answers available. And when answers *are* given, they are remorselessly challenged! Lest some of us should allow ourselves to become frustrated or overwhelmed by this state of apparent confusion and uncertainty, we need to remind ourselves of the value of living in a society in which fundamental questions can be asked, for this is the way in which progress to something better is made.

It is against this background that *Towards a New Social Work* should be read. Howard Jones has drawn together nine papers (mostly from colleagues in the School of Social Work at University College, Cardiff) which look at differing aspects of the changes that are taking place in social work. To those who like the sort of detached and critical thinking which the academic contributes, this book will be stimulating and rewarding. To those who believe that the academic is too remote from practicalities or that he has an overtly political axe of his own to grind, this book will be seen as simply adding to the confusion and chaos.

In this context, perhaps one of the most useful chapters is on "making use of research". The author, Ian Shaw, gives a clear definition of the value of research: "management *needs* well-organised information, accompanied by explanation and interpretation". This is, indeed, true at both a local and national level, but Shaw acknowledges that research feedback is too slow. At a time when so much fundamental change is taking place, it is important that we do have recourse to objective appraisals of what is happening and why. And, just as important, we should be able to accept these appraisals without becoming so threatened that we react defensively and try to justify the value of what we are doing simply because we are doing it!

Most of the chapters focus on the theme (and subsequent implications) that the traditional emphasis in social work on individual responsibility is steadily being replaced by an emphasis on social and environmental factors. R. G. Walton writes about the increasing activities of welfare rights organisations, which pose such an inclusive challenge and threat to traditional social work agencies. In this context, the

emergence and status of such groups as R.A.P., P.R.O.P. and the Prisoners' Wives' Union have particular relevance to the Prison Service. Clearly these groups will not allow themselves to be ignored, so until they are banned by statute (which is hardly likely to happen) they have to be lived with. The big question is whether the Prison Service can accept criticisms and proposals for change from the very people it is containing and controlling on behalf of society.

There are two useful chapters on social work and social workers as agents of social change. Many prison officers look with astonishment or even disgust at some of the young, "trendy" social workers and probation officers who arrive at the prison gate for visits these days. Prison officers would probably be even more opposed to the political ideologies of these people if they had time to sit down in discussion together! However, are there not similar changes taking place in prison staff personnel, albeit perhaps not so obvious and startling? Are prison officers not now prepared to strike or work to rule—and is this not an overtly political action?

Probably the most controversial chapter in this book as far as the Prison Service is concerned is that on New Careers. The theory behind New Careers is that people who have experienced and overcome problems themselves may be better equipped to help the needy than those who traditionally and (some would say) patronisingly help as professionals. Philip Priestley argues very strongly that the New Careers idea should penetrate even further into social work.

Ex-offenders working as probation officers and social workers—is this a prospect which the Prison Service is prepared to envisage? Ex-offenders working in the penal system and even in the Prison Service—a prospect which at the moment seems beyond the realms of possibility, or is it?

This book is, therefore, a radical and stimulating volume much of which may be rejected as impractical; nevertheless, it is a book which merits serious and objective attention. As far as crime and offenders are concerned, my one disappointment is that—in common with most aspects of social and penal reform—it focuses entirely on the perpetrators of crime and neglects the undesirable effects of crime on both victims and society at large. Any feasible "new" framework of social work must resist the temptation to fragment—and must attempt to combine a wider range of interests than hitherto.

DAVID MATHIESON,
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Merseyside Probation and After-care
Service.

THE MAKING OF HUMAN AGGRESSION

Edited by HERBERT SELG
Quartet Books, 1975. £4.50

KA-POW is splashed in traditional Bat-Super-Man-Boy-Wonder style across the dust cover of this book. I didn't find this book as stimulating as the cover, however, nor as "brilliant, exciting and controversial" as the introductory blurb lead me to believe.

The basic thesis of this book, which was first published in Germany in 1971, is that aggressive behaviour is learned and is not innate. The book contains five chapters, each by different authors, on "The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis", "The Aggressive Instinct", "Learning and Aggression", "The Psychobiology of Aggression" and, curiously at the end of the book, "What is Aggression?"

Evidence is convincingly massed against instinct theorists such as Freud and Lorenz and in favour of learning theorists such as Skinner and Bandura to such an extent that this book will be on reading lists compiled by lecturers with behavioural orientations for the next decade. Such "nature-nurture" debates are as old as the hills and social scientists are familiar with discussions on topics as wide ranging as aggression, delinquency, vision, schizophrenia, intelligence, neurosis, speech and nose-picking, to name but a few. I wonder it if really matters to aggressive, delinquent, partially-sighted schizophrenic, dull, neurotic, stuttering nose-pickers whether they behave as they do through learning or inheritance.

The importance of nature-nurture debates lies in the fact that if all behaviour is learned, as Selg and his colleagues argue in the case of aggression, then prevention is relatively easy—children can be taught to be nice instead of nasty. If aggressive behaviour is innate, however, it can only be prevented by stopping aggressive people being born—and this, of course, is difficult—not to mention nasty and not nice. According to this book, aggressive behaviour—luckily—is learned and teachers, parents, the mass media, and social agencies are urged to teach youngsters through the use of rewards and punishments, how to be nice people when they grow up. It's a good idea, but it's by no means new, and I can't see it happening anyway.

Despite my cynicism and pessimism, one can only hope: in particular, I would recommend anyone to read chapter three on "Learning and Aggression" as it is a very good survey of the literature. I recommend the rest of the book only to instinct theorists and students wishing to pass examinations.

BARRY MCGURK,
Senior Psychologist,
Low Newton Remand Centre.

ON GUILT, RESPONSIBILITY AND PUNISHMENT

ALF ROSS

Stevens, 1975. £4.00

THE first thing to say about this book is that it is written with tremendous clarity as perhaps one would expect from a lawyer of world repute. The translation loses nothing of the original Danish text.

Chapters one and two discuss the concepts of guilt and responsibility. It is fascinating that guilt is discussed at all. In these days of moral agnosticism, the social sciences have become over-dependent on an analysis of criminal behaviour based on an outdated framework which equates guilt with supposedly invalid religious suppositions of previous ages.

Dr. Ross realises that legal guilt depends for its validity on an acceptance of the notion of moral guilt, though he carefully distinguishes the two. Moral guilt is the awareness that one has done wrong. It is an offence against our code of conduct either in a deeply personal sense or against the current mores of society. It may involve action, omission or even attitude. Guilt is also felt as something unpleasant, undesirable, a burden weighing on the offender. It can also be atoned for and forgiven. The legal concept of guilt, necessarily linked with the moral idea, is something a person incurs by committing an offence. Although it has to do with the perpetrator's state of mind, guilt

cannot be equated with a psychological or emotional experience, since the innocent neurotic may feel guilty, while the cold-blooded killer may feel no sense of guilt.

For our Prison Service, the value of these first two chapters is that they make us consider the phenomena of conscience, guilt and responsibility in our treatment plans. This challenge is all the more urgent because the medical world has rejected with disdain the view that penal treatment is merely some medical aspect of human behaviour. Perhaps it is our moral agnosticism that obstinately foists on the doctor moral or even religious problems we are unwilling to recognise.

Chapters three and four of the book give a truly classic examination of punishment, prevention and retribution. The vast controversy about the conflicting aims of penal treatment is shown to be irrelevant. These chapters are essential reading for our top administrators and all those in charge of training courses. To ask "What is the aim of punishment?" is to put the whole issue into an unnatural straightjacket. On page 34, Dr. Ross writes: "It is astonishing that the discussion has stagnated in this fashion for 2,000 years; that again and again, with an almost excruciating repetitiveness, we should find the same contest staged and the same moves enacted. The decisive factor in the outcome of the contest seems to be which particular ethical and religious views of guilt, free will and atonement are currently in favour. Within the group of preventive theories, the outcome seems to depend on more or less weakly based theories of psychological and social causation".

Dr. Ross sees two essential elements in punishment, viz., suffering and disapproval. With ruthless logic he shows that punishment is treatment and that without disapproval no one would pass through our courts to be treated. We must preserve the notion of man as a moral, responsible agent. While prevention and retribution are not aims of punishment, they may be a moral justification of it. If there is such a thing as an "aim" of punishment, the author claims that it can be only "of a directive kind, to present certain kinds of action with a view to enabling a certain ideal of community life to be achieved".

In chapter four, Dr. Ross attacks Barbara Wootton's view that the attributing of guilt is irrelevant to the finding of guilt and should be considered only in sentencing. At some length, he shows the monstrous results of injustice and arbitrary conviction that would follow in the unlikely event of Barbara Wootton's views being adopted by any country. "The requirement of guilt and moral responsibility is the citizen's Magna Carta in the face of the power of the State. For this requirement not only justifies, but also limits, the State's right to impose punishment".

In the final chapters of his book, Dr. Ross throws much light on the age-old debate about man's freedom, or lack of it, based upon the notions of free will on the one hand or lack of free will on the other. Ross sees the whole debate as based upon a confusion between causation and compulsion. Responsibility is safeguarded in either theory. Likewise, he sees no grounds for imagining some essential opposition between treatment and punishment. Society's disapproval is at the root of both and both will continue to be meted out by our courts.

Right Rev. Mgr. A. N. CUNNINGHAM,
Senior R.C. Priest,
Prison Department.

THE PUBLIC AND THE POLICE

W. A. BELSON

Harper and Row, 1975. £1.85

STUDIES of the police and police work, which have been fairly common in America over the past 20 years, are somewhat sparse in Britain. Despite the lead of Banton some years ago, only Lambert and Cain have developed theories of police work through going out on patrol with individual forces. Belson's work bears little resemblance to these since survey material is used to provide data on police attitudes and behaviour, and how these are perceived by the general public.

The book is an extended summary and comparison of three surveys directed by Belson on behalf of the Metropolitan Police Force. The first two cover the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of the adult and 13-20 year-old populations of London respectively; the third is a survey of the force's perception of its role and its attitude towards the general population.

The research offers a fascinating insight into the three samples' contrasting views of the same situation. A consistent finding was that whilst adult reactions to the police tended to be more favourable than teenagers', police officers consistently underestimated the extent of public approval they were afforded. Whilst 30 per cent of the adult sample "trusted the police completely" and 25 per cent of the teenage sample agreed, only 11 per cent of the police expected this from the public.

For those interested in explaining police activity and the reactions of the public to the police, an extended tabulation of the surveys' findings provides invaluable material. However, despite the amount of hard data, its meaning is somewhat ambiguous. When we read that 38 per cent of the adult sample agreed that "once a person has a criminal record, the police never leave him alone", do we applaud the majority viewpoint, express concern at the 38 per cent or ask who is right?

The surveys revealed clear differences between the attitudes of adults and teenagers, but there are only hints at other differences, including the effects of experience of police contact on attitudes towards the police, and differences in attitudes expressed by whites and blacks. Given that such differences might have been hypothesised beforehand, it may have been more fruitful to contrast different sections of the population.

This report set out to measure the attitudes of representative groups; its justification should be in terms of the changes it might recommend to modify police activity or enhance police-public relations. But, in an appallingly short conclusion (pages 71-79), the recommendations with which we are presented are inadequate and vague—namely, careful training and selection of officers, the "examination by the police of their own operating practices" and, where public criticism is unfounded, "corrective publicity by the police will be called for".

At the end of the survey, there is a hint that Belson might agree with these criticisms. Commenting on the "fairly consistent tendency for coloured people to be less favourably disposed towards the police than are white people"—despite the small numbers in the samples—he concludes: "It is highly desirable that a further survey be conducted with viable numbers of both coloured and white persons to check the important indications of the present inquiry".

It is an unfortunate reflection on a piece of research when the most useful recommendation

is that other research is necessary to explore issues which a more theoretically oriented project could have covered initially.

ROBIN MAWBY,

Liaison Officer between Leeds University and the Prison Service Staff College.

THE POLICE—SOCIAL WORK TEAM

A New Model for Interprofessional Co-operation

HARVEY TREGER

Charles C. Thomas, 1974. \$14.00

THE image of America as a land of brutal, corruptible policing and primitive social service provision dies hard, not least among British policemen and social workers. This book should do much to speed the process. More important, it presents, in detail and depth, a blueprint of police-social worker co-operation—at community level—as yet untested here in Britain. It is a far cry both from those Rotary lunch-table clichés about "working together for the good of our community" and the often uneasy professional encounters between policeman and social worker in the presence—or absence—of mutual clients.

The book's author, a former probation officer and now professor of social work at the University of Illinois, had long felt that the lower court system was little more than "a revolving door" through which pass many of the same clients time and time again, virtually unaffected in positive directions by their experiences. Not surprisingly, his view was shared by local policemen, lawyers, court and probation officers. In a sense, the "real" crime was the wastage of their valuable professional time and skills to no very tangible end.

The solution? Clearly not still more Community Service Orders following conviction (where in the more community-conscious urban areas a law of diminishing returns would soon begin to operate) but to provide at the point of arrest and prior to prosecution the opportunity for obtaining the appropriate social service. The method? To place a small social working unit inside the police station, offering social assessment, 24-hour crisis intervention, on-going treatment, follow-up and referral to other agencies to those individuals for whom the police regard such action as more appropriate than either prosecution or release. In all cases, the initiative for the referral to social services was to lie incontrovertibly with the police and with the written consent of the client.

The problems? Would any police department ever accept the idea, which challenged the traditional police role of the 24-hour social service? Even if they did, surely a power struggle would develop within police premises? How would social workers preserve their own personal and professional identities while working in a police setting? Would not clients see social workers as part of the police organisation and therefore be unwilling to accept services? Above all, might not the traditional mutual stereotypes of "rap-happy cops" and "permissive old maids" be too ingrained to be transformed by mere institutional proximity?

The answers to such questions and the viability of Treger's underlying proposal were sought and tested over three years in two Chicago suburbs. The project was remarkably successful in most respects. Of course, one crucial indicator of success—the correlation between the overall crime index and the referral rate—will need more than three years to

establish. But the number of juvenile and adult cases reaching the courts was reduced by well over a third within the same period, not merely lightening the load of the judiciary, but also that of the police, who were able to devote more time and resources to combating serious crime, although again it is probably too early to judge whether they have in fact been more effective in this sector. It is also clear from the very detailed appendices that the early linkage of clients to available local social work resources brought financial as well as communal benefits.

But, in a sense, the real pay-offs from Treger's project were not strictly quantifiable. Unfortunately, we learn very little here (ironical this, in view of the American tradition of "client-centred" therapy) about the reactions of local offenders, not merely at being given the chance to avoid the stigma of conviction and its social consequences, but to the concept and operation of the project itself. But what does emerge above all else is the comparative ease with which police and social workers can work together and still maintain their professional identity, role, function and ethics. The communication gap is greatly reduced, not through physical proximity (itself no guarantee) but by a mutual learning of roles, skills and language. Treger is fascinating on the latter as determining positive or negative relationships between the different professions. For example, the word "collaboration" has a different meaning to each. To police it means something underhand. To social workers it has positive connotations and means co-operation. Police also prefer the word "useful" to the word "helpful", a word frequently employed by social workers. For both, perhaps, the most "helpful" (or "useful") outcome of the project was the mutual transformation of previously held stereotypes where—as Norval Morris puts it in his shrewd foreword—"some false machismo can be stripped from policing, and some false professional posturing can also be stripped from social work". Agreed.

Nonetheless, several caveats remain. One is that the referral scheme was confined to juvenile and adult "non-violent misdemeanants" only (i.e. relatively minor offences) and even here one notes that only 17 per cent of youth cases were in fact referred to the social services project. Another is the way in which the orthodox social work stance on confidentiality may come under severe pressure when the information disclosed by the client may constitute breaches of the law which the worker then feels compelled to report to the police should the client not do so. To say that on this issue, "the problems and doubts sometimes articulated, in our experience, are more theoretical and academic than actually occurs in practice" is not wholly reassuring or convincing.

Above all, there is a sense in which Treger's was an atypical experiment. Not merely did the impetus come from a university rather than from a social services department, with the social work teams hand-picked for their lack of hang-ups about authority and their positive attitude to the police, but the whole scenario was enacted in two essentially "safe", middle class and overwhelmingly white suburbs, where the community had strong and well-developed attitudes in favour of policemen and social workers and where the police already had an impressive track record of community involvement. How the project would have shaped up in any working class area with strong criminal and ethnic subcultures—Baltimore, Boston, or Harlem, for example—remains, to say the least, problematic.

But such criticisms must in no way detract

from the very great value of this book with reference to the British situation. It spells out specifically how such a project should be mounted and what elementary pitfalls can be avoided. A good deal of preparatory work is essential. Here in Britain, once in action, the weight of police referrals might well place even heavier burdens upon the existing social services. But clearly more innovation in pre-prosecution measures can only be welcome. This book is, therefore, not merely to be read but to be acted upon.

GRAHAM HOWES,
University of Cambridge.

ANNUAL REPORT 1974—5 APEX Charitable Trust

APEX operates as a charitable employment agency for ex-offenders. This year's report outlines its work and describes the particular projects undertaken by the Trust. It is a 20-page report which should prove useful to those involved in placing ex-offenders in employment.

THE IMPACT OF CRIME JOHN E. CONKLIN

Collier Macmillan, 1975. £2.25

IN this book the author attempts to throw some light on the impact of crime on society and to help the reader to see the public as having an integral part to play in any solution to the crime problem. He diverges from the criminologist's traditional hunting-ground of attributing crime to biological, psychological or sociological factors and, instead, concentrates on looking at the public's own particular contribution to the problem. He examines what people do when they are confronted, directly or indirectly, with violent crime and analyses its effects on the social structure.

His main thesis is that crime generates suspicion and distrust and this weakens the social fabric of a community. He very successfully demolishes Durkheim's theory that people react to crime by increasing their social contacts and pulling together, thereby enhancing the solidarity of the community. He is able to show that, rather than banding together to combat crime, people tend to prefer to take avoidance and defensive measures. "Crime", he says, "produces insecurity, distrust and a negative view of the community . . . and seems to reduce social interaction as fear and distrust drive people apart".

Conklin further argues that by diminishing social interaction and reducing natural surveillance of public areas, informal social control over potential criminals may be weakened and crime rates increase. More interaction in public places and more human traffic on the streets would increase surveillance of the places where people fear to go because of crime.

He demonstrates that when people are faced with a large crime problem, they usually turn to the police and, when the police are unable to curb the crime rate, they blame them for their ineffectiveness. One consequence of this is that people become less willing to report crime to the police which in turn diminishes the probability that offenders will be apprehended, since the police learn of most crimes from citizens. In addition, as the risk to offenders thus decreased, they may be more willing to commit crimes.

Conklin develops this line of thinking further by showing that if people react to crime by denying personal responsibility for crime prevention and by becoming retreatist and defensive, they may be unwilling to assist victims of the crimes that they actually observe.

Thus potential offenders may be further encouraged to believe they will be able to perpetrate their misdeeds with impunity.

He looks at the costs of crime in terms of harm to victims, expenditure to society in maintaining its penal system and the indirect costs that result from people taking defensive and avoiding action out of fear of criminals. He examines people's perceptions of crime and criminals and shows how distorted they are by the communications media, the political use that is made of the crime issue and the lack of understanding that criminals are not a breed apart.

Whilst Conklin confines his material to the matter of violent crime, the implications are generally relevant to almost the whole spectrum of crime in complex societies such as our own. He claims that a sense of responsibility for other citizens and for the community as a whole would increase individuals' willingness to report crime to the police and the likelihood of their intervention in a crime in progress. A more tightly-knit community could have some effect in reducing the crime problem through informal social controls. The author proposes no methods of creating such a society but simply describes the ideal type of society that would reduce the problem of crime.

This is an extremely readable book which is liberally sprinkled with anecdotal case illustrations and refreshingly free of sociological jargon. His message is clear, simple and incontrovertible—that the problem of crime is never going to be reduced (no matter how sophisticated our specialist techniques become) unless there is a much greater sense of responsibility amongst the individuals who comprise a community for what happens within it.

D. G. LONGLEY,
*Deputy Governor,
Wetherby Borstal.*

RAPE IN PRISON

ANTHONY M. SCACCO

C. C. Thomas, 1975. \$10.50

MR. SCACCO, author of this book with its startling title, is a criminologist in the United States. Rape, in the sense of this work, is entirely homosexual. The general theme is that, in American penal institutions of all kinds, sex is merely a vehicle for the expression of aggression, an aggression which may be non-sexual in origin, and which is directed at the degradation of the victim rather than for sexual satisfaction. The rapists are mostly black men and the victims white youths.

Quoting from a study of 129 cases of sexual assault in prison, the author states that 29 per cent involved black offenders and black victims, 56 per cent involved black offenders and white victims, and only 15 per cent involved white offenders and white victims. The rapists are usually heterosexual outside of prison, and their sexual assaults on white victims when in prison are thought to be the black man's revenge for his real or imagined degradation by American white society. Thus, (I speak guardedly) since we have no similar experience in Britain of that black-white hostility which has long been a feature of American society, there is no counterpart in our prisons of that sexual violence which is a feature of American prison life. We are well aware of the homosexual practices that occur in British penal institutions. In our borstals and approved schools, homosexuality is an ingredient of general bullying and assertion of criminal leadership. In adult prisons, it is confined to those, already homosexually orientated, seeking favours, bribes and opportunity for blackmail.

It certainly has no racial or political associations.

The author makes very candid criticism of the shortcomings of many American prisons, and makes some scathing remarks about American prison officers, but the general impression one gains from all this is that, similarly to British attitudes towards prisons, the bad gets all the publicity whereas the good does not make the headlines. Mr. Scacco debates a number of suggested social devices and experiments in prison, aimed at discouraging sexual aggression, but, probably because he is not a medical man, he makes no reference to the use of anti-androgenic drugs. The book is a work of value to anyone studying American social history, but it is of little practical value to prison staff in Britain seeking a better understanding of criminal sexual behaviour.

DR. O. W. FITZGERALD,
Visiting Psychotherapist, Dartmoor Prison.

THE CRIME INDUSTRY

JOHN A. MACK (with HANS-JURGEN KERNER)
Saxon House, 1975. £6

JOHN MACK and his European collaborators have put together a very useful book which started life as a report to the Council of Europe. In the sections originally written in English, the book is plain-speaking, (properly) critical of criminology and constructive in its proposals. A number of the sections which have been translated, on the other hand, are less comprehensible than they might have been in the original.

The author and his team were asked to examine the definition of organised and professional crime, the scale on which it occurs and the social damage it inflicts. They were asked to survey research which was available or in hand and to outline it and to sketch in what was known about the structure of professional criminal organisation from a European perspective.

There is a problem in knowing what people are talking about when they refer to professional or organised crime or to "the crime industry". The book tries to clarify this, with interesting results. For one thing, American analyses turn out to be far from applicable to Europe and, for another, these broad headings have to be broken down into more meaningful ones. The traditional approach of criminology provides very little help here, since it has rather perversely neglected the issue, preferring to concern itself mainly with the development of criminality, with juveniles and how to control them. Yet professional or organised crime takes a quite disproportionate toll of the property of society, with a disproportionate impact on its morale. It also affronts the "welfare" orientation of many of those concerned with crime, since it is so flagrantly rational, economic and, latterly perhaps, successful. There is no percentage in looking for personality defect or maladjustment in the criminals who live this way since defect may better be said to characterise those whose scruples override their sense!

Since traditional criminology has little to offer, the team found that they had to develop their own approach. One aspect of this is that they exploit the knowledge and expertise of Interpol. The text incorporates a number of passages contributed by Interpol which serve to qualify and enlighten the observations of the team. This is an innovation which Mack would clearly like to see taken much further—he proposes the closest collaboration between police personnel and criminologists in the analysis of police information, not simply in

terms of their "statistical returns", but in terms of refining categories of offences and of their information and "know-how" in identifying those who participate in organised crime but avoid the formalities of appearing before the courts.

The importance of this book for members of the Prison Service depends on two things. It depends on whether staff of the Service can see themselves as close to, and depending on, criminology and, at the same time, in a position to contribute to it. It also depends on the extent to which the participants in "the crime industry" or professional or organised crime are to be found in the prisons. Leaving aside the first point, the second is a problem. In the book, there is argument in the case of the Netherlands that, although it is much more selective than other European countries in the use of imprisonment, there simply are no "professionals" in the prisons. This may be because there are no professional or organised criminals operating in the Netherlands (or not there often enough to be apprehended). It may be that there are very few "professionals" in any prisons and/or it may be that Europe, because of its separate judicial systems, has developed a form of "crime industry" which takes advantage of the gaps between these judicial systems and enjoys a sort of "untouchable" status, always keeping one step ahead of attempts to close the judicial gaps. These alternatives have rather contradictory implications and the book proposes that research should be undertaken to decide which apply.

There is another direction in which the book might fruitfully have gone, from the penological point of view, but which the team have evidently regarded as beyond their remit. The point is, to some extent, one of definition—is it better to try to discriminate "organised" crime from other sorts of crime or is it better to try to discover the sort of organisation which underlies crime in its various forms? The book favours the first approach and only overflows into the issues raised by the second. But the second approach offers rather more pay-off for penology, especially in the light of continuing argument about whether the culture of the prison owes more to the carry-over of the "criminal culture" into the institution than it does to the nature and management of the prison. While we have little knowledge of, and little curiosity about, the culture within which criminals operate, however sophisticated or unsophisticated they may be, there is little possibility of resolving this argument or of providing appropriately for captive criminals.

The police, of course, have developed an implicit understanding of criminal networks—an understanding shared, to some extent, by drama script writers and by crime reporters—and this understanding is part of their "know-how" which Mack and his team would like to see tapped. There is no doubt that prison staff, too, pick up some of this "know-how", but the challenge lies in knowing how to use it.

The book provides a promising start here, though it is focused on the criminological rather than the penological implications. Perhaps it will stimulate the development of thinking along similarly refreshing lines from the penological point of view. But there is one reservation: it may well be that the differences between police, prison and social scientists' interpretations of the functions of imprisonment are so great as to undermine the possibilities of the kind of collaborative scheme which Mack and his team envisage. Maybe we have to wait and see.

MARK BEESON,
Leeds University.

DEVELOPMENTAL GROUP WORK WITH ADOLESCENTS

LESLIE BUTTON

University of London Press, 1975

Hardback £3.95; paperback £2.10

We are told in the introduction that the book is "intended to help the individual in his personal growth and adjustment" by introducing the reader to what the author describes as "developmental group work".

There are almost as many theories as there are groups and, although Dr. Button's work is no different in this respect (except that it is eminently readable) the book will be of much practical use to the social worker, teacher and others who are concerned with the problems and needs of adolescents. It is a useful text book, well worth reading. The contents list is informative and the index is adequate.

From the outset, the work asserts that many of the difficulties confronting the adolescent are to be found in the roles he assumes in the groups to which he belongs. Though some can be helped through casework and counselling, for many the better approach is through the medium of groups.

An interesting emphasis is placed on the techniques and strategy to be used in holding a group. The author de-mythologises many of the sacred cows often associated with group work. He gives good advice—free from jargon and practical. This pragmatic approach is perhaps the most worthwhile facet of the book.

Though it is designed to meet the needs of workers in the community, to encourage all who have a responsibility for youth to consider their position, and though its concern is never directed towards the penal field, it has much to offer people who are doing group work in our institutions.

JOHN MORRISON,
Assistant Governor,
Wellingborough Borstal.

RIOT CONTROL

ANTHONY DEANE-DRUMMOND

The Royal United Service Institute for Defence Studies, 1975. £2.00

PRISON riots and disturbances are not new but until 1972 they were rare in British penal institutions. The disturbances of 1972 and those that have followed have given rise to a good deal of thought, argument and controversy. Concurrently, other penal establishments in western Europe and the United States have had disturbances that in many cases have been far worse than those experienced in the British Isles. It is always good practice to think about the unthinkable, and Deane-Drummond's book, *Riot Control*, is a very useful contribution.

The book is a result of research undertaken by Major-General A. J. Deane-Drummond and Sir Robert Mark in 1970. They visited western Europe, the U.S.A., Canada, Hong Kong, Singapore and Tokyo to study how each country approached the problems of public order and riot control. The result is a very readable little book which surveys the problem of riots, analyses some selected riots and lessons drawn from them, and has an appendix on police/military liaison and riot control equipment. It is primarily concerned with riots in the community but parallels can be drawn with circumstances which could and sometimes do exist in the closed penal situation.

The historical survey in chapter one of the book reminds us that mass disturbances are not new and it was interesting to read that riots followed chariot races in old Byzantium in the

same way as we see soccer hooliganism following football games today. The second chapter briefly reviews writings on crowds and riots. Perhaps the most important chapter from the penal point of view is the third. It covers grievances and political violence, protests, pay differentials, pickets and punch-ups, the role of the Communist Party of Great Britain, fringe political groups, and the effect of disruption and backlash from other organisations.

In the section on grievances, Deane-Drummond reminds us of "triggers" to riots of which we have been long aware in prisons—for instance, bad food can be the thing that triggers off a riot that has been feeding on other small grievances for a long time. He looks at the way that committed political activists can use grievances to cause protest and confrontation for their own political ends. Deane-Drummond points out the need for regular and accurate information to be passed to and from the governors and the governed, and shows how absence of accurate information gives the governed a distorted picture of what is going on and encourages the easy acceptance of subversive propaganda.

In the chapter on selected riots and their lessons, Deane-Drummond examines the incidents, their build-up, the timing of the intervention by police and/or army, and how much intervention was used. The "how" and "when" are crucial factors in dealing with any mass disturbance. Clearly no one right answer exists to any situation but the issues involved are clarified and such knowledge must be helpful if one is faced with a riot situation oneself.

The chapter entitled "The Revolutionary Background" is also very interesting. Deane-Drummond states that before we can look at riot control we must first examine the technique of rioting, for he suggests there is such a technique. He has studied the writings and behaviour of revolutionaries and agitators since 1945. Such men are finding their way into our establishments and may well continue to do so: they bring with them their knowledge and skills and could well find fertile ground where these can be exploited.

The chapter on riot control emphasises the need for good planning, organisation and intelligence. The need for good public relations is stressed and one can immediately draw the parallel in the penal situation—for any prison disturbance is bound to be in the press within hours.

The final section of the book on police/military liaison has no direct relevance to the penal situation but it does provide some ideas about the planning and procedures that will need to be adopted if ever the situation gets beyond the control of the governor and his staff and assistance is required from the police force.

It would be inappropriate and perhaps misleading to draw too close a parallel between the issues discussed by Deane-Drummond about riot control in the community and in a closed penal situation. There are special circumstances within the closed environment, its "closedness" being one of them. However, one thing this book does is to examine the issues involved in the build-up to disturbances and one can think about those issues in penal terms. The book is well written, easily read and should give rise to a lot of discussion and argument on this topic. This in turn should lead to greater understanding of what is required to prevent riots. Prevention is better than cure.

J. UZZELL,
Tutor, Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

SOCIAL VALUES, OBJECTIVES AND ACTION

JIMMY ALGIE

Kogan Page, 1975. £8.00

"You must lie upon the daisies and discourse in novel phrases of your complicated state of mind."

Gilbert.

COMPREHENSIVENESS is the theme. The theory will find much support. In practice it might be found to be overwhelming. If account is taken of everything and everybody; if plans are drawn up and all are consulted; if implementation takes place in a systematic way; if plans are revised and reimplemented—and so *ad infinitum*—it suggests an integrated, managing, planning and action system (IMPACTS).

To a climax of IMPACTS, the reader is guided in traditional management studies style by a presentation which is rational, objective and logical. It is possible to dispute areas within the content of this not inconsiderable volume and to observe a lack of clarity in some of the many explanatory classifications but it is difficult to deny the well ordered approach.

The author, in developing his theme, questions the need for social services and their underlying values, examines the objectives which social services should pursue and the ways of converting those objectives into action. In commenting that the book will fail to satisfy many of those looking for answers to these fundamental questions, criticism must be tempered by the knowledge of the enormous scale of the task attempted. Perhaps over-ambition is the real offence.

The major element in the first part is an inventory of strategic objectives which apparently has been developed from an analysis of statements collected from a wide sample of those interested and active in social services from many parts of the United Kingdom. Its sources guarantee the comprehensive nature of the inventory whilst that same expansive quality inevitably leads to a rather repetitive presentation. Nevertheless, the majority of those interested in social services will benefit from this part of the work: the discussion on anomie, depersonalisation and self-expression will awaken interest in those involved in penal practice.

The second section, which is shorter, directs attention to action. This may be a more familiar area, dealing as it does with clientele, services, resources, functions, roles and priorities. It is difficult to disagree with the aim, which wends its way through this sector, of matching actions with objectives. Only the air of idealism which permeates the discussion and the attempt to scoop everything social into the net with an all-embracing range of programmes strike a note of unreality.

There follows an impressive list of appendices which provide an almost unlimited source of reference material.

This is not an easy book to read—comprehensiveness tends to complexity. It might have been better if it was less like *Under Milk Wood* (it never uses one adjective when three will do). If, however, it is seen as a book to be dipped into—as a sound source of reference which has been well researched—it has much to offer. It is probable that its real value lies in the author's ability to provoke contrary views—thereby encouraging thought—which can only be beneficial.

I shall be sorry if this book is not soon found in every social services agency and educational establishment.

DEREK JAMES,

Deputy Director of Social Services, Leeds.

DRUG-TAKERS IN AN ENGLISH TOWN

MARTIN A. PLANT

Tavistock Publications, 1975. £2.95

PLANT's survey of drug-taking consists of a study of 200 people interviewed in Cheltenham in 1972. The study examines a number of aspects of drug-taking—the types of drugs used, the frequency with which they were consumed and the extent to which they were available. A wide variety of sociological factors was looked at—the class background of the interviewees, their sexual histories, ideas about religion and politics, and employment patterns. The sociological aspect of the study is particularly concerned with drug-taking as a group phenomenon or "subculture" and to this end sociometric techniques were used to determine friendship networks, and an attempt was made to give an account of how drug-takers' "style of life" differed in general from that in the wider society.

The book is worth looking at because it is the first full-length study of its type on drug-taking published in this country. "Participant observation" is still a method largely confined to American sociology. The method is similar to that traditionally practiced by anthropologists—to study the phenomenon in question in its natural setting and to attempt to appreciate it through the participants' eyes. This involves the observer situating himself as closely as possible to his subjects, preferably actually living with them. Thus Plant gathered his information about the drug-takers in their natural habitat, mainly in communal dwellings and pubs, and used a minimal amount of standardised testing, in order to disturb their normal routine as little as possible.

There are obvious ethical problems involved in this sort of research when the activity looked at is illegal. Plant did not participate in drug-taking himself, but on the other hand he decided that it was best to have no contact with the police or any other official agencies. It was decided that although the possibility of checking the drug-takers' information would be limited by doing this—in order to obtain more detailed information about employment histories, for instance, assistance could have been requested from the Department of Employment—it would have destroyed the subjects' confidence and lessened the extent to which they felt they could talk freely.

The technique Plant used to meet his subjects—"snowballing"—is particularly interesting. The method, again derived from American research, constitutes making contact with one individual or group, and then encouraging him to introduce the observer to others, who will lead him onto their friends, and so on. In this way the subjects are encountered in the most natural way possible. The method has the disadvantage that isolated people and possibly entire groups will be missed. Again, it was decided that these disadvantages were outweighed by the superiority of the technique over the only possible alternative—access to the drugtaker through convictions or referral to clinics. It was shown that the latter method only throws up a small and unrepresentative sample of the drugtaking population.

The most important conclusion that comes up is the extent to which the most significant form of drug-taking was shown to be cannabis smoking, rather than the more hazardous amphetamines, barbiturates, opiates, or other narcotics like cocaine. The more powerful hallucinogens like L.S.D. were only taken occasionally and injecting any form of drug was rare—indeed, most of the subjects typified heroin addicts as sick, troubled individuals with whom they had little in common. The

most interesting aspect of the book is the description of the drug-takers' life style—the tendency to live communally, the stress on short term hedonism, coupled with a disdain for work and a conventional career and a rejection of conventional values, which are seen as materialistic and hypocritical. In general, their attitude epitomised a "drop-out" or retreatist form of activity. Correspondingly, overt rebellion of a type likely to bring about confrontation with authority, like persistent thieving, was unusual.

There is a good deal of evidence from the drug-takers' accounts to suggest that, for most of them, the experience was a phase which lasted only for a few years, at least in its most intense form. It is to be regretted that no longitudinal element was incorporated into the study to provide more conclusive evidence on this point. There must be other reservations about the study—in particular the possibility of a middle-class biased sample, which would be significant in the context of the distinction between middle-class and working-class attitudes to drug-taking which Plant demonstrates. Nevertheless, this jargon-free book offers an original insight into the world of the drug-taker and a positive contribution to a subject which is still riddled with prejudice.

JAMES VALENTINE,
Department of Sociology,
Southampton University.

THE INTERVIEW IN STAFF APPRAISAL

W. E. BEVERIDGE

Allen and Unwin, 1975. £2.75

THIS very readable book adds to the already enormous fund of literature available on what must be one of the most controversial techniques available to management. But the fact that it is readable and sets out to provide a basic framework of knowledge about appraisal techniques in general and the dangers inherent in the appraisal interview in particular make it useful as a "foundation course" for those enquiring into the advantages and disadvantages of the technique and as a thought-jogger to those actively engaged in working an appraisal system.

The author presents in the opening pages some of the intrinsic difficulties of making appraisal work: the problems of making objective assessments, of maintaining adequate communication and of avoiding perceptual bias. He links the effect of such bias with problems of decision making and urges that our perception of evidence must be so open that we build up an approach to management policy which will allow more confidence to be placed in management decisions about employees' capabilities and inclinations. He develops this argument, putting forward the notion that appraisal should become an exercise in corporate problem solving and planning.

I found Beveridge's references to the need for top management to support appraisal systems to be particularly relevant to problems associated with the experimental introduction of Job Appraisal Review into the Civil Service. He makes the point that unless appraisal, from top management level down, is jointly agreed as a necessary adjunct to management, it cannot work. He stresses the fact that top management alone has the policy-changing capability, the knowledge of present and future opportunities and resources to plan adequate career development programmes.

I particularly liked his basic examination of motivation theory using authorities such as

McGregor, Maslow and Hertzberg. One must accept his arguments that in current society employees at all levels are asked to accept (indeed, will probably demand) a degree of responsibility and commitment to their work tasks. In developing this, he points out that when such responsibility is called for, workers are likely to demand a say in the content, purpose and methodology of their tasks and some say too in the overall strategy and purpose of the total organisation. The author is arguing, in fact, that the technique of appraisal is a two-edged sword allowing not only individual development but also organisational growth. He declares that most organisations have difficulty in fostering upward communication. Again, one cannot help feeling that the systems of management within our own Service, so often based on traditional methodologies and linked closely to a hierarchical approach, may well have made the acceptance of a formal appraisal scheme very difficult.

When one considers the title of the book it is a pity that we should have to read to chapter five before any attempt is made to analyse the planning, strategy and dynamics of the specialised appraisal interview. Beveridge uses the book as a medium for the justification of appraisal rather than a serious attempt to guide and develop the skills of those undertaking appraisal interviews. Nevertheless, for those unaccustomed to the use of this technique, his advice on interviewing is a springboard to the acquisition of more advanced skills.

The greatest difficulty the author encounters seems to be in providing specific advice on which of the various types of measurement system to adopt. Admittedly, he does stress the dangers of a free form essay approach with its inherent subjectivity and the difficulty of inter-employer comparability. But one wonders if there is a real alternative to using anything but the most basic form of individual assessment drawn from observable evidence.

All in all, I would recommend the book as a good source of information on the principles and intentions that lie behind employee assessment systems. I would agree wholeheartedly with the spirit and intention of the book as stated on its cover: "no organisation unless it is static, rigid, uninfluencing of and uninfluenced by its environment can avoid the need to appraise".

GEOFF MORRALL,
Deputy Governor,
Preston Prison.

NORMAL ADOLESCENCE: ITS DYNAMICS AND IMPACT

GROUP FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
PSYCHIATRY

Crosby Lockwood Staples 1974. £1.50

This paperback outlines some of the social and psychological factors in adolescence and demonstrates the significance of biological effects—the physiological changes culminating in puberty. The book is one of the reports from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry whose committees of specialists in America aim to collect information, re-evaluate old ideas and develop new ones, applying their knowledge to particular aspects of mental health and human relations.

The major section of this book deals with the psychological aspects of adolescence. Like the other sections, it is a readable account of the elements of adolescence and its main value lies in re-establishing the difficulties and significance of this period of development and change. It limits itself—and its acceptability—by employing only a psychoanalytic framework

for explaining and describing the stages between childhood and adulthood.

The book is worth reading as a step towards better understanding adolescence: it is concise, undramatic and includes a useful list of references. Its appendix on the endocrinology of adolescence and the development of "secondary sexual characteristics", however, falls between the two stools of specialised

information and common knowledge—as, perhaps, does the whole enterprise. The book will not prove immediately helpful to readers in the Prison Service (nor particularly so to those working elsewhere with adolescents) but its subject matter—*Normal Adolescence*—provides a counterbalance to the extensive literature on "delinquent adolescence" which is more frequently reviewed here.

R.E.

Some Books about Reform and alternatives to Prison

PROGRESS IN PENAL REFORM

Edited by LOUIS BLOM-COOPER

Clarendon Press, 1975. £4.50

THE central theme of this book is the relationship between the treatment of offenders and their imprisonment. Edited by Dr. Blom-Cooper, it is a series of essays which examine major issues surrounding this basic relationship. There are 20 essays by 19 authors. Although there is a similar basis to many of them, the essays contain areas of marked disagreement.

Most of the essays set out to show how penal policy should develop. The book is therefore intended to affect policy makers and pressure groups. It also has some important points to make for those working in, and influencing policy in, penal establishments.

* * *

The first essay, by N. McLachlan, looks at the history of the penal system. He seriously questions the idea that its history has been one of necessary stages in building up our present more "liberal" philosophy and structure. One of his main points is: "instead . . . of accepting each stage in penal reform as a necessary instalment of 'progress' it is essential, I suggest, to appreciate that often it has been nothing of the sort". In arguing this, the author shows that developing ideas are trapped within the ideological structure of their times. The changes they lead to are not necessarily seen as enlightened or progressive.

This questioning of traditional views is continued in the two essays by J. E. Thomas and P. Noakes. Thomas examines the ways in which policy decisions are made and implemented. First, that "no prison service can implement any kind of policy whatever, least of all a reformatory kind, unless the uniformed staff are consulted, involved and convinced that some attention will be paid to their problems". Secondly, that any decision made about one section of the penal system will always affect the remainder and, thirdly, that there has been a marked lack of public debate when the Prison Service was being reviewed and policy formulated.

P. Noakes is concerned to look at the methods of evaluating prisons. He questions traditional ways of evaluating, especially the assumption of a single, primary objective. So many pressures are brought to bear on prisons (from a conflicting plurality of objectives to inmate pressure) that evaluation must be linked to comprehending all the values present in the system. As well as moving away from assessing prisons against aims which he claims are no more than intentions, Noakes wishes to place greater emphasis on the nature of prison

establishments being communities. Evaluation must allow for the constantly changing pattern of a living community.

The feasibility of treating offenders in prisons is the subject of the essay by G. Hawkins. By reviewing two pieces of relevant literature, he draws out the point that believers in "treatment within a custodial setting" could be either misguided and blind to the impossibility of linking custody with treatment or imposing a form of behaviour pattern from one class of society onto another. The same question is closely examined by J. P. Conrad. He uses recent experience in California to look at treatment, both within prisons and the community. The research so far does not link the success of the reformed Californian penal system to offenders' experiences in custody or community-based treatment.

The responsibilities of the judiciary, legislature and the executive and their links are reviewed in Blom-Cooper's essay on the constitutional framework. In particular, the part played by Parliament in formulating and debating policy is examined in the essay by G. Drewry.

On what basis should future penal policy evolve? This is the core of a second essay by Blom-Cooper. He wishes the control of an offender's career, during the sentence, to be exercised by an executive independent of the judiciary and the legislature. He argues for a flexible structure which allows for treatment to be based on changing circumstances. This is opposed by two other writers. Sir Arthur James argues strongly for the length of the custodial element of a sentence to remain in the hands of the judiciary. The other opinion, found in N. Bishop's essay on "European Penal Systems", stresses that there should not be a separate treatment system in the community for offenders. Treatment should be seen as a voluntary activity sought by the offender along with others who recognise that they need help and guidance. This is also argued by Conrad as a result of developments in California. The basic position is that response to treatment should not be considered when sentencing offenders.

An examination of three specific aspects of prison is included in the book. The contribution of prison medicine is explored by R. R. Prewer who takes a close look at the control of psychopaths within prisons. G. Trasler, looking at the future of the prison psychologist, calls for a clearer description of what work is appropriate for psychologists and greater precision in defining their areas of research. Prison education is examined by W. R. Stirling who argues for a wider definition of education.

Another group of essays looks at treatment developments taking place in the community. These include the position and future of the probation service, intermediate treatments developing from the 1969 *Children and Young Persons Act*, and the Community Service Order.

There are other essays which cannot conveniently be grouped together by theme. These include a discussion on the deterrent value of imprisonment by Sir Brian MacKenna. N. Walker looks at how a police caution might keep first offenders from appearing in court. There is also an essay looking at the position of the woman offender which examines possible future trends and matches these against treatment demands. Finally, an essay about the experience of imprisonment by H. Hermann is included.

* * *

All these essays are compact, concentrated works. They are stimulating and make important points. Although the essays are written as independent pieces, there are links between some and often the conclusion of one author is opposed and modified by another. Within the limited framework of each essay, arguments are examined but detailed analyses of the implications are not always developed fully.

The editor states that one of the aims of the book "is to point the way to a new penal philosophy in which imprisonment ceases to occupy the central position and in which responsibility for offenders rests primarily with the communities of which delinquency is a product". He certainly has produced an interesting look at how future policy could proceed but there are areas which should have been included. Social work for individual offenders has been present in penal establishments for at least 10 years, yet no attempt is made to examine this or to see how it might develop. Nor are the attitudes and hopes of the offender adequately represented. This is of especial concern as the right of offenders to refuse treatment has been strongly argued elsewhere.

The book is valuable in "taking stock" of contemporary arguments. It presents clearly a range of beliefs and attitudes. Different ways forward are recommended, all of which must be seriously considered. For those working in penal establishments, the book presents several challenges. It forces the reader to consider the stand he or she adopts to treatment, to the control of offenders, and to the future of the penal system.

R. H. JACQUES,
Assistant Governor,
Prison Service Staff College,
Wakefield.

CHANGING PRISONS

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS
Peter Owen, 1975. £5.00

It is refreshing to read a book about the Prison Service by an author who has obviously taken the trouble to thoroughly research his subject. J. E. Hall Williams is an acknowledged authority on the English penal system and, unlike many criminologists, the objective of his writing would appear to be to obtain the reader's comprehension rather than his admiration. The fact that he has attempted to cover every aspect of our penal system makes this a difficult book to review—virtually every chapter is worthy of some comment—though for the same reason it will be of interest not

only to those concerned with prisons but will also provide an excellent introduction for the layman whose knowledge of this area is generally ill-informed.

Part I contains a general description of the prison and judicial systems. The author discusses the constraints on the Prison Department—public opinion, the high number of prisoners, inadequate finance, out-of-date buildings and the staffing system—and its efforts to overcome them. He introduces relevant statistics and current experimentation from other countries but, by placing them in their national sociological perspective, he cautions against giving them undue emphasis. This section also includes an interesting typology of offenders. Perhaps the most thought-provoking chapter in part I is an assessment of reform proposals concerned with sentencing, prison and other custodial institutions and parole. Conflicting arguments are objectively examined and analysed in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of each, though none is suggested to be wholly right or wrong. The author considers it likely that progress lies in the direction of moderate and modest reforms rather than dramatic solutions. The final chapter of this part of the book looks at "the official response" to the current problems of the Prison Service. Williams takes the opportunity in this chapter to air his major criticism of our present system—the excessive mobility of the governor grade. He suggests that a governor rarely stays in one job long enough to see the result of any change or experimentation he has introduced or to learn from his mistakes. In consequence, the staff who remain more static inevitably develop a cynical and defensive posture towards any innovation.

Having accepted that prison is here to stay—at least in this century—the author examines the prison programme in detail in part II with a view to highlighting those areas where changes are being made and those where they should be made. Williams discards the notion that prison should be regarded as a kind of warehouse or cold storage depot, and suggests instead that the prison system continues to adopt a positive stance and seeks to increase the number of occasions when a prisoner is challenged in his views and shown how an alternative set of values and attitudes can provide an acceptable basis for a more useful and pleasant life. Recent developments in the areas of control, security and treatment are discussed. The author accepts the need to control the disruptive element of the prison population for the benefit of the majority, although he is doubtful about the value of the box-within-a-box system typified by the segregation and control units. Other areas examined in part II include prison industries—particularly the difficulty of attempting to use them to solve political, economic and behavioural problems at the same time; pre-release training and the problems of the discharged prisoner; the prisoners' rights movement, which he concludes is a developing field and about which considerable changes of attitude are not inconceivable in the future; and the special problems of young adult offenders, women prisoners and the mentally disordered.

It is unusual for the Prison Department to be the subject of praise, but in his conclusion, Williams suggests that it has attempted, with some success, to adapt to the needs of present-day conditions, has investigated new ideas and developed new techniques. He is critical, however, of the inflexibility of public opinion the sentencing policy of the courts and the Civil Service system which cramps the develop-

ment of establishments and necessitates frequent postings of governor grades. He also questions the benefits of the somewhat artificial division of institutions into local and training prisons. In the area of prisoners' rights, he stresses the need to improve the lot of prison officers and to allow them more say in the shaping of institutional policy before consulting prisoners. The author does not attempt to resolve the many questions being asked about the relevance and validity of our present penal system, but he at least provides factual information and informed opinion which may help individuals to examine the problem of changing prisons.

RAY MITCHELL,
Tutor,
Prison Service Staff College

IN PLACE OF PRISON

DENNIE BRIGGS
Temple Smith/New Society, 1975
Hardback £3.50; paperback £1.90

In his book, Dennie Briggs makes the familiar point that imprisonment for some offenders is attended by high failure rates on release. He is a little selective in his statistical evidence for this but, nevertheless, he makes his case for a radical look at alternatives to imprisonment.

His approach to the problem is to discuss the effects of "gradualism" in reform. He comes to the conclusion that rehabilitation grafted on to a punishment regime is likely to be unsuccessful and that, by and large, this has proved to be so in practice. He quotes Richard Korn: "correction has always neutralised the individual efforts of those seeking to change it". The need therefore is for a programme of change, over a short period of time, ensuring a sharp break with past practices.

The argument is made more attractive by the use of analogy. Cuba's fight against mass illiteracy is given as one example. Apparently, remarkable results were obtained in less than a year by the closing of all schools with all the literate members of society helping the illiterate ones to gain their skill. Such examples of bold action are attractive, but as Mr. Briggs admits, it is not easy to relate them to the problem of crime.

Over half the book is devoted to looking at the more hopeful programmes that have been developed, aimed at reducing the use of confinement for offenders. The U.S.S.R., the Netherlands and some states in the U.S.A. get a very favourable mention. The various schemes and the persons connected with them are described in some detail and most readers will be familiar with at least some of them—such as "New Careers", the subject of a N.A.C.R.O. pamphlet by Nancy Hodgkin in 1973.

Mr. Briggs does deal with the problem of public acceptance and participation in the new approach. Here, I find his account much less convincing and in some aspects naive. I concede that he is describing American experience in this field and my knowledge of conditions in the U.S.A. is not sufficient for me to form a proper judgement. To the British reader who has first-hand experience of public reaction to programmes for offenders, it seems unbelievable that a short, sharp publicity campaign could change public hostility into enthusiastic acceptance in the way he claims Dr. Jerome Miller did in Massachusetts.

This is a challenging, thought-provoking book which also puts between its covers a fair, if optimistic, account of the most hopeful new projects for community care of offenders.

which have been recently tried or are in prospect. I recommend it to all workers in the field of penology and, indeed, to those outside it who have a serious interest in the treatment of crime.

ALAN NUTTALL,
Chief Probation Officer,
Cleveland.

THE FUTURE OF IMPRISONMENT

NORVAL MORRIS

University of Chicago Press, 1975. £3.50

This slim volume (144 pages) is an expansion of a series of lectures given at the University of Michigan Law School—hence its legalistic bias and its concern with the penal practices of the U.S.A. Nevertheless it is stylistically attractive, almost devoid of sociological jargon and provides a useful bibliography. A further advantage is that the problems considered are international in scope and relevant to our insular society.

Professor Morris is concerned to derive from reported penological research, a model prison regime. In the process he considers a wide range of issues but is basically interested in three major problems:

- (1) the removal of coercion from prison treatment programmes;
- (2) the abolition of any link between response to treatment and release; and
- (3) the rational justification of imprisonment.

He sees recidivism and the associated failure of the prison system as due to corruption, degradation and brutalisation. He welcomes reduction in the use of criminal sanctions, be it by reducing the number of offences which fall within the scope of the criminal law, or by diverting offenders to other areas of control

—particularly community treatment. He acknowledges the dangers of more subtle and pervasive interference but, having done so, begs many of the resultant questions.

Prison will be with us for a long time to come and Morris approves of it as a significant residual method of social control. Its role will be based on principles of deterrence and retribution: it will be humane, parsimonious, just and socially effective—without compulsory rehabilitation but with facilitated change.

The author levels criticism at those who purport to be able to predict criminality and who use such prediction in granting release. He would rather give credence to a penal system which provided the inmate with ever increasing increments of freedom culminating in "week-end imprisonment" which allowed an opportunity for the prisoner to prove himself to himself and to authority.

Eventually, by a process of leaps and bounds, the author feels competent to design his "model" prison. He provides directions for inmate selection, staff recruitment and training, facilitative therapy and release procedure as well as for the evaluation of the regime. The whole activity is performed with the ease of one who is aware that he need pay little regard to such matters as public opinion, political pressure or economic constraints.

Having read the book one is left with an acute awareness, not of the achievements of the author, but of the significant issues which have been glossed over. Undoubtedly, the author has provided a service in restoring a balance to the literature which sees the "medical model" as the fore-runner of Utopia. The book is thought-provoking and merits reading, but the ideas are rarely original and offer few solutions to the daily problems of prison staff. The declared optimism of the author in

expecting a highly emotive subject to be considered with cold reason lacks that ring of confidence.

DAVID MCGLINN,
Assistant Governor,
Leyhill Prison.

THE FUTURE USE OF PRISON

MARTIN WRIGHT

Howard League for Penal Reform, 1974. 15p
This booklet contains the text of a lecture given by Martin Wright at the University of London in November 1973. He argues that society is responsible for creating the conditions which cause the individual to offend and that the use of imprisonment is an avoidance of this responsibility. Imprisonment should be reduced to "the minimum necessary for the protection of the public", and reserved for those who are "regarded as dangerous if left uncontrolled". Wright does not accept the validity of the concept of general deterrence, nor does he accept that "treatment and training" can be regarded as an aim of our penal system. He suggests four strategies for reducing the prison population:

- (1) more frequent use of bail;
- (2) more, and greater use of, alternatives to imprisonment;
- (3) shorter sentences; and
- (4) earlier release of offenders by greater use of the pre-release employment scheme and parole.

He is also very critical of prison industries and the philosophy surrounding the prison building programme.

Wright's arguments are very familiar but, while he is provocative in his case against imprisonment, one must question the way in which he presents opinions as facts without providing the necessary evidence.

R.M.

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