

But it is not altogether true to say that there's not some evidence, independent of my own affirmations, of a transition of my personality. Some years ago I discovered Logic. Time has passed, and as more and more I become familiar with it, so to that degree do I apply it to all those situations—some difficult—in which I become involved as a prisoner and as a human being. I don't always succeed—but logic has tempered my mind, my thinking, immensely. When I see a rash action on the horizon, I think along a logical line to bypass it. There are those, I believe, who will affirm apart from myself, that my behaviour reflects that more objective approach to life which is indicative of rationality.

Had logic influenced my thinking many years ago in that earlier environment, perhaps I could have worked against those events that weaved such a horribly calamitous web, from which few, if any, of those caught up by it have yet not completely untangled themselves—least of all me. It is a question which with the ghost of conscience often obtrudes itself. I'm sure that I shall never fully know the answer. Sometimes I think that perhaps when the monster in man rises up, it must devour something before it can be laid.

So, as more the good elements conspire to overthrow the bad, the more am I being removed from what I was, and to a degree which, when I look back, makes it painfully difficult to recognise that man as being the one who now writes. But I was that man, and that knowledge cripples mentally, so that no matter whom the physicians are, there will be no complete recovery. Certainly, as I go further along the path of enlightenment I shall, but only to a degree, come to terms with that morbid part of my history. I shall be reminded often of some of the words of that poet who wrote about the Moving Finger and about the uselessness of Tears or Piety or Wit in removing what it had written—and I shall often be reminded to say to myself, that no matter how much or with what I wash myself, I shall never become completely clean; no matter what gives or how much light is given to my mind, there will always be that cold shadow—tragically, the more the light is given, the more sharply defined becomes that shadow.

I have mentioned Values in a non-particular way—except Education and Logic—alluded to Enlightening Values. What I mean and understand some of

them to be are such ideas as truth, pleasant or unpleasant; understanding, tolerance and the desire to put right as far as possible one's own faults and those of others; and, above all, moral sensibility. Well—if I carried on to name and describe other ideas, perhaps offshoots of those I have already mentioned, I would do no more than to remind you of what you already do know. They would be ideas you have probably long been familiar with that nourished your minds earlier in your lives. Ideas you grew up with but I didn't, and prepared in you all a healthy and responsible attitude towards life—well, I'm late for school; but I am catching up.

I am now in my tenth year of imprisonment. I have thought many times that I would not reach this point, wished sometimes that I would not. But, paradoxical as it may seem, as the years have come and gone I've experienced a growing sense of freedom. I've come to know myself and continue to know myself more; come to understand to some extent—small though it be—the circumstances and forces that bound me, and bind a lot of men to mentally and morally destructive patterns of behaviour: that sort of freedom which somehow comes from knowing oneself, understanding a little of what makes one tick—that is the sort of freedom I feel; a freedom that takes one out of selfishness and brings one to a position from where one may better see, recognise, understand and become involved in the parts all others play in the eternal scheme of things.

If I have achieved only in some measure to convince you all that my whole personality, and consequently my thoughts, and attitudes, has taken a new direction, then I shall take encouragement. If I have failed I shall be discouraged and lament that my ability and eloquence were too feeble to carry conviction. I began to write courageously enough, but now feel a little breathless and near the end without having to my own satisfaction succeeded in reflecting more fully what is happening within me, that might guide you in a new judgement of me. All I can say is, and with only the faintest touch of humour—the pen is willing but the ability is weak.

What I'm trying to impress upon all of you by giving this view of my inner-self, this account of how I see myself, of what I truly feel I am in the process of becoming, is that I'm no longer the dangerous man I was judged to be years ago. Yes, it was true then; but it is no

longer so. Surely it follows that if there is truth in this account then I'm no longer a dangerous man; there is truth in this account. Please see it.

Finally, I wish to draw you to the main purpose of this account of myself: it is that it might guide you to consider and decide whether my remaining a Category 'A' prisoner is any longer called for. I strongly feel that it is not.

The knowledge that I am still held within a category which, as well as linking me to the past in a way, might give people an impression of my nature as being grossly different from what it is now,—puts anxiety into my mind regarding the future, hinders me in many ways—hinders the better effort I could give to the furtherance of my education in relation to those ideas already alluded to. I need the assurance of some recognition by others of what I am—becoming, a new foothold to help me climb a little further up the cliff towards freedom, a little opening of the door that leads to "living-life"! Very, very much do I need a little of the human warmth and nourishment of trust. Please aid the Becoming of what and all I wish to become.

In conclusion, may I ask you to remind yourselves of what St. Paul was before he became a Christian? And also to bring to your minds a quotation from *Alice in Wonderland*:

"... She had plenty of time as she went down to look about her, and to wonder what was going to happen next".

#### Some reports from

#### THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

1975.

(1). *The Importance of Narcotics in Relation to Criminality* reports three pieces of research. Alongside studies of the responses of different countries and the reactions of doctors to the problem of drug-taking, Joy Mott (Home Office Research Unit) contributes a paper which attempts to unravel the connections between drug misuse and other crimes.

(2). *Conference on Criminal Policy* surveys the role of law and the development of modern penalties. In particular, Moriarty (Crime Policy Planning Unit, Home Office) sets down those features which need review and research to help in dealing with or preventing crime.

(3). *Aspects of Criminality among Migrant Workers* is less interesting. It is a short pamphlet containing notes on the legal, statistical and research aspects of criminality among those who have moved to another country to find work.

R. E.

# Planned and Unplanned Aftercare

KEITH SOOTHILL



Keith Soothill was research officer for the Apex Trust for five years and wrote *The Prisoner's Release* (Allen and Unwin, 1974). He then worked at the Institute of Psychiatry and a Maudsley Monograph on medical remands (with T. C. N. Gibbens) will be published shortly. He is now lecturer in sociology at the University of Lancaster as well as continuing to act as research consultant to the Apex Trust.

THERE is a danger that one of the shibboleths of the 1970s in relation to the rehabilitation of prisoners is the concept of "through-care". It is fair to add that Martin Davies (1974) has considered the matter in some depth regarding through-care as "an important movement in involving the probation officer even more actively in prison".<sup>1</sup> Similarly, as Pendleton stresses, the intention behind the through-care approach is that "by early intervention (at sentence or before) with concern and help being offered to both the offender and his family by maintaining their contact during sentence, his chances of effective transition and resettlement are enhanced".<sup>2</sup>

This sounds all very hopeful and enterprising but Pendleton perceptively notes that if Davies's view of the deleterious effects of imprisonment is correct, "through-care is probably only a more humane and sophisticated way of seeking to ameliorate the total separation and emptiness of custody by reducing the polarisation between outside and in".<sup>3</sup> Certainly the evidence of the supposed effectiveness of any form of through-care in reducing recidivism is sparse. In a carefully constructed investigation, under the auspices of the Apex Trust (an employment agency for ex-prisoners) the present author<sup>4</sup> has considered, for example, whether an active policy of interviewing men several weeks prior to release with a view to obtaining employment interviews for men to attend immediately on their release from prison had the effect of lowering the reconviction rate of this group compared with a control group who were not offered this specialist service.

In the event there was really nothing to suggest that there was any difference in the subsequent reconviction rates of the two groups at least after a follow up of one year. However, it could be reasonably argued that this is hardly the sustained through-care of the type envisaged by most enthusiasts of the concept.

Enthusiasts can certainly take some heart from at least two carefully controlled experimental studies. The Scandinavian project reported by Berntsen and Christiansen<sup>5</sup> has for some time stood like an oasis among the barren lands of the negative findings of most other studies. Berntsen and Christiansen maintain that "socio-psychologically oriented supporting therapy combined with relatively comprehensive welfare conditions lead to significantly lower recidivism than does the traditional treatment of Danish short-term prisoners".<sup>6</sup> After a follow-up when all the prisoners had had an opportunity of being in freedom for at least six years, 41 per cent of the experimental group had had further experience of some form of penal incarceration compared with 58 per cent of the control group. While there were apparently no major methodological flaws in the research design, in the face of several less promising results from other studies it seemed difficult to accept the major finding at its face value. However, more recently, Margaret Shaw's monograph, *Social Work in Prison*,<sup>7</sup> seems to give a similar message to the earlier Danish study. In an experiment in the use of extended contact with offenders which in reality amounted to 12-15 forty-minute interviews held by welfare

officers during the final six months of their sentence, the results compared with a group of controls who simply had normal access to welfare officers were favourable—57 per cent of the "treatment group" were reconvicted within two years of their release from prison as compared with 76 per cent of the control group of men who were in fact serving sentences at the same prisons of Gartree and Ashwell.

What seems to be emerging from these various studies is that offering employment in isolation is unlikely to have significant effects in lowering the reconviction rates for the general run of the prison population, but sometimes, perhaps when allied with other forms of help, finding employment may make a contribution. Hence, in recent years APEX has liaised much more closely with other social work agencies involved in assisting the offender. In addition, from 1st January 1970, APEX has concentrated in trying to find suitable employment for white-collar and sexual offenders who approach the organisation, for these prisoners often have specific employment problems which could perhaps be ameliorated by the intervention of a specialist employment agency.

There has been concern at APEX regarding the enormous amount of placing effort expended on behalf of the clients but which has quite limited success. For example, 18,575 letters

and telephone calls on behalf of 474 white-collar offenders produced only 173 actual placings where the clients started work,<sup>8</sup> although of course, these clients were often not the easiest placing propositions. However, what I wish to consider here (again using this consecutive cohort of 474 white-collar persons who came to APEX over a three and a quarter year period) is the importance of the *source* and *time* of referral for producing the most effective placing service. In other words, we want to find out whether it makes much difference when and how offenders arrive as clients of APEX.

Although APEX has increasingly become geared to accepting referrals from other organisations, still one in five are self-referrals. What we wanted to know at APEX was whether it was worthwhile dealing exclusively with offenders referred by other organisations, such as the probation officer. Rather than making a somewhat arbitrary decision, we decided to consider the various results. However, as Table 1 indicates, the proportions eventually placed by APEX (just over one third) are virtually identical whether they are self-referred or referred by a third party. The similarities are really quite striking.

TABLE 1  
Self-referrals and third-party referrals—Percentages placed by Apex.

	No. of referrals	Placed No.	by Apex Per cent
<b>Self-referrals</b>			
Letter to Apex while in prison ... ..	51	16	31.4
Letter to Apex after court appearance/release ... ..	9	4	44.4
Called at Apex offices ... ..	5	3	60.0
Telephone call to Apex ... ..	28	10	35.7
	(93)	(33)	(35.5)
<b>Third-party referrals</b>			
Prison welfare officer/governor ... ..	235	97	41.3
Local probation officer/social worker ... ..	83	26	31.3
Local employment exchanges ... ..	13	1	7.7
NACRO and other voluntary aftercare organisations ... ..	18	5	27.8
Other* ... ..	32	11	34.4
	(381)	(140)	(36.7)
<b>TOTAL</b> ... ..	474	173	(36.5)

\*"Others" include various miscellaneous sources (such as personnel managers, citizen advice bureau and bishops) as well as relations of the offender.

What, however, is crucial to the concept of "through-care" is not so much who made the referral, but when the work actually starts in trying to assist a person. For APEX the distinction can be made between first interviewing a client *before* release compared with *after* release, for obviously one of the fundamental aims of "through-care", if it is attempting to go beyond simply ameliorating the total separation and emptiness of custody by

TABLE 2.  
Success of Apex placing work in terms of the nature and time of referral.

Nature of referral	Column (A) Total No.	Column (B) No. placed by Apex	Column (C) No. staying at job for one year or more	Column (D) Per cent placed by Apex	Column (E) Per cent of total staying one year at job	Column (F) Per cent of those placed staying one year at job	Column (G) Per cent three or more pre-cons
Self-referral interviewed <i>before</i> release .....	31	10	6	32.3	19.4	60.0	51.6
Self-referral interviewed <i>after</i> release .....	62	23	13	37.1	21.0	56.5	24.2
Third-party referral interviewed <i>before</i> release .....	233	98	42	42.1	18.0	42.9	32.2
Third-party referral interviewed <i>after</i> release .....	148	42	19	28.4	12.8	45.2	35.8
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	474	173	80	35.5	16.9	46.2	33.5

reducing the polarisation between the world outside and the world inside prison, is to prepare the offenders more appropriately for release while in custody so that he can more effectively settle *after* release. Certainly in terms of the effectiveness of APEX in finding employment, it does make some difference whether offenders are seen by APEX *before* or *after* release. Where the first APEX interview was held *before* release, 41 per cent were eventually placed, but only 29 per cent of the ex-prisoner clients first interviewed

*before* release (42 per cent) and is least effective when there is a third party referral *after* release (28 per cent)—self-referrals come between these two points. In fact, the least satisfactory on most measures (although not spectacularly poorer) were the third party referrals *after* release and one suspects that many of these men are not referred by social workers as part of some well thought out plan but rather as an action of near last resort, for it is sometimes reassuring for a social worker to feel that he is doing something even though the action may not be particularly appropriate.

In considering the length of time that the men and women actually placed by APEX stayed at the jobs arranged, the most noteworthy point is that white-collar workers placed by APEX settle into the jobs arranged in quite a remarkable fashion. Of the 173 persons placed in the present sample, just under three quarters (71 per cent) were in the jobs after three months, and just under one half (46 per cent) were still there at the one year point after starting. More specifically, self-referrals seem to respond particularly well for approaching 60 per cent of self-referrals placed by APEX stayed at the jobs for one year or more (see Table 2, column F). With this sort of response from self-referrals, it would seem unwise for APEX to deal exclusively with those offenders referred by third parties, such as probation officers and other aftercare organisations.

Up to now we have made some rather bold but dangerous assumptions, for the differences in success between the various groups could be explained more simply by the types of clients which come by the various routes to APEX. For example, it could be the case that the poorer results of

*after* release were placed. (A further 70 clients had received non-custodial sentences of whom 34 per cent were placed by APEX). Table 2 combines the source of the referral (i.e. self-referrals or third party referrals) with the time of the first APEX interview (i.e. *before* or *after* release).

What emerges from Table 2 (Column D) is that APEX manages to place into employment the highest proportion when there is a third-party referral

the third party referrals *after* release reflect a poorer calibre of client coming by this route. This is important to investigate for certainly APEX finds it easier to place men and women back into employment who have shorter criminal records. However, column G of Table 2 indicates that, while they may or may not be poorer candidates on other grounds, third party referrals *after* release do not tend to have much longer criminal records. So this is not the obvious explanation for the poorer rates of this group. In fact, self-referrals interviewed *before* release generally have the least satisfactory criminal records for over one half of this group have three or more previous convictions—and this is the group which did particularly well in terms of staying at the jobs arranged by APEX.

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

What this analysis seems to indicate is how the APEX service of finding employment is perceived and used by various groups of offenders and social workers.

**Self-referrals.** The longer records of some of the white-collar workers who refer themselves and are interviewed *before* release suggests that these are men who realise that they will have difficulty in finding employment after release. They take the initiative and contact APEX. While APEX manages to find work for a slightly lower proportion of these men, these do generally respond very favourably when they are actually placed, for well over half stay at the jobs for one year or more.

In contrast, men who refer themselves to APEX *after* release tend to be white-collar workers with less lengthy criminal records and probably these were offenders who did not think they would have difficulty in finding work after their current conviction. However, the reality of trying to find suitable employment may have taught them otherwise, so then they take the initiative of contacting APEX for help. If APEX can find suitable employment these offenders also seem to respond particularly favourably in terms of staying at the jobs.

**Third party referrals.** APEX has the most success in actually placing men who are referred by a third party and interviewed *before* release. In fact, these are the cases which are perhaps most akin to the concept of "through-care" for usually the prison welfare officer is the key person involved. Often there is a dossier being prepared for parole consideration and APEX

will be involved from an early stage. Interestingly, however, a lower proportion of third party referrals who are placed actually stay at the jobs for a year or more.

APEX has least success in placing third party referrals who are interviewed *after* release and there is sometimes the feeling that totally inappropriate cases are referred on some occasions (perhaps reflecting feelings of "where else can we send him?" on the part of some social workers). However, when they are placed, a similar proportion stay at the jobs as those who are referred *before* release.

### CONCLUSION

What can a voluntary organisation like APEX learn from this study? In the first place, it is evident that we should continue to treat with considerable respect the requests for help from men and women who refer themselves to the organisation. Although a prison welfare officer may, unbeknown to APEX, have made the suggestion to the prisoner to contact APEX, these men are making the key move of writing or phoning APEX. With self-referrals there is the probable advantage of an element of self-realisation about their employment prospects and their present predicament. For this reason there is definitely a danger in limiting clients only to those who are referred directly by accredited social workers and for certain clients at least there is an attraction if the voluntary organisation is not too formally linked with any statutory service.

In a small study of this kind it is impossible to make any definitive conclusions. However, there is little evi-

dence to suggest that those offenders interviewed *before* release and where something akin to "through-care" is operating are all that more successful than the others. There is certainly some benefit to APEX in dealing with these men, for with the additional time available *before* release a marginally higher proportion are actually placed.

Perhaps the message which does begin to emerge is that there could be a danger if "planned aftercare" is regarded solely as the occasions when the social worker is holding the plan and it is regarded as "unplanned" if the initiative comes from the offender himself. Certainly there is evidence that some offenders in the present sample had worked out a plan themselves and were putting it into operation with rather favourable results. It would be wise perhaps to begin to consider "through-care" as much a movement in allowing the prisoner the opportunity to involve himself more actively in his own rehabilitation as well as "an important movement in involving the probation officer even more actively in prison."

1. DAVIES, MARTIN (1974). *Prisoners of Society: Attitudes and Aftercare*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
2. PENDLETON, J. A. (1975), Book review, *Prison Service Journal*, (July).
3. Ibid.
4. SOOTHILL, K. L. (1974). *The Prisoner's Release*. Allen and Unwin.
5. BERNSTEN, K. and CHRISTIANSEN, K. (1965), "A Resocialisation Experiment with Short-Term Offenders" in Christiansen, K. O. (ed.), *Scandinavian Studies in Criminology*, Vol. 1. Tavistock.
6. Ibid., p. 35.
7. SHAW, MARGARET, (1974). *Social Work in Prison*, Home Office Research Studies, No. 22, London, H.M.S.O.
8. SOOTHILL, K. L. "The Effort Involved in Finding Employment for White-collar Offenders". *British Journal of Social Work*. (In press).

"IN all the years I've stood outside on the landing this is the first time anyone's asked me in for a chat!!!"



# Readers Write . . .

THE EDITOR,  
*Prison Service Journal.*

I have read the review of Stephen Schafer's "The Political Criminal" written by William Van Straubenzee in the last issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL with much interest. I must confess that as an "everyday practitioner" I too found it somewhat peculiar that the Northern Ireland experience should not have been mentioned in the book (although Mr. Van Straubenzee's explanation for this anomaly seems adequate enough).

I do hope that Schafer's closely argued "essay" has not led such a responsible former member of Her Majesty's Government to lean too heavily upon one aspect of that argument or his apparent interpretation of it.

In reference to Schafer's argument, Mr. Van Straubenzee tells us that "We are reminded that the less possible the participation of ordinary men and social groups in the decision making processes, the easier it is to claim that all crimes are of a political nature." His sentence following—"Do I not hear something of the cry of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland in times gone by so very much kept out of the decision making process?" seems to imply that Van Straubenzee believes that the Northern Ireland minority's support for "political" action by such groups as the IRA was as a result of their debarment by the majority social group from the decision making process. If I have interpreted Van Straubenzee's innuendo correctly I must say that while there is truth in what he implies, it is not the essence of the truth.

Firstly, such an argument could not be sustained by reference to the "other side" of the great political divide in Northern Ireland. It is presumably the case that the majority had the opportunity to participate in the decision making process—even if he believes minority had not). Yet we have in our prisons in Northern Ireland many persons from that community sentenced as political prisoners.

Secondly, the real truth of the matter is that in Northern Ireland there exists no political consensus within which minorities and majorities can peacefully

co-exist. It is therefore misleading to explain the emergence of "political" criminality by minorities by reference to the operation of the political process (although the continuous exercise of power by strict adherence to majoritarian democratic principles has led to minority alienation in Northern Ireland). It would be more correct to say that the emergence of "the political criminal" in the Northern Ireland community was as a result of the misuse of legitimate powers by majorities allied to the fact that the minority gave no real support to the institutions of the government throughout the 50 years of their existence. Our gaze must therefore be directed not so much towards the abuse of power by majorities as towards the support given majorities by minorities in their actual right to hold power and exercise it on behalf of minorities.

This is the only explanation which adequately accommodates the emergence of majoritarian community political offenders in Northern Ireland. In their case, justification for their actions is found in giving support to the institutions of government by opposing those who give these institutions no support. Thus their cry "Our only crime is loyalty."

I shared Mr. Van Straubenzee's relief that Schafer ended his book by a description of the pseudo-convictional criminal. I was glad, too, that he stressed its importance for the practitioner as well as the academic. Perhaps the time has come for a more thorough going analysis of the presence of the pseudo-convictional criminal within the criminological subculture. His haunting spectre in Northern Ireland has brought into disrepute the whole exercise of the rule of law alienating the law abiding from support for such law and striking fear into the hearts of the most resolute of senior government ministers in dealing with him. As a type he is articulate but is soon supported by the most inarticulate. As an opponent he cannot be reasoned with. Finally, like the poor he is always with us.

Unless western democracies learn to channel his eloquence, understand his reasoning and recognise his existence by making room for him within the democratic order, he will poison the strongest political institutions and alienate majorities who must suffer the luxury of his appeals to heaven.

The Northern Ireland experience of the pseudo-convictional criminal has proved the Hobbesian belief that life without strong sovereign power exercised on behalf of all citizens would become "miserable poor, nasty, brutish and short".

W. McCONNELL  
*Assistant Governor  
H.M. Prison, Belfast  
Former Student of Politics.*

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

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

## THE PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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

*The Editor, Prison Service Journal,  
H.M. Prison, Leyhill,  
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## BOOK REVIEWS

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## Stirring It!

## PORRIDGE

DICK CLEMENT and RON la FRENAY

B.B.C. Publications 1975. 60p.

I HAVE been chosen to review *Porridge* because I myself am doing a bit of porridge at Haverigg. Well, who better than one of Her Majesty's lodgers to tell you what a good bit of reading is? Now, don't get the idea that I am one of the governor's blue-eyed boys, or that Lord Longford takes me out shopping, because you would be wrong. I am your actual model, intelligent, good-for-nothing inmate. Which is more than I can say for Norman Fletcher, who is the central character in *Porridge*. I am not sure which prison the fictional Slade Prison in the book is based upon but all I can say is, that as soon as I find out, I am putting in for a transfer there.

Apparently, at this Slade Prison anything goes, from being a tobacco baron to running a marriage guidance council to sticking the warders head in the soup. Oh! and if you like tropical fish you're "in", because the governor is in the middle of a love affair with them. Wait a minute, our governor's in love with tropical fish (now there's a thing!). If your missus runs off with the milkman they give you a couple of days leave, so that you can go and give her a punch up the throat, and then like a good boy you toddle back to Haverigg, I mean, Slade Prison, and then knock on the door to get back in. Of course, everybody comes back because we all know what trust-worthy fellows us inmates are.

Now back to Norman Fletcher, who, if you have not already guessed, is involved in all the above fiddles and yet still finds time to be dissatisfied. Mind you, I could say the same about a few of the blokes at Haverigg who must come very near to equalling Fletcher in his exploits. In fact, the more I read the book, the more I became convinced Slade Prison is actually Haverigg in disguise. You see, a lot of the visitors to this prison stay overnight in Barrow, which is the nearest town, and it is from there that they catch the stage coach to come and see us. This even happens in the book. I have yet to see someone stick the warder's head in the soup (you would really have to hate somebody to stick his head in *our* soup) but I have seen the governor walking about in his wellies, which is also mentioned in the book.

Practically all the situations in the book will be instantly recognised by anyone who has seen the television series. Anyone who has not will find the book quite amusing, but a lot of the prison routine is out of date. It is a great pity that the authors could not find a few new situations for Fletcher, who is played by Ronnie Barker on the television. I read in a magazine recently that the series has been praised by inmates; well, here is one inmate who does not praise it. In fact, I would advise the average sensible person to give this book a miss.

RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT AND ITS EFFECTS ON DELINQUENCY  
Home Office Research Study No. 32

D. B. CORNISH and R. V. CLARKE

H.M.S.O. 1975. £1.00

*Hope springs eternal in the human breast;  
Man never is, but always to be blest.*

DESPITE the research findings it remains hard for some to accept that what we do to our "clients" in the name of treatment will, in all probability, have little, or no, good effect on their subsequent conduct. We go on hoping that treatment must be doing some good because we believe it should be doing so.

The message that Cornish and Clarke bring from Kingswood Training School is: yet another nail has been driven into the coffin of penal treatment.

Kingswood Training School was an approved school and, during the course of the research, became a community home. In 1964, the clinical psychologist employed at the school persuaded the managers to set up a "therapeutic community" within the school. Wisely, the managers insisted that the experiment be systematically monitored. In the event, a random allocation of boys was drawn from the nearby classifying school for the Experimental (E) house and the Control (C) house. A third unit housed a rag-bag mixture of boys and was not part of the experiment.

Everything possible was done to ensure the success of the experimental regime. E house staff chose their boys from the pool; in doing so, they selected the more intelligent boys (average I.Q. being 104.5) and those who appeared to have had the best chance of success. The remainder of the pool went to C house.

The results? No difference in subsequent convictions between E and C house boys and, astonishingly, no difference between E, C and the third house. The study even suggests that those who stood the least chance of reconviction were those who did not complete their time at Kingswood but were transferred, for reasons of conduct, either to other approved schools or to borstals.

The Kingswood study has provided one more important confirmation of the ineffectiveness of penal treatment. The question remains: "What are we going to do about it?" Perhaps very little will change, since the justification for treatment often lies, like beauty, in the eye of the beholder. It is time that we awoke, really awoke, to the implications of this and other studies.

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

## COMMUNITY TREATMENT AND SOCIAL CONTROL

By PAUL LERMAN

University of Chicago Press 1975. £7.50.

TO KILL one sacred cow may be unfortunate. To kill two might turn out to be unforgivable. Within 225 very readable pages, Professor Lerman examines the California Treatment Project and the California Probation Subsidy Programme, each of which has been promoted by their more conservative supporters as being a great break-through in the treatment of offenders. Lerman analyses and dissects the arguments and indicates that, in fact, both of these developments have become more expensive than expected, socially and financially.

The California Treatment Project was set up to treat youths in the community, rather than in institutions. The Supervising Officer was to have a caseload of approximately ten cases and was to be in frequent contact (at least every other day) with his clients for eight months, reducing in the final stage to monthly contact—supervision comparable with that of regular parolees. There would be a control group, matched for maturity, criminality, etc. Occasional week-end lock-ups were originally felt to be a useful and necessary treatment. Once this detention facility became available, use of custody was made for 80 per cent of the youths. The average length of the stay was 20 days. Supervising officers used confinements as a therapeutic measure based on hunches, rather than on the hard evidence which would be required for criminal arrest. Concurrently, intensive services were increased to cover two and a half to three years. This increased use of institutions resulted in a seven-fold increase in the cost of supervision. There was very little difference between the two groups in terms of re-offending, but the experimental's parole was less frequently suspended for offences. The experimental group had a much higher recall rate for technical violations of parole, probably due to the supervisor's greater awareness of actual behaviour. The increased use of institutions was therefore due entirely to the change of behaviour of the supervisors, rather than to changes in the behaviour of those supervised.

It seems likely that if the original criteria had been strictly followed, projected savings in both social and economic cost would have occurred. It seems essential in experimental schemes of this nature that strict criteria be laid down and adhered to.

Although the case against the California Treatment Project is well made, the argument against the Probation Study is much less comprehensive. The purpose of the project was to strengthen the county probation services by paying a subsidy for a reduction in commitments to the State prisons from a base line of previous commitments. The counties had complete discretion as to how the money was used, although minimum standards were set, e.g. average caseloads of 50 (sic) and one senior officer for every six officers. Thus are changes in penal policy influenced by financial considerations. However, as the people in institutions became older and less delinquent, so did the length of time people stayed in State institutions increase. Was this an attempt by institutional staff at job preservation? Parallel to this reduction in the resort to State prisons there was an increased use of County camps. As with the California Treatment Project, this increase was due to revocation of parole, rather than the commission of further offences.

When he looks at the finance of the probation subsidy, Professor Lerman is less convincing. In computing the cost, one can take base rates for committal as either the actual committal rate, or the original committal rate multiplied by a factor for increased criminality. The cost savings could be based on the original average cost, this cost indexed for inflation;

or the average cost per new inmate for the appropriate year. It seems to be a matter of "You takes your choice and you pays your money".

If one tries to assess the common factors in the work, one becomes aware of its relevance to the British scene. In these studies, the objectives were unimpeachable but the criteria for success either became distorted or else the practice of key participants changed once the scheme was in existence (for example, in the California Treatment Project), the parole officers increased their resort to institutions and also lengthened the period of intensive supervision. In the Probation Subsidy Programme, an unforeseen alternative to State incarceration was County incarceration. In this country, one only has to look at the implementation of the open door policy, psychiatric hospitals, the introduction of the care order, or the use made of suspended sentences, to see how original good intentions are distorted by deviation from the original plan. Perhaps we plan for people who act rationally, systems that react efficiently and a society that does not change.

There are warnings here too, especially for the Probation Service. One of the consequences of intensive supervision seems to be that after-care officers become more aware of unorthodox behaviour and, perhaps in order to justify themselves, use subjective criteria of response to supervision as being more relevant than the commission of further offences. They also use institutions because they are there.

This book reinforces the prejudices I am gaining, that no matter what you do to offenders, in terms of treatment after the offence, the reconviction rate is exactly the same. One must therefore provide preventative resources.

This book is extremely interesting, raising many questions which we may still be answering at the end of the century.

PETER C. BIBBY

Chief Probation Officer  
West Glamorgan Probation  
and Aftercare Service.

## REHABILITATION AND DEVIANCE

By PHILIP BEAN

Routledge and Kegan Paul 1976  
Hardback £4.50. Paperback £2.25

IN THE preface to his book, Philip Bean suggests that "lofty detachment is rare amongst sociologists" and he "unashamedly adopts a social engineering approach". His contention that he "is not always on the side of the rehabilitationists" is an understatement. Bean rightly suggests that arguments about the penal system have too frequently been assessed on the basis of labels applied to the various penological camps.

It is a disappointment, then, to find that the author attacks groups he labels as "experts", "rehabilitationists", "functionalists", "reformers", "professional helpers", "soul-doctors". He identifies with another well-known species—the "radical non-interventionist"—though he wisely admits that their "position is as yet unformulated". His message is that the penal system has been too long at the mercy of the "rehabilitationist ideal", a situation in which treatment is all and is forced upon its unwilling victims, those "sentenced to be helped". He suggests that the treaters are at the mercy of their own values in seeking to intervene in other people's lives and force "help" upon them. This intervention is contrary to natural justice and there should be a return to concepts of justice which "do not involve discussions about the personal lives of deviants". This argument has a certain straightforward attractiveness, especially when it is reinforced with "evidence" about the apparent ineffectiveness of the methods concerned.

There is, however, an ethereal (not to say cartoon-like) quality about the "rehabilitationists" he seeks to demolish. The image he attacks with a Quixotic vigour looks remarkably like a label. In the course of his attack, he makes a great deal out of little hard evidence—some of it American in origin. He also makes some quite unwarranted statements about the Probation and Prison Services which, if they were true (as he assumes them to be), would support his argument, but do not seem credible to one who claims some knowledge of both Services. In addition, he wrongly suggests (twice) that the Gladstone report was against the principle of rehabilitation and uses this to support his arguments. My reading of the report did not give me the same understanding. Sir E. Ruggles Brise, the Chairman of the Prison Commissioners largely responsible for its implementation, was in no doubt. Following his retirement, he wrote: "Hope of rehabilitation which had perhaps been made too subordinate to the desire for a firm and exact repression began to lift its head, and from this time (the publication of the report) the responsibility of the official authority as a reclaiming agency became greatly accentuated". Bean also wrongly assumes that the penal system has been totally at the mercy of the individualised approach and that the radical non-interventionists (whoever they are) can bring some sense into the system. Whilst the treatment philosophy needs thorough examination within the penal system, absolutism is no aid to accurate perception. As all P.S.J. readers are aware, the debate about what treatment means and who should take part in it is by no means over.

Bean does not adequately deal with either (a) alternatives to the "rehabilitationist ideal" or (b) the wider moral issues of intervention. If someone commits an act which harms others one can argue that the State should or should not intervene. Having provided the machinery (if not the moral justification) for the State to intervene, the intervention itself can then be judged as compounding the original harm or ameliorating it. People electing to work in the penal system have, by so doing, taken a position on this issue. To measure the impact of such intervention is fair and justifiable but to use reconviction rates as a measure is a very crude technique. It may justify comment on the total intervention but it says nothing about the impact of human interactions. Bean's position is that those who are employed in the penal system and have adopted an ameliorative stance are meddling on the basis of their own values and prevent any examination of the significance of social structure. A non-interventionist approach may or may not mean a return to natural justice, and may or may not allow the social structure issues to be fought out, and that fight may or may not be more harmful in the long run. The point is that those working in the penal system (even, arguably, academics) are involved in the intervention, and some believe that that places them in a position of moral responsibility.

Altogether, this is a highly selective account of rehabilitation and deviance; my disappointment was only slightly tempered by having been warned at the beginning of the book that it was Bean's personal values which were on show.

BRIAN FELLOWES  
Probation Adviser  
Prison Service College  
Wakefield.

## THE USE OF IMPRISONMENT

Edited by SEAN MCCONVILLE  
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975. £2.95

THIS book purports to examine "administrative, organisational, staffing, legal and philosophical aspects of the present state of prisons". It was intended to be combined with an "extensive selection of historical and contemporary documents" but publishing costs prevented this and another volume is awaited. However, the editor

wishes this collection of essays to stand on its own and it is intended primarily for students of social science and allied disciplines.

Let me at once declare my prejudice against the main theme which is that "the majority of the articles emphasise the failure of the treatment model of imprisonment, and note or even support the shift from rehabilitative aims, to the objective of 'humane containment'". The editor's essay, the last, entitled "Future Prospects of Imprisonment in Britain" is specifically on this point. After reviewing the arguments which question and refute the efficacy of treatment in prison, the editor ends by suggesting how we should all adjust to a regime of humane containment. Some members of the Prison Service may welcome this. I find the whole idea based on the wrong questions and assumptions about the meaning of treatment (involving, admittedly, an unhappy interpretation of Rule 1). In the face of strong contrary evidence, the prison sentence is selected, by implication, as the one option before the courts which conspicuously fails to achieve its task. It really is time for statements like: "The history of English prisons since the end of the 18th century has been largely a history of the failure of attempts to procure effective forms of behaviour change," to be criticised as the gross over-simplifications they seem to be. Paterson's borstal regime is considered to have "seemed to have some success". A fundamental result of Paterson's approach was the setting up and early years of Lowdham Grange and, according to one source in that period, about 90 per cent of the young men discharged were not reconvicted. Several reasons for this could be postulated, not the least of which is that in terms of criminal sophistication the type of boy who went there would now almost certainly be dealt with by a non-custodial penalty. So was this success or not? By the same token if we shift the setting to a current long-term, recidivist training prison, where most of the prisoners will have run the gauntlet of every method of disposal available to the courts, does a reconviction rate of 70-80 per cent represent success or failure? McConville claims that all the facilities of a welfare, recreational, industrial and presumably educational nature need not be withdrawn and, because of the removal of the coercive element deemed to be a *sine qua non* of a reformatory system, would have a more legitimate function under a policy of humane containment. This is to ignore the administrative issues of the unavoidable role the staff play in selecting prisoners for such facilities, not to mention the fact that prisoners often do seek staff advice before engaging in some such activity or course. How does a change of principle affect practice? The word "treatment" is unsatisfactory, and some close thinking is needed to examine more fruitfully what the complexities of reformatory aims are and how they may be tested. Yet, I am sure "humane containment" is not the only feasible or indeed acceptable alternative.

By contrast, it was for me a pleasure to read Norman Jepson's essay "Administration, Staff Structure and Training Today". He does, of course, contribute to the discussion about the aims of imprisonment, highlighted by the editor. Whilst explaining why the prison service itself seems to be turning toward the aim of "humane containment" and suggesting some advantages accruing from this, he does put the very relevant question: "But does it (the aim of humane containment) also reflect a conscious or unconscious attempt to provide an aim which retains the notion of one Prison Service in the face of increasing size and diversification . . . ?" Perhaps it is possible to develop the main theme, looking at both the diversity and yet the interdependence of penal establishments. Norman Jepson discusses the growth and the changing aims of the Prison Service, the introduction of specialists, and how all those have been reflected in changes in staff training. He does this with the authority of

direct experience, much exceeding that of most other contributors. He is the only one to examine in any depth the problems inherent in the role of the prison officer.

To me the most joyful paradox of this book emerges in Martin Wright's essay "Tactics of Reform". Whilst it is not allowed that prison staff can, in any way, reform the behaviour of prisoners, there is no lack of fervour on the part of penal reformers to reform the administrative practices and habits of prison staff themselves. I do take exception to one of the points made explicitly and implicitly in this essay, which is that those working within the prison system can rarely introduce change themselves, due either to reluctance or impotence. However, as a detailed descriptive account of the relationship between not only more or less respectable organisations (like the Howard League for Penal Reform) but also others like P.R.O.P. and R.A.P., and officialdom, I found it most interesting and useful reading.

Graham Zellick, a lecturer in law, writes about "Prisoners and the Law". Naturally, the case of Golda comes in for special mention. He also makes a spirited, reasoned attack on censorship of prison letters. But in other ways his arguments for attempting to improve the legal framework governing behaviour in the prison setting miss some obvious truths. There is much give and take in the daily transactions between the various groups in a prison and attempts to define them more closely in legal terms might not improve anybody's lot. Concern for the rights and conditions of both staff and inmates might perhaps be more effectively demonstrated by administrative rather than legal acts.

Other essays include "Aspects of the Psychology of Imprisonment" in which Mark Williams asks that if any scheme to reduce recidivism is introduced into the prison setting, the scheme should be capable of evaluation, and "The Imprisonment of Females" in which Frances Henderson hopes that the current doubts about the value of imprisoning women will be resolved in favour of virtually abandoning the practice.

Hugh Klare argues for an increase in measures which, although included in a prison sentence, get the prisoner out of the confines of a closed prison. Such "Custodial Alternatives" might include outside work parties, hostel schemes, and home leaves and conjugal visits. Interestingly enough, he includes the open prison in this category. Keith Hawkins, in an essay entitled "Alternatives to Imprisonment", describes the pressures (including overcrowding in prisons) which have led to the search for alternatives, but comes to the conclusion that nothing feasible has emerged. He concludes "it might even be better to revitalise the existing system by administering it in a more humane, efficient and imaginative manner, rather than to spend time, energy and resources in casting about for further alternatives".

In general, this book has not a great deal to offer members of the Prison Service, and I do not feel it lives up to its aim. There are important areas of concern which get either only a brief mention or are omitted altogether. There are some good parts to this book, but it does not seem to me to lay fair claim to being an important contribution in its field. It also seems to reflect a sad gap between academics and practitioners.

JOHN CAPE,  
Deputy Governor, Leyhill Prison.

## CRIMINAL REACTIONS: THE LABELLING PERSPECTIVE

RICHARD V. ERICSON

Saxon House, 1976. £5.75

IN THIS first bout, Ericson gives a display over six rounds against the *theoretical* issues. (In his next bout, covered in the next review, he is up against *practical* matters). There is no doubt

about it, Ericson gives a good account of himself. He uses the ring well, moves confidently, crowds his opponent from time to time, keeps his guard up and scores in every round. He's no heavyweight, slogging away, but lighter, nimbler, more of a boxer's boxer. Only in the fifth round does he give ground, but he does it tactically, finishing with a lively wind up.

The match is a pretty interesting one for the Service. Over the last few years there's been a band of rather scruffy fellows slinging mud at the police, the courts, the prisons—the "agencies of social control". The mud-slingers have claimed that these agencies are an aggravation; by and large, they make matters worse instead of better. Anyone who falls into their clutches has a hard time getting over the consequences of having a label stuck on them. It ends up that it is hard to tell which is the worse culprit—the villain or the people who leap in, ready to do something with him, to him, for him. More recently, the mud-slingers have begun to tidy themselves up a bit, get themselves together and make themselves a bit more presentable. Instead of insults, they are now offering argument.

Ericson sets out to show, in a sporting spirit, that there is a contest here which is well worth watching. He starts by showing that the "labelling approach" is not quite the upstart it is often taken to be—it is, after all, a development from quite traditional approaches. Having shown his orthodox style, Ericson gets into "interactionism" in the second round, showing some of the advantages that come from looking at criminality from the criminal's point of view. In the third round, he's a bit ragged, but he's intending to demonstrate some of the most important ideas behind the labelling approach—how the criminal thinks of himself, how he gets to think that way, how his ideas don't have the power of those who don't much like what criminals do and so on.

As he moves into the second half, Ericson still has plenty of bounce. He makes it clear that labelling does have something distinctive to offer. He bobs and weaves in among some of the other theoretical approaches. The labelling approach, for example, sees the criminal as creating his own state, responding to situations, seeking "freedom" in contrast to the grinding approach which sees criminals as "subject to the freedom of structural forces beyond their control". Later in the round, he trades punches with the "conflict" approach and with the newer "critical" line.

The fifth round is the best. Ericson faces up to an opponent which most of the labelling people have avoided. The opponent is the "So what, what do we do?" character. Ericson refuses to lie down and take the count. He borrows from Matza:

"A subject actively addresses or encounters his circumstance; accordingly, his distinctive capacity is to reshape, strive towards creating, and actually transcend circumstances" (p.122).

He then argues:

"... Labelling analysis supports a 'crime-responsibility-punishment' framework that aims at both deterrence and retribution while ensuring the rights of the individual in his dealings... as opposed to a 'treatment-control' framework emphasising the efficient suppression of crime" (p.123).

Of course, it isn't as simple as that—different sorts of crime demand different approaches, within this framework. Coming out of his corner for the final round, Ericson looks to the gaps and weaknesses in the approach, including the retreat from concern about how people get entangled in the system to start with.

A ringside seat at the contest is not cheap at £5.75, but Ericson does provide an almost faultless performance, he keeps his head where many have sacrificed theirs and he could win the heart of anyone who appreciates the skills of the craftsman.

MARK BEESON,  
Leeds University.

## YOUNG OFFENDERS AND THEIR SOCIAL WORK

RICHARD V. ERICSON  
Saxon House, 1975. £6.95

IN *Young Offenders and their Social Work*, Dr. Ericson studies, from the recipient's point of view, the effectiveness of custody in changing patterns of behaviour. The study which provides the basis for the book involved young men sentenced to six months at Whatton Detention Centre within a two-month period in 1972. The detention centre sentence was selected because it provides a short time-span for the whole process of custody and aftercare to be completed.

Following a discussion of some aspects of labelling theory, the author moves to considering the merits of structured research techniques as opposed to participatory methods of observation, settling for a mixture of both. So the text is liberally sprinkled with verbatim accounts from individual offenders at various stages of the detention centre experience. There is at times insufficient evidence of a willingness to look beneath the statements made by offenders and therefore a danger of accepting them at face value. Whilst this and a serious misquotation of the phrase "six days and a brek" lead one to question some of the author's conclusions, there is nevertheless ample meat in offenders' views of the meaningless nature of the incarceration process and of aftercare in attempts to change patterns of behaviour and thinking.

The title of the book relates not to activities like Community Service Volunteers, but to the work each inmate has to undertake in adjusting to the personal implications of incarceration and subsequent events. There is for instance, interesting discussion of the need for the offender to deal with the criminal label in a way which enables him to perceive himself as normal, and an analysis of the personal processes of coming to terms with relationships with staff and peers at the two periods of marked change—the first two weeks of sentence and a similar period on discharge. Suggestions that improvement in behaviour and relationships during sentence do not often mark lasting changes but merely indicate ways of dealing with a here-and-now situation carry a lot of weight. So does the consequent idea that a return to normal activities on release, which as by-products will involve activities bordering on the deviant, does not indicate commitment to a life of crime. Again, the idea of crime as a *fact of life* in the normal environment of the offender rather than a *way of life* strongly questions the tendency of enforcement agencies and "society" to label delinquents as criminal. On the reassuring side is a suggestion that, contrary to present labelling theory, control efforts do not seem to compound criminality. The idea is mooted that, in fact, deviant tendencies are neither expelled nor exacerbated by attempts at control either during custody or aftercare; these processes are portrayed as largely irrelevant in the experience of the offender.

Although the commentary is at times unnecessarily drawn out and repetitive, endangering the important messages of the study, the threads are brought together in an excellent last chapter. It is important that some of the myths about the effectiveness of custody in deterring or reforming young offenders should be faced. It would be comforting to be presented with real alternatives, but this question is left open, the book being introduced as a preliminary study suggesting areas for further consideration. It will be useful to all involved or interested in law enforcement or social work.

R. JARRETT,  
Senior Probation Officer,  
Hollisley Bay Colony Borstal.



## THE ORGANISATION OF CRIME

MARY MCINTOSH

Macmillan Press, 1975. £1.25

PROFESSOR STAN COHEN has commented upon the apparent failure of criminologists to offer any tangible help to a society in which "crime figures are rising, the courts are overloaded, the prisons lurching from one crisis to another". The fault, he suggested, lay in the traditional focus of attention on the offender and not on the necessary and sufficient conditions in society which produce behaviour labelled criminal.

Mary McIntosh in this short book, less than 100 pages, takes this wider perspective in looking at the professional criminal. By "professional," she means someone whose main occupation is crime. For professional crime to be sustained there must be a level of organisation which, at its simplest, must include somewhere for people interested in committing crime to meet, to exchange information about fruitful opportunities of work and to hire people with the skills needed to carry out the crime. There will also be a need for someone to handle the illicit goods and convert them into usable currency. In other words, crime must have its market place and must, therefore, be subject to those forces in society which shape markets. Economists writing about the wider economy argue that "in conditions where there is a high degree of uncertainty, small firms are likely to be more successful than large ones". *Mutatis mutandis*, "... crime may become organised as a large-scale business when it can control the risks from law-enforcement... on the whole criminals work in extremely uncertain market and production situations, working units are typically very small so that they can respond flexibly to changes as they occur".

In a wide-ranging and absorbing review of the literature on crime, including many autobiographies, written with shrewdness and an awareness of the foibles of those from beyond the pale who write about themselves, Mary McIntosh discusses several forms of professional crime and the way in which those involved were organised and how this reflected the different societies in which they operated. From the less sophisticated bands of brigands, pirates and pickpockets to the more elaborate and technically knowledgeable professionals committing robberies and long firm frauds, she shows how each group organised itself to combat the problems of social control which have to be dealt with to survive.

Mary McIntosh asks whether in the evidence she has sifted there is a move towards centralisation within the organisation of crime: is there a Mr. Big controlling a mafia? The answer offered is that continuous and large scale organisation in the underworld can only exist if the police and public are willing to tolerate such a situation and this would happen only if the former were corrupt and the latter afraid. She finds no simple tendency towards such business organisation although, from time to time, examples of racketeering do occur which encourage the suspicions that both fear and corruption have fostered large-scale crime.

Mary McIntosh stresses that she has tried to study the organisation of crime as a social phenomenon without making moral judgements and, despite the subjective content of her sources, she has succeeded. My review, I fear, is a good deal drier than her account which is free from jargon and full of concrete examples which give life to her arguments.

JOHN STAPLES,  
Assistant Governor  
Wormwood Scrubs Prison.

## THE PROFESSIONAL FENCE

CARL B. KLOCKERS

Tavistock Publications, 1975.  
Hardback £5.50. Paperback £2.00

A PROFESSIONAL fence is a man in business who regularly involves himself in buying and selling

stolen property, not just a co-thief who arranges the sale of ill-gotten gains. Over the years law enforcement officers have frequently been quoted as saying "If there were no receivers there would be no thieves" and to a large extent this is true. The apathy with which the public protect valuable property is such that thieves find stealing property, rather than cash, a comparatively simple matter and it is by selling such property to shady dealers that the thief achieves his object—financial gain.

"Receiving" was the basic classification until the introduction of the Theft Act, 1968, which brought in the wider term of "handling" recognising the involvement of criminals often referred to as "meddlers". This legislation now creates offences in addition to "receiving" of knowing or believing goods to be stolen, undertaking or assisting in the retention, removal, disposal or realisation by or for the benefit of another person, or arranging to do so. Handlers, therefore, do not necessarily have to have had physical possession of the property and successful prosecutions can be achieved against persons who have not even seen the property. In some cases, the charge can be one where the handling is of goods or cash to which the original stolen property has been converted.

In practice it is extremely difficult to secure a conviction against the top class professional fence who, at peak performance, will invariably have everything arranged for quick transportation and disposal of valuable property before giving the go-ahead to the thief to steal the property. The service rendered to the criminal community by a fence over a number of years, together with an implied threat of reprisal, virtually guarantees that the fence will not be shopped by his client. Within this context, the writer of *The Professional Fence* appears to have made a conscientious attempt to highlight the "bent" businessman who reaps a fortune by handling stolen property.

After a comparatively brief reference to Jonathan Wild (a powerful and prominent fence in London in the early 18th century), the author directs his attention to a Washington fence of the 1970's and, as a result of extensive research, he is able to mix fact with comment in an unusual but interesting way.

The assumed name of Vincent Swaggi is used for the subject of the book and in the account of his childhood experiences and development it is obvious that he was remarkably successful at an early age. Starting with activities as a "con" street salesman, he progressed to returning stolen property to owners for financial reward and to the use of blackmail in respect of diaries and personal papers stolen from clients by prostitutes. Buying and selling "swag" and the application of pressure on thieves continued his development and by the age of 30 he had established himself as a fence for shoplifters and lorry drivers. Trading on their low intelligence, he was able to negotiate low prices and his business prospered. A good business front is necessary for the protection of the professional fence and this is endorsed by Swaggi; but no matter how good a businessman the fence may be, the reliability of his clients also ensures success uninterrupted by the law.

An active and well-established fence like Swaggi eventually becomes so proud of his dealing skills that he considers himself a successful businessman and not a criminal. Throughout the book, Swaggi boasts of his prowess as a crafty businessman, denies being a thief himself, and justifies his handling of stolen goods by expressing the opinion that the goods are already stolen and that if he didn't buy them somebody else would. This almost humorous outlook is expressed further when he distinguishes between a driver who sells part of his load or property he dishonestly overloaded, and the person who enters a dwelling to take valuables, insisting that the driver isn't a thief.

Whatever the professional fence may say there must be at least a moral responsibility

involved and, surely, one could never deny that a person operating Swaggi's type of business is responsible for encouraging the commission of thefts. Whilst the early part of the book makes somewhat difficult reading—with switches from lengthy Swaggi quotes to the author's comments—the later stages are extremely interesting as the author seeks to analyse the "innocent" beliefs of this unusual fence. The author also looks at the role of the fence in society to complete what is generally an interesting sociological study, and it is without doubt a book of more than passing interest to students of criminology.

DENNIS HUMBLEBY,  
Detective Inspector,  
West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police.

## CRIME IN BRITAIN TODAY

CLIVE BORRELL and BRIAN CASHINELLA  
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. £4.50

THIS is an excellent book, providing a full and informative look at a wide spectrum of criminal activity and presenting a sad commentary on the prevalent lack of respect for authority in Britain today.

Perhaps it is to be expected that, because the authors are very experienced journalists, one is at times re-reading a comprehensive collation of most of the major crime stories reported in our national newspapers—but with an insight and attention to detail that places them in their right perspective.

The book brings home to us very forcibly the colossal problems within the community which are slowly but surely becoming an everyday part of our daily lives and which unfortunately we in part accept rather than vigorously oppose. The authors—in my opinion—raise the question whether we should treat the criminal as a neurotic with a problem or as an enemy of society.

The figures quoted clearly indicate that the taxpayer is having to bear a burden valued at over £500 million a year with only three out of ten crimes being solved and the gloomy forecast of a continual annual increase with little prospect of any dramatic decrease because of an acute police manpower shortage and an example in public and private life which is, to say the least, somewhat tarnished.

The authors carefully examine and spotlight the many who may be to blame for this increase in crime but wisely argue that the blame appears to be shared—except, of course, by the perpetrators of crime who often remain undetected or receive the most generous care and understanding in sharp contrast to their victims.

The catalogue of criminal activities make interesting and often gruesome reading with case histories of the top ten criminals who, some years ago, would almost certainly have been among the ten topped criminals. The chapters on violence and terrorism reveal how far we have descended into the abyss of anarchy—and they, like the criminal catalogue, mirror the urgent need for strong leadership from our law makers.

The authors incline to the view that the abolition of the death penalty has opened the door to the common use of firearms by the criminal, without the fear of the ultimate deterrent (a factor uppermost in the minds of professional criminals prior to abolition). Further serious consideration must surely be given to this phenomenon since the shotgun has become almost as commonplace among violent criminals as it has always been among gamekeepers.

Parental control or, rather, the lack of it is yet again cited as a basic cause in the now ever-increasing percentage of juvenile crime. Indeed, all of the warnings and forebodings contained in the chapters on juveniles have been very much borne out in a recent press statement attributed to Lord Harris, Home Office Minister of State: "The rise in juvenile offences in the last five years has outpaced our capacity to find

the resources to deal with it" and young people were responsible for a significant proportion of the doubled rate of recorded crime in the last two years.

Although in total agreement with the notion that the family had a fundamental place in society and that it is undoubtedly the stabilising factor, one cannot help but comment on the tremendous pressures placed upon youngsters, and indeed the family, by the mass media. Not least among these pressures is the prettied-up violence served up as an almost daily and evening diet and the easy availability of alcohol.

Chapter four contains an interesting and valuable quote from a lecture given by Dr. Mia Kellmer Pringle, Director of the National Children's Bureau, to an audience of police chiefs and local government officials in late 1973. She stated that research had shown that violence and vandalism were probably linked to the most basic emotional needs and to the extent to which these are met or remain unfulfilled. She went on to say that these needs fell into four main categories: the need for love and security; the need for new experiences; the need for praise and recognition; and the need for responsibility. Obviously, these needs cannot be met in an age of latch-key children and mass unemployment, where violence is acceptable and where we are daily being allowed to slide towards a lawless society. If this book in any way halts this slide (and indeed chapter four contains many of the right ingredients and highlights precisely where we need to begin) it will have provided a long awaited service to the community.

Finally, this book should be compulsory reading nationwide and one hopes that it will be reproduced as a paperback and priced well within the reach of even the unemployed teenager.

F. G. DAVIES,  
Deputy Principal,  
Officers' Training School, Wakefield.

## CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Edited by J. GARDINER and M. MULKEY  
Lexington Books, 1975. £7.25

Any book of readings which promises to focus on the practical application of research to policy issues is likely to receive a welcome from within the Prison Service, especially from those who feel that academic priorities are remote from their own. A book which is introduced not only with this promise, but also with a sweeping condemnation of the research priorities of academics may well be greeted with euphoria. Yet this is precisely what Gardiner and Mulkey do in their introduction when they state unequivocally:

"While social scientists have become quite interested in the etiology of crime, factors associated with various categories of offences and offenders and the organisational dynamics of police, court and correctional agencies, we know relatively little about crime and criminal justice programmes . . . What is lacking is substantive evidence that current programmes are or are not achieving their objectives or that proposed Alternative A is more likely than Alternative B to achieve a given set of goals".

As a criminologist who is frequently referred to as an academic (with scornful overtones) I read on, keen to be enlightened, hoping that I would learn enough to create a new image. Sadly—or perhaps happily as far as my own ego is concerned—I learned very little. Various sections reviewed the working of social control agencies—including the police, courts and Prison Service—and others focused on key concepts in the policy-making debate (e.g. deterrence, decriminalisation, treatment) but, in the main, the contributors were concerned with reviewing research findings which had been around for some time.

Could it be that the editors had been rather immodest in their claims for the book, and that it should be seen as an introductory text for administrators in which standard criminological literature could be reviewed in context. At this level many of the contributions made sense, but since most of the research was second-hand, the immediate question was whether it was being presented helpfully. Unfortunately, with the exception of one or two contributions, notably by Skogan and Ruchelman, the articles are not well presented. A few are, to put it mildly, simplistic, with some hiding the paucity of their message in jargon, whilst at the other extreme Martinson's provocative assessment of treatment regimes lost much by being too condensed. Thus, whilst almost all the articles are new, they read as though they were written because there was a space to fill rather than because the authors had much to say. This is more surprising when one considers the omissions—nothing here on parole or aftercare, for example.

A final word on the relationship between academic research and policy makers: introducing his evaluation of treatment techniques, Martinson records how the project was financed by the New York State Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders. When the research findings were found to conflict with the Committee's own policies, the State tried to prevent the results being published. Fortunately, the attempt failed, but it raises more fundamental questions. Surely, where the State has control over access to and resources for research, it is naive to blame academics for failing to respond to the limited research choices they are offered?

Despite Martinson's account, nowhere in this volume is the problem of the contradictory aims of research appreciated, yet clearly it is crucial to any analysis that one should spell out the theoretical and practical "aims" of research. Academics cannot be expected to come up with the answers if they are only allowed to follow through half the questions. Gardiner and Mulkey could have been more positive had they confronted these issues. By ignoring them, they have failed both the academic and the administrator.

R. I. MAWBY,  
Leeds University.  
Adviser to Prison Service College,  
Wakefield.

## GULAG ARCHIPELAGO, Volume II

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

Collins Harvill, 1975. £4.95

(Fontana paperback £1.00).

EUROPE cannot know says Solzhenitsyn in *Gulag Archipelago II*, precisely what the Russian people have suffered, until Europe has herself "served time". This statement highlights the problem for the reader, because there comes a time when the multiplicity of horrors described by the author reaches the point where the imagination can no longer cope and where the attempt at rational comparison with our experience is no longer viable. "You get out of a literary work what you bring to it" wrote T. S. Eliot; but what can we bring to *Gulag Archipelago* from our milk-fed Western consciousness that can hardly grapple with the slaughter of six million Jews, but which has to comprehend the death of sixty-six millions in the Soviet camps? One can try a few inadequate comparisons (more than the population of the United Kingdom?) but the concept of multi-megadeaths loses itself in ephemeral mathematics.

It is Solzhenitsyn's problem too, for he is concerned to tell the indigestible truth in palatable form and he is presented with a dilemma. If he writes in a conventional literary art form, as he did in the novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, he will gain the poignance offered by the portrayal of individual

suffering, but lose the incredible dimensions of truth. On the other hand, if he writes in dry, factual and quantitative terms, we shall not perceive the poignance of the individual case, since the magnitude of the truth will engulf it. Solzhenitsyn's resultant genre is a kind of ironic perspective which leads the reader through a series of vignettes of individual experiences, which are then interlaced with the jargon of the official purpose behind them. It is an opposite process to *reductio ad absurdum* because we are never left with an impression of deflated authority. Instead, we face the incontrovertible fact of a distorted regime which, because of its gross crudity, is vulnerable only to a grim, ironic humour. The deaths of sixty-six millions in the labour camps, says Solzhenitsyn, were the direct result of an official edict "abolishing unemployment". "But then," he adds, "we did not have any gas chambers". This kind of irony is not literary in the accepted sense, it is experiential, born of men crushed helpless, but not yet dead, beneath the savage, dialectical comic-opera of Soviet Communism. The prisoner looks up and laughs at the monster which holds him down; but it is not funny.

The inversion of values implicit in irony is apposite to the author's task, since it is the complete inversion of values in the Soviet penal system which provides us with the means of differentiating between it and our own. In the camps, thieves, murderers and rapists are classed as "not socially dangerous" and consequently obtain the best positions. But philosophers, professors of art, mathematicians, priests and intellectuals in general are regarded as menials and perform the lowliest labour, get no rewards and are tyrannically used by the common criminals set over them. The revolution, says Solzhenitsyn, was meant to release the Russian people from serfdom; but here were millions suffering a more malignant serfdom than ever existed under the Tsars. Political prisoners were classed as "enemies of the people" and it is with incredulity that the reader begins to understand what this means: eight years because "he used to drink heavily because he hated the Soviet Government"; ten years for "smiling during a speech"; ten years for "criticising the soup" in a collective and, the ultimate, twenty-five years for "praying for the death of Stalin". As Solzhenitsyn observes, "who could have heard that prayer?"

It is difficult for us to isolate and identify the principles behind the Soviet penal system, because they do not exist in our own. Yet the seeds which give rise to them exist in all societies, under the guise of that mechanical drive for "efficiency" which takes no account of flesh and blood. Its servant is bureaucracy which results in the distortion of language to the extent that human beings are mere items. Solzhenitsyn cites the bureaucratic acronym given to prisoners who pulled carts: transposed, this means "temporary replacement for a horse". In a similar vein:

"The work brigade is the basic form of re-education. This means trust in the collective, which is impossible under capitalism. That means the spontaneous initiative of the inmates in the cause of re-education. This is the psychological enrichment of the personality by the collective. The brigade is the basic contribution of Communism to the science of punishment." (Vyshinski).

As Solzhenitsyn comments, "it was indeed a collective organism, living, working, eating, sleeping and suffering together in pitiless and forced symbiosis". If the language of the Soviet penal system is distorted, so too is the measure of its efficiency. The White Sea Canal was a "great achievement", yet it cost 180,000 dead and could not be used because it was too shallow.

If the revolution was to be counted successful, says the author, then it must be compared with the system which is replaced. His comparison is quite astounding. The total number of staff in the apparatus of the dreaded Tsarist

secret police numbered, at its height, 45. The total number of political prisoners just before the revolution—"probably several hundred", and in one big, central prison—seven. The Tsarists, observes Solzhenitsyn, had never heard of economies of scale.

All this could be probably glossed over by fellow travellers and apologists if there had resulted a measurable improvement in the quality of life in Russia. Yet this is not the case, for at the end of the book Solzhenitsyn gives a despairing account of contemporary Russian society. He cites the central motivation of Russian life as fear: "In appearance the country was much bigger than its Archipelago, but all of it and all of its inhabitants hung phantom-like above the latter's gaping maw". From fear, all follows. The servitude of having to stay in one place and one job results in people being gagged because if they speak out they cannot move to escape the consequences. (Contrast this with the dissidents who were allowed to leave Nazi Germany.) Thus there is secrecy and mistrust which deepens the "mass pit of slavery. The moment that someone speaks up everyone shuns him". From this follows the ease with which informers are recruited and betrayal becomes a form of existence. Betrayal of husband, mother or child is commonplace and, because the information given is secret, it cannot be questioned and is invariably untrue or distorted. The lie is a way of life and in its "grey fog not one pillar of truth can be seen". Eventually, says the author, the Russian people assumed the mantle of slavery and a prisoner could stand at his "tribunal" and say: "I understand that wartime placed more serious obligations on the organs of government than to sort out the charges against individual persons". Then it is that "greenish arctic moisture has replaced the warm blood inside you".

*Gulag Archipelago* is not a scholarly, dispassionate tome, nor is it an exercise in political dialectic. It is a personal account in which Solzhenitsyn is witness, chronicler and judge and it is therefore shot through with despair, anger and bitter irony. It conforms to no classic literary form and there is no happy ending or contrived pathos. It contains no demonstrable fact, but it is unquestionably true. It does not follow the path of rational polemic, but it contains the inevitable logic of tragedy. There are no trite lessons to be learnt from it. One can only say that, having read it, one is aware of a base and evil culture capable of crimes not describable in dispassionate terms.

JOHN SHERGOLD,  
Assistant Governor,  
Leyhill Prison.

#### AGAINST OUR WILL: MEN, WOMEN AND RAPE

SUSAN BROWNMILLER  
Secker and Warburg, 1975. £4.90

WITH the law on rape under review, a book on the subject is very welcome. Perhaps it would have helped me, and may help other readers, to see the final sentence of the book first: "My purpose in this book has been to give rape its history. Now we must deny it a future". So it is a book with an ideology and a cause and not a purely factual textbook.

Ms. Brownmiller is quite frank about her viewpoint in her personal statement which ends: "I wrote this book because I am a woman who changed her mind about rape". And in the final sentences of her introductory chapter: "From prehistoric times to the present, I believe rape has played a critical function. It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear".

Over the following 400 pages, and about the same number of quotations and references, she proceeds to try to prove her point. Unfortu-

nately, many of the statistics and the bulk of the references are of rape in America and so cannot be taken as necessarily true of our own culture. This is particularly true in the chapters "A Question of Race" and "Victims—the Crime".

There are very long chapters about rape in wars, in riots and in slavery which contain many excerpts from records which are not for the squeamish to read. Indeed, it does not enhance the book to have dozens of incidents quoted rather than a sample few, and it tends to make the book overlong. Some of the subjects that are dealt with (like child assault, prison rape, both male and female) do not seem to be directly related to the train of argument nor necessarily to prove the point.

What solutions does Ms. Brownmiller offer us to produce the ideal situation where rape is no longer perpetrated? Well, these seem to be a programme of re-education and change in the cultural outlook of the male toward the female. Pornography and the exploitation of women must be taboo, as must any association of aggression, force or even undue persuasion by men against women for sexual purposes. According to the anthropologist Dr. Margaret Mead, such a culture exists among the Arapesh in New Guinea, where rape is unknown. So, I suppose it is just feasible but I doubt that it could be incorporated into the sort of society we have fabricated.

Meantime, the author thinks rape must be dealt with by more effective means which would mean far easier redress by women who claim to have been raped. This includes radical changes in the number of women in positions of authority in law and law enforcement to investigate and deal with reported cases. Finally, women must be taught to be more aggressive themselves and better able to defend themselves physically.

This is an interesting book for anyone interested in the subject of rape in a general way. I feel its cause and ideology will only convert the already converted and will not persuade people in general to the author's viewpoint. It is also of only limited immediate, practical help to us in the Service with our day-to-day work.

DR. A. D. BENTLEY,  
Medical Officer, Dartmoor Prison.

#### PROSTITUTES

JEREMY SANDFORD  
Secker and Warburg, 1975. £4.50

JEREMY SANDFORD, well known for *Cathy Come Home* and *Edna the Inebriate Woman*, continues his championship of displaced people by challenging his readers with a strong plea for the recognition of prostitutes as a necessary social service.

Prostitution, he says, is indestructible: in the history of the civilised world, no society has been able to exist without the services of prostitutes. He goes on to give contemporary examples (taken from talks with those offering such services) ranging from the luxury trade to the street hustler. The range includes dance hostesses, sex therapy, hustling in hotels and on planes, being hired for orgies, working in brothels, and the extras which massage parlours will provide—at a price!

For the purpose of his investigations, Mr. Sandford defines prostitution as sex for sale or barter. For the prostitute, the selling of sex is a job of work which may well involve her in various forms of perversion, particularly if she is working for a ponce who may require her to commit certain acts. It is partly this aspect of the game which leads the author to advocate the formation of a prostitutes' union.

Mr. Sandford examines, at some length, some reasons why girls take up this way of life: the easy(?) money, the need to support their own children, because they themselves like a lot of

sex, as a means of climbing the social ladder through rich and influential clients, in desperation as the only way to get money.

While the book centres on female prostitution, Mr. Sandford does devote a chapter to the male prostitute and another to the general exploitation scene—strippers, topless go-go girls and blue movies.

He writes with an easy style of the various activities which prostitution incurs and it is refreshing to read, amongst so much which is sad and degrading, of the work pioneered by the Rev. J. Williamson (known as Father Joe) to provide hostels for those who want to "get out of the game".

The author, in his plea for the recognition of prostitutes as a necessary part of the social structure, will raise some eyebrows with such questions as: "Should prostitutes be available on the National Health?"; "Is there a case for licensed streets?" (barred to minors and sufficiently indicated for those who do not wish to be propositioned). The author advocates licensed brothels (with regular medical examination to prevent V.D.) and suggests the possibility that local magistrates licence certain coffee bars, pubs and gaming houses where soliciting would be allowed. Above all, he wants the prostitute "brought back into society", since he sees the prostitute as providing a vital service—a service which can be physically unpleasant and which can be dangerous both for the client and the person offering her services. It would be far less dangerous if it were given legal status.

It would seem to me that if we have to accept the proposition that prostitution is an essential part of civilised society, then some of Mr. Sandford's recommendations are worthy of consideration. Prostitution is one of many forms of exploitation and as such is sinful. But the author's plea is for prostitutes to be recognised as members of society who are entitled to a status which offers protection from harassment and further exploitation.

REV. JOHN KNIGHT,  
Parish of Soho.

#### BORSTAL IN IRELAND

NIAL OSBOROUGH  
The Institute of Public Administration, Dublin,  
1975. £4.75.

NIAL OSBOROUGH is Dean of the Faculty of Law at University College, Dublin, and it is from the lawyer's point of view that this book has been written.

The aim of the book is to present a historical account of the development of custodial provision for the young adult offender in the north and south of Ireland. The title is an "Irishism" in as much that there has been no borstal training in the south of Ireland since 1960; it is in this respect that I was a little disappointed. Many readers will be aware that Ireland has not been reluctant to reform its penal system (the remission of prison sentences originated there) and I had hoped to learn something of why borstal training came to an end in the south. It would have been interesting to relate this to the recent recommendations of the Younger Committee in England. Osborough tells us only that a low rate of committals competed with high running costs until the Department of Justice concluded that borstal inmates could be satisfactorily accommodated in one of the ordinary prisons. We are not told why the committal rate dropped and I was left feeling slightly irritated.

The early chapters deal with the history of provision for the young adult offender and the author is to be congratulated on his excellent coverage of the subject, particularly in view of the limitations of his source material. I found his account tremendously helpful in following the development of legislation. Staff at Feltham borstal will be interested to read how borstal trainees from Northern Ireland served their

sentences in that establishment between the years 1921 and 1937. The partition of Ireland in 1921 had left the north without its own borstal establishment and it was not until 1927 that the loss was made up with our own institution.

The most interesting point that emerges from this book relates to the period after the ending of borstal training in the south. St. Patrick's Young Offender Institution housed those who would have been sentenced to borstal training but the south soon found it necessary to open two young offender open establishments. Osborough regards this as "... a departure from the idea of the single custodial institution, St. Patrick's, and a return to the philosophy which, historically, has underlain the classic borstal system".

The major weakness of the book lies in the author's dependence on official records; this is acceptable for the early days, since nothing else was available. I feel, however, that as far as recent developments are concerned the author needed more field research. On one occasion, he attempts to compare the atmosphere of the northern and southern institutions and states that the advantage "has recognisably lain with the north". His evidence for this statement, however, comes from a report compiled in 1941. It is said that neither north or south has as yet established any purpose-built institution for the 16 to 21 age group. Osborough fails to mention that a closed borstal and a young offender centre are both in the course of construction in the north and that, when these are completed, two-thirds of all young offender establishments in the north will be purpose-built.

I would recommend this book to those who have an interest in the history of penal development, it gives excellent coverage of the changes in legislation and it is also well written and very readable. There is a weakness towards the end when it deals with current practice but, as this was not the aim of the book, this drawback can perhaps be forgiven.

DUNCAN McLAUGHLAN,  
Governor,  
Millisle Borstal, Co. Down.

## THE STORY OF A PRISON

PETER SOUTHERTON

Osprey, 1975. £3.00

If acquaintance with the subject is any criterion then no one is better placed to review Peter Southerton's book because I know the prison and I know the author. He has re-created a history of Reading prison and (by the use of mirrors) has reflected the development of change in prison themes in Great Britain over the years.

It has been said that "a sentence of imprisonment was a sentence for life" and until recently this was true. Even today, our principal aim may be an impossible dream. "You cannot train men for freedom in conditions of captivity"—or "The criteria of 'success' is that a prisoner is discharged no worse off than when he was sentenced". In many of our institutions, to achieve even this latter aim would be remarkable. Peter Southerton's contribution has been to state in a flat, factual style the historical development of a prison and the changes which affected the lives of its inmates and staff over the last two centuries. I am sure he deliberately chose the title because he sensed that this history would be typical of most Victorian penitentiaries and county gaols.

I particularly commend his use of etchings, pictures and original plates which show in pictorial form scenes which words cannot describe. He has not actually stated—but does imply—that the process of institutionalisation is a creeping paralysis of the mind and body which moves slowly, like a glacier, but the erosion and damage left in its wake is just as permanent. Even today, the fact that prisoners are well

treated, adequately fed, given a dry bed, clothes, etc., is not the total sum of human existence. It may not be possible to provide the basic elements of space, choice and freedom within a prison; the constraints may be too great. We should not be surprised if people subjected to the experience behave like Pavlovian dogs.

Peter has accurately reflected the developing state of our prisons and avoided the trap into which many social workers fall; he does not condemn historical development without first understanding that any *fundamental* change requires a social revolution. It is too easy for people outside the penal scene to look for simple blanket solutions. Peter was involved as the welfare officer in Reading prison and knew that this was unrealistic. I recommend this book, which should be read by people involved in prison work and by others, providing they accept the principle that there is no simple panacea or magic wand for the treatment of offenders. This is true for those formerly sentenced to transportation to the colonies or for those sent to the moon in 2000. I would have liked him to have emphasised this principle in his book but he chose not to comment on whether various systems were right or wrong at any particular time: he simply stated the facts and allowed them to speak for themselves. Unfortunately, different readers will use these facts to support their own particular arguments. He shows many instances of human brutality and emphasises the ghouliness of people, as they flocked—in their Sunday best—to spectate a hanging man. People do not change as quickly as systems and though today we may be shocked to watch a public hanging on our television sets, the vast majority would not switch it off.

I hope he will accept the slight criticism that I would have preferred a concluding chapter which might have reflected on the question of man's (continuing) inhumanity to man and whether there may not be in each and every one of us a poisonous and evil force which seems to feed on the misfortune of others.

Since the book was completed, I would add that we discovered a 12th century beheaded skeleton (of a noble) within 20 feet of my office. This grisly find perhaps indicates that the site of Reading prison may have been used for "penal purposes" many centuries before 1844. To bring readers up to date, Reading prison now houses a 5,000 square feet permanent Prindus Exhibition Centre and will revert to its original role as a local prison as soon as rebuilding is completed.

Despite these minor criticisms, I congratulate Peter Southerton on recording this history: writing a book is an achievement which many people say they will attempt but few ever accomplish. The interest which the book has aroused beyond the boundaries of Reading is clear evidence of the need for such a work and we are all proud that Peter had the motivation to achieve his task.

R. A. RICHARDS,  
Governor,  
Reading Prison.

## FAMILIES AND FRIENDS OF MEN IN PRISON

STANLEY L. BRODSKY

Lexington Books, 1975. £6.25.

THE research for this book was carried out at the Illinois State Penitentiary and involved 140 men admitted over a five-month period in 1970 and 1971. The account of the research revealed something of a power struggle. Initially, when new prisoners were asked to help the interviewers with an important study, there was a 50 per cent refusal rate. After a rethink, the interviewers decided to explain that they were interviewing to see if the prisoners were eligible to participate in a research study that gave them the opportunity to be paid: they would

get a letter of commendation and help to advance knowledge on behalf of other prisoners. The refusal rate shrunk to 10 per cent! Brodsky lectured staff to win them over; one of his staff became a football fan to suit the whims of the gameman.

A fundamental question is, at whom is this book to be aimed? There are no fewer than 27 statistical tables most of which are presented in computer language which I found unintelligible. Probably many colleagues in the prison and probation services would be similarly disadvantaged.

In dealing with highly personal, intimate letters some of the project staff either reacted with indignation and anger at the nature of prisons or identified with the prisoner wishing for wife or girl friend to respond positively. Others responded to the emotional display with suspicion, becoming convinced that prisoners generally were manipulative. The men had their own defences because there was a failure rate in excess of 75 per cent in tape recording of visits. There were a number of reasons for this ranging from forgetfulness on the part of inmates and lack of staff co-operation, to broken machines and poor quality recordings.

Although the book provides detailed statistical information, many simple questions about the project remain unanswered. Brodsky argues about the geographical isolation of prisons, time, transportation, and financial burdens of visiting, but he does not set the scene so far as the penitentiary is concerned. Nor does he give an indication of how frequently visiting is permitted—all vital data if one is to try to evaluate what visiting frequency means. It emerged that letters were only despatched on Mondays: one wonders why. In case histories, it seemed that the cold-hearted prisoner was only writing once weekly to distressed kinsfolk; but would he have written more frequently if permitted to do so? Incoming mail was photocopied three times weekly and there was a breakdown on two reported occasions, one of these being during a 10-day university vacation. Not surprisingly some of the prisoners withdrew, despite receiving five dollars monthly for their co-operation. Some did nothing for the money, receiving neither visits nor letters. I would have been interested to learn what five dollars meant in inmate terms, what difficulties and jealousies were engendered? One of the tests was the number of words written in letters; although there was a suggestion elsewhere of the rule to use approved stationery, there was no indication of how long a letter might actually be.

This is an involved and over-complicated book. I found it hard to identify with any of the groups involved. It is an object lesson on how difficult research can be for people who have their roots outside an institution. As a probation officer, I was interested in the technical analysis of letters as to length, discomfort relief and self-disclosure through the frequency of the use of personal pronouns. Although this is an interesting book in many ways, I would not recommend it for a library on a tight budget.

J. W. TRACEY,  
Senior Probation Officer,  
Merseyside Probation and Aftercare  
Service.

## LAW, JUSTICE AND POLITICS

GAVIN DREWRY

Longman, 1975. £1.75.

MR. DREWRY's book is one of a series for "A" level students of governmental subjects and, in particular, of politics. According to the series editor, Bernard Crick, "The series aims to break from a purely descriptive and institutional approach to one that will show how and why there are different interpretations both of how things work and how they ought to work". In relation to this particular volume, Mr. Drewry claims it to be "a book about aspects of law, intended primarily for politics students, though with the interests of those studying



English law also borne in mind". He adds: "One word of warning is necessary in using a work of this kind. The rights and wrongs of the arguments about legal reform are far from clearcut. Here they have been greatly simplified . . .". The reader can only thank Mr. Drewry for his caveat. To encompass in a moderate length volume "law, justice and politics" is reminiscent of my own slim tome entitled "Teach Yourself Brain Surgery". This is the failure of what, essentially, is a well-intentioned book meant to fill an educational gap which undoubtedly exists; in so many areas it is confusing to the reader.

Where Mr. Drewry takes space to cover a particular topic and where his material is essentially descriptive, he does it well: chapter five on Administrative Law is an excellent example of this, as is the section on the Beeching Report and the *Courts Act, 1971*. This, to refer back to Crick's introduction, is "how things work"; it is in the "how things ought to work" that Mr. Drewry produces a reaction of "Pardon me, but your bias is showing", and his mixture of informed observation and research with uninformed expressions of opinion produce annoyance and confusion. Sometimes the confusion seems to arise from unacceptable oversimplification and sometimes from an inability to resist a personal aside. Chapter three, for example, on varieties and sources of English law cannot possibly paint a clear picture for the non-legal reader. The diagrams on principal categories of law and the outline of the English court structure are just not adequate, and the definitions of civil and criminal law which Mr. Drewry describes as "far from watertight" are downright coffin ships, viz: "Civil proceedings involve suing a defendant in a civil court" (page 28); "Criminal proceedings involve the prosecution of an accused person (or defendant in a criminal court)" (page 29). The question is positively begged. Again, "it is the judges who must apply statutes, intended to be of general application, to particular situations and to plug any gaps in them". If this is meant to describe the judicial duty to construe a statute, it will not do at all: it is well established that it is for parliament to "plug the gaps" in statutes not for the courts.

Finally, in one instance in chapter three, Mr. Drewry is plain wrong: "In theory, however, an accused person should have a much tougher time proving his innocence in a civil court than in a criminal court. In the latter, he need only instil 'reasonable doubt' in the minds of jury whereas in civil proceedings he must establish his case on a balance of probabilities" (page 31). Nonsense! The accused need prove nothing at all in either civil or criminal court; it is for the plaintiff or prosecution to prove the case.

In summary, Mr. Drewry has allowed himself to become over-involved in areas of his subject where he clearly feels very strongly. His choice of topics for the various chapters and, perhaps even more, a moment's contemplation of what he has omitted indicate his own set of priorities. No doubt as a very readable book (and it is) the "A" level student for whom it is intended may be able to make some use of it as an adjunct to more formal textbooks, although even then the student would need to bring a critical eye to bear. However, for the general reader with an interest in the subject, I would suggest that Mr. Drewry's bibliography is more helpful than his text.

DAI CURTIS,  
Assistant Governor I,  
Officers' Training School, Wakefield

## SUCCESSFUL SUPERVISION

JAMES WHITE

McGraw-Hill, 1975. £4.50.

AT FIRST glance, this book may appear to have relevance only to the industrial aspects of the penal environment, but management principles

apply equally to most organisations that have defined aims and objectives. There must be a policy in order to achieve those objectives and usually an organisational structure to carry out that policy.

This book is mainly about the supervision of people and as this is the prime concern of the Prison Service, I would consider the subject to be very relevant to staff at all levels. The rules of employment may differ from one type of organisation to another but the logic of management, in my opinion, can be applied in most line or functional management situations. I, therefore, found the book disappointing since there was such a strong emphasis on the production supervisor when similar principles can equally apply at most managerial levels and functions whether in industry, commerce or public service.

The reader would be better informed if Mr. White had defined the role of a supervisor clearly in the first chapter of the book. The author frequently strayed from what I regard as the supervisor's job to include those of other levels of management, over which the supervisor has very little control. Had the book dealt with the principles of management at all levels and, within this wider context, indicated to the reader at which level the supervisor should attempt to influence both workers and management, this point of criticism may have been avoided. In many organisations, it is as important to know how to "handle the boss" as it is to know how to deal with subordinates.

I felt that the main omission, leaving aside the rather sketchy cover of business management techniques, was an appreciation of management or leadership style. I do not think it is sufficient to provide a check list of personnel management "goodies" without helping the supervisor to recognise the style of management that he should adopt. He should be aware of his own style, that of his boss and the organisation within which he works and have some reasons for the style of management that is usually adopted. The author seems to be recommending the democratic approach and while I would not disagree with the need to democratise management in many situations I think that it should be made clear that there is sometimes the necessity for the authoritarian management style. Without wishing to argue the pros and cons of leadership styles further in this review, I merely quote from *How to Choose a Leadership Pattern* by Tannenbaum and Schmidt:

"The successful leader is one who is aware of those forces which are most relevant to his behaviour at a given time. He understands himself, the individuals and the group he is dealing with, the company and the environment in which he works. He is also able to assess his subordinates readiness for growth.

"Further, he is able to behave in the light of his perceptions, providing direction or allowing participative freedom as is called for. Thus, his success depends upon being insightful and flexible".

In other words, it is important firstly to recognise the style to match the given situation.

In spite of the reservations that I have mentioned, I think that this book has a clear style and is well worth reading.

E. R. GRIFFITHS,  
Planning and Production Manager,  
Controllerate (Industries and  
Supplies), Scottish Home and  
Health Department.

## PROCESSING PEOPLE

Edited by JOHN B. MCKINLAY

Holt-Blond, 1975. £6.95.

P.S.J. reviewers are told: "Because the readership is mixed and draws heavily on those engaged 'in the field' the reviewer should endeavour to bridge the gap between the book and the reader with a practical but reflective

interest in penal matters". The publisher's blurb for this book states: *Processing People* constitutes ideal reading matter for undergraduate courses in organisational sociology". The reflective, interested practitioner might be forgiven for wishing to enter an undergraduate course to familiarise or re-familiarise himself with the theoreticians' language.

The contributions cover religious organisations; the university; industrial organisations; trade unions; the prison; accounts of organisations; professionalism in formal organisations, clients and organisations. I found it refreshing that the research and experience of America was not seen as necessarily universally applicable and that the editor had recognised this in the planning of the book.

This review concentrates on the section dealing with prison written by Anne R. Edwards, who trained in England and is now working in Australia. What impressed me were statements like: "as in most substantive areas of study in sociology the material so far published contains a considerable number of confusions, contradictions and discrepant findings . . .". There are no claims to present answers and the section helps the interested practitioner to stand back and reflect. An acceptance of the limitations of research and of one methodology would perhaps provide a timely warning to those who would make the flesh word alone. Prisons must be recognised as living organisations which cannot be frozen for the research worker or managerial consultant. At a time when prisons are being "opened up" by the introduction of additional specialists and research workers, the recognition is needed that a full picture of an institution cannot be gained by feigning neutrality between the several subcultures.

Those who have directed their attention toward prisons have, for the most part, concerned themselves with the prisoner. There is now a recognition that a study of prison staffs would provide useful data on the understanding of prisons as organisations. Thomas in his work on the prison officer has perhaps made the most useful study in his area. Morris and Morris in Pentonville gave some of their time to this area of organisation. Edwards looks at the problem but the space she allocates possibly reflects the lack of available research.

In a world in which bureaucracy is growing, it is useful to have a book which examines in some depth our knowledge of certain bureaucracies and organisations within our society. Bureaucracies are important in the effect they have on people's lives and in the extent to which they "create" the individual. As the title implies, we process people and we, as organisations, stereotype and produce our typologies. Organisations offer services, beliefs, material wealth and Utopian advancement. A danger is that the group to which the organisation directs itself might refuse to conform or meet the stereotype! People continue to respond to people and will cross organisations to meet the individual.

W. J. ABBOT,  
Assistant Governor  
Liverpool Prison.

## BACK FROM BROADMOOR

PETER THOMPSON

Mowbray, 1975. £2.95.

PETER THOMPSON was released from Broadmoor hospital in June, 1969, having spent four years there. In 1972, he published an autobiography, *Bound for Broadmoor*. This book is the sequel. In it, he mixes the story of his struggle to re-establish himself in society with description and comment on a wide range of social events and causes with which he became involved.

The autobiographical parts describe simply and movingly the characteristic and all too predictable problems of finding accommodation, regular employment and overcoming isolation and rejection. Fortunately, he had the support of some reliable friends and he found a wife—he was married for the second



time in May, 1971. Even so, he had some painful experiences—like being refused life insurance and being cold-shouldered by the church.

The rest of the book is filled out with kaleidoscopic comment about the many causes which have captured his interest since 1969. These include the care of the mentally ill (especially, of course, ex-Broadmoor patients), the Y.M.C.A., film censorship, politics and fringe church groups like the Billy Graham organisation, the Festival of Light and Operation Mobilisation. For most of these he was a campaigner—a role for which he was well fitted by his P.R. experience and undoubted skills.

All this mixed material packed into less than 150 pages makes for an indigestible and disappointing book. We are fed half-cooked dishes from an enormous menu without adequate time to eat them in comfort. There is a lack of selection and discerning evaluation of the causes he championed. It would have been better if he had given us much more autobiography. We have more to learn from Peter Thompson the man than from Peter Thompson the campaigner.

What glimpses of him we do get show us a man of great tenacity and compulsive energy who cannot keep still for long; a man who needs publicity to bolster his ego; a man who, from his own inner fragility and turmoil, has tapped the resources of divine love; a man who found Broadmoor to be a walking stick and who is not ashamed to admit it.

HUGH SEARLE,  
Chaplain,  
Parkhurst Prison.

## THE MOST WANTED MAN— RONALD BIGGS

COLIN MACKENZIE

Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1975. £3.95.

It's a bit like winning the pools, one supposes—a mere £150,000 or so share—modern day Robin Hoods, a cavalier band of thieves in the grand manner. The image of the sophisticated criminal, Ronald Biggs: from his petty criminal days to his involvement in the biggest one of all, his subsequent escape from prison and his flights across the world.

Read this enjoyable book and completely dispel these thoughts. I was left in no doubt that beneath the facade of Biggs' daring and charm lies a great user of people. Whether or not Colin MacKenzie means to convey this is arguable; more likely he has a touch of hero worship or at least an awe of Biggs. However, the cold reality is that Biggs, like so many criminals, is self-centred, a user of others, with a great instinct for self-preservation; he would, in other circumstances, have survived in Auschwitz. Biggs has not even got that superficial virtue, so praised in the criminal fraternity, reflected by "if you can't do the time, don't do the crime".

Naturally woven into the fabric of the story is the stress and the conflict placed on his loyal wife Charmian and their children who, one feels, deserve a better deal in life than they got with Biggs. In fact, Charmian, to overcome what for her is a real tragedy, shows more resolution and fortitude than her husband.

Despite a few obvious inaccuracies about prisons, like mailbags sewn 30 stitches to the inch, Colin MacKenzie has given us a good chronological account of a small time criminal who got out of his depth and lacked the style to cope. Biggs is no hero, he is not misunderstood, he has got away with nothing, and I am left clearly hoping that, even if he remains "free", he will slip into obscurity.

Nonetheless, I commend the book; it has good style and pace, it does not trip in an out of the realms of analysis so beloved in this type of story. For myself, however, I prefer to wait until I win the pools.

M. S. NEWTON,  
Officer, Gloucester Prison.

# The Southfield Papers

## THE SOUTHFIELD PAPERS

THESE papers are published at irregular intervals by the Southfield Trust which is an organisation with some 14 years' experience in providing hostel accommodation for young offenders who have a homeless and highly institutionalised background. The purpose of the papers is to help residential workers improve their understanding of their own concerns as well as those of the residents. It seems a fair assumption, and these papers tend to endorse this view, that penal establishments and hostels share some characteristics and there is much of interest not only to those working in hostels but also to prison staff.

I have reviewed only three of the four sets of papers published to date. The individual sets do not claim to have any specific theme, although a rough division is discernible to me. The first set is mainly concerned with experiences in hostel life; the second has some bias towards Prison Service establishments; and the third has articles examining issues of a general nature related to hostels. This, however, may not constitute a very helpful guide since there is a series of articles entitled "Somewhere to Live and Somewhere to Leave", by Barry Palmer, appearing in each set. In addition, the first two sets include two parts of an autobiography by an ex-Southfield hostel resident.

Barry Palmer, who is connected with the Tavistock Institute, approaches hostels from an organisational angle and certainly asks the right kind of questions. He deals with the distinction between the various expectations and official statements, which hostels are supposed to fulfil or reflect, and the reality of what can be inferred from the daily routine and life. He suggests guidelines for reviewing the effectiveness of a hostel in carrying out its stated aims and puts forward models which might be useful for hostel staff in examining their own setting. It is constructive as well as a questioning series of papers. He goes on to suggest, however, that a hostel—an example of a humanitarian institution as distinct from an industrial concern—is unable to achieve the ideal goals because they lack clear definition and guidance in their pursuit. This argument has an all-too-familiar applicability to the prison setting and John McCarthy (Deputy Director in the South-west Region of the Prison Department) takes Palmer to task on it in a letter which is included.

The main point is that this confusion about task definition and success criteria arises as a defence against the painful process of coping with the pretty unpalatable facts about success rates. The defence can be indulged in because, by and large, humanitarian institutions are State controlled, monopolistic concerns without fear of being forced out of existence by competition. However, Palmer points out that such institutions might be closed down or their senior staff removed on grounds other than success rates so one must assume that these ideal goals are something of a myth. Palmer rightly goes on to raise the issue that hostels, as well as acknowledging the various and conflicting expectations, must make progress towards identifying the primary task, and places this responsibility squarely in the hands of the warden.

The two-part autobiography by a resident starts off well. Sharif tells his story without self-pity or sentimentality and it is all the more effective for that. The second part deals mainly with his experiences in borstal and concludes by giving a very favourable view of his stay at Southfield hostel, to which he attributes his ability to stay out of trouble for two and a half years. Very little detail about his life in borstal or in the hostel is given and this is somewhat frustrating in trying to find out what was helpful about Southfield.

Of the other papers, I would particularly commend "The Natural Family within a Therapeutic Group" by Ivis Lasson. The title might not seem to have much direct appeal but the relationship between the author's own family and the residents with whom she worked was much closer than is the experience of most prison staff, so that the conflicting emotional demands of family life and residential work are presented interestingly for us all. The point is also made that residential workers do need help in this area and should not feel that they are expected to have the personal resilience to stand on their own feet.

I also liked C. H. Rolph's witty critique of the *Young Adult Offenders* report. He is particularly interested in the comments on the use of hostels. Rolph is also the only contributor in these papers to mention the low pay and lack of career prospects that are the usual lot of hostel staff. A fair point, which no amount of deep discussion about other issues concerning hostels should be allowed to hide. Rolph is in favour of a Youth Authority to deal with the overall problem of young offenders and he is in support of Leo Abse's note of dissent in the *Young Adult Offenders* report. It is an interesting idea, but I'm not sure about the term itself which appears to blur the difference between youth which is delinquent, disturbed or whatever and that which is not. Rolph ends his paper on a splendid, philosophical generalisation: "Time after all is on our side. Youth itself is a disease that calls for patience all round, and time has always cured it". Perhaps he is really opting for what others would call a "radical non-interventionist approach".

The article I found least satisfactory was "A House for Ex-borstal Girls—an Exploratory Project" by P. D. Elder in which it is admitted that the project was a failure. Avalon House was a small hostel set up to deal with homeless ex-borstal girls which closed down after three and a half years with a recognition that the girls who had come to Avalon had not been helped. The fairly well-worn notion that girls and women do not generally respond to any kind of residential or communal group setting is put forward, but most of the article is concerned with a detailed elaboration of the pathological nature of the girls and the problems, and one is almost asked to accept the conclusion that the failure of the project was due to the girls being difficult. While something of the qualities and qualifications of the staff is mentioned, the structure and interaction of the staff as a group is not up for discussion but could have been a contributory factor. The author feels that a new, radical approach to the problem must be sought but one is left wondering whether the existing potential of the setting might not have been more critically

examined and perhaps modified or developed.

Hostels almost always seem to be suggested as an alternative or adjunct to some other kind of treatment. Halfway between treatment in the community and a custodial penalty, it is rare that their value is seen unrelated to or uncomparated with one of these more definite alternatives. Which alternative they are seen more closely to resemble is an interesting question. The *Young Adult Offenders* report places them nearer the custodial situation.

Hostels differ from penal establishments primarily in terms of size and, arguably, are free of some of the more extreme negative characteristics of total institutions. Another interesting difference, suggested by Barry Palmer, is that in hostels with smaller staffs, individual staff members have to hold within themselves a more complex set of roles and functions than in larger institutions. Certainly, this general area of the roles, structure and inter-relationships of hostel staff could be a fruitful subject for detailed study. *Cottage Six* by Polsky deals with the staff structure and relationships in a therapeutic setting which has parallels with hostels. Polsky makes valid points about the relative status and ways of working of cottage "parents" and specialists which could well have application to hostels. In other ways, hostels and penal establishments have much in common, and some of the ideas in these papers would perhaps be found in a set of papers about penal establishments about 10 to 25 years ago. It is important, therefore, to return to Barry Palmer's point about hostel wardens and their staffs moving towards the definition of a primary task. As John McCarthy claims, the success criteria are available and can be tested. And this may mean hostels establishing for themselves a more separate

identity. Otherwise, with the custody/treatment dichotomy perhaps more firmly located in hostels than ever it was in prisons and borstals, hostels (such as Southfield) will be seen, after the pioneering phase, as offering just a milder and cheaper form of incarceration.

JOHN CAPE,  
Deputy Governor,  
Leyhill Prison.

### PRISON ARCHITECTURE

UNITED NATIONS SOCIAL DEFENCE RESEARCH  
INSTITUTE

Architectural Press, 1975. £30.00

A GREAT amount of thought has been given to prison design in the last few years. Opinion about the effectiveness of containment in traditional prisons, coupled with the ultimate goal of rehabilitating offenders back into society, has alerted the architect to this problem. This book presents an international survey of representative closed institutions and an analysis of current trends in prison design.

*Prison Architecture* is divided into two main sections: the first part examines the function and design of prison buildings while the second part comprises the survey of prison designs. The first 30 pages are devoted to the evolution of the prison from 6,000 years ago through Roman and mediaeval times up to the present day. There are excellent sketches and photographs illustrating the Mamertine in Rome, the Bastille in Paris, and many other interesting examples from abroad and this country. Part two contains plan forms, site layouts, sections and details of well over 20 penal establishments.

The architecture of closed institutions brings to our attention the importance of finding a

design solution which reflects the type of treatment being considered. One section of the book sets out the various forms of the treatment of offenders throughout the world and shows the work that has been done so far by individual countries and by the United Nations. Whilst it is credit-worthy of the UN to have embarked on a plan to establish minimum rules for the treatment of offenders, it has become evident that in many of the developing countries these rules are not feasible. Many of the design solutions contained in this book have originated from economically advanced countries and should not be used by developing nations.

A great deal of time and study is required in relating the architecture to the activities pursued, especially when one does not know the management structure or regime. There are special relationships between the buildings and those activity programmes in which individuals can form and develop an identity and where groups or modules are of a size which allows individualised treatment. There is a need for flexibility which will provide for changes in the activity programmes and allow adaptation to other, future occupancies.

A critical analysis of some of the examples given in the book completes the study of *Prison Architecture*. A lot of the statements and principles expounded could promote a great deal of discussion and argument. I hope many members of the Prison Department have an opportunity of reading this book, although it isn't exactly a paperback which you can take on holiday: it measures about 13 inches by nine inches and costs £30.00.

C. A. G. POOLE,  
Principal Architect  
Home Office.

## UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE—INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

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