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

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EDITORIAL

AFTER nearly five years in the editorial chair (a chair, incidentally, only spasmodically editorial amidst the hustle of mundane prison business) this incumbent reflects, as people are wont to do in similar situations, on what is new, what is unchanged—and perhaps unchangeable?

We set out, in 1972, what we thought then were the main imperatives in the prison scene, and really they have not altered very much. We railed (and have been railing ever since) against physical overcrowding which we recognised as the principal enemy of basic reforms. It still is, and now as then it will not be solved until we find as a society the will, the money and the ideas to substitute less expensive and less hopeless methods of dealing with social nuisances, as opposed to dangerous criminals.

There have been some significant trends. Our society seems to have become more violent ("seems" because the statistics on this subject should be approached with caution, and related to new norms) and it is rapidly becoming less affluent. Such a juxtaposition bodes ill for penal reforms; when the innocent are being widely punished, economically, socially, racially, let those found legally guilty of something—anything—beware. There is a tremendous hunt for scapegoats going on all around us at the moment, and the traditional ones will not be overlooked.

Therefore the "good man for gaoler" of Howard whom we considered—and still do—the foundation stone of the system, is likely to have a thin time in the foreseeable future. For he is subject to the same pressures as everyone else, and his sense of purpose will be under erosion from within and assault from outside, perhaps more severely than in the last 30 years. He will be sorely tempted to ask, along with other commentators on the contemporary scene, "Are things getting out of hand?"

Probably they are not, except in so far as prison staffs reflect the national conscience and confidence. But we need to be on our guard all the same, amidst the inevitable belt-tightening, (and even the riots) to ensure that the human values "inside" continue to represent the kind of justice we would all choose to live by. In good or bad times a country's penal system reflects the quality of the society that supports it. It was, I think, Churchill (paraphrased somewhat) who said that.

The following article is published with the consent of the Justice of the Peace, in which journal it first appeared.

The Welfare of the Prisoner

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"We think that the system should be made more elastic, more capable of being adapted to the special cases of individual prisoners" — The Gladstone Commission on Prisons, 1894.

IN recent months we have been taxed by the problem of how a relatively small county probation and aftercare service, with a limited establishment of main grade staff, could regularly and effectively second as many as eight of its complement to work in two of the penal establishments which lie within the county boundary. This is a problem highlighted in the annual reports of other non-Metropolitan county probation and aftercare areas and one which we think can be resolved with a planned programme of pre-secondment orientation followed by a phased re-entry to a field situation which may have changed and towards which the seconded officers' perceptions will have changed. Arrangements for such secondments appear to us to have to take into account three important factors:

1. The level of staffing should be such that the seconded officer feels able to make a full professional contribution to the institution so that on his return to the field his experience can be made available to the service in a way which illuminates its understanding of aftercare problems.
2. The service locally must accept responsibility for that level of staffing, and identify well in advance staff who should be encouraged to think in terms of secondment.
3. The length of secondment needs to be sufficient to enable staff to become involved, and to make a commitment to an institution, but not of such duration that staff become institutionalised or "taken over" by that institution. For this reason, and in spite of Home Office Circular 114/75 which suggests longer periods, a minimum of two and a maximum

of three years is recommended as a secondment period at any one point in an officer's career.

Consideration of these arrangements encompasses the secondment of senior probation officers who would, in effect, have a management role within the institution.

These three issues pre-suppose basic assumptions about the probation officer's function in the prison and the way that it has developed since a fourfold role was defined by Home Office Circular in 1967:—"As Social Case Worker; as the focal point of social work; as the normal channel of communication of social problems with the outside; and as the planners of aftercare". These basic assumptions have now to be examined in the light of the publication *Social Work in Prison*, and the Prison Department memorandum entitled "Social Work in Prison Department Establishments". There is a passage in *Social Work in Prison* which highlights issues nicely and suggests a credible, but differentiated role for both prison officer and probation officer in meeting aspects of what can loosely be called a prisoner's "welfare" needs:

"The welfare officers . . . had certainly become accepted as part of normal prison life, but they did not occupy a central place in it. The staff with whom the prisoners worked and had most contact, civilian instructors, workshop officers and the uniformed officers, were those the prisoners most often talked to, and liked best. For specific personal problems, however, the majority of men said they would go to the welfare officer, although several chose other

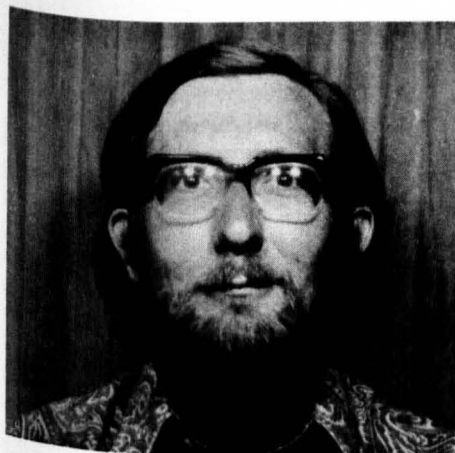
staff in preference because they knew them well and felt they could talk to them more easily (The welfare officer's) special position as a trained civilian social worker was valued by many men, who felt that he could be trusted to treat matters in confidence. More significantly, his access to the outside world made him a major channel of communication for the men".

Such an account recognises the value and place of both groups in a way that might enable the development of distinct but inevitably overlapping roles. It certainly provides a more realistic starting point than the Prison Department memorandum which, against the whole tenor and evidence of *Social Work in Prison* (and the Gladstone report of 1894), not only recommends that the search for special individual treatment in each case is no longer thought to be realistic, but also considers the role of prison officer in a specious and rhetorical way—"Does this mean that the prison officer should have training in all manner of specialist skills?"

"No one would expect a prison officer to be doctor / priest / teacher / social worker all in one. The real issue, and one not really faced in the memorandum, is what he should be that is different and distinct from all four.

The roll call of specialisms and the way each have affected the prison officer has been put into historical perspective by J. E. Thomas in an interesting, if partisan study, which describes how successive specialist appointments—chaplain, schoolmaster, housemaster, P.E.I., psychologist and most recently probation officer—have forced the prison officer back into the role of guard or custodian. It is invidious to blame these several groups for a situation which has emerged over several decades to meet needs identified and defined by both public and administrative enquiry. Suffice it to say that the people on those enquiries did not, and perhaps could not, appreciate the potential in the prison officer's role. There have been marked changes in the personnel joining the Prison Service at basic grade in recent years, giving some prospect of a change which would place a value on the professional contribution to be made by prison officers:

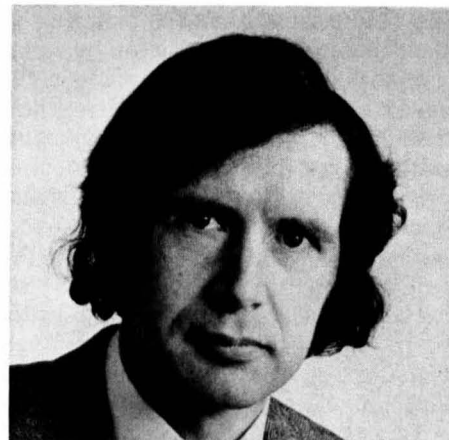
"We were able to identify two broad groups (of prison staff) more or less equally distributed between the different prisons. One of these consisted of officers who had come to the Service late (in career), usually after armed service experience. The



Colin Archer. Is married to a social worker. Joined the Probation and Aftercare Service in 1967 after a post-graduate generic social work training course at Barnett House, Oxford. He worked in Hertfordshire for six years, and was appointed Senior Probation and Aftercare Officer in Hereford and Worcester in February 1973, and was seconded to H.M. Prison Long Lartin in September 1974, where he is currently working.



Paddy Lowry. After such diverse careers as regular soldier, colonial policeman, coconut planter and transport manager, Paddy Lowry undertook Home Office probation training and commenced work in the Staffordshire Service in May 1965. From 1967 to 1970, he was a Probation Officer at Stafford Prison and Senior Probation Officer at Drake Hall Prison from 1971 to 1973. This latter experience has left him with a considerable interest in prisons, prisoners and prison staff. Paddy Lowry is now Senior Probation Officer at Hereford, but serves on the Local Review Committee at Long Lartin.



Gordon Read. After two years' service with an infantry battalion, read English at Cambridge and Social Sciences at the London School of Economics. Joined the Probation Service in 1962, working in the South London area. In 1966, was seconded for a year to work in the Department for Parents and Children at the Tavistock Clinic. Was a Senior Probation Officer in the Inner London Probation and Aftercare Service which included a period at Pentonville Prison in 1971 and 1972. Was Assistant Chief Probation and Aftercare Officer for the County of Hereford and Worcester with responsibility for Probation staff at H.M. Prison Long Lartin and H.M. Remand Centre, Brockhill, from 1972 to 1976. Is currently Midland Regional Staff Development Officer for the Probation and Aftercare Service, in which capacity he hopes to maintain training links with the Prison Department.

other group was made up of men who had come early to prison work. They tended to be younger and more of them had further education after the minimum school leaving age. They had often worked in skilled occupations, and therefore tended to bring shop floor rather than "non-commissioned officer" experience to their prison employment. Not surprisingly, they displayed rather different ideas about how their work should be done from the other group, notably for instance in the welcome they gave to the chance of exercising discretion or showing initiative".

A subsidiary paper prepared by the working party which produced the Prison Department memorandum as a response to evidence from the Prison Officers' Association is helpful in respect of making use of the capacities identified above. It suggests that there should be practical recognition that the role of prison officers should extend beyond the purely custodial role to "welfare" duties and, "in proposing that the officer inmate contact should be recognised as the basic working relationship in a prison, the Prison Department envisages practical changes which would make staff in daily touch with the prisoner responsible for his welfare". That word is used in the sense of "assisting the prisoner to adjust to institutional life; to use the experience positively; to maintain outside contacts; and to see that, where appropriate, problems affecting the prisoner's external relationships were referred so that they received attention".

As the clearest potential conflict of interest in respect of "welfare" lies between the prison officer and the probation officer (misguidedly called prison welfare officer) it is important to discover whether their roles are distinguishable and whether the former can exercise a role which is varied, embraces caring concepts, and yet is different from the latter. Michael Day, chief probation officer for Surrey, has commented on what appears to be an expression of professional rivalries in the Prison Department memorandum which contains hints of a power struggle between various departments in the Home Office. He comments trenchantly, and it is a view which we would support and reiterate, that "what we would resist to the end is a redefinition of our role that left others to decide whether or not we are brought into direct contact with the prisoner", (Margaret Shaw's research discovered the existence of a "hidden market" for counselling or casework help hitherto masked by overt concerns about practical matters). Probation officers, therefore, see their special contribution within the penal system as identifying individual need and behaviour difficulties and making sure that appropriate resources are brought to meeting that need and responding to those difficulties. In doing so the probation officer, with professional lines of communication to an organisation and management struc-

ture outside the Prison Service, can act with an element of professional discretion which lies outside some of the most pressing institutional constraints and, as a result, can sometimes obtain the trust and confidence of a prisoner which is not always available to the prison officer because of the ritual confrontations created by security considerations and the need for containment.

It would be inappropriate to over-stress the freedom a probation officer has in carrying out his task; the fact that his professional loyalties lie outside the prison can bring its own constraints and tensions. In any case, within the prison there is a shared treatment situation and no element of staff has exclusive claims to all treatment functions. What the probation officer is able to do is to see an individual in terms of his life career—before prison and through prison to a future beyond it—whereas there are many pressures on the prison officer to persuade him to think solely in terms of the period of "time" that men are "doing". Nevertheless, the probation officer must take account of the constructive features of work in the institution which have been identified by K. C. Parris, formerly senior probation officer at Gartree: "The inmate who is habitually delinquent or 'impulse rid-

den' is the same person in prison or in the community, but in prison he seems more self-contained. When he is in the community his predicament is unclarified, highly idiosyncratic and remains unchallenged until he is caught. Imprisonment not only curtails his delinquent activity, but provides an opportunity, not available when he is in the community, to clarify and intervene in his private predicaments in order to try to assist him to work through his own problems in a more rational and realistic way". Parris goes on to comment that techniques of social work are not the prerogative of those who call themselves caseworkers; indicating that although there may be a lack of awareness of the value of these techniques in the Prison Service, prison officers nevertheless use some of them intuitively.

This may be an appropriate point to discuss what the respective groups bring to their jobs in the prison. Recruitment literature for probation officers tends to concentrate on an applicant's interest in influencing people and in changing the behaviour of people who characteristically express their frustrations in a conflict with authority. The probation officer is expected to discover and understand the genesis of that sort of conflict and in part identify with it in order to get it re-expressed in the context of a relationship with a corrective, albeit caring, authority. Advertisements for prison officers assume a different motivation inviting concern about people but at the same time stressing the officer's own personal security. It is clear that the prison officer is expected to be able to get alongside men in a firm but friendly way but there is little initial expectation that he should understand the springs of feeling or behaviour or that he should use himself or his own awareness to effect personal change in prisoners. Even in the sense of being alongside the prisoner and sharing common experiences "only at an informal, undescribed and undefined level is there any contact utilising the immediate nature of incidents within the institution and their effect on both staff and inmates". The prison officer will also be in an organisation where his own experience of authority, despite his being identified with it, may be similar to that of the prisoner. His value to the prison then, and his potential in terms of the rehabilitation of the offender, lies in just that bond which builds between himself and the prisoner with whom he shares a great deal of his life. It is in this "dialogue of shared experience" that the prison officer can find a

role which is both rewarding to himself and of benefit to the prisoner in terms of the latter's capacity to accept an experience of relationship and socialisation which may have some transfer out into the community.

There is a parallel between the treatment implications of this kind of relationship and the Probation Service's development of volunteer resources in the community. Volunteers who work with probation officers are very often professional people, skilled in their own right, who have, as prison officers do, an interest in offenders. The probation officer can capitalise on this interest in a manner whereby the treatment process is worked out in the dynamic interaction between volunteer helper (prison officer) and offender. It is for this reason that probation officers often claim that a volunteer can do a better job than they can. The same might well apply in the prison situation, and does if we accept the implications in the quotation from Margaret Shaw above. However, the potential in the situation might require the prison officer to be prepared to accept that the probation officer's skills lie in the use of relationships and that he might be a useful person to advise on the way in which the prison officer could work and perhaps even be matched with the prisoner to achieve a similar outcome. The probation officer's capacity to do this would of course depend on his having access to prisoners in order to identify the relationship needs and potential.

Current organisation of long-term and training prisons indicates that change is on the way in the Prison Service. There are signs that the Prison Department desires a more comprehensive training programme for its basic grade staff and, while such changes may not be immediate, it is clear that the prison officer, besides being someone who undertakes the by no means comfortable or simple task of ensuring that those for whom he is responsible remain in prison, also has to be seen as someone carrying out a residential social work role. In developing the social work aspect of that role, Prison Department training programmes could be linked with those recommended by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work. If the prison officer is to undertake a role in which he is encouraged to use his initiative and discretion rather than respond in a routine way concerned with getting the prison through the day, he will require not only training but supervision in the sense in which that word is used in social work,

he will require support from senior staff, and he will require ongoing opportunities to study his own behaviour evaluatively in terms of the decisions he makes. To bring that day a step nearer we feel that there would be value in clarifying the specialist role of the probation officer, as it has been discussed above, and see him as rooted in a social work tradition which is concerned with personality adjustment, behaviour change, growth and self-realisation. While day to day practical matters, like 'phoning wives and girl-friends buying birthday cards and collecting suitcases may come under the umbrella of those objectives, it is not always helpful to see the probation officer as solely concerned with undertaking those tasks, even though it may be part of his job to see that they are accomplished. Many of the "welfare" problems handled by probation officers today could be obviated by more imaginative canteen provision in prisons and by the extension of the use of telephones by prisoners along the lines initiated in some borstals—perhaps a trusted and "professionally confident" landing officer could supervise such telephone calls. Visiting arrangements could be improved, with the landing officer or wing officer concerned to participate in facilitating visits and in meeting other helping agents and families who come to the prison. Such an involvement would meet the requirements in Margaret Shaw's final sentence, "in many ways, what is needed is to open up the prison and relate it to the community, rather than expect it to produce change of itself. Better ways of using its potential, and alternatives with less isolating effects, must be developed".

If we do this, the role of the prison officer changes immediately. If to that change we make a clearer definition of the activities of the probation officer in prison, then the prison officer's role would surely be enhanced. The probation officer, seconded as a social worker with the concerns outlined above, should have the strongest links possible with the probation agency outside, using its facilities, its clerical and support staff, its notepaper and its system of recording (this already happens in the Midland region where the experimental probation record is used by probation officers who work both inside and outside prisons). In order to further clarify his role, vis-a-vis that of the prison officer, the title "welfare officer" and designation "welfare department" should be abolished and the probation officer should use his agency title and be known as a probation officer.

or, more accurately, probation and aftercare officer, inside the prison. Welfare is but *one* aspect of the probation officer's job, just as it is *one* aspect of the prison officer's job; for each his role may to some extent overlap with the other, as is inevitable with all other specialists in the prison just because of the common humanity which all bring to their tasks. If that is recognised, it is clear that the prison officer wishing to develop his welfare role should not be seen as an ancillary to a probation officer and thereby placed in a position which denies and devalues the role that he could and should develop. If a prison officer has particular skills and attributes which suggest that he would be better suited to the role of probation officer, then he should be encouraged to consider transferring to that service (over the years there has been a steady trickle both ways).

The role for the prison officer to develop will not necessarily be easier, but it may be more rewarding, with not only an enhanced status in the eyes of the public, but in the eyes of the prisoner as well. Given such a status for the prison officer, it becomes possible for the prisoner to be regarded as of greater intrinsic value, with the likelihood of some change in his self image and sense of worth to the community. The result of a determined attempt to strengthen this aspect of the prison officer's role and clarify it in relation to the role of the probation officer might provide an effective opportunity, despite all the constraints known to apply in institutions, to achieve some further advances in the rehabilitation of offenders within the community.

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Psychiatric Evidence

K. S. WALSHE-BRENNAN

Dr. K. S. Walshe-Brennan, a Fellow of the Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene, qualified in psychiatry at Trinity College, Dublin. He met his first murder case as a State Psychiatrist with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1964 and since his first British Consultancy in 1965, as a Lecturer at Sheffield University, has examined 1,000 cases for the Assizes' and Magistrates' Courts. Having rowed as a student for his University, and at present a member of Henley Royal Regatta Stewards, he is interested in the part played by sport in developing character and its effects in combating delinquency and crime.



PSYCHIATRY is a new branch of medicine unlike, for example, surgery or obstetrics. It is very new as a science compared to mathematics, which was well developed in both the Greek and Roman civilisations. Psychiatry as known now, owes much to Sigmund Freud, the Viennese pioneer of psychoanalysis who ended his life in Britain due to the Nazi persecution of his race. Unlike surgery, psychiatry is not an exact science. There are many schools, each rivalling the other with theories propounded intensely and several contradicting Freud in favour of exponents, e.g. Jung, Adler or Horney. To this day there is controversy, for example, whether the neuroses of depression and anxiety are separate entities, or should be grouped as one since clinical experience shows that one is rarely observed without the other. Again the term "schizophrenia" is used for many minor complaints in the United States, e.g. the conditions of certain Hollywood film stars, unlike the British practice of reserving the title for the severely debilitating condition where insight is lost.

While the British psychiatrist Sargent is unwilling to give evidence in court except under subpoena¹, at least one judge known to the author is reluctant to permit psychiatric evidence in court.

At present there appears to be what is almost a fashion like women's hats in psychiatric referrals. They are made for a variety of offences from football hooliganism to arson and murder. Yet in all these genuine pathology is rare². Out of over 1,000 cases referred to the author since a State psychiatrist to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1964 and as an N.H.S. consultant since, more than three-quarters show no

pathology. Yet this does not stop magistrates referring even trivial cases, e.g. a child caught stealing sweets, for a psychiatric assessment.

Again there appears to be a fashion that certain types of offences automatically require a mental examination. This is particularly the case with sexual matters, even though it means much wasted effort apart from the benefit of knowing that such offences are not due to an underlying mental disturbance or gross personality defect. Where treatment is needed, the question arises of the in-patient versus out-patient type. There is diversity of opinion as to the value of the withdrawal of offenders from society into either mental hospitals or prisons, the actual balance between prisons and mental hospitals being disturbed by the 1959 Mental Health Act, which is said to have reduced the hospital population to increase that of the prisons.

One pitfall for psychiatrists is feigned insanity. Fortunately for psychiatrists many of these feigned attacks of madness bear no resemblance to genuine illnesses. They follow what the defendant thinks is insanity. This can stem from what he has perhaps read or seen in a film at his local cinema instead of one of the four neuroses which insight preserved, i.e. depression, anxiety, obsession or hysteria, or one of the psychoses where insight is lost, e.g. schizophrenia. Some offenders, however, can act well. The author had one such case, a police sergeant caught stealing from a store.

Shortly afterwards the police sergeant presented himself with a bizarre manner and illogical conversation at the door

of a nearby psychiatric hospital, and admission was arranged immediately. The illness, however, resembled none of the usual neuroses nor psychoses. Investigations then followed. During one of these tests, narcoanalysis, the sergeant became lucid in speech: he conversed normally. The theft was admitted. He added that his "act of madness" was assumed, because he feared for his police pension. Thus, the "diagnosis" became clear. He was fit for trial. Due to ethical obligations to the patient, one could not say in the court report what had been learned during narcoanalysis, and the assessment merely concluded, "No psychiatric illness". In court the police sergeant put on once again the act of bizarre muttering and manner. The judge seemed impressed by it. He studied the policeman intently for a while from the Bench, and finally concluded that the man was "obviously insane", adding that he didn't know "what the psychiatrist was thinking about" to let the culprit stand trial. The author has, unfortunately, made worse mistakes in the opposite direction.

One mistake is jargon. Another is that in Britain psychiatric assessments are not widespread throughout the penal process. According to Herbert and Mathieson the decision to refer an offender for investigation "too often depends upon the offence rather than the offender", adding "there are those who see psychiatric treatment as an easy way out for the offender, and no doubt many offenders do their utmost to pull the wool over the eyes of those responsible for assessing and treating them".³

At the same time there is evidence of a reaction amongst psychiatrists against the idea that anti-social tendencies have a relation to mental ill-health. Some do, but many do not. Again other cases do appear associated with emotional disturbance or stress, but there exists no clear way of estimating its degree of relevance. Again, a court may not know that an offender on a straight forward charge, e.g. theft, is suicidal, psychotic or alcoholic. Offences which are increasing alarmingly on the other hand, e.g. the 500 per cent in "risky drivers" noted by Worthington⁴, may or may not have a psychiatric component.

The assessment follows a simple pattern. In addition to a clinical check-up the subject's mood is examined for depression or for elation (which can indicate drug addiction). Memory is tested as impairment can indicate head

injury or early dementia. The ability to concentrate, work out problems, think clearly and perceive are checked because these are affected in a variety of illnesses, schizophrenics in particular suffering a disorder of perception. Tests are also prepared for IQ, ambivalence, thought blocking and insight. Psychological tests for children and adolescents can be an additional help to the psychiatrist not only to determine IQ but also educational attainment, since poor school performance is often associated with truancy, which in turn can lead to delinquency. Similarly a social worker's report on the family and home background help the diagnosis with details of the health of the subject's mother during pregnancy, legitimacy, cultural and/or emotional deprivation.

Some judges, however, discount the value of such assessments. Hence, the question arises of whether the expense is justified not only for the psychiatric examination but for the associated reports, e.g. a social worker's investigation and a psychological review, with in addition further tests, e.g. an X-ray examination of the skull structure and an electroencephalogram (EEG) if the offender pleads "blackouts" to try and determine whether he genuinely suffers from a form of epilepsy. Since crime in England and Wales had now long passed the million mark⁵ with London heading "for the most violent period in its history"⁶ the high cost of an assessment seems questionable. This is particularly so when Irving points out that more care should be given to the victims of crime who when "compared with those in the dock and in prison... are treated like social outcasts".⁷ Irving adds "out of every £100 spent on law and order less than 60p went to help victims" the remaining £99.40 being devoted to chasing, catching, investigating, confirming and sometimes caring for the offender and his dependents. Evans notes that "many victims of crime end up thinking that the law may be an ass". Quoting Vennerd in *New Society* (February 1976), Evans adds that "crime victims surveyed who attended court proceedings described a sense of shock at the way they were conducted. The victims of assault expressed the greatest dissatisfaction, largely because they so often thought the sentence to be too lenient and a reflection of the court's indifference to the pain and injury suffered".⁸

In addition to this, unusual factors can operate. An example is the case of John Brazil, a market worker who strangled his wife Margaret, appeared

before Mr. Justice Mais at Bristol Crown Court' and pleaded guilty to manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility. A psychiatrist examined Brazil. The result indicated that he strangled his wife in a moment of morbid psychotic jealousy, was not a danger to anybody else, was unsuitable for Broadmoor and admission by Hospital Order was arranged on 3rd October, 1975, to the local Glenside Hospital. There the branch secretary of the Confederation of Health Services Employees, however, objected. "The staff are not prepared to have him here" he explained, "and they are adamant... The judge is quoted as saying he is prepared to take the risk. What risk does he take? It is the one nurse alone on night shift or one of the residents of the hospital, who is attacked behind the bicycle sheds who faces the risk. This is also the feeling of the general public and visitors to the hospital". Due to this the patient returned to court. On 30th October, 1975, Mr. Justice Mais rescinded the order made on the third of the month and imposed a life sentence.

His comments are noteworthy, i.e.:

"I find it very difficult to understand how it is that medical opinion has been overturned by those who are not nursing and have not had the experience or skill of the doctors, and I find it hard to understand how it is that an order of this court is apparently incapable of being carried out".⁹

It is thus ironic that a case of genuine mental illness goes untreated while so large a proportion of cases referred for assessment prove negative.

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Race Relations in Penal Institutions

D. W. WICKHAM

NEW Commonwealth immigrants and their natural family expansions and inevitable repatriation of spouses and other dependants have considerably increased the young "black" population in this country, particularly in our larger cities. Recent figures contained in a Government White Paper indicate that the number of Commonwealth citizens admitted to Britain for settlement totalled 30,954, an increase of 7,835 on the previous 12 months. Of these entrants 12,045 were United Kingdom passport holders.

Inevitably many of these people experience serious transitional difficulties in adapting to city life and its pressures, and accommodating major cultural differences. It is the West Indian who today is experiencing the most perplexing stresses and is finding it almost impossible to find his own identity. Some are finding this struggle for cultural identity hopeless and these problems irreconcilable, with the alarming result that they are "living by their wits", committing offences and eventually, after community resources are exhausted, and judiciary process, find themselves in penal institutions.

How do we know this is true? Well, as recently as 26th March, 1976, the Metropolitan Police in a written memorandum to the Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration stated that "Black citizens 'among whom West Indians predominate', are disproportionately involved in many forms of crime in London". This memorandum went on to say "that Metropolitan Police statistics of persons arrested for indictable crime during 1975 revealed that of the 103,252 people arrested, 12,640 (12 per cent) were classified as being apparently of West Indian or African origin. Comparing this figure with the estimated black population of 4.3 per cent a disproportionate involvement is indicated. In fact, the involvement of black people in the arrest figures is disproportionate in every main category of crime".



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This serious situation does not appear to be a passing phase as this criminal over-representation was first reported by the Metropolitan Police in 1972, particularly in crimes of "theft from the person" (muggings) and robbery, but the same select committee's subsequent report then stated that "Coloured immigrants are no more involved in crime than others, nor are they generally more concerned in violence, prostitution and drugs. The West Indian crime rate is much the same as that of the indigenous population".

This was clearly an inaccurate statement, as those of us working in the young offender field have observed a steady increase in the West Indian institutional population, and this of course is only a small percentage of the total involved. In fact, by 1974, police and community concern about the delinquent involvement of black youth was such that officers of the Community Relations Branch, Lambeth, undertook an analysis of recorded crimes of robbery and "theft from the person" in Brixton during the first nine months of the year (1974). According to this study, 79 per cent of robberies were alleged to have been committed by people who were described by their victims as "black", "coloured" or "West Indian".

To this alarming fact the police also report an increasing tendency for West Indian communities to interfere with police officers arresting black persons. According to police figures during the last 12 months, 40 such incidents have occurred, and with racial tensions

currently running high this tendency is positively dangerous and may be the precursor or large-scale disorders. Let us hope that here in Britain the current rift between black community and police does not become irretrievably broken down and that concerted efforts are made in response to the almost daily danger signals (often exaggerated by the mass media), and knowledge and understanding of the bitter experience in America.

The police have made efforts to improve this situation by recruiting "black" police officers, but even at this time of high unemployment, particularly among West Indians, they cannot be attracted. Already a £25,000 recruitment campaign has failed to attract one single recruit. This expensive failure indicates the psychological depth of this problem and how powerful or influential widespread anti-police feelings can be. Mr. Russell Pierre, managing editor of the *West Indian World* (weekly newspaper with a circulation of 20,000) said in a recent newspaper report that "The older West Indians would have been prepared to join the police force 10 years ago but those born here and those who came here at a tender age have received such hostile treatment from the man on the beat that they have now become suspicious of him". This police-West Indian stalemate is therefore really a result of prejudicial forces of "black" antagonism toward "white" authority.

Another "stumbling block" for any potential recruits is low educational standard, particularly in the use of the English language. In the long term the basic language problem will resolve itself as the second generation "black" completes his education in Britain, but it seems that even the highly qualified school and college leavers are finding it extremely difficult to get a foothold on a career ladder, and those less qualified can get no work at all. Incidentally, in a recent Community Relations Commission booklet, (*A Second Chance*, Community Relations Commission, 15 Bedford Street, London, W.C.2, £1.35), it was argued that without qualifications young people from minority ethnic groups will not be able to compete with their white contemporaries, and this will further entrench racial inequality. This booklet stresses the urgent need for the education system to give a "second chance" to ethnic minority students who have missed out in schools. The group who are markedly failing are the West Indian teenagers (16-19 year olds) who seem to derive little from our education system and

leave school to take their place in their sad world of great economic and social restrictions, overcrowding and insecurity. These problems are not so acute among other ethnic groups, as the Asians, for instance, are responding to special English classes on radio and television for children within the education system—and indeed for their parents. This surely indicates a serious breakdown in communication between the school and education system and the West Indian population.

The young West Indian has therefore a clearly unique problem, in trying to grow up in a society where the language, laws and culture are modelled on British lines, only to become frustrated when genuine efforts to integrate are blocked by British society.

Many young West Indians would rather not work than accept menial jobs with London Transport, British Rail, or local councils, as this would be an admission of failure—and the fact that so many of their parents have already occupied such jobs only reinforces this attitude. Recent figures from the Department of Employment suggest that approximately 41,601 immigrants are unemployed, and their numbers are rising.

Before trying to understand the West Indian in the institution, one should have an appreciation of the background of disadvantage experienced by them. Christopher Bagley (Race and Education Across Cultures) in an article entitled "The Background of Deviance in Black Children in London" has made an interesting survey of the families of a large and representative area of Inner London (taking as a basic sample 2,000 10-year-olds in State schools). His conclusions I quote, "When the families of the 10-year-old West Indian and English children in our study are compared on a variety of indices, the main finding is one of similarity. Their health, marital relationship, parent-child relationship, methods of family discipline and the use of various services are remarkably similar. However, black families are more interested in their children's education than white families; black mothers read more than white mothers; black parents are more concerned about their children's homework and are more likely to have taken them to a library. Black mothers have somewhat more basic education and qualifications than white mothers; they are more likely to work, and black families are more likely to own their own house. The reason why black families struggle to acquire the capital for home ownership is almost certainly the fact of racial

discrimination which clearly operates in the housing market, both public and private, in Inner London (Bagley, 1970). Racial discrimination has clearly operated in the employment field, since more black parents, both mothers and fathers, work in unskilled, blue-collar occupations in comparison with white parents, despite similar or higher educational qualifications.

Judged by teachers' reports, black children are markedly more deviant than white children. But there are some biases in teachers' descriptions of their black pupils, and a clinically-based interview with teachers indicated a much lower prevalence of deviant behaviour. Nevertheless, a significant excess of black children are deviant and rebellious in the school situation. By contrast, black children in their own homes are as well adjusted as their white peers.

It is obvious that racism affects many areas of the life of black families, but the deviance this engenders is enacted largely outside the home. This is in many ways a healthy sign. When they are teenagers, our deviant 10-year-olds may well form the spearhead of black radicals and militants. Dondy (1974) has described such teenagers as forming "a culture of resistance", refusing to take the menial occupations which white society hands down, and preferring to remain unemployed. Resistance of this order is necessary in a society vitiated by racism. If there is hope, it lies with the young. Militant awareness of the forces of racism, and pride in being black are by no means incompatible with a mature kind of multi-racialism in which different ethnic groups of society interact with one another on the basis of equality and respect. In order for this to happen, British society, like Dutch society, must develop a degree of pluralism in which the cultural separateness and uniqueness of different ethnic and religious groups must be recognised and respected".

Thus the long term solution to these problems, like their origins, lies with us all in the community—and like most of the general public I have "faith" that in time our ethnic and cultural differences will gradually become peacefully integrated. In fact, a new attitude survey on race relations entitled "Some of My Best Friends", (Community Relations Commission, 45p.) shows that, although the public remains hostile to further black immigration, it is increasingly optimistic about the future of race relations in this country. 32 per cent of a national

sample felt in February last year that relations between blacks and whites were getting better (the highest percentage since 1959) while 20 per cent thought they were getting worse (compared with 29 per cent in November, 1974 and 42 per cent in September, 1972).

However, "the great day still cometh" and it is today that we, who are actively involved in creating healthy, indiscriminate, institutional environments should be aware of all the current problems that exist, and take steps to ensure racial peace, rather than racial conflict. It is with this thought uppermost in mind that the following statements are made.

There are very few reference books or official data available on race relations in institutions, particularly in the English situation, and therefore my statements are a subjective account of my experiences in actually "dealing" with "black" trainees and associated problems. They may not be truly representative of the Prison Service—or for that matter in accordance with official policy. I should also stress that the individual's perceptions of, and attitude to, the interaction of "blacks" with the indigenous "whites" in H.M. establishments is the critical factor determining whether there are problems in the first place.

I contend there are problems, and that staff, however indiscriminate, have received little formal training in preparation for dealing with highly sensitive situations. For instance, how does the workshop instructor or party officer behave when he suddenly realises he is the only "white" on the party? Is this new experience a problem? If it is not, then why does at least one institution keep statistics to prevent this very situation occurring?

This "control" of institutional settings will not resolve this basic problem, and it seems to me that we must develop new skills and techniques in handling potentially difficult racial situations. I believe we are all learning from our experiences, but I do maintain that many of our staff, through no fault of their own, are ill-equipped and susceptible to white peer group solidarity, which produces and reinforces the stereotype "black" man.

If staff are like the general "white" public and think in terms of stereotypes we should have sufficient evidence to prove whether race relations in H.M. establishments are simply a reflection of conditions in the community or not, or whether they are completely different. A frightening possibility is that they

over-simplified idea of the "black" man. For instance, if one thinks of all "blacks" to be like Step'n Fetchit he is thinking in stereotypes, and if this mentality is supplemented by other beliefs (i.e. laziness, lack of morals, low intelligence, etc.) then one is conniving at increasing racial feelings.

It is convenient for us all to locate these prejudices outside of ourselves, thinking it easier to discuss issues in vague terms like public opinion, they, rather than what "I" and "You" think. There is no immediate remedy, but all staff should ask themselves if any of the aforementioned viewpoints are reflections of their feelings, and if so, does their existence become a divisive factor in the institutional community?

There is little point in pretending that the institutional integration of ethnic groups is not without problems, but we can succeed providing we are all professional enough to be aware of the diverging attitudes, that often exist, and are sensitive, yet not over reactive to potentially highly sensitive situations. For instance, if staff only hold superficial relationships with their "black" charges, then direct reference to colour or race will sensitise immediately any hostile feelings, but where genuine relationships exist colour is not a controversial issue.

I would like now to consider the role that the "black" is playing in the institutional environment. Firstly, I want to posit that because the majority of our staff, as individuals, are not prejudiced—or indeed inmates for that matter—this does not mean to say that racial discrimination does not occur. To illustrate this more clearly, Malcolm X in his "autobiography" (Haley, ed., 1966) described the racist American situation as follows: "It isn't the American white man who is a racist, but it's the American political, economic and social atmosphere that automatically nourishes a racist psychology in the white man". The implications of this statement are quite obvious to me. Institutionally, has the "black" been allotted the role that the sex offender used to play, and does the white inmate population so need to feel superior to somebody in the institutional context that the "black" represents the easiest target for them feelings which are suppressed in the outside community are given greater vent by black and white inside the institution.

My experiences lead me to believe that some staff still have a false and are similar, yet extreme, and that racial

to hang their status aspirations on? If this is the case it does rather conveniently account for the role conflict and tensions that constantly recur. However, I personally do not accept this particular hierarchical struggle perspective as my experiences of young persons has left me with the firm conviction that small groups develop in the institution as they do in every aspect of human activity, and as far as I know no research has yet proved that colour is the determinant of group affinity. What is true and obvious is that in most institutional settings "blacks" tend to keep each other's company, but this may be because of their cultural identities which may disappear with the passage of time. This cultural identity must not be under-estimated as so many young "blacks" share anti-social attitudes fostered in the "black" underworld of our large cities. It is a sad world of great economic and social restrictions, overcrowding and insecurity.

Most "blacks" who eventually arrive in our institution have never got beyond the foot of the employment ladder. This

as much as anything else, makes the young "black" politically motivated and this in turn develops a strong emotional bond. It is therefore reasonable to expect the "black" prisoner to arrive at our gates feeling the victim of the great white social adjudiciary system, and expecting further institutional prejudice only invokes it by his prepared defence system.

Integration is still a new experience for most of us, and I appreciated this no more so than when a young West Indian was expressing to me his delight that for the first time in over nine months custody a "white" and even more surprising to him, a member of staff, had actually sat with him and his friends during association and joined them in a game of dominoes. This almost insignificant act was for that group a major breakthrough—here was acceptance and recognition of their culture.

All too often I feel we are all so concerned about the idealistic aspects of racial problems that we forget where it all begins—with casual contacts every day, in the dormitory, landing, workshop, dining hall or gymnasium, etc.

Readers Write

TO THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

Whilst in Belfast library I came upon your Journal. I have two suggestions which I forward now in the hope they could benefit inmates and staff.

I know mail bag manufacture by prisoners is now only a small part of the work pattern of most prisons today, and that many prisoners use the prison term to study and complete academic courses.

Around most of Britain there are thousands of small boat sailors. I wonder if it would be practical to teach some prisoners the repair and care of sails, and also the chance to earn and save.

If their skills developed, prisoners would be useful in sail lofts in most of the world. This could help in the chance to begin their lives afresh in a new "scene". I know some of the equipment could be expensive and not all could be trusted with scissors or knives.

I had a second idea concerning the re-establishment problem. As you know handicapped people still wish to enjoy

travel, but many hotels and toilets cannot cope with wheelchairs and many places have numerous steps.

I was wondering if a network of motels, "Wheelhouses", could be built economically by the use of the more reliable prisoners and student labour.

This could link up over Britain and spread (hopefully) over the lower roads of Europe. All dwellings would be purpose-built with the ideal layout of wash basins, taps, toilets, fire exits and no steps. Garage space or parking area for three-wheelers or minibuses would be necessary.

Later on, after careful consideration, an ex-prisoner could be given the opportunity to accept a post in the staff of a "Wheelhouse", e.g. in the kitchen, booking or day to day maintenance.

The above two suggestions would also help to relieve the unemployment problem a little.

I hope my ideas aren't too "wide of the mark", and perhaps not unduly costly.

I should be interested to hear from you, however briefly, on the above suggestions.

R. D. WALLACE.

Are Prisons a Failure?

JOHN MAY

Read English and American Literature at the University of Kent. After a "brief and painful" experience as a teacher of French, joined the Prison Service in 1969. Served at Guys Marsh and is now at the Officers Training School, Leyhill. Married, with two sons.

IRONICALLY this cliché is frequently used as the starting point for an argument whose end point is that we need more and better prisons. ("If only we didn't have overcrowding . . ."). However, it is too easy simply to point to the ambivalence of the role of prison and conclude that, like the poor, the problem will always be with us. It may be more constructive to focus on how any why prisons are a failure, in the hope of finding some solution to the basic contradiction, summed up in (I think) Alexander Paterson's statement about the impossibility of training a man for freedom in conditions of captivity.

The purposes of imprisonment are: to protect society from criminals, to deter offenders and potential offenders, to punish offenders by depriving them of liberty, to rehabilitate offenders. It is arguable that prisons fail to achieve all these.

The amount of protection to society which prisons afford is minimal. It is a truism that there are many more villains outside than in and, as the title of Mrs. G. Bishop's book states, *They All Come Out*. So that, come the day of his release, every prisoner is again enabled to threaten society with his own particular brand of villainy.

It is tempting to believe in the notion of prison as a deterrent. It may be, after all, the thought of going to prison which prevents each of us setting off on an orgy of rape, pillage and making indecent suggestions to traffic wardens. But I wonder. Are there not more subtle forces at work, preventing the law-abiding majority from becoming the lawless? The one piece of hard evidence which argues against prison being a deterrent is the fact of recidivism. There is nothing to suggest that prison deters those who are at risk, the potential offenders.

Certainly we succeed in punishing offenders. But what do we achieve by so doing? It is unlikely that we produce truly repentant people who see the error

of their ways and determine to lead good and useful lives. Rather, we generate feelings of anger and resentment in our clients, which is probably not the best frame of mind in which to return to society. James Mill (father of John Stuart), writing on Prisons and Prison Discipline for the fourth edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, said, "There cannot be a worse quality of punishment, than that it has a tendency to corrupt and deteriorate the individual on whom it is inflicted". I suspect it requires a greater degree of maturity than most of us possess to respond positively to punishment.

Rehabilitation is a myth. Asked to show evidence of rehabilitation in action, most of us will point to things like education, vocational training, parole and home leave, group and individual counselling, realistic work experience, and the constructive use of leisure time. There is no evidence to show that any or all of these has any impact on reducing criminality. Despite the years of research, we do not know what crime is, or even that it is a single phenomenon. The doctor who prescribed the same treatment for all his patients, irrespective of their illness, would be unlikely to be successful. Why should we expect to be so, applying the same approach?

Thus, prisons are a failure in that they do not achieve the tasks which society ascribes to them. But there is more.

Prisons fail because they are institutions. Institutions have an unfortunate tendency to generate their own momentum, often in wholly arbitrary and irrelevant directions. Thus "security" can become an end rather than a means. The censorship of mail can be defended on the grounds that it provides useful information about the inmate's home and family and the efficiency of a prison can be seen as in direct proportion to the degree of shine on its polished floors. The inevitable drift of time has meant

that prisons have moved away from their original role and today, as with other institutions like schools and hospitals, much of the activity which goes on, and much of the energy which is expended, is aimed at the preservation of the institution. Are all those reports we write really about helping prisoners to stay out of trouble when they leave? Or is the writing of reports one more ritual function which the institution requires us to perform?

Finally, prisons fail because nobody really believes in them any more. Medical science was able to abandon blood-letting in favour of demonstrably more successful methods of treatment. In the absence of acceptable alternatives we adopt an apologetic air and continue to apply our leeches.

The current response to the recognition of our failure is interesting. It consists essentially in reducing our objectives to ones we know we can achieve, thereby pretending that we are really succeeding. "Our main task is to serve the courts," says the governor of a local prison. "Our task is humane containment," says someone else. This is reminiscent of the meeting in Heaven between the captain of the *Titanic* and an aggrieved passenger who complains about the lack of safety precautions. The captain's response is, "But the toilets were beautifully clean, weren't they".

It may be, as Jessica Mitford (*The American Prison Business*) argues, that the problems are such that reform is insufficient, only abolition can be effective. I believe that a more optimistic point of view remains possible. The people working in prisons could make them effective. But a necessary prerequisite is a careful, critical and honest look at the English Prison Business.

New Horizons!

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way

Cui Bono?

For Whose Benefit?

(The name chosen by the members of an experimental self-help group attempting to alleviate an embarrassing social problem).

BARBARA J. MILO

VARIOUS forms of punishment have been used in dealing with the offence of indecent exposure, an offence which is commonly known as "flashing" but nevertheless there are still many convictions which sometimes result in prison sentences, e.g. in 1974 in England and Wales there were 2,408 convictions, 73 of which resulted in prison sentences. Bearing in mind this permissive age, does it not seem a harsh punishment for any man who "wilfully, lewdly and obscenely exposes his person with the intent to insult a female" as defined under Section 4 of the Vagrancy Act, 1824? Prison has proved to be no deterrent whatsoever to this type of offender, and in fact various members of my group have admitted that shortly after release they re-offend, but do not necessarily come before the court. It is this point I would wish to bring to the community at large—the plight of someone who is motivated by such a compulsion. The fears of the community maybe, are that the offence will go beyond exhibitionism, but these fears are usually unfounded.

In the latter part of 1973, due to regularity of cases coming before the Newham Courts in respect of indecent exposure, a colleague of mine formulated the idea that, as there were various groups for drug addiction, Alcoholics Anonymous and Gamblers Anonymous it might be a worthwhile project to help the equally inadequate of our society—those that are "afflicted" with an urge to expose themselves indecently.

A group of such men was formed, starting with two members, and although at that time there was a certain amount of apprehension concerning the viability of such a group, it continues to function; indeed to thrive. When my colleague left the area in September 1973 I took over the supervision of the group, and since that time we have had no less than 25 members pass through, only one of whom has returned to the court in respect of the same offence. On average between 10 and 12 members are in weekly attendance, but a maximum group of 16 at any one time, which has occurred, does in my experi-



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ence stifle rather than stimulate expression of thought.

In discussing the aims of the group with the men themselves, the object is to ensure that the group setting maintains a relaxed, comfortable atmosphere so that all members are able to discuss the problem which affects not only their lives but that of each member of their family.

Having been involved with this group for approximately two and a half years, there appears to me to be a prevailing factor—the offence is a compulsion that the offender is unable to control without some form of help. To prescribe drugs such as benperidol can curb the sexual libido, but may destroy any physical relationship the man concerned has with his spouse.

From my experience with the group, most of the members reveal in their background either material or emotional deprivation. There is apparent, in adult relationships, a perpetuation of this deprivation which seems to confirm for the man his lifelong feelings of insecurity and often inadequacy. The fact that the group leadership is in female hands might, for some, produce feelings of security, whilst for others it has to be acknowledged it is initially confusing. In considering their attitude towards me I think sometimes that I am the recipient of their verbal exposures!

Why does this group seem to succeed where traditional methods fail? It has been my experience that many group members have had contact with psychiatrists, but the clinical atmosphere and approach is often unhelpful. Their sense of inadequacy and lack of self-confidence tends then to be reinforced. I

would say, though, that psychiatrists have been helpful to me. They have offered support and encouragement, and have sometimes themselves made referrals.

Unfortunately, men who indecently expose themselves are not always prepared to accept that they may have a problem, even after being apprehended by police. Therefore, the only source of referral at this stage has been through the courts when my colleagues in the north-east London area have been asked to interview an offender for a social enquiry report. How does one advertise that there is help available in these circumstances? If one were to think in terms of Alcoholics Anonymous and Gamblers Anonymous one could advertise on similar lines, but here it is essential that group members are not exposed to harassment by mischievous onlookers.

WHAT IS NORMAL?

During the past two and a half years a great deal has been talked about in the group setting which has given some indication as to the process of events. As with homosexuality, this type of behaviour tends to make itself evident at the onset of adolescence and it would seem that from that stage there is a constant fear in respect of its development. Most prospective members of the group interviewed have indicated that the offence for which they find themselves charged is by no means isolated and on the admission of most of the members, the compulsion to expose themselves commenced from the age of 12 upwards, and still continues to be a problem. Originally they will protest that any conviction is the first venture into this type of offence, but in retrospect all will agree that the urge, on occasions, becomes too strong for them and normally culminates in another exposure. In my experience with the group, the members have a strong sense of being abnormal. Are they abnormal when considering the sexually permissive atmosphere in which we now live? How different are they from the voyeur, the patron of "girly" magazines, or page three of *The Sun*? What about the Sex Discrimination Act—are men being unfairly penalised for acting out their desires?

It would also appear that in the normal run of human relationships there is a predominant inability to make satisfactory relationships with the opposite sex, or anyone for that matter. They seem to have been involved with a dominant female during their formative years; a mother, foster mother, or matron of a children's home. This

appears to have caused their feelings of inadequacy and the questioning of their developing masculinity. Another major aspect is isolation—a consequence seemingly of their inability to form relationships. Generally, most members, on being invited to join the group setting, are reluctant to give anything of themselves verbally in the initial stages, but once having realised that they have a shared problem it is an encouragement for them to talk about themselves. In many instances, to be able to talk about their "affliction" is perhaps the first occasion that their "guilty secret" has been aired, and the weekly meetings soon develop into a form of socialising, a feature perhaps alien to an individual member. It is from this setting that one is able to observe the areas of growth.

HELPING THE FAMILY

Having been given encouragement to talk about their problems, most members have now developed the art of talking to their wives and close relatives about the offence, and this in turn is assisting the family as a whole to reach a better understanding. An extremely successful Christmas party was held under the umbrella of the probation office, which has encouraged the single members of the group to socialise even further, such as discos, dancing, and taking a drink in a public house together, therefore becoming far less isolated from the community.

In the existing group there are a number of married men, including Charlie, who experienced a very bad childhood. He married his wife without much experience of the opposite sex and in the early stages of his marriage, some 30 years ago, committed his first offence whilst serving in the armed forces. From then on it would appear that the physical aspect of his marriage suffered which, despite having fathered two children, resulted in his constantly resorting to exhibitionism. As a consequence he has served a number of prison sentences which has left his mind badly scarred by the system. He was a founder member of the group and has indicated that without the group setting he would have been before the court long before this time. He maintains he has not committed the offence since the formation of the group and tends to see the group as a safety valve attached to an over-pressurised boiler—his own sexual frustrations creating the pressure within the boiler. This man's marriage appears to have suffered as a result of his offences and all levels of communication between this couple remain extre-

mely poor. Despite various forms of intervention, it would appear that the pattern had been set many years ago and under the circumstances, although one cannot anticipate any change in the matrimonial setting, the curbing of his anti-social sexual activities in the community has brought about some relief to the family setting.

Fred is the "father" of the group, a single man, totally dominated by his 80-year-old mother. An elder brother "escaped" to Australia. Fred has not experienced a serious relationship with the opposite sex, although he presents as a happy family-type man. He has worked for the same firm for over 35 years and when his last offence was publicised his workmates sent him to Coventry. It is only in recent months that they have been able to accept him back into the work situation, despite his considerable knowledge of his own particular job. Fred works for a large manufacturing organisation whose employees number 22,000. Having achieved chargehand status, the imposed isolation by workmates was particularly painful.

CONSTANT FEAR

John, a handsome man in his mid-40's, has an exceptionally pretty wife, and two children, of whom he is justifiably proud, but he is in constant fear of his children learning of his cunningly executed activities. John was raised in an all male orphanage, and clearly recalls having to play the female role in the annual school plays. The only dominant female he remembers is the matron of the school, who apparently held hidden terrors for him. I understand the first indication his wife had of his offences was when he was arrested whilst she was pregnant with their first child. Surprisingly, there appears to be a great deal of communication between him and his wife and without her loyalty one wonders if John would have survived the test of time. Nevertheless, John is still extremely isolated and his constant fear is that he will re-offend. Under the circumstances he has imposed upon himself the habit of not being alone, even to the point of being taken to and collected from work. In his own words, he is being treated as one would a small child. When John first entered the group his offences dominated his thinking, but over the past 10 months the meetings have formed part of his weekly programme and he now feels that he is beginning to control his compulsion. It would appear that he is totally honest with the group and having come to know him quite well

one can accept that his compulsion is diminishing. He is an articulate man within the group and his degree of intelligence is such that he has need to seek an explanation for all his actions.

One can only visualise the effect that the offence of indecent exposure has had on each member's family, bearing in mind that several of the existing members are married. The attitude of the community as a whole is that this type of offence is seen as a public nuisance, viewed with horror, or just plain funny, without much thought to what the immediate family must be experiencing. They have all suffered in some form the pointing fingers, the concealed laughter, and being sent to Coventry, together with the ignominy of being called "a dirty old man". This does not only stay with the offender himself, but also has to be borne by his family and one can imagine the added difficulties this can bring to a relationship. Most wives are extremely loyal and are prepared to help their husbands. In some cases lack of communication is still painfully evident, but others, perhaps through their various discussions in the group, have increased their ability to share their thoughts with their families. The wives are aware that someone is now available for counselling and accept this opportunity as often as required. The ideal situation, it would seem, would be to bring about a wives' group on a par with that of Alcoholics Anonymous and Gamblers Anonymous, as the wives, without doubt, need as much support as their husbands.

The members of the group have now reached a stage where they see themselves as belonging to a family, one important factor being that they realise they have a shared problem. They can accept that their behaviour is a compulsion and, as with the alcoholic, they privately admit the existence of their own personal problem. It is once the existence of the problem can be acknowledged publicly in the group setting that they can begin to grow and mature.

Attendance at the group is entirely voluntary, but once the initial step has been taken the client very seldom opts out. The stage has now been reached whereby in the group any topic, whether or not connected with the offences, can be discussed quite freely and openly. It is convincing that the liberation of their feelings of guilt helps to ease the frustration which obviously leads to troublesome behaviour. The degree of confidence the existing members have attained to date is because they no longer feel the rejections of society.

The success of the group is measured in the figures that we have available. To date the re-offending rate is low. The members are very much aware that the group is a preventative rather than a cure, and their own feelings for the future remain a matter for conjecture. The group functions as a social, caring exercise rather than a therapeutic project, each member realising that he has a role to play.

In conclusion, I am of the opinion that this type of venture is nothing to be fearful of, and is highly rewarding for both participants and leaders alike. I would encourage the formation of similar groups in an effort to alleviate an embarrassing social problem, and this type of non-medical, caring group has a great deal to offer in this particular field.

moving around the establishment could see and admire the delicate artistry performed with the icing syringe. Of course, it was necessary for an officer to keep a fatherly eye on the cake if it was to survive the day.

A passing welfare officer saw the cake and enquired of the officer why it was on display. He was informed that it was to be raffled in aid of the Common Fund, and dutifully bought a cloak room ticket. A few minutes later, having returned to his office, he was told by telephone that he had won the raffle, and would he come and collect.

Struggling back to his office, carrying a 20-pound cake, the unfortunate man was confronted by a large irate catering P.O. and the ensuing conversation can be imagined!

▲ ▲ ▲

A large northern prison decided to hold its own trade fair in order to get local employers interested in the ability and scope of its industrial workshops. One of the many items to be put on show was a two-piece suit made as a City and Guilds test piece. It was to be shown, elegantly modelled, by a tailor's dummy. The technique of dressing these dummies is rather special.

The whole thing, less the arms, is assembled and dressed and then the arms are slid up the jacket sleeves in order to give the shoulders the correct shape. Our men were assembling the naked dummy (less the arms) but a rather well washed pair of socks were proving troublesome and could not negotiate the rigid ankles of the dummy's feet. A passing prisoner shouted, "Hey mate, put his arms in joint and he'll get his own socks on!"

Yes, the Prison Service has its moments—after all, it is about people, the only group of God's creatures blest with a sense of humour. I am sure colleagues throughout the Service, in all ranks and specialisms, have favourite stories they could tell. Why not let us read about some of them?

EDITOR'S NOTE. *Yes, why not? There is enough humour in the prison situation to keep Ronnie Barker going till the year 2000—much of the best of it, sadly, lost in the memories of retired individuals and never committed to paper. Some situations, of course, are "in jokes" and funny only to the "insiders"—on one or both sides of the fence, so to speak. But many are of universal appeal. Space is always limited, but we are interested in stories which poke genuine fun at the oddities of human behaviour, and help to balance the grimness of the prison scene.*

The Funny Side

L. WALSH

Chief Officer Lawrence Walsh joined the Prison Service as an auxiliary officer in 1948 at Leeds. During his career he has served at Wakefield O.T.S., Sudbury, Thorp Arch, Foston Hall, Risley and Portland. At one time he was a member of the mobile recruitment team. Now serving on the Midland Region Selection Board, he is currently engaged in a six weeks Community Relations bursary visit to the West Indies.

IT seems to me that the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL serves many useful purposes. Two of its functions are to provide a platform for those who are interested in our work and to give information about the prison service. However, I feel there is some over-emphasis on the serious nature of our task and any reader who is not familiar with the people who man our establishments could be forgiven if he gained the impression that we are a dedicated but unsmiling lot.

This is not the case. Prison officers need a sense of humour more than almost anything else to help them through their daily work (and so do prisoners, for that matter). A lot of very funny things do happen in prisons, from the hilarious to the quietly subtle—and there is a certain amount of "sick" humour, too, unavoidably. Probably some of the most amusing episodes centre on the problems of bureaucracy and rule-enforcement inherent in any large, complex organisation.

Consider, for instance, the frustration of an officer who had been working outdoors with a party of men when heavy rain began to fall. The job had reached a crucial stage, so the men agreed to complete the work even though this meant getting very wet. Job well done, and all feeling satisfied, the officer took his party to the "Reception" for a change of clothing. There the Reception P.O. refused fresh clothing because a large batch of new arrivals were being dealt with. The party officer pointed out that his men had been very conscientious and as a result their clothing was wet; and any way he was

complying with the terms of a recently published "Chief's Order" on the exchange of clothing. The P.O. replied that he had never heard of such an order and would not issue fresh clothing unless the party officer could produce a copy. However, each of the four copies issued had been pasted on to an office door in the four wings. Undaunted, the party officer got a screwdriver from the Engineers' Shop, unscrewed the very heavy oak door from "C" wing office and four men from his party carried the door to Reception. "Read that" said the officer, pointing to his authority. The P.O. showed no emotion. Silently he read the notice and without any further comment said, "Yes, that seems to be in order; they can have fresh clothing".

In support of a nationally organised drive related to illiteracy in adults, the education officer of a large prison asked each wing P.O. to carry out a count of the illiterates in his wing. One P.O. could not see the relevance of this instruction so he placed a notice on the wing board which read: "All illiterates in this wing must report to this office at 18.00 hours".

The catering officer of a remand centre was proud of his efforts to liven up the Christmas fare for the inmates. In fact, amongst other things, he had produced some very attractive, mouth-watering Christmas cakes. In order to show off the promise of things to come, a large cake was placed on a table at the centre of the main wing so that men

BOOK REVIEWS

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THE WEILER REPORT

REPORT OF THE WORKING PARTY ON
ADJUDICATION PROCEDURES IN
PRISON

H.M.S.O., 1975. £1.00

AS PART of the general review of rewards and punishments in the penal system following the prison disturbances of 1972, a Home Office working party was formed under T. G. Weiler. Its task was to review the arrangements for hearings of disciplinary charges against inmates by governors and Boards of Visitors. The then Home Secretary, Robert Carr, made it clear that no major changes in the adjudication system would be made, and the committee's *Report* deals largely with Boards of Visitors' adjudications, leaving appropriate conclusions to be drawn about governors' adjudications.

For those who think that the Home Office regularly gives way to pressure from liberal reform groups, the committee's original brief and its final *Report* are reassuring. Many critics, like the recent *Jellicoe Report* (reviewed in the January 1976 issue of *Prison Service Journal*), would wish the Service to adopt a judicial model for the present Board of Visitors' adjudications. The committee argues that an adjudication is an impartial inquiry into an alleged offence and that the Board has a responsibility to establish the full facts of a case which goes beyond that of a court and, in determining an award, it has to take full account of all the complex factors related both to the individual prisoner and to the control of the establishment. Many of these factors are peculiar to a penal institution. It is what we have always known; it is good to see the case stated publicly.

On the controversial issue of representation for the prisoner, the working party recommends that—as presently—the prisoner should present his own defence and that the adjudicating panel (or governor) should continue to be responsible that the prisoner's case is fully developed. The committee would like, however, to see experiments carried out in three or four representative establishments to test the effect of assistance being made available to the prisoner. The prisoner would (when his case was referred to the Board of Visitors) be able to choose an officer or assistant governor to discuss and assist in the preparation of all aspects of his defence.

Of greatest interest to the practitioner, of course, is the recommended standard procedure. I do not agree with the governor who suggested that, if these recommendations are accepted, the majority of cases would be dismissed. In fact, the procedure is not very different to what has been, or ought to have been, the general practice. We regularly claim to be professional—though that may mean different things to different people. One step

WEILER, BUTLER, DEVLIN, JAMES —

On Report.....

in that direction is to follow a correct procedure for adjudications, to know why we are doing it that way, to record it so that it can be demonstrated to have been correct and fair and, if necessary, to defend our adjudication procedure against outside criticism.

Views on the procedure from Governors Board members and other interested groups are still being considered; it seems likely that it will be accepted largely as recommended. It is, indeed, the way the College now teaches it. Governors and Boards of Visitors could do worse than follow the recommended procedure for the time being.

R. CURTIS
Assistant Governor I
Prison Service College
Wakefield.



THE BUTLER REPORT

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON
MENTALLY ABNORMAL OFFENDERS

H.M.S.O. Cmnd.6244, 1975. £3.95

HERE is a government report that is readable, thought-provoking, honest and essential reading for those who have to contend with the mentally abnormal offender. It deals with the safeguarding of the disordered individual from society and the protection of society from actually or potentially destructive people. The Butler Committee was instituted in the wake of the case of Graham Young and undoubtedly the *Report* reflects something of the anxieties that this case aroused. The range of expertise in the Committee is impressive, members including Nigel Walker, Noel Timms, Dennis Hill, Glanville Williams and R. A. B. Butler. While they attempt to present an informed and balanced view, controversy surrounds virtually every page and they will probably both infuriate and please the "radical" and the "hard-liner".

It is difficult to know how many mentally abnormal offenders there are, though Nigel Walker estimates that of all prisoners serving four years or less, 25 per cent possibly have some mental illness. This does not mean that they necessarily offended in a serious or dangerous way, nor that their mental illness and offence were connected. To compound the difficulty, of all compulsory admissions to mental hospitals, 75 per cent were committed by the courts. But most mentally disordered people do not offend and not all offenders are mentally disordered. What seems to cause alarm is the rare combination of madness and badness, leading to behaviour which the Committee describes as "dangerous". The *Report*

defines "dangerousness" as "a propensity to cause serious physical injury or lasting psychological harm", and, while offering a humane overview, recognises society's right to protection. The public's "confidence in the system" of dealing with the dangerous mentally abnormal offender must be maintained but the "offender should be sent wherever he can best be given the treatment he needs". In this way the *Report* seeks a balance between the needs of society and those of the individual.

The *Butler Report* examines in some depth the concept of psychopathy and suggests that the term be excluded from the Mental Health Act (an Act which emphasises treatment) because of the imprecision of the term and because it seems that most current methods of treating "psychopaths" have been disappointing. Psychopathy requires not so much treatment as "a long-term training regime designed to encourage the natural processes of maturation". Prisons, rather than hospitals, are considered better fitted to deal with dangerous psychopaths; consequently, the Committee proposes that "training units" be set up in prisons to provide rehabilitation and security, subject to the success of pilot schemes. It is estimated that 750 places will ultimately be needed in these training units.

Another proposed innovation is "reviewable sentences" which would be less indefinite than life sentences or compulsory admission to hospital under Section 26 of the Mental Health Act but would be more flexible than determinate sentences. The Committee recognises the need for stringent safeguards because, in practice, a reviewable sentence could possibly incarcerate an offender for longer than the present maximum sentence for the offence. The *Report* discusses the role of the Mental Health Review Tribunal and questions the right of the offender to refuse treatment and that of authority to impose it.

In exploring the aftercare of the offender, the Committee urges the closest possible co-operation between the Probation and Social Services departments. Unfortunately, the aftercare of the mentally ill is in a parlous state, as demonstrated by the Association of Directors of Social Services departments which admits that community care for the mentally ill has deteriorated over the past four years. So what chance is there of an improved aftercare service for the mentally abnormal offender in view of the already over-burdened resources?

The *Butler Report* makes over 140 proposals and no brief review could do justice to such a major document. What is sure is that the implications for the Prison Service are far-reaching and would fundamentally alter the role of the prisons in providing for the mentally abnormal offender, especially the so-called psychopath.

COLIN PRITCHARD

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THE DEVLIN REPORT

Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Evidence of Identification in Criminal Cases.

H.M.S.O., 1976. £2.45.

A PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE: THE AMAZING CASE OF PATRICK MEEHAN

LUDOVIC KENNEDY

Gollancz, 1976. £3.75

WITH the Secretary of State exercising the Royal Prerogative in May and releasing Meehan from prison, Kennedy's book is reviewed here more as a case history pertinent to the general discussion of ways to make more reliable the validation of evidence in court, than as part of a crusade for the reversal of what the author saw as the miscarriage of justice in one particular case. Thus reviewed, Kennedy's case history adds a Scottish dimension to the *Devlin Report* which is as an examination of English procedure and practice.

A Presumption of Innocence is concerned with the circumstantial evidence against Meehan, its amplification by crucial procedural errors by both the Crown Office and the police, so prejudicing his trial that his counsel was set the task not simply of showing that his guilt was not proven but of positively proving that he was innocent—a task, Kennedy asserts, made all the more difficult by the fact that police evidence on two central issues was dishonest. By starting from the contrary assumption of innocence and by discounting the police evidence, he substantiates the conclusion with which he starts the book; namely, that no re-examination now could find sufficient grounds on which to convict. Associated with his protestation of Meehan's innocence is Kennedy's assumption of the guilt of one, Waddell, who freely confessed to the crime.

The book is in five parts. The first part is a collection of testimonials from members of the legal profession who, over the years, have involved themselves in Meehan's defence and are willing to commit their conviction of his innocence to print. This is followed by the least satisfactory part of the book; an account of Meehan's life prior to the offence and an assessment of his character. Although Kennedy does not overtly pretend that the account is authoritative, his presentation of what must largely be Meehan's own description is so uncritical as to unnecessarily glorify a man who (Kennedy asserts) would not have been convicted in the first place were he not already one of Scotland's most notorious criminals. Kennedy's job is to persuade, but the shallow journalistic of this section cheapens the investigative value of what is to come. Moreover, it is as contrivedly prejudicial to the reader's impartial assessment as the pre-trial actions of the prosecution were prejudicial to Meehan's chances of a fair trial.

The meat of the book is in the following two sections, the first of which gives parallel accounts of the activities at the time of the crime of Meehan and his associate James Griffiths, and of the confessed perpetrator of the crime, Ian Waddell, and his unnamed associate. Kennedy maintains that the identity of this unnamed man has been known to those interested in the case for some time. It would have been interesting to know their reasons for not disclosing it and whether the person known to Kennedy, at the time of writing the book, was William McGuinness, whose confession of his part in the crime was released after his death by his (and Meehan's) solicitor and shortly before the Secretary of State for Scotland released Meehan from prison.

A description of the events following the crime leads into Mr. Kennedy's account of the trial, where his analysis is at its most telling. Whereas previous sections had, by and large, solicited the reader's sympathy, in his account of the trial Kennedy commits himself to what, were he not sure of his ground, would be libellous criticism of police action. That he is willing to do this is convincing evidence of his faith in the accuracy of his assertions.

The final section traces Meehan's attempts

to have his case re-opened and constitutes, in effect, a personal plea from Mr. Kennedy to the Secretary of State for Scotland, to re-appraise the evidence.

Mr. Kennedy attributes Meehan's conviction and continued detention in face of mounting evidence against its propriety to three general causes. First, he draws attention to the anxiety of the police and Crown Office to allay public alarm and horror at the crime that led them to issue statements that, in his opinion, prejudiced Meehan's chances of an impartial trial. Secondly, he directly accuses the police of dishonesty in their evidence. And, thirdly, he draws attention to the compounding of injustice that stems from what he considers to be excessive inertia in the system of re-appraising jury decisions in the light of subsequently available information.

The first two of these points are beyond the scope of the *Devlin Report* which is concerned with the development of improved procedures rather than with an analysis of their application. The remit to Lord Devlin's Committee was to view in the light of two specified case histories, and other cases as seemed appropriate, "all aspects of the law and procedure relating to evidence of identification in criminal cases; and to make recommendations". The *Report* falls into three main sections: a presentation of the two specified case histories; an analysis of legal and procedural practice in the light of these and other examples, and recommendations. Misconviction, the *Report* concludes, was caused primarily by mistaken identification in only one of the cases it examined in detail. In the other, the case was so "bungled" that it was impossible to assess the importance of the mistaken identification.

The central section deals with an analysis of current practice and an examination and evaluation of alternatives. The first of the three chapters is an extended evaluation of identification as a form of evidence; its scope ranging from reports of research findings into the reliability of human recognition to technical and or legal discussion of the status afforded such evidence in court. This is followed by an examination of existing police practice with regard to identification, ranging through the issuing of descriptions and the provision of photographs of suspects, to the holding of identification parades; and, on the other side of the coin, to the procedures by which alibis are declared and investigated and evidence exchanged between prosecution and defence. The final chapter in the section looks at appeal procedures and those by which the Home Office may subsequently re-appraise the court's findings.

The central conclusion of the *Report* is that "in cases which depend wholly or mainly on eye-witness evidence of identification there is a special risk of wrong conviction". With as little suggestion of statutory change as possible, and without unduly increasing the burden of proving guilt, the first set of recommendations endeavours to give guidance on how this risk can be reduced. The recommendations extend to police use of photographs and the conduct of identification parades. The Committee was satisfied that such procedures are generally carried out appropriately, though it does make detailed suggestions and does seek to prescribe the status of such evidence. The holding of identification parades in prison was considered unsatisfactory.

Countervailing the weight of identification is the presentation in court of an adequate alibi. The *Report* identifies dangers in the existing procedure by which the police investigate, and interview witnesses to, the alibis. This is not the practice in Scotland, and the procedure there of the defence providing written precognitions of their witnesses' evidence for the investigation of the police is one of the alternatives that is discussed. It also encourages the recent trend of judges, in their summing-up, drawing the jury's attention in detail to the implications of the alibi.

Finally, the *Report* looks into the problem of providing channels whereby fresh evidence

can be evaluated after the trial without allowing the defence the option of choosing at which hearing it will present its case. Having noted the problem with respect to appeal procedures (without making recommendations), the *Report* moves on to the role of the Home Secretary, making the observation that there is a case for investigating the feasibility of establishing an independent review tribunal—a conclusion very similar to the closing pleas of Mr. Kennedy's book.

Both publications investigate the miscarriage of justice. It will be a salutary experience for Scottish readers of the *Devlin Report* to have before them Mr. Kennedy's book, for the *Report* identifies strengths in Scottish procedure—particularly the existence of an independent prosecuting agent and the rules governing the pre-trial dissemination of information regarding evidence to be presented in court. Mr. Kennedy, in particular, draws attention to the pitfalls of short-circuiting established procedure in the certainty of the justice of one's cause: the police and the Crown Office, he maintains, did this in the prosecution of Patrick Meehan. Lord Devlin's *Report* gives weight to the increasing realisation by the legislature that the status of eye-witness identification should rightly be lower than has been accepted. Both books ask for the establishment of a post-trial procedure for the reappraisal of closed cases in the light of new evidence.

R. L. HOUGHIN

Assistant Governor, Edinburgh Prison.

THE JAMES REPORT

Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on The Distribution of Criminal Business between the Crown Court and Magistrates' Courts.

Cmnd. 6323 H.M.S.O., 1975. £2.00

BRITAIN'S courts are overloaded and are searching for ways to streamline their work. This *Report* examines the possibilities of cutting down the number of defendants who elect trial at the Crown Courts instead of accepting trial by lay magistrates. Crown Court hearings are more expensive, can deal in heavier penalties and involve delays in which a significant number of people spend time in custody, yet they are a popular choice. The *James Report* recommends a reclassification of offences which carry the entitlement to elect trial at Crown Court which would reduce their use.

For anyone with a bit of knowledge about how the courts work, the report is fascinating as it tries to balance the interests of justice with the need to get cases dealt with. Running through the *Report* there is a strong thread of doubt about the defendants' confidence in the way the lay magistrates' courts work when compared with jury trial. One of the appendices reproduces the conclusions from a survey of defendants which indicated that about a third of them "had been unable to hear all that was said in court" and that as many had been "so overwhelmed by the proceedings that they could not always understand what was happening".

While the *Report's* recommendations would only shift about 10 per cent of Crown Court business back to the lay courts, and would involve only relatively trivial offences, there has already been some forthright criticism of the proposals, particularly in the case of a policeman who, without a jury trial and acquitted, might well have been found guilty at a lower court with dramatic consequence for his future. The unfortunate fact is that proceedings and their terminology are highly complex affairs in which it is very difficult for the defendant to know where his best interests lie and he is obliged to put his trust in his solicitor, who may not serve his client with all the diligence and determination in the world.

The *Report* is a remarkably thorough document and well worth reading. The surprising thing is that, despite the interest of the Prison Service in a reduction of the use of remands in custody, and in a shortening of terms of imprisonment, no submission was made to the Committee on behalf of the Service.

M. B.

....Or Brought to Book

A GUIDE TO THE REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS ACT 1974

BRIAN HARRIS
Barry Rose, 1976. £2.25.

WHATEVER we may think about a piece of legislation which not merely permits lying in a court of law but actively enjoins it, the *Rehabilitation of Offenders Act* is with us and cannot be wished away.

To help mere laymen understand the workings of this complex Act, Brian Harris has written a clear guide which will be of especial value to staff in local prisons and remand centres.

One important note of caution, however, no matter how well produced the rest of the booklet is, there should never have occurred the error that appears in the section dealing with rehabilitation periods. (Rehabilitation periods are those periods of time that must be crime-free after a conviction in order that that conviction be declared "spent"). Section 3.02 of the *Guide* states that a prison sentence of more than 30 months requires a rehabilitation period of 10 years for an adult. The Act itself declares that prison sentences of 30 months or less require a period of 10 years, but sentences of more than 30 months may never become "spent".

One hopes that there are not other, less noticeable, errors lurking in the rest of the text.

M. G.

THE URBAN CRIMINAL

JOHN BALDWIN and A. E. BOTTOMS
Tavistock Publications, 1976.
Hardback £6.50; paperback £3.40.

DEFENDANTS IN THE CRIMINAL PROCESS

A. E. BOTTOMS and J. D. MCCLEAN
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976. £7.50.

WHEN I joined the Prison Service, I was met at the Staff College by a chief officer who asked me what my last occupation had been. Hearing the not unexpected "university student," he replied: "Well, it's probably the same there as here: bullshit baffles brains, unless you watch it".

First then, the bad news: in respect of both these books, especially *The Urban Criminal*, a patina of theoretical pretensions can baffle the brains of would-be readers and can hide the genuine brains and application which have gone into these two otherwise praiseworthy and valuable studies. Watch it, and don't let this happen. Once any reader has got through the first chapter, the worst is over and he should read on, for he will learn much.

Both books are products of studies carried out in the early days of what is now the Centre for Criminological Studies at Sheffield University—hence their Sheffield focus and Tony Bottoms as co-author of both. They are examples of the better type of limited empirical survey which made up most criminological research, especially British, until the early 1970s. They are, in some ways, more suited to presentation as research monographs and I wonder whether the addition of sections designed to increase their theoretical sophistication and intellectual rating is perhaps due to pressure from publishers to produce theoretically respectable books, rather than leave the original studies in less dramatic, and perhaps therefore less marketable, form. If this is so, the publishers were wrong because (and here

is the good news), as surveys, the studies are informative, apparently well done, and not in need of any theoretical decoration to make them more appealing.

The Urban Criminal is the worse affected. The core of the book is a survey of the distribution of known crime in council estates and a study of where detected offenders live. From these, many informative observations, of both theoretical and practical value, emerge. For instance, offenders can properly be categorised as (a) those offending alone and those offending in groups, and (b) those who commit offences some way from home and those operating in their own area. It is surprising (to me, anyway) that there is no relationship between these two dimensions whereas, particularly for adults, there is a correlation between social class and distance between residence and location of offence. Most juvenile delinquency is local to home, as are most cases of violence. At a more general level, the authors are able to point to a distinct pattern in the type of property in which the offenders live and which varies, to some degree, according to the type of offence. The main explanatory factor is a compound variable called "social disorganisation", which is perhaps an unfortunate term as it has a history of confusion and double meaning in criminology, although what the authors mean by it is clear enough. Interestingly, offenders not suffering social disorganisation are much over-represented on council estates.

The first chapter of *The Urban Criminal* was written after the rest of the work and, despite the warnings of the authors, its incongruities are much more striking than its relevance. It appeals to "grounded theory", which itself has been the subject of much criticism for ignoring the problem that the theory has an ideological basis. The book, however, is worth reading and is a genuine contribution to the sociology of both crime and the city, although it is a more doubtful proposition as the beginning of a wider-scope study.

Defendants in the Criminal Process is less plagued by claims to grand theory, and, in their conclusions, the authors admit that it started as a policy-oriented, reform-based study. As such it is good; the question which it addresses—how defendants behave at different stages of the process between being charged and after sentence—is less complex than *The Urban Criminal* and, sociologically, of less general interest. It is of more immediate practical importance.

Two features in the approach seemed odd. First, the authors promise a systemic overview, which does not materialise: the process is described in some detail, but this is not the same thing. Secondly, having disavowed a phenomenological approach, they seem to have turned to a theoretical basis (Cohen and Taylor's *Psychological Survival* which was published after their field-work was finished) in an attempt to dress up the study as being something other than what it was. The book is at its best when analysing what actually happens, although the small sample size makes me less confident than the authors in the statistical results and, in view of the number of categories they use, cries out for a comparative study outside Sheffield. The book does give invaluable insight into the uneven nature of criminal justice in action, the undue influence of the police (although, unlike the authors, I do not think this is primarily the fault of the police), the ignorance of the defendants of their rights and how the system depends on this to keep functioning and, finally, the

possibilities for reform. The last chapter is one of the most positive of its kind which I have read and, though one may not always agree with the authors' solutions, the questions raised are always important. Lawyers—especially barristers—emerge quite badly and magistrates receive mild chastisement—especially in comparison to professional judges. Only the paranoid amongst them, however, could really take umbrage and most of both professions should be made to read *Defendants in the Criminal Process*.

Neither book is of immediate and obvious relevance to Prison Service professionals, but for background and understanding of where "criminals" come from and how they finish up inside, both are well worth reading and, within the limits of their rather detailed material, pleasantly written.

R. W. BURNHAM
Keele University.

DEBT COUNSELLING

JOHN BLAMIRE and ARTHUR IZZARD
The Birmingham Settlement Money Advice Centre, 1975. 85p.

THERE are many reasons why people get into excessive debt. They include sickness, unemployment, lack of information and in some cases pride—the inability to ask for help or to discuss money difficulties with anyone but close friends. No matter what the cause, these situations all too often have a common ending: frustration, family breakup, mental breakdown and, in some cases, imprisonment. It is obvious when interviewing civil prisoners on reception into the prison that there is a general lack of knowledge and advice available to avoid this sort of situation. Only when faced with being "inside" do debtors seek the advice that could have been available outside the walls.

Debt Counselling is a factual and informative book which, in my opinion, could be used widely not only by the social worker but by people in many of the "caring" professions. It is divided into five sections ranging from the different kinds of debt that can occur, to the actual tactics of debt counselling.

The first section, dealing with the kinds of debt, is instructive and explains systems of loan, mortgage, and hire purchase agreements and the services of gas, electricity and rates. This will be of considerable value to the man in the street. In the second and third sections, the court procedures are explained. Many people who would not normally come into contact with courts will receive sufficient knowledge from these sections to be at least aware of what can happen and the restrictions that are included for their protection. The fourth and fifth sections deal with the Consumer Credit Act, 1974, and the tactics of debt counselling—a resume of various cases dealt with by the Money Advice Centre. The glossary contains a small but useful list of legal phraseology and of the various forms which are used in the courts.

There is a necessity in all parts of the country for agencies like the Birmingham Settlement Money Advice Centre, to enable the tragedies of debt to be avoided. In producing this excellent book, the interest of many people within the social work and caring agencies will be awakened by the ready use of the information and advice it contains.

ALEXANDER FRASER
Senior Officer
Pentonville Prison.

The Welfare Liaison Department, where Mr. Fraser works in Pentonville, was described by him in the Prison Service Journal for April 1975 and is featured in the June 1976 volume of Probation Journal which also includes an article about Hindley Neighbourhood Borstal.

GANGS AND GANGSTERS

HANK MESSICK and BURT GOLDBLATT
Futura, 1976. 75p.

A BOOK whose sub-title promises information on such a gloriously named character as "Murph The Surf" has an immediate attraction to those of us for whom typewriters and violin cases have sinister overtones. To some extent, the book lives up to its promise. Baby Face Nelson, Doc Barker, and Creepy Karpis all get a mention. Beyond this, its value is limited, and the author's hope that it will "allow us to isolate a few facts of sociological importance" is hardly realised.

Briefly, Messick's theme is that the criminal careers of the people he talks about, from Jesse James to John Dillinger (not forgetting Murph The Surf), illustrate a single phenomenon—disorganised crime—which he defines as "lawless activity by gangs". This is distinct from unorganised crime—"lawless activity by individuals"—and organised crime—"lawless activity by cartels or syndicates". This last is the concern of a companion volume, *The Mobs and the Mafia*.

Some of the "facts of sociological importance" which do emerge are almost too obvious to warrant such a description. For instance, the legendary conceit of the outlaw is evidenced by Jesse James issuing his own press release with the headline "Most Daring Train Robbery on Record". The sentimentality of the tough guy is illustrated by the anecdote concerning Butch Cassidy rescuing a puppy in the face of a posse. There are, too, many instances of the loyalty among gang members which is the stuff of television series. Other "facts" appear especially prone to the criticism of history, which the author cites in his introduction, that it is "gossip presented as fact". For instance, when Jesse James' marital fidelity is attributed to his having no need to boost his ego via sexual conquest (perhaps he was just ugly!).

The photographs and illustrations presented by Goldblatt, deserve special mention. Some, including a drawing of the side of an express car with a hole blown in it, are of doubtful worth or interest. Others, primarily photographs of the villains themselves, have an intrinsic fascination, and suggest that Lombroso may have been right after all.

A fun book which will be compulsive reading for gangster film addicts. However, its specifically American context, the author's obvious fascination with his heroes, and the fact that behind the myth we so frequently see yet another myth, prevents it making an original contribution to understanding of "lawless activity by gangs".

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AT RISK

The NSPCC Battered Child Research Team
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976. £3.75.

ATLAS OF THE BATTERED CHILD SYNDROME

J. M. CAMERON and L. J. RAE
Churchill Livingstone, 1975. £9.50

The phrase "battered child syndrome" was first used by Professor Kempe in 1962. His article drew attention to the possibility of non-accidental injury to children which, until then, had been ignored by medical, legal and social work practitioners. To the extent that everyone now knows about "baby battering", Kempe's research into physical abuse can be rated successful and useful. The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, for example, set up its own research unit in 1968 in London. *At Risk* reports the results of investigation and treatment carried out there.

"Child batterers" are among the hundreds of people who are sent to prison to satisfy public

(and often self-righteous) indignation. In prison there is little or no treatment that we can offer since the family has already been split up and the offender, at least, removed from the situation of his or her crime. In contrast, it is good to read of something being done before things get to such a stage. *At Risk* describes how the NSPCC centre accepted cases where battering had taken place or was suspected, cases referred in the main from hospitals.

In the course of their intervention, the NSPCC team collected information about the families. Although it might be misleading to make generalisations about battering parents' relationships with their children, the team were struck by the mothers' inconsistency and unreasonableness. In addition, they found that nearly all the parents had received physical or emotional abuse as children and this strengthens the findings from elsewhere that many battering parents are simply modelling themselves on the behaviour they themselves were shown when young. Unplanned pregnancies were common, the majority of marital relationships lacked mutual support and understanding, housing conditions were poor (as we know from our own study of imprisoned child batterers), and there were few links with family or friends. No one factor "explains" the battered child syndrome: rather, "the problem must be viewed in the context of emotional and parental dysfunctioning and disadvantage generally... an interplay between emotional undernourishment and rejection in childhood, unwilling parenthood, frustration and loneliness in adult relationships, particularly marriage, and the confinement and stress of modern urban living" (page 93). This, too, is the picture of battering parents which is painted by *Atlas of the Battered Child Syndrome* which goes on to emphasise that such parents can be from any class of society.

Battered children attending the NSPCC day centre, described in *At Risk*, seemed to benefit from its security and routine. They began to develop and, in some cases, mother-child relationships improved. Social workers concentrated on the parents, nursery staff on the children, for at least 18 months and up to three years. They aimed to build "therapeutic relationships" with the parents: if the team members could be depended on to provide support, they thought, maybe this would in turn rub off on the parents' interactions with their children. The approach changed as the project evolved: the early non-critical stance (which the parents could have taken as a condoning attitude) gave way to open concern for the safety of the children, explicit reference to separating them from their parents, and altogether a more challenging position. Even then, knowing how to react was a real dilemma. If the children were roughly handled by parents, for example, the interviewers could intervene knowing they were preventing immediate unpleasantness for the children: often, though, such criticism would rebound, the parents retaliating by roughly handling the children once the social workers were not present.

Such sensitivity to the parents on the part of the NSPCC team is evident though *At Risk* is written in the style of a research report. Having met other child batterers in prison, some people find it is not difficult to sympathise with these offenders or at least to find extenuating circumstances in their previous situations. A glance through *Atlas of the Battered Child Syndrome*, however, quickly freezes any such sympathy. The *Atlas* is a medical book, whose commentary clearly advocates greater understanding of battering parents, but which includes harrowing pictures of the effects of child abuse. There are illustrations of common symptoms: X-rays of broken bones and fractured skulls, pictures of bruises, burns, bite marks, ruptured organs and the signs of neglect—many of the photographs apparently taken at post mortem examinations. Often it is not just the extent of the injury which is horrifying but—according to the six case histories which are presented—its repetition.

Despite the revulsion that one feels, Professor Cameron and Dr. Rae make it clear in the text that "rehabilitation of the family is more important to society than punishment and that battering parents need help and not condemnation" (page 2). But, if a reminder is required that the needs of the child surmount those of the parents or that the battered child is "at risk" in the most fundamental and disturbing way, then their book will readily provide it.

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RACIAL VARIATION IN MAN

Edited by F. J. EBLING
Institute of Biology, 1975. £9.50

THIS lengthy and scholarly collection of papers examines the concept of race from a variety of angles, and includes the record of a bitter and sometimes acrimonious debate over variations in IQ scores between Jensen for the "geneticists", and Tizard and Rose for the "environmentalists". What is striking, however, is that the biological, genetic argument is put forward by a psychologist, while Sutherland, a biologist, casts doubt on the whole debate by arguing that the concept of race as a category is of little scientific utility, has no exactitude, and explains nothing. His meticulous examination of variations in the frequency of blood group genes (which is what human genetics is about) contrasts strongly with Jensen's almost unquestioned assumption that race is a meaningful biological category. One of Sutherland's conclusions is certainly worth quoting:

"That races differ is not the controversial question. Controversy arises when people believe and act as if, because races differ genetically, they may assume that all racial differences are of necessity genetic".

So, the biologist leads us straight back to the social question, for it is very clear that having a coloured skin is of great significance in terms of belief and action in society. In Britain, someone with a coloured skin is usually labelled as an immigrant, wherever he has been born, and is likely to be the target of discrimination as well as racial abuse.

But "race" is not just a matter of the social significance of skin colour, but also very often of cultural differences as well. Asian migrants to Britain are obviously culturally different from the indigenous population and so, it is gradually coming to be realised, are the West Indians. These cultural differences are themselves a political issue. A widespread view is that immigrants will and should assimilate culturally, but it is increasingly clear that this is not taking place, a situation which is leading to the legitimisation of discrimination: "If they don't fit in, why should we give them jobs?"

Asian and West Indians in Britain are different from the majority, partly because of the social disability arising from their colour, and partly because of the difference of their cultures. But the questions of colour and culture are closely interconnected on the black side as well the white: if failure to assimilate is used to legitimate racial discrimination, so the experience of discrimination is leading young Asians and West Indians to re-emphasise their cultural difference, partly as a matter of pride, and partly as a sign of their contempt for white discrimination. The state of race relations in Britain is clearly rapidly changing, largely because of the deepening of this polarisation, as the rising generation of British-born Asians and West Indians refuses to accept unequal treatment meekly, as their parents often did.

In a careful article in this volume, Bottoms and Wiles review the evidence for possible associations between race, crime, and violence. After the essential caveats about the reliability of crude crime statistics, and the possibility that the police may be biased in making arrests, they come to the cautious conclusion that "we are on the brink of an apparent worsening in

the official black crime rates in Britain". However, perhaps their most important point is that there is often "a deliberate playing down of information which may appear to be unfavourable to black people".

This could hardly be more appropriate, because the constant tendency of liberal commentators to argue that things are not really as bad as all that has left the way open for Mr. Powell to hit the headlines with his statement that "mugging is a racial crime". As is so often the case, Mr. Powell is right in his facts, but it is about his interpretations that we must be very cautious. Presumably, not even Mr. Powell himself would argue that West Indians are endowed with a genetic propensity to mug: he is merely pointing to the fact that many (although by no means all) young West Indians are turning to hustling and petty crime, in a distinctive sub-cultural way. "Hustling" involves a whole range of activities, from the shady to the distinctly illegal, but it is clear that this behaviour is in large part a response to British conditions, for it is very much more characteristic of the younger generation who have grown up here, rather than their elders. Many young West Indians are alienated from our society and argue, with considerable justification, that any attempt to pursue a career in the white man's world is futile, for discrimination would prevent any useful advance. Until these underlying grievances are dealt with, it could be that more and more young West Indians will turn to hustling. Meanwhile, of course, the police and the Prison Service have the task not only of apprehending and confining those whose acts are judged criminal, but also of maintaining order in what is perceived by black people as a fundamentally racially unjust society. As such, they are thrust into a political role themselves (which politicians are generally very careful to ignore) where their attempts to perform their allotted role are likely only to deepen the alienation of coloured people.

It is easy to fall into the trap of overdramatising the situation or of assuming, as Bottom and Wiles point out, that what happens today in America happens in Britain tomorrow. When they wrote, there had been no outbreaks of mass black violence in Britain but, as events in recent months in Leeds, Bradford, Birmingham and London have shown, things are changing very rapidly. Members of the police and the Prison Service are probably more aware than many others of the degree of tension that exists but, since it is they who have to bear the brunt of black hostility, it would hardly be surprising if many of them did not react very negatively in the situation. However, any such racial polarisation spells clear dangers for the future.

Nevertheless, the roots of the problem lie elsewhere, and Bottoms and Wiles quote President Johnson:

"The only genuine, long range solution for what has happened lies in an attack—mounted at every level—upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what these conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease and not enough jobs".

President Johnson was making a call not just for greater attention to social welfare, but also for a concentrated attack on racial injustice: but how long will it be before politicians in Britain have the courage to make such a public diagnosis, let alone do anything about it? Scholarly arguments about the hereditability of I.Q. have little place except as ammunition in what is essentially a political arena. Racial hostility and conflict must be viewed as an urgent practical problem, best tackled earlier rather than later. It is becoming increasingly difficult to argue that the tension is non-existent, or at least so small that it is of little account. To ignore the warning signs is only to store up deeper trouble for the future.

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RELUCTANT JUDAS

GEOFF ROBERTSON
Temple Smith, 1975. £2.25.

THE Special Branch or, as Geoff Robertson rather emotively prefers to call it, "Britain's secret police" is, if he is to be believed, a devious unscrupulous, manipulative organisation which is "in theory as well as in practice . . . a law unto itself". Not content with building up "dossiers on citizens they choose to brand as subversives", photographing everyone attending "political trials" and planting false "leaks" in the national press, the Special Branch also, he maintains, uses people like Kenneth Lennon, the Judas of the title, as agents provocateurs to "incite political agitators to criminal activity that they might otherwise not have contemplated".

The author is a barrister and, although his book is sub-titled "The life and death of the Special Branch informer, Kenneth Lennon", this appears to be of secondary importance to the main theme which is the prosecution case against the Special Branch. How convincing is Mr. Robertson's argument? Placing myself in the position of juror, I found his presentation over-emotional, containing many anomalies and over-dependent upon hearsay evidence of doubtful reliability. He freely quotes "some observers", "certain Fleet Street journalists", unnamed victims of Special Branch oppression and pressure and minor politicians in support of his case. I also found unconvincing the way in which he expanded minor facts into dramatic and unsupported conclusions. Despite the defence being weak—as Mr. Robertson admits, the Special Branch is precluded from rebutting its critics—I found the case not proven.

I do believe, however, that there is some basis to some of Mr. Robertson's conclusions and I would not wish to under-value his book. The Lennon affair and the Littlejohn case have caused ripples of disquiet and there is a general feeling among thinking people of all political beliefs that the secret surveillance services should be more accountable for their activities. Many readers will be surprised to learn of the extent to which the Branch controls its own affairs and how little it is under democratic control.

Mr. Robertson has attempted to produce a book with a wide appeal. Its value could be in making people think, even if they do find some of his melodramatic and sinister interpretations hard to swallow. Tony Bunyan's book, *The Political Police in Britain* (which is reviewed below), appears to have the same aim and supports some of Mr. Robertson's conclusions. Unfortunately, both books suffer from exaggeration and bias. The case for greater democratic control and public accountability needs to be made calmly and objectively if it is to have the desired effect. Having got this book out of his system, perhaps Mr. Robertson can produce such a case.

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THE POLITICAL POLICE IN BRITAIN

TONY BUNYAN
Julian Friedmann, 1976. £4.95

IN recent years, an increasing tendency on the part of the police to open their doors and permit internal scrutiny has given rise to a string of publications. There have been books on policemen, police work, police theory and police problems. But not until the work of Tony Bunyan has there been a book on police and politics. It is unlikely that any doors were opened in the furtherance of this research, for the depths of state security which the author seeks to penetrate are by their very nature heavily cloistered and virtually impregnable. It is a commonly held view, asserted by the

police and largely accepted by the British public, that their police service, unlike many others, is free from political bias and, apart from exceptional situations, an independent agency operationally free from political control. Tony Bunyan seeks to destroy this notion and to prove the hypocrisy and facade of the liberal tradition and the so-called theory of liberal democracy.

The book carefully traces the history and development of the uniformed police, the Special Branch, MI5 and MI6 and an historical perspective is used to demonstrate the political and ideological forces which gave rise to these various "organs of government" and which continue to control and direct their activity today. The police, far from representing the interests of the majority in society and functioning as a balance of power between total anarchy and total tyranny, always oppose the interests of the working class. Bunyan concedes that, although the police act in the interest of individual members of the working class, this is of little importance to the wider argument; it is the "totality of the historical record" which speaks for itself, and denies the foundations of the liberal democratic position. The deeper explanation behind all this is the powerful force of capitalism, underpinning the economic, political and social fabric of our society. The "friendly face" and traditional "helping hand" of the British "bobby" are seen by Bunyan as a thinly veiled trick by which the wicked powers of capitalism gain the confidence and control of the working class.

Apart from the historical perspective, a parallel theme of this work is the socialist perspective. The author leaves us in no doubt as to his political sympathies but, towards the end of the volume, there is a certain monotony in the repeated attack on "western capitalism" and the "British ruling class".

In addition to the account of the political uses of law and the various political police agencies, including the private security industry, there is an extensive and detailed description of methods of surveillance, including telephone tapping, interception of mail and the use of the agent provocateur.

The approach is journalistic and readable. There is an abundance of factual information but also much speculation and opinion about state security—which is sometimes blatantly naive. But, in many instances, the author cannot be challenged for the simple reason that his disclosures are new and there is no evidence to the contrary available to the general public. When the author attempts a critique of the law relating to the role of the agent provocateur, he fails to do the subject justice from the legal perspective, by laying emphasis on somewhat emotive and outdated cases which are no longer regarded as good law and by omitting to mention others which are regarded as leading authorities. Similarly, when accusing the police of open disclosure of criminal records to employers, he completely disregards the recent provisions of the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act, 1974.

Bunyan complains of the misuse of police power to obtain intelligence, rather than to apprehend offenders. In criticising the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1974, he says: "... the figures released for the first year of its operation confirmed that the use of the Act by the police and the Special Branch was more to gain intelligence on the Irish community in Britain than to apprehend bombers". He appears to ignore the fact that intelligence is a prerequisite to the provision of evidence, which in turn provides the only legitimate foundation for arrest and prosecution. Ironically, he ends his work by suggesting that: "... an understanding of the state and its agencies is only of use if their practices continue to be monitored". With this in mind he appeals to the reader to supply the necessary "intelligence" for an improved second edition.

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KEEPING THE PEACE

G. W. KEETON

Barry Rose, 1976. £5.00.

PROFESSOR KEETON has written a fascinating book about the whole problem of "keeping the peace". It is a book that *should* be read by every one who is involved in the process of maintaining law and order and that *could* be read for interest and pleasure by any intelligent sixth-former. It should also be read by anyone who imagines that we are living in unusually disorderly times, because the book clearly has a message of hope. We are improving, over the centuries, in the difficult art of living peaceably together in our small country. The horrors of the reign of King Stephen, the terrors of politico-religious strife, the chaos of vice, murder and assault in the 18th century and of riot in the 19th, make our present troubles seem slight.

The British have always sought freedom and the right to go about their own affairs in peace. It is fascinating to realise on reading this book how those two aspirations have conflicted and how, obtusely, we resisted, for centuries, the idea of an organised police force—whilst simultaneously complaining bitterly about the lack of law and order.

This willingness, in the interests of civil peace, to put up with *and pay* a peace-keeping force took a very long time to evolve. At least the offenders were dealt with, but hanging (or transportation for fourteen years) gradually became unacceptable to a more humane society. One wonders, on finishing this book, how long it will be before we make the last final leave and realise that, politically unpopular though it may be, the proper treatment of offenders must similarly be paid for. Professor Keeton makes it clear that before Peel, it was politically unpopular to advocate a standing professional and paid police force. No votes in that! In my lifetime, there have been no votes in penal reform. But, in the perspective this book gives, perhaps the time is coming when politicians will become less starry-eyed and will actually be brave enough to vote the money needed for effective and enlightened penal treatment.

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THE DELINQUENT GIRL

Clyde Vedder and Dora Somerville
C. C. Thomas, 1975. \$14.50.

FURTHER STUDIES OF FEMALE OFFENDERS

Home Office Research Study No. 33.
H.M.S.O., 1976. £1.55.

"As much as I like Mike, I had to hit him in the face with the door... I hate for somebody to call me a whore even if it's true, 'cause I know I'm not one." Here is a familiar note of bafflement and bravado which can be heard in several of the autobiographies in Vedder and Somerville's study of delinquent girls in the United States.

The early chapters of *The Delinquent Girl* outline various theories and studies of criminality. Female delinquency is considered in terms of the part women play in male-dominated societies. Women, it is said, fear social disapproval more than do men; they more carefully observe the rules of the tribe. The male offender tends to hurt others; the female herself. According to the National Children's Bureau, however, delinquency among girls in the United States is rising 16 times faster than among boys. The authors report a change in the pattern of female offences: more girls are now engaging in acts which harm other people.

There is a chapter on each of the common charges associated with female delinquency: runaway, incorrigibility, sex delinquency, probation violation and truancy. The most frequently noted cause of running away, in one study, was the unconscious threat of an incestuous relationship with the father. When

the authors consider case histories, they seem understanding and sensible. When they turn to the girls' autobiographies, they start conjuring up sister-sib rivalries and electra complexes with glib and freudening sangfroid.

Vedder and Somerville recommend that children should not be punished for offences which, if committed by adults, would not be in breach of the law. There should be more community-based treatment, they say. More teachers should be trained in casework. Of interest to many people in the Prison Service will be the suggestion that there ought to be more male staff in female institutions to counterweigh the negative experiences of men in the histories of so many female inmates.

The book contains much that is sound and thoughtful. It is also uneven and intermittently irksome ("The female offender's goal, as any woman's, is a happy and successful marriage"). Although specked with solecisms, misprints and contradictions, the work is worth dipping into and contains useful references.

Further Studies of Female Offenders contains three research studies. The first, "Borstal Girls Eight Years After Release", follows the careers of 129 girls received into borstal in 1963 who were the subject of earlier reports (*Home Office Research Studies* 11 and 14). The present report reviews the girls' lives during the eight years following release from borstal; using only indirect material, it examines not only reconvictions but also the girls' relations with family and community. The authors felt that a direct approach could not be justified as it might be seen by the girls as an infringement of their liberty. As a consequence, however, full information over the eight years was obtained for only half the girls.

Over all, 51 per cent of the girls committed no offences or only minor offences within the eight-year follow-up. This is compared in the report with the post-borstal performance over 10-12 years of the boys in Gibbens and Prince's study, where the figure for no offences or minor offences was 45 per cent. A further finding is that 82 per cent of those girls who were going to offend again had done so by the end of the third year. This goes some way to vindicating other studies which have been criticised for the relative shortness of their follow-up periods.

One-fifth of all the girls had been in psychiatric hospitals. The authors' suggestion that "mutual self-help between borstal girls in suitable cases" may be beneficial, must be measured against their finding in *Home Office Research Study* 14 (1972) that friendship with another borstal girl almost always led to reconviction or recall.

The authors note that, as only four of the girls were sentenced to prison for two years or more, the overwhelming majority of those re-offending cannot be seen as threatening to society; they go on to recommend, for most cases, treatment in the community. But these girls are restless: the 1972 report observed that over half of the girls stayed less than three months in the place to which they were discharged.

"The Sentencing of Women at the London Higher Courts" is a study of women who appeared before the courts in 1969 and 1970, and a two year follow-up during which any reconvictions were noted. The authors admit that there are few conclusive results. One particular finding is that "The higher proportion of women than men who plead not guilty, and the fact that when such a plea is made more of the women are acquitted, are related to the high proportion of women electing to go for trial by jury".

"Girls Appearing before a Juvenile Court" is an interesting study which examines influences on 55 girls aged 14 to 16 years who appeared before Greenwich Juvenile Court between September 1967 and March 1969. Information is also provided on a non-delinquent peer group. Although this peer group is admitted to be an imperfect match, the following comparisons can be made:

55 per cent of girls before the court and 88

per cent of the peer group lived habitually with both natural parents;

33 per cent of the court group and 68 per cent of the peer group never or rarely quarrelled with their parents;

53 per cent of the court group and 84 per cent of the peer group could predict their life-style at age 25;

77 per cent of the court group and 28 per cent of the peer group admitted some truancy.

In addition, four-fifths of the court group had a close associate who had been before a court; about half had a member of their immediate family with such an experience.

Within the court group, the "non-offenders" came from homes where conflict was more prevalent. "Non-offenders" are those girls who were before the court for being beyond control, in contravention of the Education Act or in need of care or protection. 57 per cent of these "non-offenders" and 36 per cent of "offenders" had at least one parent who had experienced mental illness. 11 of the girls themselves suffered mental disturbance and all of these were "non-offenders".

A common theme to both *The Delinquent Girl* and *Further Studies of Female Offenders* is that the problems of these girls are so enmeshed with those of their families that, in many cases, greater emphasis on intervention within the community is desirable.

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THE MODERN JUVENILE COURT

JOHN WATSON and PATRICIA AUSTIN
Shaw and Sons, 1975. £3.50.

THE sub-title of this book is "A guide for Magistrates, Social Workers, Police and others". To provide such a guide would be a modest ambition but there may be a nagging suspicion in the reader's mind that the authors wish to provide more than this. Both authors are widely experienced in juvenile court work and yet this does not come over to the reader—I longed for a good healthy anecdote to give a sense of setting. Throughout the main body of the book, the reader is allowed only brief insights into the attitudes of the authors and it is not until the final chapter, with its lists of recommendations, that the reader has much to get to grips with. The title suggests a reference book which is a pity, since this book is more than a catalogue of factual information.

Before a full review of juvenile court procedures there are two brief but interesting chapters: "Historical Note" and "Juvenile Delinquency Today". The first chapter simply but usefully, traces the development of legislation dealing with young offenders. People in the Prison Service working with such offenders may reflect upon Lord Templewood's comments in the debate that preceded the 1948 Criminal Justice Act: "If we are to restrict imprisonment of the young and if, as I hope, we are going to abolish judicial whipping of the young, we must do our best to find alternative methods of dealing with juvenile delinquents". In discussing "Juvenile Delinquency Today", the authors comment: "Nothing is to be gained by panicking, but to describe the situation as disturbing would be an understatement".

In the following chapters, detailed information is given on the procedures of juvenile courts and on the main characters at court. A chapter on the trial of two imaginary young boys is most interesting in that it contains information on the special setting of the juvenile court and gives great insight into the attitudes of the two authors. The importance of magistrates leaving the child and his parents in no doubt as to the effects of the order of the court is rightly stressed (staff in remand centres will understand how vital this is). Advice on how to deal with juveniles is given to police and social workers. Policemen are advised that

their attitude towards the delinquent should be—"I hate what you've done but I like you" (Dick Emery, please note). This discussion of the roles of policemen and social workers could have been broadened to give indications of possible future developments. The authors carefully avoid controversy in this area though the attitude of the magistracy does break through at times: note, for example, the advice to social workers as to how to dress for court appearances: "If you are a male officer, a discreet sports jacket and slacks are perfectly acceptable. You have more scope if you are a woman; make yourself as attractive as possible, subject to an avoidance of the extremes of fashion. We shall resist entering into the controversy whether a trouser suit is suitable, or trousers combined with a sweater are not".

The final chapter of the book is most interesting. The authors recommend that a "central allocation agency" with information on community homes be set up to monitor vacancies. Legally constituted remand centres should be established with Remand Centre Rules governing administration and management: the authors feel that the present situation—with designated remand centres which, in law, are prisons—is unsatisfactory. Further and more detailed recommendations suggest the setting up of a system of community homes with secure provision for all age groups. These recommendations are interesting but are presented rather badly with little detailed argument. This detracts from the value of the book as a basis for vigorous discussions on more contentious issues. The arguments for future courses of action are not fully developed and the philosophy behind the recommendations has to be guessed.

There is some confusion as to whether this book aims to be a good handbook on juvenile courts or whether it aims to stimulate thought on juvenile crime and the way society should deal with it. The book is reasonably priced and contains much valuable information. However, the reader must be prepared to do a good deal of work for himself. There are tantalising glimpses as to how stimulating it could be and rare insights into the "caring attitude" of the authors: "It is unhelpful if magistrates describe social workers as impractical idealists, and if social workers describe magistrates as punitive fuddy-duddies—although at times there may be grounds for both. They should work as partners in a common cause, 'fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth'!! No one could argue with that conclusion.

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CRIME AS OPPORTUNITY

Home Office Research Study No. 34 by
P. MAYHEW, R. CLARKE, A. STURMAN and
J. HOUGH
H.M.S.O., 1976. 70p.

As lots of people in the Service will know, quite a bit of fun can be had at the expense of criminologists by letting them go on and on about theories of crime and then letting them into the secret—"People pinch things because they fancy them and other people leave them about. People smash things up because no one makes sure they don't". At that point, the discussion usually breaks off, because the person who has made the revelation has saved it up until just before the tea-break. Well, at last, someone has come up with a tidy, readable and rather amusing piece of work which shows that this tempting line of argument has some knots in it.

The report describes two pieces of research. The first has to do with the introduction of steering column locks on all cars produced since January, 1971. Borstal friends tell me that all you do is knock the lock off. The evidence is that the thief looks for an older

car to knock off. Perhaps carrying a four-pound hammer about with you, on the off-chance, cramps one's style a bit for some of the other opportunities of life. In Germany, where, from 1963, all cars had to have anti-theft devices the risk of cars being taken fell by a factor of nearly four; but maybe those who were put off found some other enterprise. (Some years ago, Bebbington found that one consequence of tightening surveillance of car parks was an increase in shoplifting).

The second piece of research studied damage to buses in Manchester to see what effects supervision of the passengers had. The results are not wildly surprising—broadly speaking, the less supervision, the more damage. Maybe, if transport departments are really running mobile playgrounds, the vehicles should be built that way and maybe, if kids are thrown off, they take a car.

The first and last sections of the report provide the "theoretical" context into which the two pieces of research are fitted. Intriguingly, they argue for methods of controlling crime, or at least of researching such methods which operate directly and physically, cutting out some of the argument about social factors and their contribution to the crime problem. Dressed up in a new guise, this is a return to the "operational research" approach advocated by Wilkins many years ago and yet, within the studies themselves, it becomes quite obvious that it is essential to know something of the market system for stolen cars and of the motives that are satisfied by taking and driving away other people's wheeled sitting rooms or knocking the stuffing out of the back seat of a bus. Now that the criminological kitchen is becoming so hot, it is as if the Research Unit is looking for a nice, quiet, simple, and non-political corner. It is a touching, if unworldly idea—like playing with one's toes. But it won't catch on.

MARK BEESON
Leeds University.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING

PAUL KLINE
Dent, 1976. £4.75.

THIS book comprehensively introduces the field of psychological testing. It starts with chapters on the rationale and philosophy behind testing and describes the construction of tests. Chapters on personality theory and behaviourism follow (Freud, Laing and Skinner) before testing in specific areas are considered in more detail. These areas include the measurement of intelligence, aptitudes, attainment, personality (by questionnaire, physiological measures and projective techniques) and vocational guidance.

The scope of the book is wide, yet detailed enough to give an adequate knowledge of the tests involved. The book cannot cover all tests and theories of personality but, although not a definitive textbook, it does convey the general picture of psychological testing today. It is easy to read, though not—as the dust cover claims—"jargon free", since each science has its own specific vocabulary. I think it would make good reading material for those who already know something about testing and also for those who may only have encountered tests and wish to know more. This applies not just to testers in the Prison Service but to officers, governors and educational staff.

Paul Kline mentions two specific areas of testing in which benefit has been obtained. One is the "army model", concerned with the most efficient use of manpower; the other is the individual assessment or counselling model which has a specific, personal aim—like vocational guidance. Both models are directly applicable to testing in the Prison Service. In excess of 15,000 people each year are tested in the Prison Service (as in the "army model"), particularly for educational assessment by identifying those lacking in literacy or numeracy.

This work is very time-consuming and, of necessity, highly routinised: it does not allow enough time for the more interesting and valuable work of individual assessment. This book may help to convey what is possible in the area of individual assessment, about which many people know little.

IAN RAY
Psychological Tester
Adult Offender Psychology Unit.

ETHICAL STANDARDS IN COUNSELLING

Edited by H. J. BLACKHAM

Bedford Square Press
Hardback, £1.50; paperback, 80p.

THE search for ethical guidelines in the helping professions shows a growing sense of urgency as the values of contemporary society move into a state of flux. Lacking a professional association to elaborate and reinforce a code of professional ethics, counsellors face particular difficulties in defining the nature and boundaries of their responsibilities.

Counselling inevitably transmits social values and, in general, the papers in this valuable little book reflect the traditional values of "Western" society, with respect for individual worth, concern for individual autonomy, freedom of choice and action, and self-determination. The papers explore the ethical implications of counselling, covering a great deal of ground in 80 packed pages. They amply support the editor's hope that they may serve "as a stimulus to informed thinking about and discussions of the ethical standards . . . all counsellors should acknowledge and expect of one another". They provide a clear framework for the discussion of counselling values and assumptions, counsellor responsibility and competence, confidentiality selection, training and supervision. They should provoke much thought and not a little disquiet amongst counsellors with a conscience who may consider the extent to which they measure up to the exacting criteria of personal and professional acceptability and accountability suggested by these writers.

H. J. Blackham, for instance, believes that the moral responsibility of the counsellor to client, colleagues, agency and society requires him to be clear about the limits of his competence and the damage he can inflict on the client if he exceeds them. The counsellor must recognise the part played by his own personality in assessing his clients and interacting with them and must attain appropriate levels of training and understanding of human personality and interpersonal dynamics.

Counselling is an area which rings to the clash of contending philosophies and this book will help to clarify the issues and spread the debate amongst the ranks of practitioners.

REG. MARKS
Leeds University.

REPORT OF THE NEWHAM ALTERNATIVE PROJECT 1975

THE Newham Alternative Project was set up in an attempt to reduce the number of people receiving custodial sentences from the courts in the London Borough of Newham. It was hoped that the courts would defer sentence on such defendants, enabling them to attend the centre and resolve those problems which had contributed to their law-breaking.

This typewritten report of the first year's work, produced by the project's research officer, describes Newham and how the project was initiated. Given the mixed reception the scheme has received from the courts and the police, it will be interesting to read the next report, to be published later this year.

R. E.

CROWDING AND BEHAVIOUR

JOHNATHAN L. FREEDMAN
W. H. Freeman, 1975. £2.50.

This book is described as being the first comprehensive study of the effects of crowding to base its conclusions on work with human beings. It is suggested that previous studies have relied rather too heavily on animal research. Even so, this book attempts to summarise the research done with animals and devotes one chapter to discussing the pitfalls of using animal behaviour to explain human behaviour in the mass. The effects of high density and large populations on animals are, it seems, due to a number of things including territorial instincts, adrenal activity and scarcity of resources. Yet despite all the research on animals so far, there are still too many unexplained and unknown factors for any conclusive results to be extended to humans.

The over-riding purpose of this book, however, is to present a very optimistic view of the crowding behaviour issue concerning human beings. The conclusion of the research done so far by Freedman and his colleagues is that crowding does not generally have negative effects on people—it can have good or bad effects depending on the situation—but in itself it is not harmful or responsible for those things that all too readily are assumed to be due to overcrowding. Freedman, in fact, states that "high population density has been much maligned" as far as it affects human beings; there is an unassailable belief that crowding is bad. It is assumed to be the cause of tension, anxiety, family troubles, divorce, aggressiveness, neurosis, schizophrenia, rape, murder, and even war. The book argues strongly against this belief.

Freedman's contentions throughout the book are that (1) high density "crowding" does not have a generally negative effect on humans; and (2) it does intensify reactions to other people. These are stated several times in the book and in a moment of recurring doubt one is tempted to feel that Freedman is attempting to indoctrinate by mere repetition. His conclusions have obvious implications for many disciplines, including politics, psychology, philosophy, sociology, and religion. For those concerned with crime and its causes, Freedman would say that there is no relationship between how crowded a city or neighbourhood is and how much crime it has. He feels that the evidence, whilst not wholly conclusive, is strongly against the view that crowding influences crime in the cities. He also believes that when areas within a city are equated on income then a crowded neighbourhood produces no more crime than uncrowded ones. Even in low income areas there is actually less crime when there is high density. Poor people tend to commit more crimes than people with money, but there is no evidence that crowding itself causes crime.

The book and its research findings are not by any means definitive: they are exploratory and, though at times not a little unconvincing because of deeply rooted assumptions, neither are they totally irrefutable. There is doubtless considerable anxiety created by the beliefs that the world is over-populated and that fighting the population explosion by encouraging a decrease in the birth rate is a losing battle. As Freedman says, however, it is unrealistic to contemplate the possibility of depopulating major city centres. People have always concentrated in cities and unless society undergoes an almost unimaginable change there will continue to be high concentrations of people in cities. The problem of the city or the crowded area is not high density—things like transportation, housing and other services are much more important. The book concludes with the declaration that perhaps the most profound influence preventing the solution of city problems has been the abiding pessimism surrounding city life and development. Clearly what is needed is a more optimistic and determined approach to get the other things right. The

book rests on the statement: "If the world cannot conveniently blame its problems on overcrowding it will be forced to look elsewhere for the causes".

A. J. GREASLEY
Deputy Governor
Manchester Prison.



DEFENDANTS' HANDBOOK:
A Guide to Staying Out of Prison
Radical Alternatives to Prison (Bristol Group),
1976. 10p. (free to defendants)

BRISTOL R.A.P. are campaigning to discourage their local magistrates from using imprisonment: Bristol courts imprison a larger percentage of defendants than any other court in England and Wales. The *Handbook* is therefore being given away to defendants, to help them to find their way through the maze of court procedure and to persuade the court not to send them to prison. The booklet goes through 42 steps which outline the layout of the court, who is who, what they are up to, and how the defendant can try to keep his options open. It is pretty simplified and a bit flip—judges are "not nice people", social workers are "so busy changing their jobs and salaries that clients are rather a nuisance", magistrates are "selected by the Home Office", and so on.

There is probably no other way of explaining why Bristol magistrates are so punitive except that it is force of habit. A bit of a shake-up will probably do nothing but good and might even help to lower the prison population. If the *Handbook* succeeds in making defendants a bit more competent that will be a good thing but, if it has the side-effects of caricaturing all those involved in trying to make the justice system work, it could make a bit of a mess for someone to clear up.

M. B.



**CORRECTIONAL POLICY AND
PRISON ORGANISATION**

DAVID DUFFEE
Sage, 1975. £9.25.

CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATION

ALAN COFFEY
Prentice Hall, 1975. \$11.95

HAVING recognised if not come to terms with the "Americanisms" in both these books, I found myself contrasting and comparing them and considering their possible application to the prison system in Great Britain. The authors draw on similar material and both use management thinking advanced by McGregor, Blake and Mouton and a number of other social science and or organisational writers, including Likert, Maslow, Drucker, Etzioni, Katz and Kahn, in illustrating various subjects.

I found David Duffee's book the more readable of the two and it will attract the interest of a wide range of people involved in both the practical and academic sides of prison management and or administration. Duffee's theme is one that has attracted serious students of the prison scene for some time but he manages to draw together a number of interesting concepts in his search for a viable research model to test efficiency and/or effectiveness. He shows it is possible to advance a score system for penal policy, based on a ten-point inventory, and this he tests in a thorough and detailed research programme. He goes on to examine the management styles of the institution's senior staff and to apply Cressey's idea of the "climate" that is particular to an institution. He studies the relevance of each element and their interactions, the management of which he claims could lead to a more effective system.

Duffee's research methods should be carefully studied by all those who work in this field and I applaud his notion of a direct commitment by researchers for change in the institutions they examine. Although a theoretical systems approach is taken, this book shows a human, practical approach to a number of difficult problems associated with evaluation and change in a fast developing prison system.

By contrast, I found Coffey's approach more sweeping but lacking the applied nature of Duffee's work. Coffey's book, however, may have wider appeal as it covers probation, parole and community-based treatment programmes. Early in his book, Coffey draws attention to the many factors in the field of criminal justice and the treatment of offenders and the essential inter-relationships between them; but his distinction between the administration and management of penal matters may find less acceptance. Like Duffee, he draws on Blake and Mouton's "managerial grid" and McGregor's "Theory X-Y"; he also includes Drucker's MbO and thereby delineates three approaches to the management of correctional administration. He produces a number of interesting inventories, one drawn from the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (pew, what a title!) which sets out a correctional context for MbO. I am sure those involved in the Feltham project would read this with interest.

Although a less readable book than Duffee's, the summary and discussion questions raised at the end of each chapter will offer students and tutors who use Coffey's book an opportunity to focus debate. The book could stimulate argument and learning, a process we can ill afford to dismiss.

PETER TIMMS
Governor
Maidstone Prison.



PSYCHO-SEXUAL PROBLEMS

Edited by HUGO MILNE and SHIRLEY HARDY
Bradford University Press, 1976. £6.00.

THIS book is a transcript of 17 lectures which formed the first international congress on psycho-sexual problems held in Bradford in September, 1974. No effort has been made to re-write these lectures in a style more suited to the written, as opposed to the spoken, word. There are several passages which were no doubt clear in the lecture hall but which are ambiguous and amusing in black and white. One is left, for instance, wondering about "the man who masturbated by anal stimulation and in fact got better". But perhaps the worst features of this style is the strain it places on the reader's enthusiasm.

The book serves more as a souvenir for those who attended the congress than as a textbook for the student or layman wishing to broaden his knowledge of human sexual functioning. The areas are too diverse for the student but the coverage too shallow for the specialist.

The average reader might well be left with the impression that the resolution of sexual problems is well within the knowledge and ability of specialists. This will come as something of a surprise to members of the Prison Department who know of the numbers of sexual deviants who are, of necessity, in custody. In reality, there are practical difficulties in assessment and treatment and there are side-effects arising out of some treatments to which the contributors pay at best only fleeting reference. There is a lamentable shortage of "hard data" but an abundance of anecdotal evidence which, being in the area of sexual functioning, is inherently interesting but of little scientific value.

In short, I found the book tedious to read and, despite its title, lacking any central theme.

RHYS MATTHEWS
Senior Psychologist
Wormwood Scrubs Prison.

GROUPWORK PRACTICE

TOM DOUGLAS

Tavistock Publications, 1976

Hardback, £5.50; paperback £2.65.

GROUP INTERACTION AS THERAPY:

The Use of the Small Group in Corrections

RICHARD STEPHENSON and FRANK SCARPITTI

Greenwood Press, 1974. £6.90.

ON their own, books are an inadequate method of training for groupwork. The ways in which people interact are too complex, too subtle and—for some—too alarming for the written word. Tom Douglas seems to agree at one point in *Groupwork Practice*: "Admittedly the most effective method of learning groupwork skills is a kind of apprenticeship with a skilled practitioner, so that the first fumbling steps can be taken in the knowledge that there is help immediately available as well as instruction and support". But, having written a book on the subject, he is more optimistic than I am: "... there is no real reason why the accumulated wisdom of many group practitioners should not be made available for those who need it" (page 32).

Mr. Douglas goes about this task diligently enough. The first part of his book, dealing with definitions and theoretical approaches, is difficult to get into but is mercifully short. The second, and greater, part will appeal to many more people. This is the section on groupwork practice and it collects together the "accumulated wisdom" on issues such as preparation, members' contracts (the agreement of and commitment to group goals), leadership, size and membership of groups, evaluation and termination. The sequence is just right and, if it is a condensation of other people's ideas that is required rather than a new look at groupwork, Mr. Douglas' book will provide useful reading. I particularly liked the emphasis on preparation, termination and the dangers of continual confrontation in groups.

Groupwork Practice seems to be aimed at those in general social work and it contains nothing specific about the problems of conducting groupwork in institutions. For those working in prisons and borstals, this is a necessary area of instruction, the pressures of the institution on groups and the implication of groups for the institution soon becoming apparent to the practitioner. Certainly, it is an area which Stephenson and Scarpitti could not fail to include in their book, *Group Interaction as Therapy*, which reports the results of a groupwork regime for American delinquents.

Criminality is not inborn, nor is it inevitably the outcome of emotional disturbance. Criminality is learned and the delinquent is the product of his social environment. Therefore, runs the basis of Stephenson and Scarpitti's argument, socially-derived attitudes, values and self-concepts (the forerunners of deviant as well as non-deviant behaviour) can only be changed in group situations. It is a common argument, set in the context of traditional group therapy, and the whole experiment has a familiar look: build groupwork into the "rehabilitative programme" for juvenile offenders, attempt to align the formal structure of the institution and the informal system built up by the boys, and then write up a scientific evaluation of its effectiveness. There were, however, unusual features of the experiment at Essexfields, New Jersey. Following group meetings and leisure activities held at Essexfields each day after work, the 20 boys—who at any one time were committed there by the courts—returned to their homes.

Over a third of *Group Interaction as Therapy* is taken up by the evaluative research. Features of the backgrounds, criminality and personality test results of 100 boys from Essexfields are compared with those of over 1,000 boys sent to other institutions or put on probation. Reconviction information was also collected for at least two years after each of the boys had completed his sentence. There was no clear attitude or personality change in those boys who completed the groupwork programme. Results for these Essexfields boys

fell midway between those of boys from a local, closed reformatory (who showed only negative changes) and those of boys on probation (whose attitudes and personalities changed positively). Their reconviction rates were: closed reformatory, 55 per cent; Essexfields, 48 per cent; probation, 15 per cent. Furthermore, no factor clearly differentiated those who had completed the "rehabilitative programme" and those who were judged unsuitable and returned to court for alternative disposals although, in retrospect, it was found that these "programme failures" had a reconviction rate as high as 75 per cent.

Given that recruits to Essexfields were carefully screened in order to reject anyone mentally ill or seriously retarded, that there was a system of re-sentencing unsuitable boys, and that they were all 16-17 year-old "stars", the overall results are not encouraging. Stephenson and Scarpitti concede that "the evidence from these studies is not impressive with respect to the general efficacy of guided group interaction when compared with alternative programmes of correction" (page 189). Like the philosophical basis and the treatment method itself, the results appear all too familiar. They could well be added to the "catalogue of failure" which was reviewed in last May's *Prison Service Journal*—*The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment* by Lipton, Martinson and Wilks.

Predictably, the authors of *Group Interaction as Therapy* take refuge in familiar rationalisations. There is the "selection" argument on page 189 ("group programmes may be especially suitable for certain types or categories of delinquents"); the "length of treatment" argument on page 201 ("there is indication that some of the boys might profit by more extended exposure to the programme"); and the "humane containment" argument on page 204 ("the quality of their relations were more intimate, personal, free, and involving than usually experienced in traditional correctional institutions").

This is not to say that the arguments are unsound or that the Essexfields experiment was not worth conducting: it is simply that its outcome can be mirrored by so many other penal treatment endeavours and, in this book, follows such an enthusiastic and idealistic introduction. Anyone working in the Prison Service who is fired with enthusiasm and idealism by a book like *Groupwork Practice* will nowadays have to face not only the perennial sceptics of groupwork but also those armed with more objective evidence, like that which emerges from *Group Interaction as Therapy*.

RICK EVANS
Senior Psychologist
Gloucester Prison.

**DEVIANCE:**

Studies in Definition, Management and Treatment

Edited by

S. DINITZ, R. DYNES and A. CLARKE

Oxford University Press, 1975. £5.95

(Second edition).

THIS is not a case of the editors simply updating an earlier book. They have produced a genuine follow-up and provided quite a lot of sources which deal with "Innovations in management, control and treatment". In the first of the book's three parts, two thirds of the articles are new. In the last part everything is new, apart from a familiar excerpt from Goffman. One of the newcomers is Rosenhahn's "On Being Sane in Insane Places", a sketch in which the author describes how he got a number of his students into mental hospitals by having them say that they were having hallucinations. They found it none too easy to get out, despite their efforts to show no further signs of disorder.

In effect, this book is a companion to the 1969 edition. Both are well worth reading by anyone who wants to discover something about the social settings from which an assortment

of deviants emerge. There are items on gamblers, prostitutes, pornography, alcoholism. There's one on the "public drinking house" and another on the "after-hours club". It was time someone discovered how bizarre boozers are.

Unfortunately, the slight English flavour about the earlier collection has given way to the American—and sometimes the regional American at that. The issue of prisoners' rights, for example, is discussed largely from the basis of experience in Ohio.

As far as strictly criminological issues are concerned, the new selection provides two substantial sections of which only a small part strays into marginal issues like homosexuality and mental illness. There is quite a bit about drug treatment, two items about behaviour modification and a series about community treatment as an alternative to institutions, but it is in the coverage of prisons that the collection is weakest. There is one item on the development of the use of ex-offenders in Ohio and another that deals with demands for unionisation among prisoners in the same state which does contain a brief account of the broader United States situation.

There is certainly a case for this sort of book—though there is a stronger case still for a domestic product.

M. B.

ESCAPE FROM EVIL

ERNEST BECKER

Collier Macmillan, 1975. £4.50.

HERE is a book of breathtaking scope on a theme both ancient and urgent: the terrible fact of human evil. It is a theme difficult to examine steadily and the author states in the preface: "... I have been fighting against admitting the dark side of human nature for a dozen years". Using insights from history and psychology, from economic and social theory, Becker postulates man's fear of death and of the destruction of all that is significant to him as the basic source of evil. Man wants to endure and prosper and, in some way, achieve immortality. One way to do this is by exercising power over others and this activity inevitably includes killing, an act which supremely demonstrates a power over life itself. Death is the power which seems omnipotent, a power which can be appeased only by taking life. The trouble is that man is deeply afraid of dying and this fear leads directly to scapegoating and the slaughter of "them".

Our heroes become "saviours". They save us or our nation from death. We ignore the evil within ourselves, we refuse to look death in the face; we project that evil on to others, maybe heretics, pagans, Germans. We kill in the name of purity, goodness, righteousness, so failing to recognise the tares among our own wheat. We cannot get rid of filth, badness, error, imperfection, by slaying millions.

Becker's concern is to show that men kill out of fear and not out of lust, and to indicate that the possibility of reason enters the picture. "If men kill out of animal fears, then conceivably fears can always be examined and calmed; but if men kill out of lust, then butchery is a fatality for all time" (page 169). The virtue of the book is that it presents this alternative clearly and sets us the task of coming to terms with our fears.

The author presents a challenge and erects a signpost. The prescription is meagre after such a brilliant analysis but perhaps one should not ask for both in one book. We do need guidance on the inner journey of exploring our Shadow, as Jung called it, as we need to see that the political must complement the contemplative. Becker is hopeful of some future synthesis of the descendants of Marx and Freud to provide exactly that combination. But he also acknowledges that we do not yet see it.

JIM COTTER
Chaplain
Gonville and Caius College
Cambridge.

AGGRESSION AND CRIMES OF VIOLENCE

JEFFREY GOLDSTEIN

Oxford University Press, 1976. £4.75.

THE increase in crimes of violence within our society is a problem for all those associated with or engaged in the assessment, handling and management of violent offenders. In this book, the American author emphasises the importance of social learning and environmental factors in the production of violence. He also examines the effects of aggression in humour and play, and the violence expressed in the mass media.

The author, in his preface, makes it quite clear that his hypotheses are tentative and will need to be supported by experience. Many would disagree, for example, that the difference between physical punishment of children on occasions, and child abuse, is a matter of degree. This implies that the timely and correct "physical check" on an antisocial incident, in the home or elsewhere, is a deliberate act of aggression on the part of the parent.

The hypotheses for the elimination of violence within society are certainly realistic but I am not at all sure that readers in this country, who are closely associated with the actual handling of perpetrators of crimes of violence, would agree with the doubts expressed concerning the value of, or even the need for, prison.

Jeffrey Goldstein must be congratulated on the manner in which he has presented his subject and on the references from which he has obtained supporting views. It is refreshing to see a more down-to-earth approach to the absorbing subject of aggression. Despite areas of differing opinions, I found this book most readable and one that will give much food for thought to all engaged in the study and management of offenders in general, and of violent criminals in particular.

DR. R. C. INGREY-SENN, M.B.,
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Assistant Director of Prison
Medical Services.

TOWARDS AN ECONOMICS OF PRISONS

THOMAS TABASZ

Lexington Books, 1976. £9.00.

DR. TABASZ, an assistant professor of economics, has produced a work of considerable importance in penological literature. An attempt has been made to break away from the traditional sociological studies of penal systems by devising an economic model having practical and desirable managerial aims. From the outset, the author recognises the lack of suitable technical literature against which a comparison of results can be made.

The availability of statistics provided by the United States Bureau of Prisons and the Federal Board of Parole allied with free computer time, enabled Dr. Tabasz to construct what he terms the "standard version" of an economic model of prisons. Working from the two assumptions that the Bureau of Prisons seeks to maximise the net benefit it produces for society and that it creates social benefits by confining and rehabilitating criminals, the model was computed from a combination of factors including age, type of crime, drug and/or alcohol history, previous prison record, and type of penal institution.

The results from the mathematical "standard version" model may briefly be summarised as follows:

- Although the model is coarse, more extensive inmate data being required, it is useful; alternative courses of action can be examined and it is possible to estimate the net social benefit of the work of the Bureau of Prisons.
- The costs of using scarce and expensive prison capacity for non-dangerous offenders (notably, the older ones) becomes very apparent.

(c) Measurements of rehabilitation are possible, but the lack of data and the assumptions which have to be made to obtain such measurements make them, at present, tentative.

(d) The model suggests that it may be possible to operate a complete penal system which will constitute a worthwhile social investment which warrants the allocation of additional funds.

The empirical evidence produced to substantiate the method of model construction is adequate and uncomplicated enough for the reader to follow the technical build-up. The tables of computer output data which are shown are sufficiently detailed to allow the more zealous student to check the credibility of the results. In the appendices, details are given of the methods employed in setting up parts of the model, especially some mathematical concepts, which might prove helpful to those who may be interested.

The value of the work is undoubtedly its look at the penal system from a different and original angle. As an adjunct to senior management decision making or to long-term planning, the model would have certain aspects to recommend it, especially in the financial field. It might also be used as the basis for a centralised, computerised system of prisoner classification and allocation.

However, in spite of what the model could achieve, there are criticisms which may be levelled at such a purely academic work. The data have been drawn only from the federal prison records, and no mention is made of state or county penal systems. Prison specification is too rigidly limited; costly psychiatric, industrial and maximum security establishments were excluded from the model. Prison industries and capital expenditure were ignored. But perhaps the main criticism is that the whole ethos of the book is so very impersonal. Prisons are about prisoners and staff, individual people with different characteristics and different problems. It is impossible to reduce human behaviour and emotions to purely mathematical symbolism and formulae as the academic economist attempts to do in order to construct the perfect model. Dr. Tabasz and the reader would do well to remember this fact.

D. C. DEAN
Assistant Governor
Winchester Prison.

LITERATURE AND THE SOCIAL WORKER :

a reading list for practitioners, teachers, students and voluntary workers.

Edited by CLARE MORRIS
The Library Association, 1975. 80p.

ACCORDING to the editor of this short compilation, works of fiction often provide deeper insights into social problems than do case studies. To this end, she provides 16 subject headings, recommending from two to about 40 items under each, and invites anyone in social work to read some or all of the titles within their field.

Listing within categories is alphabetical by author. However, the order of presentation is title, author, publisher, date; which is a trifle confusing initially. (Publisher and date are omitted in the case of out-of-print books, and are aptly replaced by three daggers. As the editor says, these works should easily be obtained through any library). Many books appear in more than one section, and are marked with as many asterisks as other categories in which they are included.

The editorial introductions to each section are models of informative brevity, and the lists of titles are short so that each entry can be read at a glance.

RICHARD TURBET
Librarian
Prison Service College
Wakefield.

PLANNED BEHAVIOUR CHANGE:

Behaviour Modification in Social Work

JOEL FISCHER and HARVEY GOCHROS

The Free Press, 1975. £11.50.

IN 1840, Alexander Maconochie was operating his "mark" system of prison discipline at Norfolk Island, a system uncommonly similar to a modern "token economy" programme. Despite this pioneering start, the influence of behavioural ideas on penal matters has lagged behind its increasing acceptance by a wide range of workers in the fields of mental handicap and illness and of child care.

However, behaviour modification marches on! There has been a rapid increase in the number of textbooks aimed at explaining behavioural methods to a specific readership such as parents, nurses, or teachers. Now social workers have their turn with this comprehensive presentation of the basic concepts and procedures of behaviour modification.

American books can lose some relevance in their trans-Atlantic journey and this is a special risk in the area of social work. The more independent American model of social work means that some of the topics covered in this book, such as addiction and sexual problems, would not normally be part of British social work practice. There are a few omissions—there is nothing on social skills training and little on groupwork in non-medical institutions—but as a general introduction the coverage is well-balanced.

The book is divided into three main parts. Part 1 gives a conventional coverage of the basic concepts of conditioning, reinforcement, schedules, etc., and is well illustrated by short, practical examples. Part 2 examines the procedures involved in applying these concepts. There is a welcome degree of attention given to the "mediator"—the spouse or friend who, by being close to the client, often has the greatest potential for creating change—and to the significance of the assessment and recording procedure. Three chapters in this part are devoted to the "tools"—the specific techniques of behaviour modification. Part 3 deals with 10 separate groups of behaviour problems, describing the type of behaviour included in each group and the most appropriate intervention strategies. Each chapter ends with an extended and detailed case illustration.

A fourth part of the book examines some of the general issues relevant to behaviour modification in social work. For a book of this length, this part is disappointingly short. It fails to deal critically with, for example, the most useful areas of application and the limitations of behaviour modification, or with the more developed objections which might be posed by a social worker wedded to some other theoretical framework.

The presentation of the book is good. The historical roots of behaviour modification in psychology mean that excessive use of jargon can be a barrier to those without a psychological background. The barrier in this book is relatively low: jargon has been reduced and a short glossary of terms is provided.

The authors provide a clear outline of behaviour modification theory and technique, making it easy to locate the techniques relevant to any particular type of problem. Its coverage of institutional and penal applications is weak, but this could be overcome by referring, for example, to Stumphauer's (1973) collection of papers on delinquency.

For community workers and residential staff it would be a good reference book to an area of increasing importance. For workers in institutions, it is a good overall introduction to the techniques of behaviour modification. As a "work-book" for social workers or probation officers who have maybe read one of Derek Jehu's books and are now contemplating carrying out behaviour modification this book is excellent.

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RADICAL SOCIAL WORK

Edited by ROY BAILEY and MIKE BRAKE

Edward Arnold, 1975.

Hardback, £4.25; paperback, £1.95

THIS book contains eight essays on distinct aspects of social work. All are linked by the association of the writers with the "Case Con" ethic and, indeed, the "Case Con Manifesto" forms an appendix. The editors' purpose, they say, is to discuss the political, social and ideological place of social work, a task seldom attempted within the structures of the traditionally devised professional training course. With Marx and Engels, they see social welfare, or at least the formalising of it, as being a control device of the ruling class—an attempt to resolve the contradictions of production and consumption. The social worker, in the words of one contributor, is taught to "cool down" the client. This makes the client more subservient and dependent and leaves power (the distribution of welfare) in the hands of the representatives of authority. The contributors contend that only through a rising political awareness and by challenging the social order can social workers assist in fundamental change. Traditional methods only prop up the ruling class and preserve inequalities.

The book contains two pieces which I found particularly stimulating; one because it confirmed some of my hopes of the profession, and the other because it reveals to me prejudices I thought I had killed years ago.

Geoffrey Pearson's paper, "Making Social Workers", examines the conflict between training and practice. He takes a sample of 65 social workers and considers the ways in which they cope with the contradictions they encountered. He finds a "good omen" in the fact that a large number of social workers use intuitive judgement and break away from imposed "professionalism." It is ironic that on the day I am writing this review, the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work has published a paper for discussion entitled *Values in Social Work*. The paper makes it clear that social workers should not collude with their clients in breaking regulations, or the law, even if it suits their immediate purpose. This contrasts with the findings of Pearson's survey of 65 social workers:

- (1) Clients who have undisclosed earnings in excess of the amount allowed while in receipt of welfare benefits: 62 out of 65 social workers "had heard of it", 57 "had knowledge of it", and 48 admitted complicity.
- (2) Women claimants who receive benefits as single women but also are cohabiting or in a close relationship with a man: all the social workers "had heard of it", 51 out of 65 "had knowledge of it", and 47 admitted complicity.
- (3) Clients who attempt to fiddle Social Security through false disclosures: all the social workers "had heard of it", 28 out of 65 "had knowledge of it", and 21 admitted complicity.

Likewise, a high number were prepared to turn a blind eye to the illegal reconnection of electricity supplies and were not prepared strictly to enforce conditions of probation orders, parole or care orders. Frequently, the commission of offences and the breach of residence requirements were ignored.

The second essay I choose for special comment is that by Don Milligan on "Homosexual Needs and Problems". Mr. Milligan is a member of the Gay Liberation Front and his uncompromising style borrows much from other political and sexual liberation groups. I felt myself sympathetic to his general thesis and then punched in the guts by the way in which he despises the liberal, sympathetic

approach. I found, on occasion, a confusion of issues—when, for example, he writes of "gays in occupied Ireland". However, he spells out clearly enough the way in which homosexual problems are left untouched by the benign methods of social workers. His logic is very precise and one must follow it with care: he does not really defend the making of sexual contact in public toilets when he writes, "Gay men who cottage are victims not villains and deserve our solidarity against police harassment and intimidation". Nor does he, in writing: "These activities are illegal, but social workers and counsellors will not assist anybody by condemning them". These protestations are subsumed by the main point of the piece—that it is in a family oriented, inhibited, capitalist society where the ascription of roles is vital that guilty labels are imposed upon those who cannot fit into the required mould.

I found each essay in turn rewarding reading. The polemic is often familiar but the book gives an indication that things are happening in social work. Alongside the drudgery and enormous case-loads, the disappointment and frustrations, there is a lively debate on fundamental philosophies. This is something I feel is missing from our own profession in this country at least. Perhaps the Case Con movement is one from which we can learn.

PETER QUINN
Assistant Governor
Long Lartin Prison

OFF THE STREETS:

Leisure Amenities and the Prevention of Crime
N.A.C.R.O.

Barry Rose, 1976. 50p.

THIS 25-page pamphlet is the report of a crime prevention conference held one day last year by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders. The emphasis was clearly on children and how sport and leisure facilities might help to divert them from vandalism and juvenile delinquency.

It is difficult to judge whether the conference was worthwhile. The pamphlet contains short pieces by five contributors and an imaginative, but difficult to follow, impression of the whole conference. It shows, however, that there was some pay-off in mixing social workers, council employees, volunteers and representatives from the entertainment business.

They seem to have concluded that pouring more public money into leisure amenities is pointless (even if such money was still available). What is at stake is how the intended consumers view the facilities so graciously bestowed upon them. Indeed, it is hinted that the small, personal, but struggling endeavours have often turned out best: those in which a rare adult "at the grass roots" has encouraged the kids to build something of their own which they can really value.

R. E.

INSIDE OUT

N.A.C.R.O.

SINCE April 1976, *Social Services*—the newspaper for those working in various fields of social work—has carried a quarterly supplement called *Inside Out* which is prepared by N.A.C.R.O. Successor to *Frontsheet*, which ceased publication recently, *Inside Out* carries articles, news and also contributions from prisoners. It aims to promote discussion of ways in which the majority of those in prison could be dealt with in the community.

R. E.

DIARY OF A DELINQUENT EPISODE

JANE SPARROW

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976. £1.95

I COULD feel for the author of this enlightening book as she entered the field of residential social work blind to all the pitfalls. Her "diary" is written with sincerity and, bearing in mind that it is one person's viewpoint, it is well balanced. Those involved in social and residential work will appreciate the stereotypical problems of institutional life. The on-going cry from staff for support and the need for managers to supply just that. The events described are invaluable in evoking a picture of the type of young person many of us are trying to build into better citizens. The book could also be a valuable piece of reading for those under training—a not too heavy, but an enlightening, diary. The only real criticism I have of the book is the "type print" used. This I found difficult to cope with but, for £1.95 the book is good value and I would recommend it to my friends and colleagues.

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PSYCHOLOGY FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT

EDWARD J. GREEN

Wiley, 1976. Hardback, £6.00; paperback £2.75
THE author's purpose is to relate the facts and concepts of psychology to the requirements of police work. He sees order as an essential prerequisite to freedom and some kind of law enforcement agency as a necessity in every society. By so doing, he goes some way towards overcoming the reluctance of most police officers to take academics seriously. The author set himself a considerable task but, in my opinion, has succeeded. He has bridged the gap between abstract psychology and the pragmatic world of the police officer. Clearly through his research, he has gained an insight into the police culture rarely achieved by outsiders.

Although the author's research is American, his findings are relevant, almost without exception, to the police service in the United Kingdom. The book is important in demonstrating an analysis of police problems from a psychological viewpoint: I know of no other work where this has been done so completely.

The whole work goes a long way toward providing a meaningful basis to meet the need within the police force, both here and in America, for a deeper understanding of psychology. For example, the operational police officer often cannot understand the hostility directed towards him by those people he is trying to help. Usually, little is done to explain the often deep-seated frustration and overt anger frequently directed at the individual police officer representing as he does officialdom and authority. Such training would enable the police officer to handle day to day situations better, particularly in terms of his own responses. Police commanders need to know more about the effects of their behaviour on subordinates if they are to make adequate use of the often scarce manpower resources under their command.

In attempting to deal with the wide range of both police activity and psychology, the author sometimes provides only scant coverage. Nevertheless, the book does serve as a useful introduction and provides a sound framework for the development of psychology in the police service. In all, a very worthwhile publication which I would expect to see in every police library.

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