MAY 1976
TEN PENCE

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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also

Prisoners in Maximum Security Prisons

Correspondence on "Social Work in Prisons"

Readers Write and Book Reviews

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

THE cuts in public spending are serious, and are intended to be. Moreover, they are bound to get worse, because as the economies bite they acquire a cumulative effect, partly the result of continuing inflation, partly of the inevitable erosion of standards due to wear and tear on non-replaceable resources.

There are no exemptions, and if there were, the claims of the Prison Service would hardly head the queue for special treatment. In the face of total national economic crisis, sectional interests can only responsibly plead for a strategy which will look coolly, once the flames of political expediency have seared right across the board, at the priorities, and try to direct the damage so as to do the least long-term harm. Most ordinary people would agree that, since we expect to survive as a viable nation, it would be tragic *not* to get those priorities right—not, for instance, to look after our children, our sick and disadvantaged, and the basic necessities for secure and civilised living. But some would argue that without investment and industrial growth many of these social "necessities" are a kind of unearned income to which we have no natural entitlement. It is the art of government in crisis to balance this equation so that, since cuts we must have, they are so administered that the victims emerge with a few scars to show for it, rather than bleed to death.

Crime is a social ill which is wasteful, consuming a considerable slice of the national product, and harmful, not only to the moral fabric but in its costly consequences for both victims and offenders. In the present crisis any case for resisting economies which pleaded "hardship for prisoners" would be rudely (and rightly) rejected. Thus the deplorable conditions still prevailing in many local prisons will persist. The building programmes intended to relieve the effects of gross overcrowding will be postponed. The improved staffing levels painfully achieved over the last two years will waste away again to the detriment of both security and rehabilitative training. It will not happen in five minutes, but in the time that it must take for the country's sickness to be healed this Service, on which the preservation of law and order in the community in part depends, will suffer like other public services.

The situation is not all bad. There was room for economies, and for discipline in the spending of public money at all levels. Penal reform does not depend wholly on the provision of vast sums for building more and larger prisons—this Journal has often made that point. So far as buildings and hardware are concerned, it will do no harm for each Region and Department, and each establishment, to explore the almost forgotten art of "make-do-and-mend," and of economies of staffing also in second-line areas. In the front line, we should concentrate our minds powerfully on the kind of developments which do not cost vast sums—on greater use of bail, for instance, on parole, on educational and rehabilitative schemes which make use of existing underused resources in the community, many of them voluntary, on the promotion of lower security category prisons for more offenders (cheaper to run, but requiring a much greater investment on the "education" of public opinion in its own interest), on finding ways of making prisoners more self-supporting, etc., etc. Since we cannot help what is happening, we had better seek some virtue in our adversity.

WE APOLOGISE for late publication of the Journal this April, due not, as it happens, to financial crisis, nor even to staff shortages, but (believe it or not) to our old friend the Act of God; specifically, to the gales which toppled an ancient elm tree onto (and through) the roof of the Printing Shop, with consequences for work schedules which may be imagined.

Prisoners in Maximum Security Prisons

Perspectives upon Management and Management Problems

PATRICK POPE

Patrick Pope joined the Institute of Psychiatry, University of London, as a research worker in 1970. After working on a study of persons remanded for medical reports (with Dr. K. L. Soothill) he moved to prison research and thence to Cardiff in 1973. He has lectured to prison staff and extra-mural students in both London and Cardiff and is now senior research officer with the Social Services Department of Mid-Glamorgan County Council.

INTRODUCTION

THE GROWING number of men serving long sentences of imprisonment and the policy of dispersing them around a number of maximum security prisons has led to an increasing emphasis being placed over the last few years upon the problems of control rather than containment [1]. This, in turn, has led away from the development of sophisticated computer-based systems and the like towards a greater concern with the skills of management and their application to both staff and prisoners alike. In short, secure perimeters and restricted movement within prisons can no longer be viewed as adequate strategies for dealing with the kinds of problems that the maximum security prisons present today.

The research that forms the basis of the following discussion reflects this growing interest in the management of men in maximum security prisons although its primary concern is with those men who pose "management problems". Completed during 1973, the aims of the research were four-fold with the notion of "management" being central to each. In the first place an attempt was made to get some idea of the number of those men whose behaviour was viewed as presenting management problems. Secondly, a brief comparison was made between those men viewed as problems and the general population of the prisons as a whole. Thirdly, an analysis was made of the different groupings of "management problems" and an assessment was made of the frequency of each within the prisons. Finally, some of the management responses to the situations presented were considered. During the course of the research four maximum security prisons were visited, two of which were in the north of England and two in the south. Two possessed extensive medical facilities whilst the other two generally reflected the facilities in the remaining maximum security dispersal prisons.

THE EXTENT OF MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

The fact that disturbances in prisons tend to come and go in more or less cyclical phases suggests that the number of men viewed as "management problems" at any one time is heavily dependent upon the situation prevailing at that time. In order to minimise any distortion that might occur as the result of this each of the prisons was visited at a time when the situation was regarded as being relatively stable. The study thus represents the maximum security prisons as they are for most of the time rather than during those short, dramatic and well-publicised episodes of riot and disturbance. In each of the prisons those staff responsible for the management of the wings or halls were asked first to identify and then to complete a brief questionnaire upon each man who presented any problems in terms of "either management or control at the present time or during the present sentence". Such a definition tends to over-include the men concerned and hence, if anything, over-estimate the numbers of management problems. It does, though, fairly represent the number of men that staff respond to as problems or as possible problems in the light of their past performance. Because of the overlap between the past and present problem groups they are in general treated as one group although Table I gives some idea of the size of the individual groups in each of the four prisons.

Table I. Past and Present Management Problems in Four Prisons

Problem	Past Problem		Present Problem		Combined Group	
Prison	N.	% of prison population	N.	% of prison population	N.	% of prison population
A	36	8.9	22	5.5	58	14.4
B	38	10.7	34	9.6	72	20.3
C	26	3.6	46	6.4	72	10.0
D	6	2.0	41	13.7	47	15.7

Overall, no prison reported that more than a quarter of its population were management problems either at present or previously. The number of "active" management problems ranged from 5.5 per cent to 13.7 per cent of all men in each prison whilst "past" problems ranged from 2.0 per cent to 10.7 per cent. The discrepancies between the two groups, for example prison "D" had the lowest number of "past" problems but the highest number of "present" problems, confirms the view that the "combined" groups gives a more realistic idea of the extent of management problems. This is more especially so when it is remembered that, first, more often than not "past" problems are reckoned as present problems in all but name when staff deployment is considered and, second, the processes of allocation and re-allocation are designed to ensure a reasonable balance between past and present problems in any one prison at a particular time.

Having identified the management problems as a group and seen just how many we might expect in any one prison at a particular time the next question to be raised is: Can the sort of man likely to become a management problem in

the future be identified? The prison literature is certainly not short of suggestions! In talking of those likely to be involved in disturbances Sykes [2] writing of American prisons suggests that it is the violent, aggressive and unstable prisoner who plays a major part.

Cressey [3] in his analysis of the Attica State Prison disturbances also saw this group as instrumental in precipitating such situations. During the prison disturbances in England of 1969 and 1972 it was the "aggressive psychopath" who was singled out for identification [4] as the mainspring of the troubles. When considering more prosaic kinds of "trouble making" research results are more equivocal with one American study concluding that "those who are behavioural problems in prison are not significantly different as a group from those who display perfect conduct" [5] and another claiming that "trouble-making behaviour is related to unfavourable definition of the institution" but certainly not to socio-criminal factors [6]. In this country various suggestions have been put forward to identify the trouble-maker. Some see the short-term prisoner with a little remission to lose as causing most problems whilst others suggest that it is the long-term prisoner unable to see the "end of the tunnel". In order to assess more closely these conflicting views the management problem group as a whole was compared with the prisons population in terms of age, length of sentence and offence.

AGE ON CONVICTION

As Table II indicates, youth is markedly associated with being viewed as a management problem for 21.4 per cent of all those under 25 are viewed as problems by the staff. This pattern held true for each of the prisons. Over the age of 30 the number drawn into the group steadily falls away with only two men over 50 coming into the group. Management problems, then, are very much reflected in age with increasing years either because of greater cunning, failing powers or greater maturity bringing fewer problems.

Table II. Ages of Management Problem Group

Age	Prison Population	Management Problems	Per Cent
Under 25	490	105	21.4
25 - 29	413	70	16.9
30 - 39	507	52	10.2
40 and over	403	22	5.5
TOTAL	1813	249	13.7

LENGTH OF SENTENCE

It is here that much debate has taken place concerning the identification of management problems. In this instance it is those men serving long determinate sentences who emerge as being most over-represented in the group. Nearly one in four of those men sentenced to 10 years or over in prison is viewed as a management problem with one in five of the short-term prisoners being so viewed. In effect, both the suggestions put forward about the short and long-term prisoner have an element of truth about them though whether they represent different kinds of management problems is an issue that will have to be discussed later.

Table III. Sentences of Management Problem Group

Sentence	Prison Population	Management Problems	Per Cent
Up to 3 yrs.	119	23	19.3
Over 3 yrs. up to 5	468	58	12.3
Over 5 yrs. up to 10	591	86	14.6
Over 10 yrs.	134	31	23.1
Life	422	51	12.1

It is perhaps important to note that whilst those men serving long determinate sentences are over-represented among management problems this fact is not reflected amongst those serving indeterminate sentences. Whether this is because the men in that group are inherently less difficult to manage than those serving determinate sentences or because the indeterminate sentence produces a greater willingness to conform to management expectations is not clear but nevertheless the fact remains that quantitatively this group does possess fewer management problems than others.

OFFENCE

One might have expected that the kinds of offences committed by this group are reflected in the likelihood of them presenting management problems and this proves to be the case as Table IV demonstrates. One quarter of all those men in the four prisons at the time of the research who had been convicted of robbery emerged as problems to prison staff. In no other group does such a clear-cut position emerge. On further evaluation of these men convicted of robbery we find that 45.0 per cent are in fact under 25 and form the core of the younger men in prison. Surprisingly, those men committing offences against the person, broadly speaking violent offences, do not appear to make an excessive contribution to the "management problem" group. The conclusion can well be drawn that an individual's propensity towards the use of violence cannot be generalised from the community to the institutional context.

Table IV. Offences of Management Problem Group

Offence	Prison Population	Management Problems	Per Cent
Offences against the person	712	87	12.2
Robbery	344	86	25.0
Sexual Offence	222	21	9.5
Burglary	278	33	11.9
Theft	109	12	11.0
Fraud and Forgery	41	4	9.8
Other Offences	97	6	2.6

What then can we conclude so far? Primarily, that the younger age groups tend to be over-represented as do those men convicted of robbery and serving under three years or over 10 year sentences. In no case, though, does any one of these groups form more than half of the total number of management problems and it certainly cannot be claimed that it is the younger robber serving a very short or very long determinate sentence who is always the prison trouble-maker. The relationships between these seemingly straightforward aspects are complex, a fact to be reinforced when we look at the varieties of management problems presented.

VARIETIES OF MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

The fact that some prisoners are identified as management problems or trouble-makers tells less than half the story for what is more important to understand are the kinds of problems that they present for it is only by close assessment of these that some insight into ways of coping with them can emerge. The staff in charge of each wing were asked, when identifying management problems, to list the kinds of problems that each man presented. By assessing each of the comments made it was possible to create broad groups which represent the range of problems. Five groups emerged, four of which were clearly defined with little overlap whilst the fifth amounted to a residual grouping. Corroborative evidence for the groupings was drawn from other data within the study to ensure that they had some validity. The nature of each of the groupings will be outlined and then the incidence of each within the prisons will be described.

1. The Anti-Authority and Subversive Group

This group, as might be expected, is the largest of the five and comprises those men who have been involved to a greater or lesser degree with activities in

the prisons designed to confront or undermine the authority of the staff. The motivation behind such activities can range from being part of concerted attempts to derive greater power for the prisoner community to individual efforts pursued as part of institutional cultural prescriptions. The sort of comments made about this group reflect very much its essential qualities. "Anti-authority in every facet", "compulsive fighter(s) of the establishment", "completely uncooperative", "fermenting trouble", and "creating unrest" were the general labels whilst their activities varied from roof-climbing and passive sit-down demonstrations to "walking at snails pace to and from labour to aggravate escorting officers".

The central problem posed for staff in this context is one of *Control*; of maintaining a stable order within the particular institution in the face of attempts to redress or adjust the distribution of power by those imprisoned there. The great variety of ways in which this emerges presents a major problem for staff.

2. Problem Personality Group.

This is the second largest group and comprises those men who pose the problem of *Management* to staff. These individuals are grouped by the "unpredictability" of their behaviour associated with a perceived personality problem of some kind or other. The descriptions used frequently referred to "psychopathic" or "aggressive" characteristics allied with "unstable" or "hysterical" outbursts. It is not so much the activities of this group that draws attention to them but rather their potential to harm themselves, other prisoners or staff. It is this group of men who are popularly seen as those presenting especially medical problems with the implications this has for management.

3. Prisoners needing Protection.

Although small in number this group provides part of a nagging problem for prison administrators. Either as the result of behaviour outside prison, especially where sexual offenders are concerned, or as the result of relationships within prison this group has the facility to antagonise fellow prisoners beyond the accepted levels of men living together in such close proximity. The problem posed for staff by this group is one of *Protection*, ensuring that they do not become the victim of the attacks of other prisoners, or that other prisoners do not become their victims.

4. The Escapers.

As a group they overlap to an extent with the first group though here the emphasis is primarily on escape rather than subversion. This group, depending on other prisoners for co-operation and staff for time to plan, do not seek to draw attention upon themselves. They are seen often as meticulous planners obsessed with dreams of escaping. They pose, needless to say, the problem of *Containment* for staff.

5. RESIDUAL GROUP

As with any classification which involves a wide range of individuals there will be a residual group who will not be fitted neatly into any category. This is no exception and hence the final group comprises a wide range of individuals, some presenting fairly straightforward problems such as the man who "refuses everything", whilst others present more specifically medical problems. The headaches they pose for staff are as varied as the behaviours they exhibit.

THE EXTENT OF GROUPS

It is insufficient merely to posit that there are four primary groups of management problems that prison staff face, without considering the size of each. We have noted that it is only 15 per cent of prisoners who present or have presented management problems but nevertheless qualitatively such men take up extensive staff time and resources. Each group of problems demands different staff resources and it is important to note the kind of frequency with which each occurs.

As can be seen from Table V it is the subversives who predominate over all other groups. In fact they outnumber the problem personality group, the next largest, by more than two to one. The other three groups, quantitatively speaking present small problems.

Overall, nearly one tenth of the four prisons' population was assessed to some degree or other as subversive. In the prisons individually the range was from 6.5 per cent to 13.2 per cent. Such a figure may have important ramifications for the staffing of prisons whilst the four per cent of men viewed as personality problems may have implications for the provision of special facilities. Of this we shall hear more in the next section.

Table V. Type of Management Problems in Prisons

Groups	Number	% of Management problem	% of prison population
The Anti-Authority and Subversive Group	148	59.7	8.3
Problem Personality Group	65	26.2	3.7
Prisoners needing Protection	7	2.8	0.4
Escapers	8	3.2	0.5
Residual	20	8.1	1.1

MANAGEMENT IN THE PAST

Shifting the emphasis onto management and deliberately attempting to create particular regimes such as that at Long Lartin prison has clear-cut management implications about which more will be known when adequate research into such aspects has been completed and fully evaluated. What this research was able to do, albeit in a brief way, was to look at particular aspects of management strategies deployed by staff. In this first part we shall look at the sort of experiences and some of their consequences that prisoners had undergone up to the time of the research.

One fact of life within the maximum security prison network is that there are up to seven or so establishments that the prisoner posing management problems can be located in, besides the local and specialist prisons. Thus, if a man becomes too "difficult" to manage in one prison, theoretically at least, he can always be moved elsewhere. The practice of moving men in this way has attained the status of a management device even to the point where a prisoner, early in his sentence, may be singled out for rapid circulation round the available prisons. Indeed, of one man it was stated that a "fairly rapid tour of the dispersal system is the only way of containing the risks he gives". The short-term advantages to management of such a practice are evident for the upheaval and disorientation that it may bring can prevent the development of concerted or subversive alliances. The long-term implications, though, are considerable for when staff become used to the fact that a difficult prisoner can always be moved on elsewhere the urgency of developing the kind of management skills to cope with the problems he presents is lacking. Even so, within the present study 61.7 per cent of men were still located within their first prison*, 20.6 per cent in their second and 17.7 per cent in their third or over. As we might have expected this pattern varies between individual establishments with one prison having half (51.7 per cent) of its management problems coming from other prisons compared with another where the comparable figure was 29.5 per cent.

Of those men still in the first two years of their sentence, 86.7 per cent were still in their allocated prison, however, of no small concern were these 12 men who, in the same period, had

*Prison for remand, allocation, assessment or visits have been excluded.

already been transferred two or three times. In the absence of any comparative data for the four prisons that might indicate what pattern of transfers prevails amongst these men who do not present management problems any interpretation of trends is difficult. Considering the impact of transfers upon individuals, generally speaking, the more transfers an individual had had, the greater was the likelihood of him being viewed as "personality disordered" or having committed at least 20 disciplinary infractions. Whether the decision to transfer was precipitated by, the result of, or (and more likely) compounded by the personality disorder is not at all clear.

Obviously the question of transfers is a complex one not to be taken lightly and the evidence of this study suggests that it is one dimension of prison life which would reward further study.

Another aspect to the problem of management is the use of special locations to either treat, contain, or manage those men who present especial difficulties of one kind or another. The kind of facilities available divide broadly into those with a medical emphasis and those concerned primarily with containment both from the outside world and the prison community as a whole. Of the former, Parkhurst, Wakefield and Wormwood Scrubs prison hospitals are in evidence as is Grendon Prison, Parkhurst "C" wing and for some the special hospitals. The non-medical units represented are the special security units or wings of Durham, Chelmsford, Leicester or Parkhurst prisons.

Considering the medical aspects first, all together 37 men or 14.9 per cent of the group of men posing management problems had been to one or other of the medical locations (for other than commonplace medical treatment) with the three hospitals accounting for the greatest proportion (26 men). Grendon prison had been home for six men and the special hospitals for a further two. Only three men had been to "C" wing at Parkhurst but this may reflect only the "slowness" of the turnover of its population rather than its success or otherwise. Even so, we should not forget that the group as a whole included 13 men actually located in "C" wing at the time of the research.

Only nine men of all those identified as management problems had been located at one time or another within the secure units. As some measure not only of the problems they present but also the responses, eight of the nine had been to five or more prisons during the course of the present sentence. This adds further emphasis upon the need to develop management skills to cope with the problem that such men present rather than resorting to changes of location and separation.

Whilst focusing upon the provision and use made of special facilities the fact that 80.6 per cent of men viewed as management problems had not required placing in such establishments is important. The vast majority of management problems on this evidence can be contained within the prisons generally rather than by separation in specialised units.

THE PRESENT MANAGEMENT SITUATION

The movement of men around the prisons and the use of special facilities are concerned ultimately with each man finding his optimum location; the prison within which he is able to settle and thus present fewest management problems. In order to get a better picture of the situation at any one time within the prisons, wing staff were asked if they thought that each man they had identified as being a control or management problem was appropriately located at the present time and if not, where the more appropriate location might be. The position which emerged was that three-quarters (77.4 per cent) of management problems were felt to be appropriately located at the present time and that no change was necessary in order to cope with the problems presented. There were variations between the individual prisons but the range was comparatively small, from 67.6 per cent to 83.0 per cent.

Even that prison with the highest percentage of men thought to be inappropriately placed suggested that 8.4 per cent of men did not go to another prison but into segregation within that prison. Altogether, some 3.2 per cent of the total population of the four prisons were felt to be inappropriately located. Nine of these 56 men were felt to be better located in segregation in their present prisons without recourse to inter-prison transfer whilst 15 men were felt to be better located in another dispersal prison. Any trend towards more secure incarceration was not sustained for 14 men were recommended for open or training prisons. Finally, 18 men were felt to be better placed within either a prison hospital, Grendon prison or "C" wing at Parkhurst.

Such a pattern suggests that the vast majority of those men who present management problems are well contained within the range of facilities prevailing in the four prisons at the time of the research.

DISCUSSION

The evidence of this research suggests that during normal times never more than a seventh of the men in maximum security prisons can be considered as "management problems" and a more likely estimate is about half this figure. Furthermore, those men who are identified as "management problems" divide into several quite separate groups. Quantitatively speaking these men amount to a small section of the prisons population yet manifestly they demand and receive a quite disproportionate share of management attention.

Aspects of the management responses to the problems that such men present have been assessed. Certainly one of the more important of these is that the staff felt that only one quarter of "management problems" were inappropriately located at the time of the research. In fact, only 15 men out of the 248 in the study were recommended for other maximum security prisons. This does not suggest that a general move into more secure or isolated conditions is in order but more likely that a greater range of establishments is needed.

As the number and proportion of men serving long sentences of imprisonment increases the short-term interest in control should not be allowed to over-rule the longer term interest in the development of management skills to cope with new situations as they arise. The context and possibly the strategy for achieving this is within smaller units based upon wing or hall rather than whole prisons. The diversity of "management problems" suggests that no single response to them will be adequate though the evidence presented here suggests that the situation is one within the compass of staff to adapt to.

1. Control Treatment. A. L. Papps. *Prison Service Journal*, October, 1972.
2. Society of Captives. Gresham Sykes. Princeton U.P. 1958
3. A Confrontation of Violent Dynamics. Donald R. Cressey. *International Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 10, 1972, 109—124.
4. See S. Powell, Chairman's Address to P.O.A. Conference, 1973.
5. Troublemaking Behaviour in a Correctional Institution. Relationship to Inmate's definition of their Situation. Wood B. S. *et al American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 36, 1966, 795—802.
6. Are Prison Troublemakers Different? Zink T. *Journal Criminal Law Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 48, 1958, 433—434.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the governor and staff of each of the four prisons concerned, the Home Office Research Unit who financed the study and Professor T. C. N. Gibbens of the Institute of Psychiatry under whose direction it was completed.

Reactions to . . .

"Social Work in Prisons"

(Article by Ken Ward SPWO Exeter and other articles in October 1975 P. S. J.)

(An Introduction to some correspondence by Brian Fellowes, Probation Adviser to the Prison Service College.)

IN a characteristically hard hitting attack on the confusion which exists about the place of social work in prisons, Ken Ward suggests that unless the Prison Department is prepared to accept a sharply defined role acceptable to Probation Officers and consistent in the use of their professional competence perhaps the Probation Services should not continue to operate in prisons.

In the same issue Peter Bibby suggests that relations between probation officers and prison staff may be described in terms of walls and bridges: self-defensive walls and outgoing, trusting, bridges. He implies that those who would want to build walls rather than bridges exist in amongst both groups.

Mrs. Craig's perceptive and helpful article identifies the need to acknowledge, foster and support those who have most contact with our customers and therefore most potential for compassion and influence—the primary caregivers.

All three articles had something to say which was of value in the current debate and must be seen collectively as a major contribution to that debate. It is clear that their success has been that they have stimulated usually reticent readers of the P.S.J. into putting pen to paper to make their contribution.

Let us make no mistake, the debate is of crucial importance and needs to continue for several reasons: (1) It is only through debate that issues can be identified, clarified, examined and attitudes to those issues honestly appraised; (2) There are clearly legitimate aspirations amongst all groups to do a more worthwile job for readily recognisable satisfactions not least of which may be the knowledge that we are of value as whole people rather than key-turning wrists or bottomless pockets! (3) Whatever the outcome of this particular issue the two services are locked into an embrace by their joint responsibility for the sentenced offender; dialogue and healthy debate on issues is therefore vital if it is not to be a destructive sado-masochistic routine! (4) The debate which has so far taken place has often stopped short of being public and open. Therefore prejudice has often been reinforced.

What is clear is that two essential elements must co-exist for the debate to continue successfully: (1) a clear and concise statement of views *but far more important* (2) a preparedness to listen and open one's mind to other points of view.

The views of the letter writers are stated clearly enough and need no amplification. One commends them to readers together with the following recently published articles and books, not because one agrees with the views expressed, but because they appear to be sincere contributions to the debate.

It is for readers to decide which writers are building bridges and which are building walls.

1. Prisoners of Society, Dr. Martin Davies.
2. The Use of Imprisonment, S. McConville (ed) especially McConville's final chapter.
3. The future of Probation Officers in Borstals and Prisons. Report of B.A.S.W. Section IV Working Party on "Social Work in the custodial part of the penal system". Social Work Today, 21st August, 1975.
4. "Prison Welfare time to think again?" M. J. Othen, *Probation Journal*, December, 1975.
5. "Stress and Opportunity in the Role of the Prison Welfare Officer". *British Journal of Social Work*, December, 1975.
6. *Rehabilitation and Deviance*, Philip Bean.

From . . .

ADRIAN STANLEY, Chairman, Section IV, British Association of Social Workers

YOUR October issue was of special interest to members of this Association (British Association of Social Workers) who have an interest in social work in the penal field and to members of Section IV in particular (B.A.S.W.'s section specialising in treatment of offenders).

Section IV set up its own Working Party in October 1974 with a brief to define professional tasks appropriate for the Probation and After-Care Service in custodial penal establishments and to prepare draft evidence on behalf of B.A.S.W. for submission to the Home Office Working Party document, "Social Work in the Custodial Part of the Penal System".

The second part of this brief, i.e. evidence for the Home Office, was completed in the form of a report which was subsequently published in "Social Work Today", Volume 6, No. 10, dated 21.8.75. Clearly this report has possible implications for the future both of the Prison Department and of the Probation and After-Care Service with regard to the whole field of social work within the custodial part of our penal system. N.A.P.O. too has its Working Party (they produced their own discussion paper towards the end of 1974) and this Association looks forward to seeing their report in due course.

Having read the articles in your October issue by Ken Ward, Peter Bibbey and Evonne Craig respectively, the B.A.S.W. report does not wholly reflect any one of these different approaches. But Ward's views about secondment of probation officers, about the presentation and content of P.W.O. courses (as they used to be) and what seemed to be his implications with regard to the significance of wing management to social work within the custodial institution do find support in our report as also do some of his challenging comments about individual casework still having considerable relevance within this field (supported by the Home Office Research Unit report "Social Work in Prisons"). Bibbey's reference to bridges which need to be built seems apt, especially as related to management structure and this also finds expression in the B.A.S.W. report. Craig seems to express a professionally attractive view which suggests a more flexible approach by the respective services which I suspect

could be naive, though helpful.

It seems to me that we have reached a point in our development where respective Services need to consolidate what is good and even more to develop what is potentially good before embarking on large organisational changes or substantial role modifications. But even to do this requires a boost. I believe that such a boost would be forthcoming if all of the recommendations contained in our report were to be implemented.

From . . .

B. J. FORD, Principal Officer, H.M. Prison, Wakefield

I READ with interest, and with a great deal of sympathy, the article by Mr. G. K. Ward in the October issue.

Perhaps I put myself out of step with some of my colleagues but I do not, and never have, accepted the view that we, as prison officers, need to go grabbing for involvement in other departments in order to bring more job satisfaction to our own work.

What I feel we need is a vision of our own work at basic levels which is not so depressing that it drives members to seek a "specialist" post in order to find fulfilment and satisfaction. How can we convince anyone that our's is the demanding and exacting work, which in fact it is, while we under-value this fulfilment factor, and in turn keep reaching out to other areas to find it?

There are, of course, those officers who do find great satisfaction in doing the basic job. Perhaps they are easily pleased, but it is more likely that they are putting something into their work which brings its own reward. If this is the case, and I believe it is, then it is in this direction we ought to be looking and not to the work of other departments.

To balance the picture a little, it needs saying that there are some areas of work which prison officers do and do very effectively, which are being eroded away by the interest of other departments, where the concept of "We'll" ends with "I'll do this" (because it's interesting) and "You can do that" (because it isn't). However, none of this has affected the basic officer's work to any measurable degree, and this is the work I am most concerned about.

There is a story of a missionary returning from darkest Africa. At dinner one evening on the boat home, a guest at the table, who is returning from an extended hunting trip, turned to the missionary and said "I don't know what you see in Africa, I've been out there for six months and never met a single Christian". To which the missionary retorted "Oh, I would have thought your's was the most wasted journey, as I have been out there for over three years and never seen a lion".

I would suggest that the fact that so many people have not found satisfaction in their work as prison officers is no proof that it isn't there to be found, only that they have yet to discover it.

From . . .

BRIAN LOMAX, Welfare Officer, H.M. Prison, Manchester.

I WAS delighted to read Ken Ward's article on Social Work in Prisons, (PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, October 1975), not because I agree with most of it—I don't—but because here, at last, is a clear and honest position stated on a thorny subject, about which there has been too much equivocation.

An honest statement deserves an honest reply. Let me attempt one, at least on some of the points Ken Ward makes. Firstly, he assumes we have a "professional authority" to stamp on the prison system if only we could escape its attempts to seduce us. To suggest this is to glamorise the Probation Service, within which there exists as great a diversity of views on role (inside and outside institutions) as in any other semi-profession. Our big advantage, which we can bring into prisons, is not professional authority but flexibility.

I agree entirely with Ken Ward's objection to secondment. My objections to it are based entirely on its shortness. This is now being remedied, but only by degrees. The shortness of secondment has, I believe, been a reflection of the Probation Service's lukewarm and half-hearted commitment to the work of the prisons. Until we can demonstrate to prison staff a commitment which they can respect, our contribution will continue to be undervalued. This lack of commitment is mirrored in the Service's attitude to through-care as a whole, which nationwide is patchy, and generally rates as less important than non-custodial treatment.

The result of secondment has been the refusal to allow a specialist corps of prison welfare officers to develop within the Probation Service, on the spurious and insincere grounds that the service fears its staff may somehow be contaminated by too much contact with the prison. I have heard this view aired by many probation officers, some of high rank. It is always said with a tacit assumption of moral superiority—but if we are so moral, why do we fear contamination?

I am not sure why Ken Ward compares the "Probation Service" with the "Prison Department". The Probation *Department* is as non-philosophical as the Prison Department, whereas the Probation Service is as philosophically diverse as the Prison Service—probably more so. Any visit to a N.A.P.O. conference will reveal that much. So why is Ken Ward such a purist? And why so gingerly at the idea of being "caught up in any other organisation's dilemma"? For make no mistake about it, we welfare officers are part of that dilemma—and I am glad we are, for this means our contribution can never quite be forgotten. The analogy with hospitals ignores this interweaving of strands, through the faulty assumption that we have a skill which is isolable, definable, and productive of a single form of professional practice. This is at once arrogant and yet reductionist. Our skills and the skills of prison staff overlap at various points, in a constant interaction, and to quibble over demarcation like some shop steward does not help the overall task to be performed better.

My own view is that until we in the Probation Service are prepared to work on equal terms with prison staff in welfare departments, and accept an equal commitment to the ongoing work of the prison, the present tensions will remain

and probably increase. We should not attempt, as Ken Ward suggests, to establish a little purist oasis in the corner; nor should we attempt to convert prison officers into probation ancilliaries. Let's get some mud on our boots instead.

The consensus among colleagues who ask me:— "why did you go into the prison?", is that prison welfare officers are more to be pitied than blamed for relegating themselves to the status of functionaries. While this snobbery remains, what hope is there for a satisfactory response from probation to the biggest challenge in its history—helping men through prison instead of turning a blind eye and saying "thank God he's off my back . . . ."

From . . .

D. JULIAN, Principal Officer, H. M. Borstal, Guys Marsh.

REFERENCE to your editorial on the consultative document "Social Work in Prison Department Establishments".

The first thing that invoked my anger was the cheek of the author of the document to compare the work of a prison welfare officer to the truly professional calling of a doctor or a priest-empire building of the worst form? Another point that struck me as odd that there was little or any mention of the role of the assistant governor in connection with welfare work in penal institutions. Could it be that the author found it difficult to argue that the assistant governor was not trained sufficiently to partake in welfare work? After all it does take two years to train an A.G. The course is very comprehensive so are we really to believe that an assistant governor is not qualified to undertake welfare work?

I make no apologies for making this article biased in favour of prison staff. Successive prison officers' conferences have passed unanimously resolutions asking that the officer grade be allowed to undertake welfare work in institutions. I understand in the American Penal System there is a career structure where the guard can opt to go on the treatment side and end up as a parole agent, the equivalent of a probation officer. If this career structure works in the American Penal System why could it not work in the English Prison Service?

For years the Prison Service has been the whipping boy for all the do-gooders. Numerous articles have been written regarding our success rates and the expense of keeping inmates inside. Well if we were to examine the actual cost of the officer grade who do the work, the cost per inmate would be quite modest. The taxpayers' money is largely being spent on the rehabilitive factors, trade courses, welfare, education, administration, etc. Now to the so-called success rate. Prison or borstal failure; or "aftercare failure"? Out of 300 cases I checked, 273 had received various periods of probation and other non-custodial penal sanctions before being sentenced to a term inside.

It must be admitted that the Prison Service is largely dealing with everybody else's failures. Are the Probation Service really saying that when an ex-borstal trainee re-offends he is a borstal failure. (Come talk to the clients): Well Sir, I only saw my probation officer once a month for about five minutes. Is this aftercare? Is the institution really failing by not making the trainee give up his anti-social behaviour? Borstal failure or aftercare failure?

Prison officers deal with welfare problems every day of their working life. Who looks out to the inmates' problems after five o'clock or at a weekend? One hears of the so-called role conflict. It depends on the individual, in my experience (real experience, not out of a book) inmates will have more confidence in a person dealing with their problems who they respect. Too much kindness is often looked on as weakness. They prefer a firm fair person to help them in their troubles.

Obviously the prison officer grade has to learn fresh skills. It must be also said that not every officer would be suited for welfare work. Only officers who are interested in welfare work should be considered. If it takes four welfare officers in an institution why not compromise and have two prison officers and two probation officers, each could learn from each other that is the way to break down barriers. Does it really take a university degree to deal with the everyday problems of our charges? After all our charges do not have degrees. This mysterious word case work, what is it? Is it not what every officer does on the landing or every housemaster in a borstal.

I respect the work of the Probation Service and the majority of officers do a good conscientious job. The Probation Service is a respected profession, and rightly so. The warder, as the public still call him, has a long way to go before he has a good public image. Perhaps a change of name might help— Correctional officer or rehabilitation officer

As I have already stated, this article is biased in favour of members of the Prison Service. Alright, we know we are not perfect, far from it. However look at the trouble other countries experience in their penal institutions. In comparison the English Prison Service does a good job. Yes, I am blowing our trumpet, no one else will. There are no large words in this article I found looking up the correct spelling in the dictionary too tedious. The majority of prison officers are just people with an average education, few degrees, nothing special. Just ordinary people with common sense. Since I joined I have seen various plum jobs taken away from the prison officer grade. Canteen, welfare work, stores, etc. Why, I ask myself, is it always the nice jobs that disappear. Not the dangerous aspect of the work or the mundane tasks that the officer has to perform. This calls for the special skills of the officer we are told? Is this really the reason, or is it that no one else would like to do the dirty work. The prison officer needs job enrichment. Is he to face 30 years of landing work, or shop work. Welfare work is a task the officer can and should do. The question I pose is what does a probation officer do in an institution, that an officer could not. It must be said honestly, without all this empire building *and humbug*, that the inmate will be the person who will decide how and when he or she will give up anti-social behaviour and live within the normal rules of society. Very little can there be done to influence this decision.

I argue that all it takes to do welfare work in an institution is *common sense*. No degree is needed. Recruits are now coming into the service; young officers will look for job satisfaction, are they to be denied? No, sir, I do not agree with the prison welfare officer being compared with a doctor or priest. As I write this article I have been interrupted numerous times by borstal trainees. The cause of the interruptions, *case work*. What day is it? Sunday! The time, 8.45 p.m.? Where are all your probation officers now?

Readers Write

* * * *

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.
Dear Sir,

In a previous issue there appeared several letters and replies concerning the "pips" worn by S.O.s and above, so far there would seem to be a complete hiatus as to the origins and meanings attached to them.

In the first place the motto should read "Tria juncta in Uno" (Three joined in One), this is the motto of the Order of the Bath (1725) and the star is the badge of that Order. The "Three" refers to the Holy Trinity and this is signified by the three ecclesiastic mitres on the central boss of the star.

The insignia was first used by the British Army, and only the Army, originally about 1870 and since then many a quasi-military body or uniformed organisation has adopted them to their own use, even the Church Army.

Perhaps Establishment Division would care to comment on the equivalent ranks for the governor grades considering that a C.O. 1 would appear to rank with a lieutenant-colonel (or maybe a half?). Could it be that a Regional Director would be rated as a Field Marshal?

Yours sincerely,
N. BERRY,
Governor, P7 Division.

* * *

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

Having attempted to read the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL (P.S.J.) for quite a number of years and having failed to understand a major part of it, I feel I must try and become a contributor to find out if I am the one out of step. However, having done an opinion poll amongst my peer group (P.G.) of fellow subscribers, I find that the odds for my writing this short article are slightly in my favour.

I would therefore like to form an association of right thinkers. This would be made up of people who cannot quote figures, do cross references in their heads, or become over-excited by statistics.

My association would be called "Association For All Right Thinkers". "How crude," I can hear people saying already. Well, maybe I am crude. I can watch Tom screwing Jerry's head off without flinching, I can kill spiders or swat flies and even give live worms to my fish, and still go to bed at night with nothing more than a good night's sleep on my mind (well, sometimes!). Now, I'm not saying that people should not care about what is going on in the world around them, all I'm saying is that I cannot get excited enough to join the crusade of facts and figures which although they may prove something to the experts, do nothing more than say "I told you so." Are you still following me? If not, stop here because it gets worse further on. Those who are still with me should by now have realised that my association could become the biggest thing since Frank Illingworth's Fan Club (who is Frank Illingworth? Read on, my friends) . . .

Frank Illingworth was a friend of mine who was born, got married, had children and then died. Nothing special about that, you may say, who wants to know about him, there are millions like him.

That is exactly my point. Who knows what went on in his mind? Nobody bothered to ask because he didn't beat his wife, become a criminal, or an MP, or become a do-gooder (I nearly said Probation Officer). Why did I become a member of his fan club?

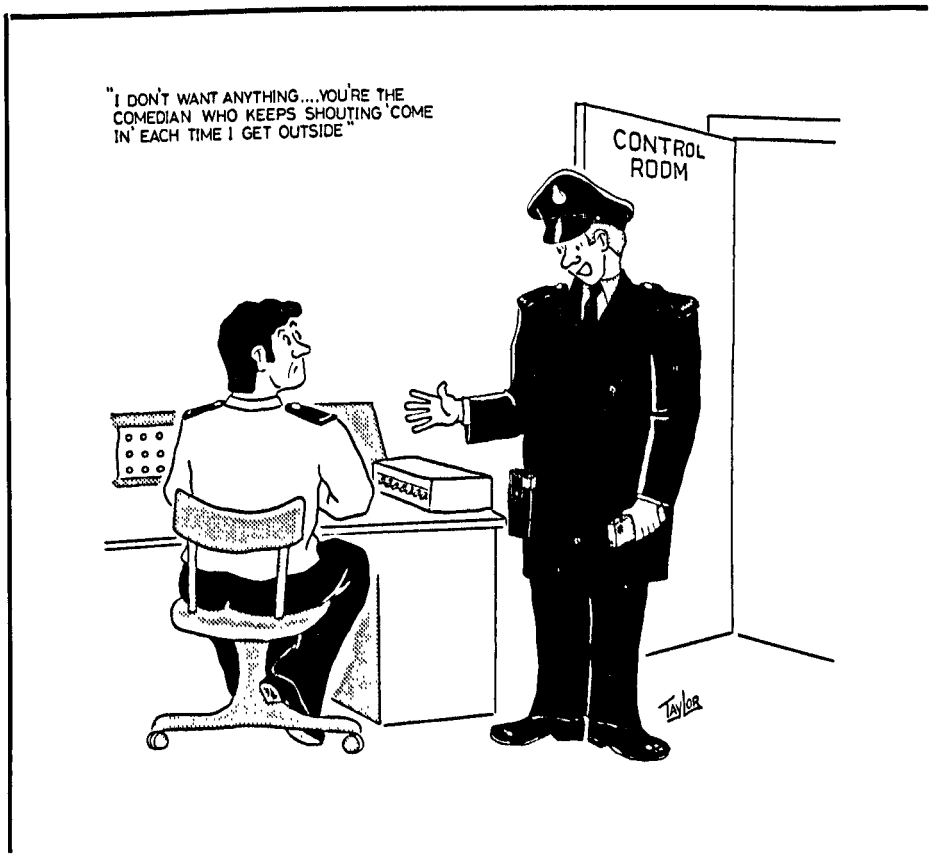
Well, I like to think he thought about things the way I like to think about things, then having thought about them did the right thing and thought about something else.

He would talk about most subjects, knew more about football than Jimmy Hill, could turn a few pieces of wood into a chair and could even read and write. In other words, did harm to nobody and good to those around him. I forgot to mention that he smoked and drank and could swear as well.

However, I am digressing from the point of the article. Oh, yes, the Association! I cannot quote figures (see earlier), but I should think that my F.I. (see previously) is probably every other M.I.T.S. (Man in the Street) which could add up to quite a few (millions?).

Now, if every other M.I.T.S. joined my A.F.A.R.T. we could outwit, out vote and even outweigh all other minority groups, and then probably we would get back to a World of Peace and Plenty. All I ask is that once we become a great organisation, nobody sits down and tries to find out what makes us tick.

G. ETOE,
Senior Officer,
H.M. Prison, Preston.



Serving the Prison Service

RICHARD TURBET

THE LIBRARY at the Prison Service Staff College, Love Lane, Wakefield, has been in existence for about 10 years. From a glorified cupboard using a classification scheme based on coloured cloakroom tickets, it has now developed into what is usually described as the second best penological library in the country (it is almost a privilege to be bettered by Cambridge's fine Institute of Criminology library), classified by the universal decimal system which is indecipherable (a sure sign of excellence), and endeavouring to serve the entire English and Welsh Prison Service.

The fundamental service the library offers is simple: anyone who wants a book or magazine article related to the Prison Service should telephone or write as much bibliographical and personal information as possible. The item is then located, and posted to the borrower free, and a gummed pre-paid label for return is enclosed. The library will also gladly obtain any item not in its own stock, using one of half a dozen outside lending libraries, again at no cost to the borrower. Every penal establishment is sent a copy of our bi-monthly bulletin which lists all the books which have entered the library, the purpose being to keep the Service in touch with new material.

For people who are visiting or working in the Staff College, there is access to a collection of historical reference material. There is also a file of periodical articles of penological interest in journals held in the library, and the library uses the Home Office press cuttings service.

The library boasts two branches, at the Officers' Training Schools at Aberford Road, Wakefield, and Leyhill. These are what is known in the trade as closed access libraries, kept locked except for a daily airing for the benefit of the students. Unlike the main library, where the staff of one librarian and one half-time clerical assistant work only in the library, the two schools do not possess exclusive library staff. At Aberford Road, another half-time clerical assistant opens the library in the mornings and processes new books, while at Leyhill a tutor is responsible for organising students to open the library themselves and all books are processed at Love Lane. All book selection for the three libraries is in the hands of the librarian, but advice is sought, offered and, occasionally, taken. For the statistically minded, the library has 15,000 books, subscribes to or is sent 100 journals, lends over 5,000 items from its own stock annually, and posts over 1,000 items.

Richard Turbet comes from Essex, whose cricket team he supports with grim enthusiasm. Graduating in English from University College, London, he trained as a librarian at Dundee University, and qualified at Leeds Polytechnic. After a year as a Research Assistant at Calgary University, Canada, he returned to work for the British Library before joining the Prison Service. His main interest is music, especially that of 16th and 20th century England.

The main problem in the running of the library is in communicating services we have to offer to the far flung 15,000 employees of the Prison Department. Ideally the librarian should be able to progress round all 100-odd penal establishments, personally haranguing people about the function of the library. Instead, the bulletin and articles such as this have to suffice, in the hope that the verbiage will permeate the extremities of darkest Dartmoor and antipodean Acklington. Whether it will ever be possible to convince everyone in their various appointments in a widely spread and constantly changing personnel that "their" library is in Wakefield depends on the loquaciousness of the librarian and whether the service offered meets the needs of this hair-raisingly varied and dispersed staff.

For obvious reasons, the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL is the library's most popular technical periodical. People either tend to refer to a specific article in it, but without knowing crucial details to help to locate it, or they ask about the Journal's coverage of a particular topic. Elsewhere in this month's issue there is a complete list in chronological order of all articles published in the Journal since it was founded in 1960 to the end of 1975. Omitted are all reviews however long and whoever the author, and all obituaries and tributes. There is also a list of subjects covered. It is to be hoped that people will not only find the index useful, but will in turn make use of it. Copies of it can be photocopied from individual issues, but the library will be glad to provide Xerox copies of separate articles that people see in the list and feel they would like.

At the risk of lapsing into bibliothecal patois I should perhaps, as compiler, provide a brief rationale of the scheme behind a subject index. The subjects themselves are in alphabetical order but where there are topics such as Staff Training or Juvenile Delinquency these are listed simply where I think most users will seek them. Therefore Juvenile Delinquency would be listed under J while Staff Training will be listed under Training, Staff. Simply, if you are seeking a double-barrelled topic, look where you would expect it to be and if it is not there, look for the other word in the name of the topic. In the rather congested area of Prison, there are separate headings for Prisons, Overseas, followed by an alphabetical list of countries covered, and Prisons, Women's. Since all articles have a penological bent, subjects such as Welfare, Staff and Food are listed as they stand, not as Prison Welfare etc.

BOOK REVIEWS

Catalogue of Failure

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT

D. LIPTON, R. MARTINSON AND J. WILKS

Praeger 1975. £16.50

THIS book has something of a history. In 1966, its authors were commissioned by the State of New York Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders to produce a comprehensive survey of what was known about the rehabilitation of criminals. This survey, completed in 1970, was intended to be used in reforming New York's prison system. It concluded that there was little evidence that penal treatments "rehabilitated" offenders. The State of New York regarded this conclusion as a threat to the changes in the prison system that were already being planned and it not only failed to publish the work but also refused the authors permission to do so. The survey document's existence came to public notice only when a New York attorney subpoenaed it from the State as evidence in a court case. Permission to publish followed, and the book eventually appeared in 1975, fully four years after it was ready to print.

What sort of book is it? It is relentlessly logical, immensely painstaking (the bibliography alone is 91 pages long), lacking any spark of humour, and very persuasive. It reads as though it had been written by Mr. Spock of the Starship "*Enterprise*". Consider the following fairly typical quotation:

"The term punitive as used throughout this report refers to the response of an agent of the community to an offender legally under his supervision. The types of response an agent can make are limited by law, administrative policy, the size of the population handled, the training and professionalism of the agent and other such factors. It is important to distinguish this set of responses from such public responses as revenge retribution, personal animus, and so forth".

It certainly sounds like Mr. Spock!

The book classifies methods of "treatment" (probation, imprisonment, parole, individual counselling, etc.), measures of the outcome of treatment (reconviction, institutional adjustment, vocational adjustment, etc.), and target group (addicts, young males, institutionalised adults, etc.). Further, it classifies the adequacy of research designs ('a', 'b' or 'too poor to be worth mentioning'). The authors present fairly lengthy accounts of the reasonable inferences to be drawn from studies dealing with each type of offender given each type of treatment. There is a summary of findings at the end of each section. This is followed by a series of annotations, classifying the studies cited according to setting, time, treatment, age of offenders and so on. The data, classified by treatment method and treatment outcome, are then summarised in two later chapters.

All this will warn you that the book is not for bedtime reading (although it may help a few insomniacs). It is organised primarily as a work of reference and will no doubt be used predominantly in that way. The repetition of information in different parts of the book is only thus justifiable. The ceaseless pounding of facts is relieved only very occasionally by inadvertant black humour—for example, the citation of a Danish finding that "castrated sex offenders committed far fewer new sex crimes than non-castrated sex offenders". It limits the options, I suppose.

The central conclusion is reached on page 627: "*While some treatment programmes have had modest successes, it still must be concluded that the field of corrections has not as yet found satisfactory ways to reduce recidivism by significant amounts*". Considering why this is so, the authors suggest that more and better research is needed; they consider (briefly) the possibility that you just can't change people very much, or that at least the present range of treatments is ineffective. I felt that at this point much more attention could usefully have been given to the limitations on what research is practicable. Much of the research reported is not really conclusive, although it is the best available, but there is some reason for supposing that there are strict limits to what is possible in evaluating treatments (see, for example, Clarke and Cornish's *The Controlled Trial in Instutional Research:* Home Office Research Study No. 15). Alternative approaches to treatment evaluation have also been advocated since this book was completed. The paper by Clarke and Sinclair ("Towards More Effective Treatment Evaluation" in *Methods of Evaluation and Planning in the Field of Crime:* Council of Europe, 1974) contributes much beyond what is found in this book.

There are those who argue that we are leaving the "treatment" era in deciding on and developing penal sanctions. In the post-treatment era, sanctions would be judged exclusively in terms of their humanity, their costs and, possibly, their value as deterrents. However, those who are prepared to forget history are condemned to relive it, and that is one reason why the book is so valuable. It is now without question the definitive work on assessing the effects of sentences upon individuals. It demands a place on the bookshelf of every organisation or institution which claims to be concerned with the effect penal treatment has on those undergoing it.

KENNETH PEASE,
Senior Research Officer,
Home Office Research Unit, Manchester.

SOME MALE OFFENDERS' PROBLEMS

A Home Office Research Unit Report by W. MCWILLIAMS and J. HOLBORN

H.M.S.O., 1975. £1.80

THIS is in fact two separate studies, both conducted in 1969 but quite independent of each other. The first is a look at the concept of "homelessness" amongst criminal offenders. The second is an examination of the problems of doing "casework" with short-term prisoners and, in particular, the difficulties presented by their attitudes to welfare personnel.

Although the questions posed by these studies are in themselves important and interesting, the results are rather limited and disappointing. McWilliams' study of homelessness appears to make the most of some rather banal information which is poorly presented and full of indigestible statistical tables. As far as the results go, they only confirm what everybody working in the penal field already knew by intuition or by facing the problem in their contact with inmates.

McWilliams took five assorted samples of men appearing in court or on the books of the Probation and Aftercare Service in Liverpool. The samples were of varying sizes and, over a two-year period, 2,614 social enquiry reports classed only 72 men (less than 3 per cent) as homeless. Three types of homelessness were defined: vagrant, at risk or transient. The aim was to look at the size and scope of the problem, probation involvement and guides for the future. At the same time, structured interviews were conducted with seniour probation officers.

The mass of statistical tables is very confusing and the study only leads to a number of further speculations. It is of passing interest, dated, and really only confirms most of the fears about the problem. The extreme difficulty in trying to read it intelligently casts doubt on whether one should even try.

* * *

The second study, on prison welfare, is at least comprehensible but rather padded out by numerous "inmate quotes". These can be skimmed but should be digested by all probation personnel. The aim was to examine prisoners' perceptions of their problems: what help they expected from welfare departments, how this affected the work of the welfare staff, and the implications for the casework approach. The study took the form of interviews with 40 men serving up to nine months at Birmingham, Drake Hall or Stafford prisons in 1969, together with a study of each man's case record.

The premise of the study seems to be that welfare officers are highly qualified, especially in the field of casework, and that to operate at anything other than this level is wasteful of scarce resources. This has long been an area of contention in both welfare-inmate and welfare-line staff relations. The reality of the situation is clearly portrayed in this study and it is helpful to have it set out in this way. As J. Holborn writes, "prison welfare officers tended to spend most of their time dealing with men who presented concrete problems. Those who were uninvolved with the business of living and who may have sought prison as an escape from the demands of life outside were least likely to have contact with prison welfare departments". The general pattern was that welfare officers responded to presented needs and did not seek "suitable cases for treatment". The old chestnut re-appears: "The prison walls diverted the attention of both inmates and caseworkers

from the task of rehabilitation, by creating other problems for them to worry about".

While this is what J. Holborn would like to believe is the reason for the stated task not being achieved, it is not so clear that the evidence from her study supports this. She suggests that any conclusions drawn must be tentative and, with the wind of change that has blown through social work thinking from 1969, the findings are even more limited. It remains sound, compulsory reading for anyone joining a penal welfare department and it is also useful for anyone still studying the implications of Circular Instruction 48/74, *Social Work in Prison Department Establishments.*

One last quotation is irresistible, although it is more a sentiment expressed by J. Holborn than a direct research finding: "Prison welfare officers are unlikely to achieve results if their aims run counter to those of the institution". The study leaves scope for some lively discussion by interested parties.

BOB DUNCAN
Head of the Development Training Department,
Prison Service College,
Wakefield

CRIME AND ITS TREATMENT

JOHN B. MAYS

Longman, 1975 (2nd Edition). £1.75

THIS small book attempts to set out some of the central concerns of anyone with an interest in criminals and their treatment. How does the author approach his task? First, he divides his material into easily digestible portions and secondly, he does not go into each subject very deeply.

In the introduction, Mays sets crime and criminals in a less emotional light than is usually the case. He comments on the sociologists' view that criminality is an activity most people indulge in, from time to time, and is therefore an activity far more "normal" than we care to think. After discounting the reliability of many criminal statistics, the author makes some general observations in the chapter on "Trends and Patterns" which will not startle anyone.

The chapter, "Some Theories of Crime Causation", deals with the more famous names in the business and, after reading it, anyone will be able to drop these important names with the best of them. This chapter suffers from gross over-simplification and too mucl. repetition on the theme that, given the chance, we would all be delinquent.

"Crime and Social Class" surveys the ideas of people like Mayo, Morris, Yablonsky and Matza and manages to avoid cluttering up the scene with political commentary. Politicism, however, appears in the next chapter, "The Socialisation Process and Crime" where we read: "The only way the stifled working class adolescent can escape the 'school-work status quo' is by greater political awareness which is ultimately the only alternative to delinquency".

After a glance at the "Aims of the Penal System", Mays wades into "The Treatment of Offenders" and "New Trends in Methods and Treatment". Unfortunately, for the reader of this journal, these chapters are mostly historical and/or descriptive and will be of only limited value.

On the whole, however, this is an acceptable book, provided one does not expect a great deal from it. For anyone looking for a really basic introduction to the subject, this book will be useful.

M. R. J. GANDER,
Assistant Governor,
Prison Service College,
Wakefield

THE ST ALBANS POISONER: the life and crimes of Graham Young.

ANTHONY HOLDEN

Hodder & Stoughton, 1975. £2.75

THIS little book provides a brief but vivid account of the criminal career of Graham Young, the poisoner. The author is a journalist who was working for the Hemel Hempstead *Evening Echo* at the time of Young's second arrest for murder in the nearby village of Bovington. It is not surprising, therefore, that the greater part of the book is taken up with the events immediately leading up to, and following, that arrest. However, the childhood and earlier exploits of Young are described, albeit in less detail.

As an example of the genre of True Stories of Famous Criminals, this is a smooth and well-written account. The modern author, of course, is forbidden the luxury of explicitly vilifying his subjects à la Lustgarten, and has to seek targets for criticism elsewhere. In this, the author has less success. The fact that Young was released from Broadmoor only to murder within months of gaining freedom would seem to offer ample opportunity for a devastating critique of The System. But the lack of information about important institutional processes gives the author no chance: nine years in Broadmoor are dealt with in 20 pages, most of which are either gossip, incidental or trivial. Indeed, perhaps the best description of the spell in Broadmoor comes from Young himself. In a section marked "any other information" on the application form for his first employment following Broadmoor, he wrote: "I have previously studied chemistry, organic and inorganic, pharmacology and toxicology over the last 10 years, and I therefore have some knowledge of chemicals and their use".

How apt that he has now been allocated to a prison hospital....

MARK WILLIAMS
Principal Psychologist,
Adult Offender Psychology Unit

CRIME PREVENTION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Edited by R. L. AKERS and E. SAGARIN

Praeger, 1975. £5.95

HAVE you ever read the advertisements in the colour supplements for works of literature, tarted up between covers of artificial leather and offered as something of greater intrinsic value than the original? Have you noted the style of such advertisements, the hints that you are some special kind of person—the kind who can discern the quality of something created exclusively for people like you? If you are as cynical as I am, such proclamations only heighten your doubts as to the alleged value of the product.

I was reminded of such advertisements in reading the aims of the publishers printed on the flyleaf of this book. It is one of a "program", they say, whereby "utilizing the most modern and efficient book production techniques and a selective world-wide distribution network" they "make available to the academic, government and business communities significant, timely research". Etcetera. In fact, their technique of book production is photographic and is thus very cheap while, at nearly £6, this slender volume is very expensive. I am not even sure that the articles contained are "significant" or "timely" since some have been published previously and one writer at least is honest enough to state that his conclusions are "partial, tentative and preliminary" since his research remains unfinished.

Crime Prevention and Social Control is a selection of the papers presented at the Inter-American Congress of Criminology held in Caracas in 1972. The book is in three parts: articles concerned with crime prevention and deterrence, those dealing with the police, and others with criminal justice and the courts. To dismiss it totally would not be to do it justice since several articles do prove quite rewarding. There is, for example, a contribution by Henschel pointing to gaps in research on deterrence. He suggests that potential offenders are not likely to be deterred by an analysis of court decisions factually assessed, but they may or may not be according to what they believe the reality to be. The two seldom coincide. Likewise, there are interesting comments on victimless crime and also on the inadequacies of the juvenile court system. In the latter case, Reid writes that through the interrelationship of law and the behavioural sciences the child may receive "the worst of both worlds". Balance these though against the bewildering article by Himmelhoch, who leads the reader through an incredibly complex argument—via a strange series of arrowed, circular diagrams—to the most simple and obvious conclusions. Then one has a more accurate picture of the book.

Sadly, one concludes that the few clearly argued articles presented are insufficient to redeem a book whose list of erudite contributors would encourage the reader to expect much more.

PETER M. QUINN
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FIELD WING BAIL HOSTEL: THE FIRST NINE MONTHS

A Home Office Research Unit Report by FRANCES SIMON and SHEENA WILSON H.M.S.O., 1975. 85p.

THE prison population remains distressingly high, despite more use of non-custodial measures both before and after sentence. The volume of defendants appearing in the courts has affected the remand population and, in the last five years, increased public attention has been given to the bail/custody decision. The interconnection between these apparent alternatives of bail or custody is surprisingly complex. This study describes the progress of the first 98 men to be admitted to the Field Wing Bail Hostel in Whitechapel from November 1971 onwards. It is a hostel of 12 beds run by the Salvation Army and financed by the Xenia Field Foundation.

The study shows that more than 40 per cent of the 98 men were in custody at some stage before their cases were settled. We have found at Brixton Prison, which holds a quarter of the unconvicted prison population in England and Wales, that about one man in every six received has been granted bail. A quarter of these can expect to be released within 48 hours when their sureties have made the necessary arrangements. Others will gain their release later, but some have no one in the community who will support their bail attempt.

About four out of five decisions about bail in magistrates' courts result in the granting of bail, although this may vary according to whether the magistrate is lay or stipendiary, the part of the county where the court is situated and the point which the judicial process has reached. Field Wing was designed to assist those men who are denied bail because they have no fixed abode and to enable defendants to make constructive use of the remand period in the hope of avoiding a custodial sentence if found guilty. Men with certain behaviour problems were excluded and originally a ban on men with previous custodial

sentences was imposed, although this latter restriction was relaxed for 13 of the first 98 men admitted.

"No fixed abode" is a description capable of several interpretations but it may lead to a denial of bail because it is evidence of likely failure to appear at court rather than the other two approved reasons for not granting bail: a likelihood of further offences and a likelihood of interfering with the judicial process. If people need to be remanded in custody simply to put a roof over their heads, one wonders if the Prison Department cannot provide low-security remand accommodation or even allow prisoners to come and go during the day as do sentenced men in prison hostel schemes. The feasibility of such arrangements would depend on the size of the problem and, as this study illustrates, the size of the problem is unclear. It is arguable whether the Prison Department has a responsibility to make special provision for such people or whether it is inherently better that other organisations should cater for them. Other hostels, opened more recently than Field Wing, present the opportunity for men who are homeless or in unsettled accommodation to avoid being remanded in custody.

The authors state that, when the project began, "it was simply assumed that there were numbers of young men who were not serious criminals but were remanded in custody because they had nowhere to go. After beds at Field Wing had remained empty for weeks, doubts rose about this assumption" (p. 13). Moreover, because of the possibility of alternative arrangements, "it seems likely that a substantial number of the Field Wing men would not have been refused bail in the absence of the hostel scheme" (p. 18). For these reasons, the authors "were unable to obtain a proper control group of men remanded in custody, for comparison with the Field Wing men" (p. 5). Consequently, this research study does not include any real hypothesis-testing, apart from some interesting findings comparing those men who broke their conditions of bail with the rest of the group. Otherwise, it is limited to a description of what occurred up to each man's final court appearance: of the 93 completed cases, three were aquitted, three were admitted to mental hospitals, and 15 were given custodial sentences (eight suspended).

It appears (on p. 37) that "23 men broke the conditions of their bail in one way or another". Of these, 11 jumped bail, five spent the rest of their remand in custody, and seven surrendered to bail. In addition, "five men committed (and were subsequently convicted of) offences while they were on bail at Field Wing" (p. 38). These 28 men were compared with the other 70 but were not found to be significantly different according to offence, accommodation at time of arrest, previous criminal record or previous custodial record. The important distinction between the two groups was that the 28 "failures" had a worse work record, both at the time of arrest and while at the hostel.

The success of the project can be measured by the finding that "62 per cent obtained some benefit over and above the temporary accommodation and the avoidance of a remand in custody" (p. 31). Half of these "by the time they left . . . usually had either work or accommodation" and half "had found both work and accommodation, or their circumstances were obviously improved in other ways". This was achieved in spite of the problems of finding work in an area that may have been unfamiliar or temporary, and of finding accommodation when the future was uncertain and residence at the hostel a condition of bail.

Three final points might usefully be made:

(1) a passing reference to the obtaining of sureties (p. 37) leads one to assume that the men at Field Wing were bailed in their own recognisance. This study does not produce any evidence which would be helpful to men who remain in custody for lack of sureties. It may be that this problem could be solved by some alternative form of suspended penalty for failure to appear rather than by continuing to use the peculiar system that requires a man's friends and relatives to put their savings or belongings in jeopardy on his behalf;

(2) no mention is made of the benefit to the residents of Field Wing in being able to use their time on bail to prepare their defence, an advantage of bail forcefully argued in, for example, the Cobden Trust's publication, *Bail or Custody*. It must be said, however, that "the majority of cases were comparatively petty" (p. 22);

(3) it is often claimed that if a man appears before a magistrate from custody he is put at an unreasonable risk of having that condition reflected in his sentence. The authors of this study found, however, that "nearly all the magistrates said that normally they would send a man to the bail hostel only if they were considering a non-custodial sentence" (p. 18). This at least indicates that some magistrates consider the likely sentence (in the event of a finding of guilt) when making remand decisions, although there is no guarantee that a defendant will appear later before an identically constituted bench.

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VICTIMOLOGY

Vol. 1: Theoretical Issues in Victimology, £6.60
Vol. 2: Society's Reactions to Victimisation, £6.85
Vol. 3: Crimes, Victims and Justice, £7.00
Vol. 4: Violence and its Victims, £8.00
Vol. 5: Exploiters and Exploited, £6.95

Edited by ISRAEL DRAPKIN and EMILIO VIANO

Lexington Books 1975

FOR about £35, an astromic sum of money, the reader buys the right to eavesdrop on what an international assembly of scholars had to say about victims at Jerusalem in September, 1973. Alternatively, the five volumes can be delved into in the Prison Service library.

The editors and the conference organisers were clearly worried that the study of crime has ordinarily tended to neglect the victim—a concern that is often expressed by the layman. Drapkin and Viano are clearly doing their utmost to put victimology fairly and squarely on the map. There are people who would say that it would only take a couple of pages or so for any upstart science to catch up with the non-achievements of criminology after a century or so. They would be wrong, of course. Equally, it would be wrong to think that, with a scatter of articles in the journals, one earlier book (reviewed in the July 1975 issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL) and these five volumes to its credit, victimology has developed all the subtlety of criminology. Nevertheless, it has arrived.

Much of the original raw material for criminology came from studies of "the criminal"—what he looked like and what characteristics he had which marked him out. The emphasis has shifted more recently to a concern with the process by which some people get identified as criminal. These volumes provide comparable material for "the victim" and make it clear that those who suffer the consequences of other people's criminality are not a random selection of the world at large but that they have characteristics which mark them out.

However, while criminology took some time to discover that it was necessary to talk about different sorts of crime, victimology has already learned this lesson. These volumes include articles on a wide range of victims, categorised by the crimes with which they are associated. The inevitable disadvantage is that there is a correspondingly wide scatter of articles, yet a shortage of research evidence on a sufficiently large scale. As a result, some small-scale, indicative research is pressed into service two or three times in the collection when it might have been better reported more fully once.

An interesting, important but delicate issue arises when the offender is considered as a victim: a victim of the legal process or a victim of discrimination by the agents of social control—including prison staff. In the collection, this is offset by concern about the victimisation of prison staff by inmates, nicely represented by "Games Inmates Play: Notes on Staff Victimisation" in volume 5. This whole volume, *Exploiters and Exploited*, is probably the most stimulating of the five for prison staff, followed by *Crimes, Victims and Justice* and *Violence and its Victims*. None of the articles "deliver the goods" in the sense of providing instruction about what is to be done, but they do invite the reader to realise that there are other ways of approaching the drama of the criminal incident beside grabbing the offender and banging him up!

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AFTER GRACE—TEETH

SXENCER MILLHAM, ROGER BULLOCK and PAUL CHERRETT

Human Context Books, 1975. £3.50.

THE APPROVED SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

A Home Office Research Unit Report by—
ANNE B. DUNLOP.

H.M.S.O., 1975 £1.22

THERE is a great deal of doubt around concerning the effectiveness of residential treatment. In a fairly recent article by Martinson, it is suggested that no study to date has shown reliably that a particular form of residential intervention has reduced failure rates in those subjected to it. Thus, we are tending to conclude that residential treatment does not work. The two publications under review are important because they produce evidence which must question such a conclusion.

Spencer Millham, Roger Bullock and Paul Cherrett have made a comparative study of 18 Approved Schools. They conducted their research between 1969 and 1972 at the time when the Approved School system was in transition. The aim of their study was to describe that system in transition and to estimate its effectiveness. At the beginning of their book, they say: "We look at the schools as complex organisations, set up with identifiable aims, in which members are allocated various tasks and their performance controlled. Initially, we described the different regimes that the Approved Schoals adopt, and chart the response of both boys and

staff to such life styles. This helps us to establish the nature, strength and weakness of particular approaches to residential care".

Their book is an important and thorough study of residential treatment. It has collected extensive data about the schools, the boys and their families, and after-care. It describes the styles of the various regimes and the reactions of the boys to them. In its observations of what goes on in the schools, it often gives sharp insight into the nature of residential experience and its impact. In fact, the book is impressive for its detailed and sensitive analysis of the Approved School system. Two points stand out. First, that different schools have a different impact on success rates. Secondly, that the components of the various regimes which cause this impact can be identified. Thus it is possible, by design, to improve success rates, although the authors stress that this improvement will not be big—no better than 10 to 15 per cent. So residential treatment is relatively ineffective. Even the most successful school in their group had more than one third of its boys back in a residential setting within two years of their release. Given that residential treatment is expensive, they suggest that there is an urgent need to look for alternatives for as many boys as possible.

Anne Dunlop expresses less reservation in her study of eight intermediate Approved Schools. Her research took place between 1962 and 1969. Its main aim was to describe the characteristics of the schools in order that differences could be identified between schools and related to success. Through interviewing, Anne Dunlop collected data concerning the characteristics of the institutions and analysed them rigorously. A striking result was that those schools which concentrated on work training had the higher success rates. In fact, the author shows a 34 per cent difference in success rates between the most successful and the least successful schools in her sample. Her interpretation suggests that it was not the work training itself which led to the greater success but that the work training regime or environment influenced the boys not only to appreciate this aspect of training but to behave in a particular way and be less susceptible to re-conviction. "Admirable though training for work is for many boys, the thesis has been that training through work is the most effective training". Anne Dunlop feels that the move away from a trade training approach to one which emphasises the importance of relationships may have lost much that was valuable. However, the most successful school in this second study had a success rate of only 54 per cent. Thus, for many boys, such an approach can be no answer.

In his excellent foreword to *After Grace—Teeth*, Richard Balbernie says that alternatives to residential treatment must be created. With Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, he suggests that the people who are in most need are the least helped by the present residential provision. He feels that the most vulnerable group—the disturbed, persistent young offenders—are the ones who need the most aid and they will only be helped by developing a very good understanding of their needs and sophisticated forms of differential treatment. Residential treatment is expensive and if it is to be effective requires huge commitment from those who work at it. It must be used carefully, but perhaps its use need not be based on pure faith, after all.

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JAILS & JUSTICE
Paul Cromwell

C. C. THOMAS 1975.
Hardback $14.95. Paperback $10.50.

IN *Jails and Justice*, Professor Cromwell presents us with a range of contributions from American criminological, administrative, legal and official sources. These, after first drawing attention to the unsatisfactory nature of their local prisons, move on in a purposeful and confident manner to examine the essential ingredients in the effective management of penal establishments, to suggest a series of possible alternatives to conventional imprisonment and, finally, to explain the growing involvement of the judiciary in the setting of appropriate standards.

It is important for the reader to appreciate that reference is not being made to the federal and state penal institutions, but to the highly diverse 3,500 local jails run by municipal and county authorities which house the daunting figure of 178,000 inmates. As in our own local prison system, they suffer from outdated buildings and overcrowding, but we can perhaps take some comfort from the thought that, unlike them, we are fortunately subject to a unified administrative system and are free from local political bickering about power and financing. However, lest we become too self-satisfied, a later chapter on the detention of remands makes us only too uncomfortably aware that in some instances our situation is not too dissimilar from theirs.

It is, however, in the second section of the book, where extracts from official publications set ideal standards for prisoner management and custody, security and discipline are analysed, that the greates value is likely to be found. In all three chapters, the material is presented in a plain, easily assimilated style, which could prove most useful for staff training purposes. The section on discipline deserves particularly close attention. An excellent paragraph on preventive discipline, for example, includes the following admonition:

"In most situations, good control may be maintained by the principle of certainty—that is certainty that misbehaviour will not go unnoticed but that appropriate steps will be taken to correct it. This is an application of the concept that it is the certainty rather than the severity of correction that affords the greatest deterrent".

This is foiled by similar advice on the importance of good communication with inmates and, later, the idea of a discipline committee replacing governor's adjudications is usefully explored. Our recent innovations in restoring lost remission and the use of the suspended award are also set in a most helpful context. The chapter concludes on a realistic note, emphasising how one incident of the use of undue force can demoralise an entire system and destroy an institution's good record of constructive effort, and equally how a general laxity of discipline can achieve the same result.

In the third section, the factors associated with the growing pressure to divert offenders away from the traditional criminal justice system are introduced and the difficulties involved in implementing such a policy are also considered. This is followed by two thought-provoking articles on what might appear to be a more acceptable compromise solution—that of "doing time" in the community. Selected prisoners would retain their jobs in the local community and at the same time fulfil the obligation of a jail sentence in their non-working hours. It is interesting to reflect that, whilst this is far from a new idea, it might now have a fresh relevance and prove attractive to our legislators as it would prevent men from losing jobs which might not easily be regained at a time of growing unemployment and would certainly prove less expensive than traditional imprisonment. It might also use more appropriately some of our existing hostel accommodation than under the now somewhat jaded Pre-Release Employment Scheme.

The section ends with a competent analysis of why prisoners riot and, in this respect, catering staffs of prisons will no doubt be encouraged by the author's observation that an institutional programme can make a lot of mistakes as long as it has a good kitchen that provides plenty of food. Perhaps even more telling is his comment that riots occur in prisons where there is a tenuous balance between controlling behaviour and changing behaviour. He contends that, where there is a full commitment to either, riots do not occur.

The fourth section concludes the book with an explanation of the evolution in America of judicial involvement in penal administration and of the rights of offenders. This should certainly be read by all British penal administrators for at a time of growing anxiety about increasing facilities which have recently been granted to inmates, it puts the subject nicely in perspective and indicates clearly that a well administered and professionally competent prison service need have little to fear from the courts.

As to a general impression, the theme of this anthology comes over as one of conflict and contrast; of startling differences in standards between local jails and state or federal penitentiaries; of diversity of view and practice amongst correctional, custodial and academic personnel; of inmate participation, adjustment committees and progressive education programmes on the one hand and, on the other, a most casual acceptance of the use of fire arms in the prevention of escapes, mass disturbances and damage to property. It is a well-worn truth that prisons reflect the society they serve and these commentaries reveal much of the powerful dichotomies in American society today. Clearly, we point in the same direction, but we are smaller and still have a chance to keep it together. This book may help to convince us that an integrated prison service, like an integrated society, is worthy of our constant endeavours.

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BLACKMAIL
MIKE HEPWORTH

Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1975.
Hardback £3.95. Paperback £1.95

BLACKMAIL was described by a criminologist in the 1920's as "the foulest of crimes—far crueller than most murders because of its cold-blooded premeditation and repeated torture of the victim". 136 people were convicted of blackmail in 1974 and the author of this book, a sociology lecturer at Aberdeen University, discusses the crime and its characters with reference to newspaper reports of criminal cases in the last 100 years. The book is monograph length—a 100 pages—quite readable, and has the merit of providing concise information on a subject usually dealt with in a fragmentary way in large text-books of criminology. Hepworth's reports of his conversations with the police reveal that there is probably a large amount of hidden blackmail, often among very ordinary people, but that victims are so reluctant to

appear in court that it is difficult to obtain enough facts for a successful prosecution.

Hepworth reveals that the term "blackmail" was first mentioned in literature in one of Walter Scott's novels where it refers to protection-money paid to tribal chiefs in the Scottish Borders. Since then, we have come to think of it less as a physical confrontation and more as a threat to reveal facts that would damage a reputation. It might be thought that society was permissive and tolerant enough today to remove fear of blackmail for deviant behaviour. Homosexuals do not suffer as they did, adultery is often seen as necessary for marital stability, and nobody need feel like Tess of the D'Urbervilles who agonised for several hundred pages with the shameful secret that she has been impregnated in her youth by a randy aristocrat.

But reputations can still be ruined: bishops and politicians are destroyed because of personal indiscretions. Clergymen, doctors and lawyers are especially vulnerable because of the high personal and professional standards expected of them—but many others feel themselves to be vulnerable. Hepworth points out that this feeling is in fact more important than the truth or falsehood of the blackmailer's allegations.

The stereotype of the blackmailer tends to be of either the seedy character or of the well-connected gentleman rogue. It suggests that demands are made of several victims simultaneously and that they gradually escalate until the victim faces psychological or financial collapse. Blackmail is seen as an urban phenomenon stemming from opportunities for elicit pleasures and that victims are always rich, respectable but ultimately helpless. Happily, perhaps, this picture of vampirism is rarely true, although it may be small comfort to know that typical blackmailers are no more different sociologically from ourselves than typical offenders. Some of my best friends . . . ?

Hepworth suggests that the stereotypes of the wicked blackmailer are inaccurate. Most blackmailers are not professional schemers and do not see themselves as criminals. He identifies four main types: (1) the entrepreneur, who does run blackmail as a business (e.g. the "badger-game" in which a bogus husband demands money from a man found in contrived intimacy with his "wife"); (2) the opportunist, who tries to use information he has stumbled over (e.g. a labourer standing on a ladder who had an accidental view of a lascivious vicar in the next building); (3) the researcher, who sets out to find and accumulate embarrassing information; and (4) the participant, who takes advantage of a relationship, often a fleeting sexual one, to demand money for silence.

There are some aspects of blackmail that it would have been interesting to read about but information on these, like blackmail involving prison officers and the police, is very difficult to acquire. The author has had to tread warily in discussing recent cases and, although most of the examples are a bit ancient, it is an interesting survey and a useful contrast between fact and fiction.

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THE POLITICS OF RIGHTS

S. A. Scheingold

Yale University Press, 1975. £1.50

This book is directed at those who are interested in promoting social and political change, and examines the role of litigation in producing change. Briefly, the thesis is this: there exists a modern legal myth—the "myth of rights"—which inaccurately and misleadingly directs attempts at change through the courts, but once the myth is recognised for what it is, lawyers can capitalise upon it and thereby play a more effective, albeit limited role in promoting change.

What, then, is the "myth of rights"? It is the belief that there exist timeless and absolute individual rights enshrined in the American constitution, and that the way to improve society is through the realisation of these rights by the action of the courts. As stated, of course, this applies most forcefully to the United States, with its written constitution and Supreme Court. However, there would seem to be a variant of the "myth of rights" which exists in our own society. Interestingly enough, as I was reading this book there were two instances of political-type groups using the courts to further their cause: the freeing of cars held on the cross channel ferry during a labour dispute; and the support given to those who had beaten the budget by buying overlapping TV licences. These were not, of course, comparable to the judgments of the Supreme Court on desegregation of schools, but they were minor triumphs nonetheless.

Yet this belief is, according to Scheingold, a myth. He argues that the reality is not as simple as this belief would suggest. Even in the field of civil rights, where court action has been apparently so effective, litigation has in fact proved hesitant and costly. In other fields, like pollution control, the nature of the legal process may be wholly inappropriate to producing the kinds of results desired.

However, if the "myth of rights" is false, it may still be useful since it is widely believed. The role of litigation is more limited and more political than suggested by the "myth of rights", for it is concerned to mobilise support. If a court pronounces that certain actions or conditions are a violation of the rights of the individual, this will not by itself guarantee the elimination of the harm. If skilfully used, however, the establishment of such a right can engender a sense of outrage at its continued violation and so generate a political protest movement. This, Scheingold argues, is what happened with civil rights in America: the 1954 Supreme Court judgment did not produce racial equality, but it did spark the civil rights movement which, through its influence upon the executive, began to remedy some of the deprivations suffered by blacks

Now this thesis is both interesting and stimulating, but Scheingold succeeds in making it rather tedious. First, the book is too long even at 219 pages; a more economical presentation may have been far more powerful. Secondly, the elaboration of the argument is both complex and peripheral. The reader is led through a series of excursions into the nature of legal reasoning, and the recruitment and training of the legal profession, which does not appear to bear directly on the main thrust of the argument. On the other hand, crucial issues about the connection between litigation and political mobilization are glossed over or not raised at all. This is particularly apparent in the final section where one is expecting a clear programme of action to be proposed, only to find a mystifying discussion of the recruitment of activist lawyers. One suspects that Scheingold is uncertain as to whether he is writing an analytical description of the relationship between litigation and public policy or is writing a tract designed to rouse the legal profession to action.

What is most puzzling is the author's motive in writing this book. His conclusion is that the "myth of rights" should be used as a weapon in the armoury of political protest movements, but surely its effectiveness is dependent upon the myth retaining its credibility. Scheingold has attempted and largely succeeded in questioning this credibility and thus helped to dispel the myth. Thus, the venture must be counter-productive, since the wider its audience the less credible the myth becomes and the less effectively can it be exploited.

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Mc VICAR BY HIMSELF

Edited by Goronwy Rees

Hutchinson, 1974. £2.75

It is some time since this book about John McVicar was originally published. It is said to be written by McVicar himself but I must admit to feeling that the editor has made more than "alterations to spellings, corrected minor faults and clarified obscurities of language and style". The end-product is certainly well written and easy to read.

Part one describes McVicar's experiences of prison life and gives a detailed account of his escape from the maximum security wing at Durham. The editor, in his introduction, says it was written hurriedly during a period of two weeks when McVicar was on the run. It was intended to be serialised in newspapers to provide money for his wife and child should he be recaptured.

It is difficult to believe some of the details given about prison routine, but this part of the book does give a good account of a prisoner's views on the personality clashes, over-reactions and the "ganging up" that occur. The escape story is well written, exciting and shows clearly the relationships and tensions that exist between long-term prisoners living together in difficult circumstances.

Part two, written in a different style, was to help his Q.C. to prepare McVicar's defence. In this section, he looks at his life from an early age, analysing the reasons for his criminality. I find this explanation for his way of life inadequate—almost as inadequate as his alternative to prison being "some kind of thought reform". Two periods stand out in this history as times when McVicar seemed to me to be leading a "good and useful life". On one occasion, he came from prison and took over his father's business, making a great success of this. The other was the happy relationship with his common law wife and son.

The word "machismo" is used to such an extent in the book that the editor tries to explain it in his introduction. It is a word of Spanish origin and he states that it means a virile force of self-assertion. McVicar uses the word to explain the excessive drive which he had throughout his life that made him want to appear better than others and which led to his criminal career. It will be for each reader to judge whether the book indicates a change in McVicar's personality and attitudes. Whatever the answer, the book is well worth reading.

Bill Brookes
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Gloucester Prison

IMPRISONED TONGUES

Robert Roberts

Manchester University Press, 1975
(2nd Edition). £1.20

First published in 1968, *Imprisoned Tongues* has been reissued in this paperback edition to coincide with the start of the B.B.C. Adult

Literacy Project which was one of the last ventures Robert Roberts was involved in before his untimely death in September, 1974. The author, a teacher for many years at Manchester prison, draws on his experiences of tutoring remedial day classes for adult prisoners in the period before it became fashionable to make serious provision for the needs of the adult illiterate in the community. It is worth recalling that, in 1964, the then Ministry of Education reported to U.N.E.S.C.O. that, in this country, "while there is very little real illiteracy some instances are occasionally found in prisons and borstals and in the armed services, as well as amongst immigrants; cases of semi-literacy are rather more common." Current surveys suggest that there are more than two million adult illiterates in Britain and that, as recently as 1973, the Prison Department provided the majority of adult literacy induction programmes.This book, therefore, may be regarded as a unique contribution to the practical literature on the subject.

Imprisoned Tongues is freely peppered with anecdotes and all prison workers will be able to recall many similar situations and characters to those described, and all will be familiar with the problem of trying to raise the level and tone of discussion without inhibiting conversation altogether.

Consideration is given to the difficulty that illiterates lack self-esteem and to the efforts they often make to hide their disability, using such ploys as having newspapers sent in, regularly visiting the library and pretending to have poor eyesight. For adult prisoners, attendance on class is voluntary activity and the author describes the initial, personal approach which helps a prisoner to overcome his misgivings and to accept the opportunity to tackle his inability to read. The importance of the relationship between tutor and student is stressed which, when coupled with an individual programme of work and attendance on class for a short period each day, provides the best learning situation. Most students on remedial classes are underachievers rather than subnormal and once the breakthrough to literacy comes they can make very rapid progress; for others it is a hard slog and the tutor is exercised in setting numerous pieces of work which encourage a sense of success.

Nowadays, more sophisticated commercial books, kits, packages and electronic hardware are available to remedial teachers and it is refreshing to read how Mr. Roberts was able to achieve success with the more traditional tools of blackboard, chalk, primers and his own personally prepared material.

Some establishments already recommend *Imprisoned Tongues* as standard reading for teachers new to the prison situation and many other colleagues will find this an interesting book on a topic of current interest.

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THE LAWBREAKERS

Edited by ALLISON MORRIS
B.B.C. Publications, 1974. 85p

THIS booklet—with an appropriate finger-print impression on its cover—is a follow-up to a series of radio broadcasts which was completed in January, 1975. It contains seven articles on lawbreaking and the problems of treating offenders.

"The Patterns of Lawbreaking" by Allison Morris is a tightly written article which never strays from the path and is full of well-placed statistics. It shows very clearly the fluctuation of certain crimes over time and the alarming rise in the number of violence and sex offences at present. It also makes strong points about the high level of unrecorded crime and the lowering of social values. In a study of businesses in Reading, for example, it was found that firms now draw a line between "reasonable pilfering" and "theft".

A lot of thought is needed for the essay on "Explanations of Juvenile Delinquency" by Dr. David Farrington. There are many quotes from theorists such as Matza, Cohen, Hargreaves and Merton on delinquent subcultures, techniques of neutralisation, extraversion and neuroticism. Farrington, however, admits that both in practice and in principle it is impossible to select one explanation as the most satisfactory in the light of empirical evidence.

The treatment of persistent offenders has always posed a big headache for the judiciary. "The Persistent Offender" by Dr. Martin Davies not only shows the problems which need solving but also highlights the many paths that are being explored in the search for correctional treatment. It illustrates the heavy load now placed upon the Probation Service and makes one wonder how much more it can do. One thing that seems essential in avoiding persistent offending is to "improve the quality of home life and the stability of families, and to provide children and young people with schooling, leisure activities and work that will give them satisfaction and a sense of personal value".

To attempt an explanation of violence is a complicated process and Paul Wiles, in his article, sets down many theories. His essay swings from terrorism to the treatment of everyday violence by the mass media and the exploitation of affluent youth. The reader may find it hard to agree with many of the theories: if only someone, somewhere, could supply a clear-cut method of how to deal with violence instead of theorising its causes! If violence continues to escalate and no effective answer *is* found we shall be left only with retribution.

Dr. Ann Smith contributes an essay on "Women as Lawbreakers". It seems that the average member of the public rarely differentiates between male and female criminals but that women offenders encounter serious problems and, both emotionally and physically, are treated with less humanity than men.

In writing about "Mental Disorder and Lawbreaking", Professor Nigel Walker covers a wide spectrum and shows clearly the misuse of terms such as "mental abnormality" and "psychopathy". He describes in detail the different factors which control behaviour and points out how the courts, in sentencing lawbreakers, are swayed by assurances of medical treatment. The dilemma of hospitals in deciding at what point offenders can be released is also described.

A very clear, potted history of imprisonment starts an absorbing essay by David Thomas. "The Treatment of Offenders" shows the reasoning behind the setting up of the Probation Service and attacks the recently proposed non-custodial order for young adult offenders as being inconsistent with the role of the probation officer. A very clear argument is put forward that the assumptions of "rehabilitation" require careful re-examination and that the gap between legislative ideal and penal reality is frequently a wide one. These arguments from rehabilitationists and radical criminologists make one wonder if penal treatment *as treatment* will ever be possible. The whole essay is full of questions and makes one think deeply.

What is evident from several of the articles is that intuitive judgment is still the best available basis for dealing with offenders and what is essential, both at home and at school, is that a new sense of values should be instilled—perhaps a case of "spare the rod and create a problem"? All in all, it is a very readable collection of essays which should be of special interest to all those involved with offenders. In particular, it may be a useful addition to a training officer's library and helpful to those preparing for the promotion examination.

ALAN FARR, D.F.M.
Training Principal Officer
Gloucester Prison

CHILDREN, COURTS & CARING

DONALD FORD
Constable, 1975.
Hardback £5.50, Paperback £2.50

THE purpose of the Children and Young Persons' Act of 1969 was to divert youngsters in trouble from the courts and the penal system whenever possible. Where such diversion was impossible or inappropriate, it was hoped that cases would be dealt with by civil care proceedings rather than by criminal prosecutions. Most of the responsibility for determining the proper treatment was to be transferred from the courts to the social services. Amongst the provisions of the Act, to be introduced in stages, were the raising of the age of criminal responsibility to 14; the replacement of attendance centres and detention centres by programmes of intermediate treatment; and the raising of the minimum age for borstal training to 17. Wherever possible, children and young people in trouble were to be helped within the community. Those who needed a period of residential care would be placed in community homes, the new name for what had hitherto been childrens' homes, remand homes and approved schools.

Framed in the mid-sixties, which one now begins to regard as a radical period, this humane and liberal Act has been dogged by misfortune. Introduced amidst fierce controversy it is currently widely condemned as a failure before it has been fully implemented in letter or in spirit. The age of criminal responsibility has not been raised; care proceedings instead of criminal prosecution has been sparingly and decreasingly used; little real development of intermediate treatment programmes has taken place, attendance centres are still with us and the use of detention centres has increased by almost 70 per cent; the minimum age for borstal training remains 15 and the number of recommendations of borstal by magistrates has doubled.

In January, 1971, Local Authorities assumed responsibility under the Act for services related to delinquency; four months later, Local Authority social services were completely reorganised. The Childrens' Departments, which would have borne the major responsibility for implementing the Act, were merged into the new, generic Social Services Departments. This upheaval was followed three years later by the local government reorganisation of 1974.

Ironically, the early and formative years of this Act have been marked by disruptions and separations; its development has been impaired and it now stands ill-equipped to face the environment of hostility and economic deprivation in which it is expected to grow up.

Donald Ford, in this very readable, slim volume, chronicles the history of legislation for children at risk and the background to the 1969 Act. The main provisions of the Act and the principles of its implementation are briefly and clearly explained and illustrated. The resources available and the agencies involved are examine in some detail. Two chapters, one on damaged

children and one on immigrant children, consider the problems and the needs of categories of young people particularly at risk.

The author does not claim to have produced a work of scholarship. Although the main theme is never lost, he has, to some extent, used the story of the 1969 Children and Young Persons' Act as a thread around which to crystallise knowledge and wisdom acquired in a quarter of a century in, or very near to the front line of, work with deprived and difficult children or young people. For many readers (social workers, policemen, magistrates, lawyers and prison staff) his is a valid and reliable expertise. The book is comprehensive, insightful, sometimes very shrewd and always compassionate. It serves not only to inform, but also as a timely and persuasive reminder that, for those dealing with children in trouble, Parliament has willed the ends but not the means: responsibilities have been allocated but not the resources needed to carry them out.

DEREK SHAW,
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Prison Service College,
Wakefield.

VARIETIES OF RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE

Edited by J. TIZARD, I. SINCLAIR and R. CLARKE
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. £6.50

Varieties of Residential Experience would seem from its title to be the kind of book any hard-working penologist ought to read. Unfortunately, it is not as relevant as it sounds since the residential establishments covered by the book are all designed for children. Since there is no consideration of prisons or borstals, which interest me personally, I did feel a little cheated.

The book is a collection of studies from the child-care field, linked by their methodologies. All the studies have adopted a comparative approach and the editors argue, in their introduction, that it is through studies of this kind that improvement in the quality of child-care will be made. They discuss the concept of the "steampress model" which they argue has been prevalent in much early institutional research. Studies have been based on a particular institution and the findings have been generalised to all institutions in that class, despite differences in size, staff, organisation and theoretical orientation. The editors criticise this model and argue that, by adopting a comparative approach—comparing, say, three or more institutions, it is possible to disentangle the effects of the differences and draw broad conclusions about the influence of the various factors.

They argue that the papers in the book provide evidence in favour of the comparative approach to institutional research. These papers describe studies of approved schools, residential nurseries, probation hostels, other "correctional" institutions, and units for autistic children. Although essentially research papers, they are all quite readable and are not overburdened by figures and tables.

The message of the book is that institutions *per se* are not necessarily a bad thing, although the effect of the institutional experience can vary considerably depending upon the staff, organisational structure and orientation. I found Barbara Tizard's chapter most interesting in this respect. In a study of three residential nurseries, she observed the effect of staff autonomy on the intellectual development of the children. Interestingly, she found that the more autonomy given to staff, the more complex were their interactions with the children and the higher these children scored on standard tests of intellectual development. She concluded that "intellectually they had, in fact, benefited from their institutional upbringing". For those of us working in institutions, results like this provide a refreshing change from the pessimistic Goffman-type descriptions with which we are all too familiar. Despite a slightly misleading title, the book is likely to be of interest to anyone working in institutions and is highly relevant to those working with children. I liked it.

GLORIA LAYCOCK
Senior Psychologist,
Wormwood Scrubs Prison

PROBATION JOURNAL

Volume 22, Number 4
National Association of
Probation Officers, 1975. 25p

LAST December's edition of *Probation Journal* is interesting for a number of reasons. One is an article by Michael Othen, a probation officer, who claims that prison welfare staff are ineffective: they rarely provide social casework because they have to deal with the tide of inmates' immediate problems. Rather than withdraw them, however, he suggests they should act as consultants to the other prison staff who would then have to do the "anxiety reducing" work themselves. Welfare officers are needed "out there", helping with the immense task of through-care, though some should remain to act as links between the two services.

Also included in this issue is a study of Aylesbury young prisoners. Investigating their backgrounds, assistant governor Bob Waghorn and probation officer John Hedge found a surprising amount of social deprivation among the inmates. As many as two-thirds of first-time prisoners and *all* those with a previous custodial sentence had experienced a one parent family, a large family, low income or poor housing. There are other articles—including one about a month's attachment to Grendon—and letters. Two correspondents sound off angrily about the Home Office Resaerch Unit report *Social Work in Prison* which was reviewed here in last October's edition. Like our reviewer, they contend that the report is a little shaky and resent the fact that many colleagues are taking it to be "gospel", finding in it reassurance about the operation of social work in prison.

R. E.

HAS PSYCHIATRY FAILED IN THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS?

PETER D. SCOTT
Institute for the
Study and Treatment of Delinquency, 1975.
26p

IN the opening remarks of his talk (the fifth Denis Carroll memorial lecture, given in April, 1975), Dr. Scott must have created discussion amongst some psychiatrists when he suggested that treatment is a question of teamwork and not of any one individual's efforts. He went on to trace the growth of forensic psychiatry from its infancy to its present day potential. The facts recounted are both informative and interesting, particularly to those involved in psychiatric nursing.

Dr. Scott then turned to the question of psychiatry in relation to the treatment of offenders: he asked, "How has it failed?" because "without doubt it has failed to effect any real prevention". Many points were put forward. "Perhaps we lack the necessary insights and therefore do not transmit the proper message . . . Is the task so overwhelming that no one knows how to get started? . . . Is there something wrong with the way the message is transmitted? . . . Have we failed to secure the backing of a well informed public? . . . Do we fail to join forces with others in the field?". Nor are the politicians left out, for "they certainly will be in the foreground if anything effective is to be achieved". Such comments required courage and conviction, and Peter Scott showed both. But he did not stop there.

He added fuel to the fire when he talked of the "dangerous offender" and the "not nice offender". Psychiatric institutions are too selective. Through a description of the nature of custodial institutions and the history of the Bethlem Hospital, Dr. Scott showed that patients who are aggressive tend nowadays to be sifted out and turned away because it is so much easier to care for nice patients. I personally contend that this is relevant to both prison and N.H.S. psychiatric units.

The closing comments of Dr. Scott are most relevant. "We must understand the nature of institutions better and, by acknowledging their constitutional weaknesses, be prepared to forestall them. Especially we must learn the gentle art of controlling without punishing, and at the same time helping without being afraid of unpopularity and without needing immediate gratification."

I found this to be a stimulating and forthright approach to a most difficult question and would commend all those dealing with the abnormal offender to make a point of obtaining a copy.

E. TURNER
Hospital Chief Officer I, Brixton Prison

A NATION WITHOUT PRISONS

Edited by CALVERT R. DODGE
Lexington Books, 1975

THE title raises hopes that, in penological terms, Mr. Calvert R. Dodge is our saviour—the first penal Messiah. Have we at last found a man who can think in terms of dealing with prisoners in a way that will rid the United States of a place such as Trenton State Prison and rid England of such antiquated prisons as Brixton, Pentonville and Dartmoor? I am well aware that, as nations, both England and the United States are great collectors of antiques: but prisons?

Unfortunately, Calvert R. Dodge is not the saviour, merely a man with a dream. He is a project director for the Kentucky Manpower Development Corporation and a sociologist of some experience and standing, from whom one might have expected something a little more convincing.

There are a number of reasons why one might write a book of this kind. Dodge, I felt, was uncertain as to the purpose behind this book, although the introduction does state that the book contains a substantial amount of evidence about alternatives. Indeed it does, but it is edited in such a way that the book is confusing and leaves the reader (in my case, one committed to seeking alternatives to imprisonment) no more able to sort out this very difficult and frustrating subject than he was prior to reading the book. I wondered at whom it is aimed. The arguments, particularly for non-imprisonment, would already be known to penal reformers and are too simply quoted and lacking in depth. If, however, the book is designed for the layman with an interest in penal affairs, then I think that chapters like the one entitled "Towards a New Criminology"

are too involved and perhaps not directly relevant to a book of this kind.

The articles on alternatives include pieces on parole in New York, the use of volunteers, hostels, and community resources. They tend, with the exception of the Massachusetts experiment (in which, according to Andrew Rutherford's article, the young offender establishments were closed down), to be seeking evolution and this creates the problem of building on what is already there, rather than completely rethinking a new philosophy.

The final chapter certainly gives those interested in reform plenty to think about. There are some good ideas and, in quoting Mueller's ten-point plan in his final chapter, the need for a platform for debate is easily satisfied. "The time is here for planning a nation without prisons" is an honourable statement but is only pushed in the final chapter and makes a mockery of the chapter on parole which, by definition, can only work if imprisonment exists. For me, the whole book should have been written along the lines of the final chapter and this would have been a book worth reading and following up.

MICHAEL WHITLAM,
Director of the Hammersmith Teenage Project

POLICE CORRUPTION—A Symposium

Reprinted from *The Police Journal*. March 1975. Barry Rose. 60p.

THIS American symposium claims to be an examination of police corruption from the viewpoints of psychology, police science, public administration and management theory. The slim booklet contains five papers with high-sounding titles (e.g. "The impact of bureaucratic dysfunctions on attempts to prevent police corruption") written by people with similarly high-sounding titles and impressive qualifications. Unfortunately, the content rarely rises above the pedestrian. The first paper comments on the British police at a rather anecdotal level: "English judges I have personally known have expressed a high regard for the police". On the basis of such evidence, the author forms a generally favourable view of our situation. This admiration becomes less remarkable after reading the other papers which describe American police graft and corruption as widespread. The papers lack depth and offer little by way of solutions except for a plea in the vaguest of terms for good leadership. Without a deeper analysis of both problems and solutions, it is difficult to understand how effective action can be taken in what appears to be very difficult circumstances.

PHILLIP WHEATLEY
Assistant Governor
Prison Service College, Wakefield

THE DEVIANT IMAGINATION

GEOFFREY PEARSON

Macmillan Press, 1975.
Hardback £7.95, Paperback £2.95

THE central theme of Geoffrey Pearson's book is the need to take the study of deviance from the abstract world of academic "-ologies" and distanced professional social work to the sphere of "moral and political discourse". Here, he says, "deviance will be recognised fully as part of the man-made world in which men live".

The author traces the links between the radicalism of the 1960's, as expressed in the "way-out" philosophies of that period, and the emergence of Laingian "anti-psychiatry" and "misfit sociology" in deviance studies. Prison staff who have more recently rejected the medical model in prison "treatment" will be interested in the chapter entitled "Medicine Defrocked" in which Pearson says of the medical approach, "technical know-how is used to secure a psuedo solution to the problem (of deviance) by sidestepping it; rather than confront the moral and political issues, it dissolves them in a neutral, objective language which has the deceptive appearance of being outside the moral debate".

If anti-psychiatry strips away the camouflage of pseudo-medical terminology, the "misfit paradigm" is the hidden weapon. The misfit paradigm is saying: if society makes rules, then by implication, it creates rule-breakers. By labelling these as deviant, we create prejudice which in turn generates more deviance. Misfit sociology, says the author, "turns away from the individual misfit's assumed pathology, towards the social construction of deviance". There are certainly social causes of crime but it is open to question whether by making laws we make criminals. It is the label we make, not the crime; that is already there, and the only way of not labelling it is to ignore it completely.

The author acknowledges this paradox and turns to a discussion of deviant literature as an alternative approach. He proposes that it should be read as "a movement of imaginative discourse" because "the deviant imagination sets itself up as a critic of society" and does so by attacking the euphemisms and clichés of conventional views. Traditional imaginative literature has always had to struggle against such evasion but, unlike most deviant literature, never sought to impose a viewpoint, offering an ideal but never an ideology. Geoffrey Pearson points to the disadvantages of "the sheer depth of subjectivity" in deviant writings such as those of Leary and Rubin, but he appears to court it as the misfit writers themselves courted the later ravings of William Blake. But modern literary criticism would ask for a more rigorous and less one-sided view of life.

The move towards subjectivity is carried through in the author's discussion of professional welfare work. He describes its historical basis as one which served to reinforce the social structure of the late industrial revolution and points to its resort to a kind of utopia, unconnected with the horrors of real life. Here, literary critics would agree with him since nineteenth century social writings and literature are shot through with evasion. But would we now put modern deviant literature in the same class as Dickens, that arch-satirist of Victorian social injustice? Do we see the same contemporary popularity for its writings? I think not.

Geoffrey Pearson rightly advocates the separation of professional welfare work from the evasive abstractions of the twentieth century which resulted in the "petrification" of the client. In dealing with human problems, he points out, we cannot avoid the political and moral issues although, it seems to me, that too will only lead to abstraction. After all, political and moral discussion is also an abstraction of the real world.

Throughout this book, the author searches with great scholarship for a way to give voice to the misfits. However, his analysis of the deviant imagination, which leads him to propose a "political and moral discourse", is not the whole answer. It is an alternative approach which has its own limitations and which, in itself, may also be a kind of evasion.

JOHN SHERGOLD
Assistant Governor, Leyhill Prison

PRISON REFORM IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE 1776—1820

J. R. S. WHITING

Phillimore, 1975. £8.75

MUCH of the history of prisons remains to be written. The Webbs' *English Prisons under Local Government* (1922) remains the most authoritative account of the period leading up to nationalisation in 1877 while Grunhut's *Penal Reform* (1948) did much to link that history with penological theory and international development. Both of these major works are not only incomplete, and sometimes inaccurate, but they are based largely upon centrally available data—legislation, parliamentary and public record office papers and the writings of penal theorists, reformers and administrators. We still know relatively little about the day-to-day management of prisons, how their emergence related to other areas of social policy, or how the form that they took depended upon local initiatives and conditions.

There are signs that this historical imbalance is about to be righted. Whiting's detailed study of county prisons in Gloucestershire follows close on the heels of Southerton's account of Reading prison (which will be reviewed in the next issue of the *Prison Service Journal*). Both books are disappointing in that they largely ignore the existing literature. But, whereas Southerton's study ignores that literature, and adds precious little to it, Whiting's is a real contribution to penal history.

Gloucestershire at the close of the 18th century has long been recognised as an important county for the history of the prison. Largely under the leadership of Sir George Onesiphorous Paul the county magistrates were among the first to build a series of model prisons embodying John Howard's principles. Further, the rules and regimes developed in Gloucestershire were not only to be copied by other counties but also to be recommended by parliament: Whiting describes these institutions and their daily routine in detail and voluminous appendices provide further material which will be of value to future local historians. The detail is often fascinating. It seems likely that Gloucestershire was the first county to institute some form of training for prison staff in that bridewell turnkeys underwent an induction period at Gloucester county gaol before taking up their posts.

There is much useful material concerning employment in prisons; the development of a prisoner culture resistant to the use of their labour; practices tantamount to torture to combat malingering; the difficulty of finding work; the development of therapeutic and training justifications for work because the economic and competitive use of prisoner labour proved untenable. There is further evidence of the central role occupied by the chaplain at a time when religion occupied a position in penal thinking and administration before it was gradually eroded by the competing claims of medicine, psychiatry and a whole range of treatment and welfare specialisations.

The study, however, is unremittingly descriptive: Dr. Whiting has made no attempt to relate his material to the social and economic life of Gloucestershire nor to the philosophical works which we know to have been in Paul's library or to national penal developments.

If the price of £8.75 is indicative of the slender appeal which this study will enjoy then it seems unfortunate that an effort was not made to relate it to a wider literature and public.

ROD MORGAN,
Lecturer, Bath University

SIGNS OF STRESS

J. W. MCCULLOCH and H. A. PRINS
Macdonald and Evans, 1975. £2.50

THIS book is one of a series on psychiatric topics for community workers. Its aim is to give guidance not only to the professional social worker but also to those whose work brings them into "helping" situations—nurses, teachers, police officers, personnel managers and, I would add, prison officers.

The authors do not concern themselves with psychiatric diagnosis as such but portray the symptoms of approaching breakdown and the circumstances in which such symptoms may appear. Mental illness still bears a stigma and has an aura of superstitious fear long ago lost by most physical diseases. That being so, accurate information and education may go some way to help people lose their fear of those who are mentally ill. This is perhaps the most important reason for the book being written.

Case histories, which illustrate particular aspects of mental illness, are presented. They are followed by discussion and include examples of the various persons and organisations who could become involved (G. P.s, personnel officers, police, etc.) so that the reader may make use of this knowledge should the occasion arise.

One of the most informative chapters is about the legal aspects of psychiatric disorders, which include those involving criminal offences. For example, the question of compulsory and informal admission to mental hospitals and the protection of patients is explored fully. The point is well made that even when compulsory admission is required there is no intention to deprive people of their basic rights.

In general, the book attempts to trace the development of attitudes towards the mentally disordered and to describe the services and legal provisions for their treatment. In my opinion, the authors have succeeded in what they set themselves. They have produced an eminently readable book which is highly informative and which will be helpful to its intended readership. I would recommend it to prison and borstal staff seeking to understand the disturbed behaviour they so often witness among their charges and, indeed, when they receive clear signs of stress from colleagues, it should be of assistance in the referral and communication to specialist staff within the institution.

M. R. ALLEN,
Assistant Governor, Drake Hall Prison

THE USE OF GROUPS IN SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

BERNARD DAVIES

Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
Hardback £4.25, Paperback £1.95

THE Library of Social Work series is designed to "provide short introductory texts on aspects of social work, examine their relevance and stimulate further reading." Groups have long been part of the armoury of the helping professions though, as Davies points out, training in this field is at best cursory, rarely practical and often ignores the basic assumptions behind their usage. This book, however, clarifies and demystifies an area which often appears overwhelmingly complex; it thus contributes to group work what recent task-centred approaches have to traditional casework.

Working from an interactionist perspective, Davies emphasises the relevance of current experience as opposed to past, unconscious, intra-psychic processes. For him, the self is defined not as some total unchangeable entity but as the outcome of the interaction between certain core features, the person's expectations and image of himself, other people's expectations and image of him, and how he believes other people see him. Thus, if human interaction is important in defining and creating the self, it can presumably help redefine and modify.

Davies however, remains modest in his claims for groups. Having listed, albeit briefly, some general advantages to be gained from the use of groups, he looks at tactical goals—short-term objectives which provide the focus through which the more vague and less immediate benefits can be reached, analysing the skills required in carrying out those activities. The worker requires an awareness of group processes not only to intervene effectively, but also to maintain a balance between group and individual needs in order to prevent the group becoming an end in itself.

The analysis of the central processes of groups is lamentably brief, even allowing for the nature of this book. But then the author contends that to use groups is to invest trust in client/client contact and certainly does not provide guidelines for the embryonic group psychotherapist who wants clever interpretations. Indeed, though Davies does not exclude the "set piece" therapy group, his examples are from task-oriented activity groups—those groups often seen as an inferior breed in the literature.

This book's value to the Prison Service? For those habitually working in formally acknowledged groups it may add little to their actual knowledge, though it should stimulate a useful re-evaluation. For the majority of staff who, perhaps, do not see themselves specifically as group workers but who do undoubtedly operate in groups, whether it be the formal counselling group or the wing cleaning party, I believe this book provides a clear and concise introduction to what groups are all about.

CHRISTINE TURNER,
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N.A.P.O. PROBATION DIRECTORY 1976

OWEN WELLS. £1.75

THIS is the second edition of what is intended to be an annual publication. It contains an up-to-date list of probation officers and offices, probation homes and hostels, as well as Prison Service establishments. It is considerably improved and larger (though not a lot more expensive) than the first edition, a review of which appeared in these pages a year ago.

R. E.

MURDER AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES

National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment/Howard League for Penal Reform
1974. 40p

THIS pamphlet describes the recent history of abolition, the current position in England and Wales and some of the main arguments for and against abolition. It also includes suggestions for further reading, some Home Office statistics and a list of other countries showing which have abolished the death penalty.

There is also a more recent supplement explaining why the Howard League and the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment are against bringing back the death penalty for terrorists. Admitting the nastiness of the bombings in Britain, these organisations argue that capital punishment for terrorism would create anomolies and would certainly not deter fanatics—indeed, it might be seen as the road to martyrdom. More than this, those awaiting capital punishment would be a strong focus for other terrorists who might take hostages to demand their release or, later, take reprisals. Finally, re-introducing hanging could encourage terrorists to exploit juveniles who have traditionally been exempt from the death penalty.

R. E.

THE ANGRY BRIGADE

GORDON CARR

Gollancz, 1975.

Hardback £4.20, Paperback £2.73

GORDON CARR is a newspaper and television journalist whose particular style is easy to read if somewhat monotonous. *The Angry Brigade* is descriptive and factual, although it is also rather superficial and rarely analytical. The author shrinks from expressing his personal opinions, limiting himself to quoting other people. This is a pity because the research for the book and for the television film of the same name must have given Carr an insight into, and knowledge of, the problems which are not revealed in this book.

Despite these limitations, the account is worth reading simply because it is the first to deal with urban guerrilla violence in Britain and the first to attempt to explain the motivation behind it. It contains an historical account of the rise of the "situationalist" movement (whose philosophy the author claims inspired the members of the "angry brigade") from its active origins in Strasbourg in 1966, through the troubles of May 1968 in France, to the student unrest in Britain, notably at Essex and at Cambridge. The frustration felt by the situationalists at their inability firstly to provoke the London police into the kind of repressive measures adopted by the CRS in France and, secondly, to gain any meaningful numerical support at Cambridge was the driving force behind the creation of the "angry brigade". The book traces the progress of the organisation from the day when its main concern was the promotion of student unrest to the time when the decision was made that they were "no longer going to accept the confines of legality set by the state"—a decision which formed the basis of their justification for a bombing campaign.

Over half the book concerns details of the police investigation and of the trial which resulted; unless one particularly enjoys reading court transcripts, this is rather tedious. However, the point is made that the activities of the "angry brigade" led to reorganisation of some police investigation procedures and the creation of the Bomb Squad in 1971.

I am critical of this book not because it is bad but because I expected so much more. I expected it to satisfy and found that it merely whetted the appetite. By all means read it and enjoy it, but do not expect the answers to the many questions it raises.

RAY MITCHELL
Assistant Governor
Prison Service College, Wakefield.

A BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO PREVENTING DELINQUENCY

JACK WRIGHT and RALPH JAMES
C. C. Thomas, 1974.

Hardback $8.95, Paperback $5.95

THIS book "argues one thesis with far-reaching implications for the juvenile justice system and society at large; the central thesis is that delinquency is elicited, shaped, and maintained by the same principles of learning that control normal development". It must be remarked immediately, however, that these same principles are by no means as simplistic as one might infer from the author's attempt to apply them to the prevention of delinquency. Indeed, the facts are so distorted that the advice offered to the various agencies concerned with juvenile delinquency is dangerous.

A characteristic example of this distortion is in the summary of these very principles; the central assertion is that "behaviour which is rewarded tends to be repeated, and behaviour which is punished tends to diminish". Would that it was so simple! The first assertion is only partially true and obscures more than it reveals the social applications of the laws of behaviour. The second assertion, that "behaviour which is punished tends to diminish", is simply not true. It is neither predicted by the theory nor is it found in experimental practice: indeed, it is easy to demonstrate ways in which "punishment" can paradoxically *increase* both the frequency and intensity of punished behaviour. Punishment, from the standpoint of the behaviourist, is a complex topic and it is doubly important for writers on delinquency to get at least some of the complexities right.

The quality of the advice offered on the basis of this analysis is both unsound and naive. This is the behaviour that parents are to be "trained" to emit: "Watch for good deeds and give verbal praise immediately. Praise does not cost money but is most effective when correctly used. When Johnny does come in early, mention that you appreciate this. When he helps his little brother with a homework problem, give him specific praise. 'I notice you helped your little brother fix his toy just now. You did a very good thing.' " You cannot apply the principles of behaviourism to social interactions as though only one person is involved. Any attempt to *control*, by the same principles, must lead to attempts to *counter* that control. Delinquency is a form of counter-control: it is, by definition, resistant to the conventional controls of social praise and blame which the authors are recommending as its antidote.

Much of the basic unreality of this book is illustrated in the discussion of the juvenile court. The judge is advised to "reward correct behaviour and withhold all possible attention from bad behaviour": "For example, the court could reward the child's positive verbalisations about himself by specifying such rewards on contingency contracts: 'Each good thing you list about yourself earns one point'. We behave in ways that are consistent with our self-images and reinforcing a positive self-image is always good therapy." Apart from the bizarre (and very anti-behaviourist) assertion of the last sentence, the context of the behaviour is completely ignored. How can the judge "withhold all possible attention from bad behaviour"? How will he reinforce a positive self-image? Indeed, throughout the book, delinquents and would-be delinquents are to be "reinforced" whilst parents, counsellors, judges and the like are to be "advised", "recommended" or simply "persuaded". If the latter are effective ways of changing behaviour, why cannot they be applied directly to the delinquents and cut out all the middle-men?

The reader who is seriously concerned about the possibilities of modern behaviourism and the treatment and prevention of delinquency would be much better advised to refer to an earlier text, *Science and Human Behaviour*, by B. F. Skinner. This present work is both unsound and impractical.

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MANAGING CHANGE

HUGH MARLOW

Institute of Personnel Management, 1975. £4.00
(Key Questions and Working Papers £2.00 extra*)*

THIS is not a book to be taken in hand lightly or wantonly, because one of its messages is that, like marriage, the introduction and management of change demands wholeheartedness and a total commitment to making it work. So what? We live amidst change, like it or not, and we owe it to ourselves, even if not to our paymasters, to make sure that the organisation in which we work is as efficient, adaptable and dynamic as possible.

How does Marlow suggest the oracle is worked? Basically, by thorough preparation and a recognition that at every stage of change there needs to be a match between organisational style and the demands of the way the work is likely to be done. This is achieved by constant monitoring of both style and work methods in a systematic fashion. Before anyone objects that this does not affect the Prison Service, let him ask whether he has never met the officer or governor whose organisational style is appropriate only to a world that no longer exists.

There are two starting-points for change in any organisation: either the world changes outside and, to survive, the organisation must change with it or the organisation itself initiates change to improve its performance in some way. Either of these starting-points require decisions about change and methods of planning change.

Marlow recognises that decisions that involve change are always risky even if techniques may be available to reduce the risk. But such decisions need not be frightening ones. It all depends on whether one understands that "the basic decision to change is a recognition that the alternative is for management to be managed by events rather than for management to manage events" (p. 61).

Necessarily, the book draws heavily on industrial and commercial management case-studies but it is worth the effort of translating these into Prison Service-specific examples. This process is considerably helped by the addition of a set of *Key Questions and Working Papers* which force the reader (if he completes them, that is) to think about the ideas introduced in the main text and to relate them to his own experience. This may be hard work but it is necessary work if one is at all serious about one's responsibilities with respect to organisational change.

The internal structure of the book is unusual but effective. Instead of one indigestible chapter piled on another, the author has chosen to use the "learning by wholes" approach which ensures each section has enough supporting information to make it comprehensible in itself. This approach might prove an irritant to some readers since it could well take them over familiar ground. There is always room for review, however, and one quickly learns the value of this method of presentation. It certainly will enable anyone who does not claim a great deal of academic management knowledge to keep up with the book.

Inevitably, one of the cardinal points of the book is the importance of Management by Objectives in any approach to change. This should not put off those who blanch at the mention of MbO since Marlow strips away the ritualism and quackery which frequently bedevil this technique of management, placing it into a workable framework which should put MbO into a fresh and more acceptable light. Marlow does this not merely by presenting the mechanics of the techniques of MbO but by drawing attention to the factor that is so often ignored: the individual member of a workforce in his capacity as a human being. True to his style, Marlow does not leave this idea as a sentiment but examines the implications of what he terms the "social contract": "The 'social contract' as defined in this book is a recognition by a company that its prosperity and survival is rooted in the recognition of its obligations and responsibilities towards the customer, the work people and the local community in which it lives and breathes and has its being . . . This concern . . . is set within the framework of a wider concern for . . . society at large" (p. 93). In the following section, this recognition is translated into practical policies and procedures which repay close examination.

This is a challenging book, not only because it offers new insights into the management of change but also because the author is clearly saying: As far as can reasonably be determined, *these* are the facts; they give rise to *these* guidelines. Have you the courage to examine systematically your handling of change and to put the ideas presented into action? If you have, they will probably work.

M. R. J. GANDER
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TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

ERIC BERNE

Souvenir Press, 1975.
Hardback £3.50, Paperback £1.75

Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy is an important book for any person wishing to understand and be able to use Transactional Analysis (T.A.) and for all those who would broaden their understanding of human behaviour and personal relationships. It was first published in the United States in 1961, just a few years after Eric Berne had put together the main body of theory that he had developed out of his own clinical experience and work in the army. During the last 10 years and more this theory has been elaborated and extended but Berne's book is still a major and classic text.

In the opening sentence of the first chapter of the book Berne states precisely what T.A. is: "Structural and transactional analysis offer a systematic, consistent theory of personality and social dynamics derived from clinical experience, and an actionistic, rational form of therapy which is suitable for, easily understood by, and naturally adapted to the great majority of psychiatric patients".

I think this also gives a fair representation of what the reader is about to be faced with in terms of style, use of language, and general tone. But Berne is also a very witty writer as is shown by the following example of his dry and wry commentary which comes from the chapter about the "games people play": "Game analysis not only has its rational function, but also

lends interest to the serious proceedings of individual or group psychotherapy. While it should not be corrupted to hedonistic purposes, and must be handled with utmost correctness, the evident pleasure that it gives to many of the participants is a bonus which the conscientious therapist should be grateful for, and is not something to become querulous about".

The book was intended to be a complete coverage of T.A. theory. Although many new ideas have been added and incorporated since, that in no way detracts from the usefulness of this book. All the basic theory is presented logically and clearly, each new concept built upon the previous one, and each idea fitted into the complete structure. There is thorough coverage of the application of T.A. in the therapeutic situation, and the last part of the book outlines advanced T.A. theory. The diagrams are clear and informative and the many, many, anecdotal illustrations, taken from Berne's own experience, are interesting as well as informtive. This helps greatly to off set the frequent use of technical terms, many of which are probably Berne's own inventions.

To what extent is this a book for those working in the Prison Service and in related professions? As I see it, the book was written for professional readers and assumes a level of understanding and commitment that professionalism implies but interested readers will not have much difficulty in translating the examples into their own work situation. For example, in the section on game analysis, it is easy to see how "Wooden Leg" (how could you expect anything better from someone with a terrible home background like mine?) can be played by prisoners and most people will quickly identify the way they get caught in the spiral of "Why Don't You? - Yes, But" with colleagues, bosses and subordinates—not to mention friends and spouses! I have no doubt at all that T.A. is a body of theory that is worthy of use in the Prison Service, both as a way of increasing organisational effectiveness and as a therapy.

Having said that much, is this book a fast and effective way to find out about this new approach? In my opinion it is effective but not so fast. For those who are still surveying the market, in order to excite their own interest or to satisfy curiosity, this is not the book to rush to the library for, much less to rush out and buy. Two books that would meet that kind of need are *I'm OK-You're OK* by Harris and *Born to Win* by James and Jongeward. For the reader who wishes to make a serious exploration of Transactional Analysis, however, this is a book which should be read. No prior knowledge of T.A. is needed, but intelligent effort and a willingness to hold back, temporarily, prejudicial responses, is demanded. Above all, this is a fascinating and provocative book, and a capacity for being excited is required of the reader. Berne has put a great deal of himself into the book insofar as his work was, to a large extent, his life and, while you may read and disagree or bring up argument based on evidence to the contrary, there is little doubt that this is a major work in the field of social psychology. One which is worthy of careful consideration.

MARY COX
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PRISONS INSIDE-OUT:
Alternatives to Correctional Reform

BENEDICT ALPER
Ballinger, 1975. £4.10

BENEDICT ALPER, after working in probation, corrections and criminology at state, national and international levels, dedicates this book, and gives his royalties, to the United Nations Asian and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. Here is a practising preacher from whose neatly turned title might be expected some revolutionary suggestions. What he advocates is a return to simpler community-based treatment instead of traditional imprisonment.

Before prisons became places for convicted offenders they were places for remands. In America, "jail" means places for remands: "prison" places for convicted. The author thinks the popular interchangeable usage of these words reflects a situation where the public, no less than administrators, see accused and/or convicted in much the same light and treat them all alike.

Bail must remain the best alternative to "jail" but U.S. citizens who are not regarded as bailable may qualify for half-way houses where they can be supervised in their free time and go to school or work during the day. Is there something in this for us?

Convicted offenders go to "prison" only after almost universal obligation on courts to examine the alternatives of fine, restitution, suspended sentence or probation, the use of which is increasingly encouraged as they are cheaper and more humane. The "away from home but not in a prison" idea of community home, hostel or borstal is probably regarded as humane but not necessarily cheaper. When prison is inevitable there is still evidence of improved treatment within traditional institutions.

So far, few readers are likely to quarrel with Alper's presentation of a picture of some hopeful international experiments, nor would they dislike his final chapters on diversion from arrest, court or prison by such means as the Children's Panel (Scotland), Scandinavian Child Welfare Board and the lesser known work of People's Courts in Russia and China.

Chapter nine, however, may worry them. It lists Five Modes of Treatment of Convicted Offenders. The punitive model assumes delinquency to be caused by character defects and to be best punished by traditional locking away. The correctional model does not label as "bad" but suggests delinquents need individual attention. The diversionary model says delinquency is universal and that judicial systems themselves help create criminality. The institutional change model (nothing to do with institutions as buildings) says that society's institutions, such as schools and the distribution of wealth, need to be changed: delinquency is seen as but one of many responses to oppression. Finally, the radical model, where delinquency is seen as legitimate reaction to intolerable oppression, which advocates "policies either of non-intervention or of support for delinquent behaviour".

If society still has time to choose, this book can help decision-making politicians choose cheaper methods: the probation service will note their Japanese colleagues' use of volunteers: the parole board will be interested in the Minnesota idea of exchanging formal contracts between inmate, board and prison administration.

The author was recording this against a backdrop of breaking and entering when the power of the American government was seriously undermined. If this was the effect of crime at the highest levels, it is equally true of less lofty citizens. "If we can contrive to deal with crime more successfully than we do today", concludes Professor Alper, "we shall reduce tensions within our society and, as a result, among societies which compose the world, hold out to mankind hope of surer opportunity to live together in harmony and peace".

John Wesley said, "The world is my parish"; perhaps the community should say, "Our parish is our world"—clean up the parish and you help to clean up the world. This book says a good start has been made: continuing developments suggest that community involvement is not likely to be along the radical model's lines of non-intervention.

MARK WINSTON,
was formerly a governor in the Prison Service.

THE PRISON JOURNAL
(Volume 54, Number 1)
The Pennsylvania Society

THIS edition of the *Prison Journal*, wittily subtitled "Key Issues in Corrections," was published in America in Spring-Summer, 1974 It may be of interest to some English readers since it contains an article by Andrew Rutherford which describes how Dr. Miller closep down the training schools for young offenders in the state of Massachusetts. To be more precise, it attempts to set the record straight, given the rumours which were generated by such a momentous action.

The journal also includes an article on the federal prison system, one on the ethics of systematic behaviour control and extracts from two American books (*Prison Without Walls* and *Prisons Inside-Out*) which were reviewed respectively in last January's edition of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL and above.

R.E.

DIVERSION FROM CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN AN ENGLISH CONTEXT:
Report of a NACRO Working Party

by MICHAEL ZANDER
Barry Rose, 1975. £1.00

PRISON staff and prisoners have as much to gain from a reduction in the prison population as anyone. This NACRO working party has come up with some bold ideas for keeping people out of the courts and out of prison. Since the group included representatives of the police, the courts, the probation and the social services there is at least a chance that its ideas could work. In a few years, we might find ourselves looking back to this booklet as the start of a real break-through. The working party would like to see a growth in the use of cautioning to include more adults, especially those who get up to 12 months at the moment. Along with the cautioning idea, there would be conditions which the transgressor would have to meet, so that he would receive something between a penalty and a real offer of help. The proposals draw fairly heavily from experience with this sort of scheme in North America and could be invoked between the point at which a charge is contemplated and the sentencing stage.

There are some snags, of course, not all of which are recognised by the working party. There would be more work for lawyers, for probation, for volunteers and for ordinary members of the community. All the work would have to be done promptly so that those involved would not be kept in suspense, wondering whether to expect prison or an alternative. Above all, the same sort of resources already called for in intermediate treatment would be in further demand and the Probation Service would have to co-ordinate these too. Nevertheless, the proposals should be taken very seriously and prison staff ought to contribute to an examination of their feasibility. In this context, the absence of any prison representative from the working party was regrettable.

M.B.

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