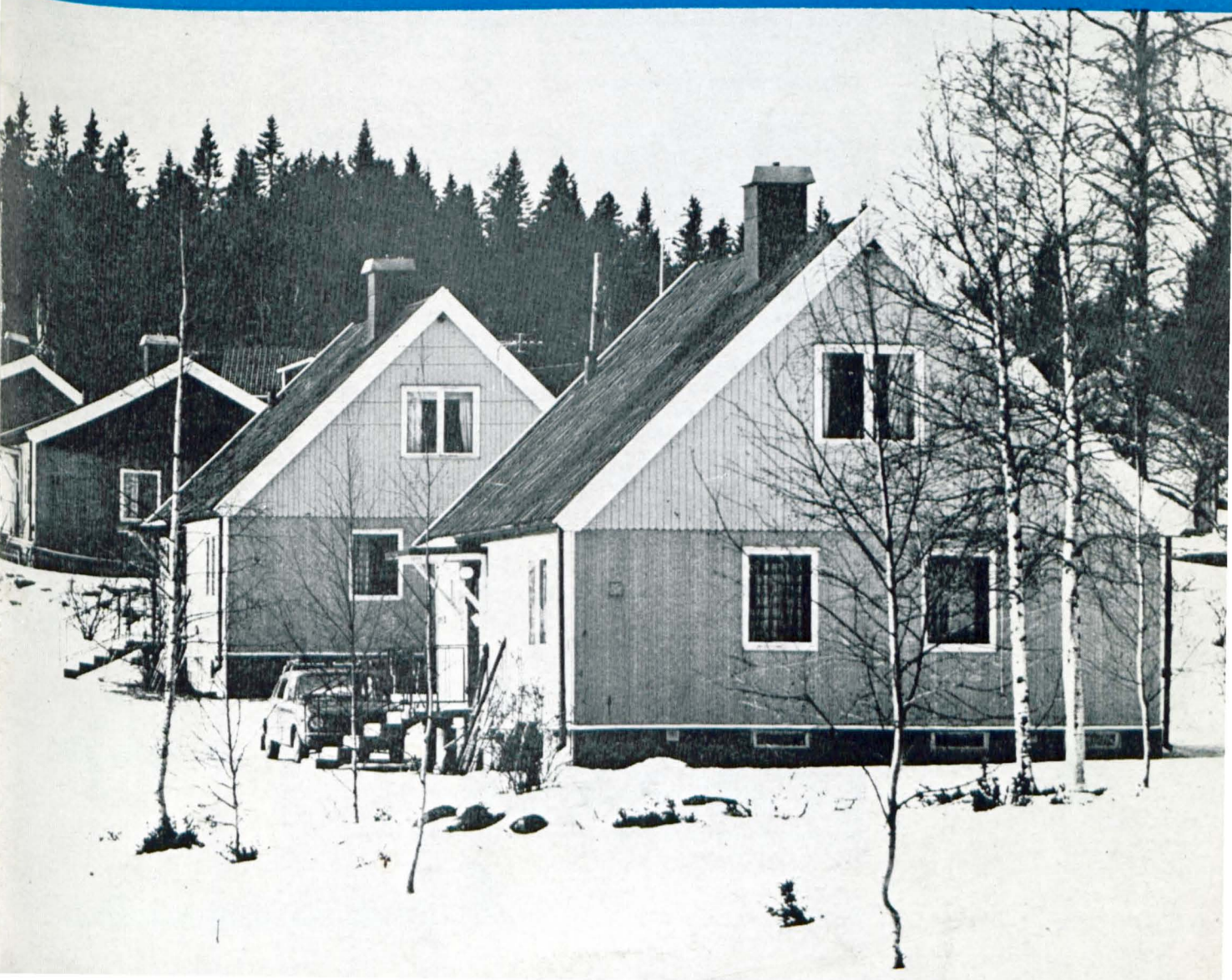


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## EDITORIAL

The unacceptable has happened. The prison population is now 42,000 and there are no signs that a ceiling has been reached. This unwelcome event has occurred at a time when our country faces the worst economic crisis since the Second World War. There is no money available for the construction of expensive new prisons and many worthwhile schemes to improve the lot of both staff and inmate have had to be postponed or cancelled.

However, this need not be a time for universal woe. The affluent days of the last decade enabled us to increase our stock of resources to build new institutions and to recruit many extra staff. It is possible that it also encouraged waste and if this present crisis enables us to re-examine our tasks and resources with a critical eye then the Prison Service should emerge all the stronger for that examination. Dr. Johnson said that the prospect of execution concentrated a man's mind most wonderfully. It is unlikely that the Prison Service faces that fate but it is to be hoped that we will take this opportunity to concentrate our collective mind on the questions "What are prisons supposed to be doing?" "How can we cope with the increase?" and "Why does the prison population continue to expand?" The answers to these and similar questions may yet prove that our society can solve some of its problems without spending vast sums of money. Many of our resources are under-exploited. The greatest of these is the people, both staff and inmate, who make up our organisation. They have proved how resourceful they can be when faced with intolerable pressure and their talents should be recognised and exploited.

Management theory has much to say on the subject of improving job satisfaction so that the aims of the organisation and the aims of its members coincide. This can only occur if the members are convinced that the organisation's aims are worthy ones and that their particular contribution is valued by the organisation. To achieve this end does not entail the spending of millions. It does mean that the members of the organisation have to do some hard thinking which may in turn lead to painful decisions. The present crisis gives us the opportunity.

# Some Attitudes to Job Training and Careers of Borstal Officers

SHEILA GAUNT, DOUGLAS SHARP & FRANK HEATHCOTE

Sheila Gaunt has worked in a number of varied occupations in the London area, including spells in the hotel trade and in commercial offices. She took a B.A. (Hons.) degree in Sociology at the University of London, and in 1975 was awarded the M.A. degree in Criminology of the University of Keele. Her current interests in this area are in Female Criminality and in Role-Conflict within the "Caretaker" professions.

Douglas Sharp has been a serving police officer in the Birmingham area for the past 12 years. In 1973 he was awarded the B.Sc. (Hons.) Psychology degree of the University of Aston and in 1975 gained the M.A. (Criminology) degree of the University of Keele. He is especially interested in the psychology of deviance and of Criminal Justice systems.

Frank Heathcote is currently staff tutor in Social Science with the Open University in Birmingham. He was a former bank clerk, newspaper reporter and a milk roundsman before graduating from the University of Hull with a B.A.(Hons.) degree in Sociology and Modern History. Since then he has worked as a youth employment officer and school teacher, and as a lecturer in a technical college, a college of education and in the adult education department of the University of Hull, where he taught sociology to prison officers for a number of years. In 1975 he was awarded the M.A.(Criminology) degree of the University of Keele together with his co-authors. His research interests are in the sociology of deviance and the occupational role of semi-professional groups. In this area he is currently involved in the study of private enquiry agents.

A SURVEY of the attitudes of staff at a Midlands borstal to their own training was undertaken recently by the authors who were experienced graduate students from the University of Keele. The need for the survey emanated from discussions with the governing staff of the institution concerned and Dr. Bill Burnham, Director of the University's Criminological Unit. Its purpose was to obtain data about the beliefs of the prison officers, who make up the majority of the institutional staff, as to their main needs for further in-service training and to consider their views on this in the light of both the possible conflict of roles inherent in the job of an officer at a training custodial institution, and of the fact that officers come from a variety of previous occupational backgrounds.

Our observations are summarised under the headings of Role-conflict, Staff Occupations and Career Expectations, and Training Orientations, and a report of our main findings and recommendations has been passed to the governor and his principal staff for their consideration. We gratefully acknowledge the very real and willing assistance given us by the staff of the borstal at all levels in carrying out the survey, and the thought-provoking discussions with Bill Burnham which guided and sustained the focus of our efforts. We offer the following observations in the hope that they might prove of interest and possible practical benefit

to prison officer training staff concerned with borstal training.

## (a) Role Conflict

The literature on penal institutions has demonstrated for some time now that the conflict between the caring or training role of an officer and his custodial duties, which tend to be merged in official job descriptions, may well be both inherent and inevitable in the nature of the job and severe in its effects. Basically, the theoretical questions have centred on the apparent contradiction that, in order for an officer to encourage the trainee to develop his reliability and maturity (and we are concerned here with character or personality training, not practical instruction in technical skills) it is necessary to allow him to make his own decisions, however inappropriate these may be, and to learn from them. On the other hand the basis of control and custody is to prevent the inmate from carrying out any act detrimental to the discipline and smooth running of the institution at a very early stage: that is to "vet" the intentions of the inmates, and prevent any adverse ones being implemented. Although there appears to be very little, if any, formal recognition of the problem of role conflict within the training provisions, it became clear from the survey that the majority of the staff are very conscious of, and worried by it.

It has often been pointed out in

management theory that one way in which management can attempt to cope with the conflict of roles among its organisation staff, is to withhold official recognition of this conflict. While not formally taking steps to deal with it, it can attempt informally to do so by hoping for or encouraging a compromise to emerge of an informal kind which will cope with the worst aspects of the conflict. One frequent result of this is that for operational staff, the conflict becomes more severe, although less obvious to those outside the immediate situation. Certainly there seems reason to believe that borstal custodial staff are aware that they are expected to behave as social workers for some of the time, and in certain circumstances: but it is not clear to them what are the appropriate occasions for this, and what techniques from the social workers' repertoire are appropriate for them. We formed the strong impression that the staff generally are more concerned with analysing such questions of policy and principle than about simply acquiring a superficial level of do-it-yourself social work techniques.

One occasion on which role conflict is particularly noticeable in the borstal environment is the experience of the newly joined officer arriving from training school. At the school nearly all his experience has been focused, without serious questioning, upon custodial techniques. Thus the basic idea that a prison officer's job is to all intents

and purposes limited to custody and security has, even if only subconsciously, already been introduced. On arrival at the borstal the officer is given the impression on the one hand that custody is still his first priority (for instance, his worst offences are to allow absconding or other breakdowns of discipline) while on the other he is encouraged by the borstal traditions, as represented by some staff members already at the institution, to consider himself as a moulder and trainer of the boys in his immediate care. Being quite unprepared for this conflict of objectives, he tends to take refuge in the simpler custodial functions, quite often staying in this narrowly-defined but infinitely safe perspective for some years.

More specifically, our study shows that the time at which this perspective or outlook of the officer changes could be located with some precision at around four years' service. Of all the officers who had served less than four years, roughly two out of three viewed the main objectives of the institution as being of custody and control, as opposed to reform or rehabilitation. When the group of officers with over four years' service were considered alone, this ratio was inverted and became even more dramatic, with roughly five to one believing that the reformative objectives take precedence. A parallel finding emerged on the effect of experiencing in-service training which is specifically orientated towards treatment. Those who have received in-service training designed to stimulate treatment styles of staffing are nearly all to be found among officers who have over four years service. While it is not possible to say whether the passage of time or the experience of this type of training is the crucial factor here because in our study one was not isolated from the other, there is however, no doubt that the effect of these two factors, very possibly in interaction, is extremely strong. Some support for this is to be found in an analysis of the effects of police training, where again more liberal attitudes in the majority of officers appear to emerge noticeably some five years after their initial training experience.

All the arguments and findings above go to suggest that, particularly in the early career of an officer, role conflict can have marked effects upon his style of work, and that a policy of ignoring the conflict or brushing it aside as of little consequence is likely to increase the problem rather than achieve an accommodating compromise.

H.M. Borstal Stoke Heath.  
General view of cell block.

### (b) Staff Occupations and Career Expectations

Our observations in this area derive directly, of course, from the sample of prison officer respondents interviewed at the survey borstal. This comprised the large majority of all sub-governing officer grades. We believe, however, that the respondents here are fairly typical in occupational background and outlook to prison officers generally, and that our suggestions and the enquiry techniques used are, therefore, valid and applicable throughout the Prison Service.

The majority of staff members join for reasons not connected with the nature of the work. Most officers are recruited by the material attractions of security, housing, pensions and so on and tend to acquire more committed and emotionally involved attitudes through experience in the service. This is particularly important with respect to our first recommendation below.

Most of the officers come from a previous work experience which does not prepare them for work in a large organisation. The number from self-employed or small firm backgrounds is very high. This means that they are unused to complex communication systems, many are more skilled with their hands than in their vocabulary, and also that they are used to a work situation in which they take the majority of decisions for themselves. Their use of discretion tended not to be previously limited, therefore, by a highly-ordered hierarchy with a detailed set of operating instructions. The lack of control over their work environment, such as the Prison Service, is probably a significant factor in work dissatisfaction. This is one reason why we feel we should emphasise the desirability of discussing work conflicts and role problems in training programmes; there is in fact quite a lot of room for the use of discretion in borstal work, but it is discretion within a structure and con-

sequently of a different kind from that to which many officers have previously been accustomed.

Such dissatisfactions, which may well be fairly small and scattered in origin, tend to become focused around one or two issues which are regarded as central by the staff as a whole. The outstanding one of these is that of the promotion system. The staff see the promotion system as being unnecessarily secretive, without known or clear-cut criteria for success, and no feedback from the promotion boards. It may be that there are over-riding reasons why the promotion system must retain a high level of secrecy, but if this is so then perhaps steps should be taken to see that the staff understand why this is so, and accept this particular policy. Alternatively, some relaxation of the secrecy, if this is possible, would benefit staff morale appreciably. The question of promotion procedures is important in the analysis of training needs because the staff perceive training as being very closely linked with promotion. On one level it is obvious that a lot of technical training is devoted to the acquisition of professional knowledge for promotion exams; but staff also see the ability to cope with the kind of role problems outlined above as relevant to both training and promotion. They feel, however, that at present, merit in this sphere is not being considered by the boards as a major criterion of promotion.

One new career danger which officers experience is that of coming to terms with what they see as the social stigma of being a prison officer as perceived by some of the general public. This is perhaps parallel—only more so—to that felt by the police and other social agencies, and certain other unusual professions. There is probably not a great deal in practical terms which can be done to alleviate this, but an open discussion of it in training periods during the early months of an officer's



service would probably speed his absorption into the staff group with minimum stress, so that he becomes a well integrated member of the institution staff. If this problem was more widely and openly discussed during such early training periods, the general reaction of prison officers to what they see as unjust public stigmatisation, that of turning inward among themselves and forming a close or even closed occupational community might be considerably modified, with a corresponding increase in individual officer job-satisfaction.

### (c) Training Orientations

We wish to start this section with the cautious opinion, and one which seems to be held in many fields where training is taken seriously, that training should not be seen as a panacea for all ills. In any formally structured hierarchical organisation like the prison service, training is often and wrongly viewed as a very attractive solution to basic organisational problems. In the past there has been a tendency to regard training as an almost magical process; but even if it were considered desirable and practicable to train prison officers to a high degree of expertise in social work techniques, this probably would not resolve the underlying conflicts inherent in the role. On the contrary we must emphasise that training should, and hopefully will, highlight these conflicts, so that staff can at least understand them. It may well be that all training can achieve is to prepare the staff to meet these conflicts with insight and so with consistency. It is noteworthy also that the training requests of the staff are not on the whole for high-level detailed social work training or other advanced therapeutic techniques. The demand rather is for general involvement in treatment programmes, and as much for more information about overall goals and policies than about some of the more specific techniques. The fundamental aim of a training scheme, as perceived by the staff, and with which we tend to agree, is that it should produce an officer prepared to deal with his work situation with sympathy and understanding; this means that he must first understand his work situation before he can apply any specific techniques to his charges.

More specific recommendations for training as seen through staff eyes can be described under three headings:

#### 1. TIMING

The period of the first year after

arrival from training school is crucial in terms of the value objectives of the institution. Many newly arrived officers, perhaps the great majority, are working in an organisation which requires a different operational style from that to which they have previously been accustomed (see above). In their first weeks in the institution they will feel unsure of themselves and of their bearings in a strange environment. This in turn will lead to a tendency to take the simplest style of work as their model, and this means the custodial and cautious style for which they were initially trained at Wakefield or Leyhill. Once this style of officering has become to some extent ingrained in their work habits, it acquires an impetus of its own which takes a considerable time to wear off. If the aims of the institution are primarily rehabilitative, this style will be a severe handicap. Some kind of ordered training programme in the early months is therefore essential, not least because it has the symbolic value of demonstrating to the relative newcomer that treatment values are taken seriously irrespective of the difficulty of actually applying them. The staff at present seem to consider that only technical training is taken really seriously, and the more speculative aspects are fitted in occasionally when convenient, if at all. This tells its own message concerning the priorities of the institution.

#### 2. TECHNICAL COMPETENCE

Officers feel insecure and inadequate in the formal presentation of their material. They consider that their reports will be read by people who will discount the value of the content because of the crude style of presentation. It has been mentioned already that many officers have come from occupations in which written communication was not frequently practised. There was a very strong and widespread opinion among the officers that formalised regular education in self expression in English and report-writing would both improve their actual operating performance and also their self-confidence, which would in turn have other beneficial side effects.

The survey institution at present uses a form of group counselling or group work as part of its training programme but many officers feel that they are unable to make much use of it because they do not understand either the objectives or techniques involved to anything like a sufficient extent. With a training course involving the discussion of objectives and fundamental problems in training institutions, some

kind of formal introduction to the theory and practice of group work seems to be very much in the fore-front of staff requests.

#### 3. BACKGROUND INSTRUCTION

It was the general opinion, again with which we agree, that prison officers cannot be trained to a high level of social work because of the resources that would be involved in such a programme. However, the staff believed that they would benefit from a brief background course in the relevant areas of sociology, psychology and criminology, to give them a feeling for the social processes which led to the trainees in the institution coming there. The staff felt, very reasonably, that if they are to be asked to make a positive contribution to a change of outlook on the part of the trainees, they should know rather more about the social experiences and individual dynamics of such boys than they do at present. They believed also that they should understand and be able to discuss the various major psychological and sociological concepts that they repeatedly hear and feel excluded from in the conversations and reports of probation officers and court social workers and welfare officers. Such terms as "institutionalisation", "role conflict", "neurosis" and "psychosis" were mentioned as examples of this. This would again have immediate benefits in terms of the officer understanding his charges, and indirect benefits in raising the self-image and possibly the public image of the prison officer as a professional.

The importance of training being perceived as an on-going and not a static or once-for-all experience, cannot be over-emphasised. Some long-term programme of external teaching, probably consisting of occasional lectures with internally organised discussion groups to follow, could and should provide a thread of academic training onto which intensive days or weeks of internal staff training could appropriately be fitted. Topics such as drugs and drug addiction, homosexuality, domestic and marital difficulties and gambling, were all suggested by staff members, and doubtless this list could be extended. The lecture programme would firstly be valuable in its own right, because the officer may well meet with such problems within his wing; secondly it will, as mentioned before, help to raise the officer's self-image and therefore improve his perception of his task, and thirdly, will provide a focus



for discussion and the practice of communication for which officers express so strong a wish. Finally, we suggest that one of the ultimate objectives of the training programme should be to increase the quality and quantity of communication between staff of all levels; therefore opportunities for discussion as well as one-sided instruction should be built into the training provisions.

We submit this brief analysis, with the recommendations ensuing from it, and based solely upon the survey of staff opinion, in the hope that these will be specific enough to enable action to be started on the construction of training programmes which are in accordance not only with what officially it is thought officers need, but also with what the officers themselves believe they need. We would emphasise that the sentiment which emerged constantly during the course of the study was that the construction of a really valuable training programme can take place only within a context of very clear analysis and statement of objectives by those responsible for the management of penal institutions. If objectives are not clearly laid out and communicated, training of any sort may well aggravate problems rather than solve them.

# Gruvberget

## A Swedish Experiment

DICK WHITFIELD



Dick Whitfield is currently Senior Probation Officer at Farnham, Surrey, and had previously been Senior Welfare Officer at Coldingley Prison. He spent three months in Sweden, studying the organisation and practice of social work in the penal system, as part of an External Diploma Course for London University.

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WE DROVE for mile after mile on dirt roads through close packed forest until the landscape of central Sweden began to seem like a green desert. Then, suddenly, a cross roads in the wilderness and a cheerful village sprinkled around it. We had arrived at Gruvberget.

The traditional red painted wooden buildings clustered among the trees looked far too serene to be associated with anything so alarming as prisoners. Certainly a few years ago Gruvberget was ready to sink into oblivion when the lumber company who provided the only reason for its existence moved on. They left behind some 20 empty houses and a tiny population of the old, the tired or those too firmly rooted to move on.

Just one more of a series of ghost villages which an industry as transient as forestry tends to leave behind. But this one had a determined parish priest and a provincial governor who refused to accept the inevitable. The National Correctional Administration was invited to buy the empty village, eventually

did so, and in 1972 it opened as a short term prison centre in a way that defies traditional classification. Prisoners from all over Sweden come in small groups, complete with wives, children and fiancées in order to attend courses, take a short break in a long sentence or reorientate to life outside before they take the first tentative steps in real freedom.

Gruvberget, modestly described by its warden as "perhaps the most advanced idea of its kind in the world", remains a controversial unit in a penal system long noted for its liberal and progressive ideas. But, as Edward Maze remarked about the country as a whole, the Swedes have become the victims of too much praise followed by too much blame. Certainly Gruvberget has attracted a high proportion of critics from those who, predictably, feel it makes life "inside" too attractive, to those who dismiss it angrily as one of the cosmetics of the penal system, vainly trying to cover the ugliness beneath.

I arrived, complete with family, at the start of a two week course on

"Family interaction" and to a large extent my own involvement matched that of the prisoners who had preceded us by an hour or so. Each family was allocated one of the neat but roomy and well equipped houses which straggled away up the hill from the crossroads. Every house had something special about it—a sauna, perhaps, or a collection of sports equipment—so that getting to know your neighbours was essential if you wanted to enjoy the facilities. Ours boasted a volleyball court in the back garden and multi-lingual contests became a regular evening feature.

Meals are eaten at the central dining room, making it a real holiday for hard pressed wives on whom the full burden of imprisonment so often falls. Both husbands and wives are expected to attend lectures and discussions but children have a marvellous time, walking, fishing, playing near the camp or going out on long, adventurous and organised expeditions. Later on there is plenty of time for the whole family to relax together—and since a kindly management provides bicycles to all its guests, a chance to explore the lovely countryside around.

Staff for the courses are recruited from outside and Greta-Lisa Tornqvist, the course leader, told me her criteria for selection. "First, an established family set up, normally with children but not always. Then, some indication that family factors were immediately behind the offence, or are relevant to release problems".

"After that", she continued, "all I'm after is normality. We spend all our time treating them because they are deviant, saying 'Hey . . . this is wrong, this is abnormal'. Now we are going to look at normal, ordinary, family patterns—the way children grow up and develop. They will all have something to contribute, as well as a lot to learn".

It all looks very informal and unstructured, but the sense of purpose is certainly there. Participation in the main programme is obligatory and individual and family discussions are also offered as an extra in an attempt to capitalise on a novel and sometimes threatening experience.

Some of the anxieties show on the first day, as we introduce ourselves, sparring gently and being careful not to give too much away. I am the object of some suspicion but when the time comes for me to explain myself sheer incompetence proves a useful ally.

"I'm an Englishman, here to try and learn something from what goes on . . ." I begin, and my curious grammar and even more eccentric pronunciation provoke much mirth and some kindly advice to stick to my native tongue, if possible.

But the tension is never far away in the early stages. It takes several long discussions before the air of relaxation is visible and feelings and experiences are being shared with increasing confidence.

The two weeks at Gruvberget were filled with an impressive array of lectures and discussions on marital problems, the growth and development of the children, the twin terrors of alcohol and drugs, dealing with crises, handling the family finances—in short, just about everything that could conceivably go wrong in the course of a relationship.

Prisoners and their wives tended to be more than a little cynical about the course content, seeing it as necessary to justify the expense of bringing them together for a holiday, but having little relevance otherwise. Yet they became wholly involved, despite this cynicism, and once the defences were down the changes were sometimes dramatic. A member of staff said that he guessed they would be happy if the prisoners took away 75 per cent from the holiday and 25 per cent from the course—but that the latter might

still be well above anything that could be achieved by more conventional means

"Anyway", he added, waving to a group of parents and children, "look at their faces if you want to know what it is worth. If we only improve the quality of imprisonment it's quite an achievement in human terms".

To an English visitor, fresh from what Anthony Sampson wryly described as the "Home Office passion for unreform", Gruvberget is rather like being faced with a talking dog. One tends not to ask how well it is doing for sheer astonishment in finding it happening at all.

\* \* \*

Day two. Half an hour of progressive relaxation at 8.30 a.m. should get us in trim for the day. Lying on a hard, wooden floor, the breathing exercises seem ridiculous at first, only to become quite hypnotic later. The end is abrupt, almost shattering, but still a good preparation to a mammoth session that will last the rest of the morning.

"Married Life and Love" it says, but it soon becomes clear that sexual difficulties and the problems of adjusting to small children are the main areas of concern. Initially the discussion is dead. The two older couples look frankly askance at the uninhibited approach to sexual matters, while the younger ones contrive to look bored, or else treat it as a joke.

Gradually the sheer length of the session and the calming effects of stopping for a cigarette now and then begin to take effect and, slowly, people start talking about real problems and not shying away when the discussion takes an uncomfortable turn. The Gruvberget philosophy of providing all the ingredients and letting people stir for themselves is beginning to take effect.

\* \* \*

Harald Anostam, the warden, is quite sure about Gruvberget's aim. It is to help prisoners and their families increase their chances of solving the practical problems of everyday life. Not so high-flown an idea as that of reducing recidivism, but certainly much more realistic—and without being too selective, early results have been encouraging.

With its reliance on outside staff and the lack of guards or prison officers, Gruvberget is also surprisingly cheap to run. Sweden's 5,000 or so prisoners are housed largely in small prisons (one third of which have less than 50 inmates) and this and a high staff ratio means that the cost of maintaining an inmate for one year is about £6,500 compared with about £2,000 in Britain.

Most Swedish prisoners are serving short sentences (nearly three quarters of the prison population have sentences of less than four months) so the "pool" of eligible inmates for Gruvberget is relatively small. Some are notorious, like the "Swamp Murderer" who came at the end of an eight-year sentence. Most are more ordinary, like Bengt serving two years for smuggling cannabis, who is here with his wife, Catherine, and their small daughter. For both, Gruvberget was an opportunity to "ease themselves together again" and for Bengt to adjust to having a baby around the place before he also had to cope with a return to a small community. Both found the course useful in its practical aspects, reassuring in its emphasis on normality. But each was aware that the problems would start when they left, and Bengt had to face his old work-mates and friends. Gruvberget was a short, uncomplicated holiday to be enjoyed before the real world intruded again



Paul and Marta were used to separations and, one felt, not unduly worried by them. This was Paul's fifth prison sentence and his eldest son had already started on the same pattern. With four more lively children growing up the possible benefits of a successful course were obvious, but the hard-bitten and cynical front which each presented made almost all attempts to reach behind the facade fruitless.

Almost, that is, until the lazy magic of this tiny settlement began to take over. After lectures and discussions there were walks (cross-country ski trips in winter) and fishing expeditions on the lakes. It was during informal moments like these that Paul's defences dropped. Whether the effect would outlast the course is something we do not know—but perhaps for the first time he was able to talk about his own sense of failure, his forebodings for the children and the harsh lessons, not always understood, from previous sentences.

"Prisons are places where you are powerless", he said one evening, as we walked back from the little village store. "That's what hurts the most. I get power from being a burglar—it makes me feel good. I get my revenge on the people who send me away and some cash for the family, too. Always the same old round. Prison, revenge, more prison, more need to be powerful..." He shrugged. "Now I see my own boy making the same mistakes as I did—and just as unhappy doing it".



A winter view of the old village. The bungalows now house prisoners and their families.

Photo: Rolf Astrom, Stockholm.

He waved a tattooed arm towards the little settlement, easily visible in the northern summer light, even though it was eleven in the evening. "This a prison? No. Just a place to make you do your own thinking, look after yourself for a change".

We walked back to his house in silence, then, as we parted, he delivered a verdict that might well be the justification for Gruvberget: "Funny, isn't it. Best bit of prison I've ever done—and now I don't want to come back".

## Reducing the Prison Population

JOHN E. ALDRIDGE-GOULT

SELECTING certain categories of prisoners for release, to say that these categories could be best dealt with in other ways or to further proliferate alternatives to imprisonment are all moves which, whilst liberal in their intent, could prove no more than immediate short term measures which in the long term would provide the society they seek to serve with more problems of greater magnitude, than they solve. Recent history has shown that the introduction of the suspended prison sentence, introduced to alleviate pressure of prison numbers has had only a short term effect and that now, amongst the various categories of prisoner which the "experts" say should never be in prison there are a proportion of prisoners who have had the "benefit" of a suspended sentence in the past but have subsequently re-offended and are now serving

not only a sentence for their current offence but have also had the suspended sentence activated. Whilst the suspended sentence may have had some effect upon prison numbers when it was introduced, the long term effects have been the very reverse.

Any discussion about reducing prison numbers is futile unless it is seen in a much broader, and at a more fundamental level than has been the case in the past. It must bear in mind the limitations which operate on the prison service it seeks to change, and the interested pressure groups, so often confused with that elusive thing called "public opinion", which seeks to initiate that change.

Society itself must define and re-define with more clarity what it considers deviant and in which cases custody should be used. Having done this then



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adequate facilities must be provided for any such major change in direction.

The limitations towards change are numerous. It is well established that penal practice has moved on to the political stage. A political party's policies on law and order, and the amount of public monies spent on this aspect of government are important issues. Thus decisions which a few years ago would have been the preserve of penal administrators are now often taken by politicians, whilst the prisons department plays a purely executive role. Having moved into the political sphere the prisons administration has also to take into account which political party is in power and provide a flexibility to encompass and administer to the wishes and demands of the particular government. Pressure has not only come from political parties and individual M P s but also recently from the police. It is interesting to note that the statements of the Police Federation, in recent times have been increasingly away from the area of crime detection and into that of the treatment of the offender once he has been apprehended and charged, and into criticism on occasions of the courts who do not give what the police consider appropriate sentences.

Institutionally there is considerable evidence to show that prisons themselves are moving away from the command structure which sees the prison hierarchy in strictly authoritarian terms. The prisons department has been encouraging a move away from the simple line management concept, for example by the introduction of the MR3 Report and the Open Management Conference. Managerial attitudes generally towards industrial relations have changed. It should, however, be said that this is a reflection of the mood of the times and is evident not only in the Prison Service but also in the Civil Service. This in itself demonstrates that prison staff have a more integral part in saying what goes on in institutions than they did perhaps a few years ago. Prisoners, too, see themselves as a less exploitable group and demand in coherent and articulate terms a right to have a say in what happens to them, whether through the disruptive techniques of P.R.O.P. or the complete non-recognition of the parole scheme by some prisoners who argue that they refused parole when it was offered to them because it is an unfair system, or because they dislike the period of supervision. Any change can only be effective if it has at least the tacit approval of the people it affects.

The Probation and Aftercare Agencies have perhaps produced most

pressure for alternatives to imprisonment. Probation officers are often critical of the prison system while at the same time recommending imprisonment when other methods fail. There may be no inconsistency in advocating alternatives in those cases where alternatives are not yet available, or in recommending imprisonment where other methods have failed, for it is recognised that the success of any form of treatment cannot be predicted. New methods should be advocated and tried, but there is a risk, however, that in doing so the probation officers are seen as condemning the very establishments to which they recommend that their unresponsive clients are sent.

Many experts have argued that the best way to bring about a reduction in prison numbers is to change attitudes towards crime and punishment. Whose attitudes need changing to bring about change itself they rarely specify. If it is a change in public attitudes then this is commendable but how relevant is that when it is the judiciary who, ostensibly acting for the generality of society, make the decisions as to the appropriateness of a particular sentence to the offender. If, however, it is a matter of changing judicial attitudes then this presents certain difficulties. Firstly, the perception the judiciary themselves have of their role has to be established. Do they see themselves as law makers or as functioning executives? I would suggest that few judges these days see themselves as law givers preferring to function as executives and administrators of the law as given by Parliament. If they are then seen as executives, judges are fairly limited to what the law prescribes in particular cases. Perhaps, therefore, it is correct to say that what is required is not a change of attitudes but of law. A more fundamental difficulty remains, however, for in the final analysis it is the judiciary itself which decides on the issues it will entertain and subsequently make judgements, or pass on as another's concern.

Some experts have argued that the provision of more places in psychiatric hospitals would solve, to some extent, the prison population crisis by moving out of the prisons those who are psychiatrically ill. There is an obvious danger here that the difference is distinguishable, some prisoners need psychiatric care others do not. If the difference is not distinguishable then a medical interpretation may be placed upon a purely criminal act. It also assumes that psychiatry has something to offer these people. Whilst it is true

to say that psychiatrists continue to identify some human behaviour as deviant and therefore the proper concern of the profession to treat, it is also true to say that they are also encountering deviant offenders who are not in need of psychiatric treatment. The psychopath is perhaps the best documented example of this type of re-definition. Formerly seen exclusively as a medical condition, there are now few psychiatrists who would see the psychopath as a medical problem or in need of treatment, firmly describing him as a social and control problem. As one American psychiatrist describes psychopaths, "they are merely out of step with the rest of society". To provide more psychiatric hospital space would mean more offender patients receiving treatment in hospital, although a benefit of this to the offender patient who spends all his time in hospital is the knowledge that it is far more respectable to be an ex-patient than an ex-prisoner.

The alternatives to the present method of affecting change are unattractive, although at first sight they may appear more efficient, if for example penal matters are confined to a department of a totalitarian state which is able to make large scale changes in policy and practice without reference to, or responsibility for an electorate. The same could be applied where the prisons department is seen merely as an extension of the armed forces of a military dictator and used to ensure the continuance of his own political ambitions by effectively silencing any opposition.

If the limitations and constraints which are operant on how to reduce the prison population do nothing else, they demonstrate democratic processes in action, however frustrating, tortuous and difficult the processes themselves may be, and even if they provide small comfort to the eventual recipient of the changes, in this case the prisons department.

## New Horizons!

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# Social Work in Prison

## COLLISION COLLUSION COLLABORATION

### The myth and ritual in a professional practice

B. S. STOKES

*In organisations with no means of measuring success or failure, there are infinite possibilities for specialist groups to set up sub organisations with their own definitions of what the organisation is supposed to be doing. In organisations where there is no commonly accepted task, a substantial part of the activity of the specialist is devoted to battles with other specialist groups and with administrators".*

J. E. THOMAS—The English Prison Officer since 1850—A study in conflict.

I RECENTLY spent a week at Southampton University with colleagues of all grades and ranks from the Prison and Probation Services in endeavouring to examine, assess and evaluate the role and function of Social Work within the Institutions. It was for me a very worthwhile, if somewhat harrowing and hard working experience. Having now had a little time to reflect, these are my further thoughts and my own very personal comments on how I would like to see the two Services developed.

#### The Collision

The views represented by individuals on this course clearly tended to "highlight the divide" and emphasised the collision and confrontation, which seemed somehow built in to the prison setting. It was necessary for me to accept that there was a clear body of opinion of prison staff who were highly critical of the purpose of the so-called welfare departments within the institutions, and even a proportion (of just how large I was not sure) who were right against the concept of social work within the system. At the same time I was very conscious that there was within the Probation Service a strong lobby for the total withdrawal of probation officers, whilst others like myself who, whilst not in favour of such a drastic move, were still highly critical of the role and function of welfare departments that existed in practice.

Much of the debate revolved around the worth and value of the specialist, and the problems created by his being seen to be outside the traditional structure. In addition, however, and this would certainly be true in my own case,

not only merely being prepared to serve, but having views about the administration and my professional contribution, and its place in the organisation. I was quite frankly puzzled for some time by what was a strong desire by some colleagues within the Prison Service to perpetuate what I felt was the myth, in apportioning the sole responsibility for the failure of the existing system, in terms of deterrence, and rehabilitation, on to the specialist, when I clearly felt that perhaps the main contribution to this was the system itself, which failed to adapt to change and allowed for little flexibility within individual establishments. This reaction, however, became more understandable as I became more aware of the enormous demands being made on the Prison Service, particularly in local prisons, where the mere clothing, feeding and bedding of inmates had very often reached crisis point. In this unrewarding and what sometimes must be a depressing climate, it was relatively easy to see how staff, lacking in support, could close ranks and be put on the defensive I could see that in this sort of climate, it became an essential way of coping with an intolerable situation and in these circumstances the probation officer could well be viewed as being the idealist, the radical, the reformer, who disrupted even more the workings of the already creaking system.

At this moment in time, I also was conscious of another pressure, an undercurrent of anxiety, related mainly to what was stated to be a proliferation of the Probation Service within the prisons, but which seemed much more connected with cut-backs in establishments and in overtime opportunities,



Brian Stokes joined the Probation Service in Devon in 1965 and worked for six years in North Devon before being appointed as a senior to a team based on the outskirts of Bristol. In September 1975 he was seconded to the social work resource at Leyhill Prison, having additional supervisory responsibilities for Pucklechurch Remand Centre and the Junior Detention Centre at Eastwood Park. As a member of the Avon service he has special commitments to training, particularly to the Prison Officers' Training School at Leyhill. A long-standing member and former branch secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, he is at present one of the national executive of the Parliamentary and Public Relations Committee.

that seemed to be a real threat to individuals both in monetary terms and in promotional prospects.

Perhaps the largest area of contention, however, certainly seemed to be related to the evaluation, definition and interpretation of social work and its practice. In fact the very same issues, that seemed to me were being raised by society and its representatives outside in the wider community at this moment in time. I must confess, that I felt that as social workers we had largely contributed to the misunderstandings. As practitioners, for instance, I felt we had isolated ourselves too much, but there were other reasons, such as doubts and confusion about our professional role and status, and many other diverse and sometimes unreal factors had led, lamentably, to explain and communicate to clients, to our colleagues in the Prison Service and particularly to those representatives of society in the public sector that social work is not primarily absorbed with administering, or giving and bestowing favours and grants, but is much more connected with problem solving and the enabling process of allowing and assisting individuals and groups, in a controlled way, to learn and develop, by and from, relationships with others. I believe that if we had succeeded in this we should not now be defending the view that I for one believe in, that in showing a firm, but caring and humane approach to the



man in prison, we were not presenting some silly or soft social work thesis but providing a tool which could lead to a much more effective way of assisting and monitoring and controlling the attitudes and behaviour of the individuals and groups with whom we come into contact. This surely must be an objective that we must share with all colleagues within the Prison Service no matter what their philosophy, and one which seems to me to be perhaps the most important task being expected of the Prison Service today.

### The Collusion

The Probation Service itself, I feel, had sometimes largely contributed to the collusion. How did we answer the valid criticism that was made about our exclusiveness and methods; for example, how willing had we been to become identified as being part of the prison community, how many of us were available during the evenings or weekends, as was expected of other staff? How willing were we to share tasks, our knowledge and experience of inmates with members of staff, and use the resources which if we looked hard enough were available? I felt that in many ways we had continued to build up our own compartment, in an already compartmentalised system, and in so doing perpetuated the myth of being the omnipotent, all knowing, all seeing misunderstood caseworker. Why, I asked myself, were probation officers, who so very often influenced the courts in sending persons to prison, so reluctant to take up posts within the institutions, and why did they see their colleagues who did work inside, as being somehow different and not really aware of, or acquainted with life in the community? My conclusions were that we failed to define and explain what we felt was to be our role within the institutions and as a result we allowed the system, by default, mostly, to decide on the tasks to be undertaken. Where individual probation officers have tried to define their task, however, they have generally seen that many undertaken at the present time are totally inappropriate and more importantly better done by others within the establishments. As social workers I would have thought that one skill we should have been able to bring to this setting was in developing the art of communication, and that this could, and should be something in which we are experienced, yet my thoughts were that we failed, as others have failed, because we remained in our little

compartments and never really ever saw ourselves as part of the community life within the establishments.

### Collaboration

Despite the differences, there is, once good communications have been developed, a recognisable goodwill, and much common ground between the various resources within the system. More and more members of the Prison Service are spending time within the probation setting as part of their training and this is something we should obviously reciprocate.

There are certainly large numbers of prison staff, both uniformed and governor grades, who would be pleased to be involved, and indeed in some establishments are already engaged in many of the tasks traditionally carried out by social work departments, and there are many probation officers who are sufficiently secure, and professional, to allow this to happen. In some institutions, members of the uniformed staff are already part of the social work team, and social work is seen to be a resource available to the establishment as a whole. This is not, I feel, to say that we as social workers should ask the uniformed staff to take on many of the menial tasks that we feel we should be rid of, or lose sight of the fact that many fairly simple, straightforward tasks are still very important. Where practical and appropriate, however, surely we must encourage staff to develop and use relationships with the individuals with whom they come frequently into contact, those of us who have witnessed this happen in practice cannot fail to be impressed by the ability of large numbers of staff to create and sustain relationships in this way, and there is little doubt that there are many rewards as far as job satisfaction is concerned. They cannot and should not, however, be asked to participate in this way without a proper and fair degree of support and supervision.

### Where do we go from here

There has been much debate within the Probation Service between those who favour the setting up of some exclusive "Correctional Service" on the one hand and those who favour a total probation officer withdrawal from the institutions on the other. Indeed, my first reaction was to feel attracted towards the tidiness of such concepts. However, upon reflection, I believe this to be illusory.

It has been, therefore, somewhat irksome for me to acknowledge, as someone who has always been very reluctant to maintain the *status quo*, that in fact the existing framework of the two Services, whilst admittedly being clumsy and lacking in adequate channels of communication, does in the end provide for a greater flexibility, adaptability and balance to be obtained, and that without these essential ingredients, it is unlikely that any system can be expected to function.

It may well be that the Probation Service needs to reaffirm strongly and ensure its commitment, in that following on from our role as social work adviser to the criminal courts, "The provision of continuity through through-care procedures" is one of our prime tasks. This might be considered to be stating the obvious, but anyone working in the prisons will know how little credence is given to it in practice. My understanding is, that most probation officers do feel that to some extent they do, through their social inquiry reports and their recommendations, effect and influence sentencing, then must we not go one stage further and acknowledge honestly that if we examine our reports that, either by direct statement or certainly by implication, we do see periods of imprisonment as the only course of action sometimes available. Whilst I would agree that in many instances the alternatives are never fully explored, it has to be admitted that in many cases this is a fair and accurate assessment and, like it or not, this is very often the end result. How much longer, then, can the Probation Service continue to deny that it is not already part of a correctional system and how can we, as probation officers, continue to refuse to take up and share some of the responsibilities for work within the institutions? I have come to the conclusion, after some years, that it is right and proper to expect officers, as part of their professional development, to spend at least a limited number of years working within the penal establishments, and that this could well provide a much greater stimulus for progress and growth both within the working individual and within the existing two Services. It would also, to my mind, avoid some of the pitfalls at present seen in some individuals becoming complacent and static in their thinking and dealings. I also believe it would provide a greater adaptability and flexibility in changing roles which seem an essential require-

ment of a Service coping with a society that is rapidly changing and fluctuating all the time.

For the Probation Service this also means, perhaps, that we need to acknowledge that the persons fulfilling the social role in the institutions need to have a great sensitivity and knowledge in developing relationships and a flexibility in adapting and creating an atmosphere where changes can take place. These are attributes, in fact, which I believe we would normally attribute to the very skilled caseworker.

On the other hand I see no justification for assuming that if the social work role was totally absorbed into the Prison Service it would be more effective, indeed I believe the reverse to be true. I cannot see how even the prison system can isolate itself from the community which it serves and would much prefer to see a greater interchangeability between the staffs of the two Services as a way of breaking down barriers. For the probation officer inside the implications are a much greater commitment to institutional life, a willingness to be used much more as a resource, to enable and allow others to develop skills in making relationships and to be instrumental in opening up channels and encouraging better communications. It would mean that for the individual probation officer working inside there could well be less referrals but, equally, those that do come could be the more difficult ones and, maybe, this is another area where the role of the social caseworker begins to be defined. As the court's and society's representative, and this is sometimes completely ignored, the probation officer does provide a community link which ought to be a safeguard to the system; he also brings the experience he has obtained in analysing and evaluating information on offenders into the prison regime. Whilst this is not an exclusive skill, he should be able to provide a somewhat broader interpretation into institutional thinking, particularly in areas of work such as parole review reports and in such things as petitions, reviews and in developing communication systems. The end result of this could well mean that if the other resources are defined and used in the social work system within the prisons, the number of probation officers will be considerably reduced. If departments as such are necessary, they could be staffed by a variety of persons including clerical officers, uniformed staff, other staff and probation officers and perhaps volunteers and ancillaries in appropriate situations.

To reverse the procedure I would want

to see prison officers given the opportunity of secondment to the probation service, particularly in connection with our role in such places as day training centres, community service projects and accommodation schemes, where I believe they could specially make valuable contributions

My impression is that the existing prison system provides us with large numbers of institutions dotted about the country, all very different and individual to some extent, each with a variety of goals, aims and objectives, which seem to have evolved rather than developed. Regimes depending on a number of factors independent of statute such as location and, I suspect, the philosophy of the governors who have exerted their influence. Even in local prisons it is very noticeable that there are sometimes marked differences between one wing and another. It, therefore, would appear to be impossible to plan or make policy on a global pattern in any other than very broad terms. My pleas would be that, given these broad terms and monitoring of standards and needs by the administration, there would be ample opportunities for establishments to work out in their own management teams the best and most effective ways of utilising and marshalling their own resources.

The long awaited "Management Review" has brought about a degree of negative feeling from all quarters in the prison setting and I must confess that I believe it has done little to help resolve many of the pressures and conflicts that are present in the prison system. The first published but more recent report "Social Work in the Custodial Part of the Penal System," seems much more positive and perhaps more widely acceptable. The danger as I see it is that we will reject both documents out of hand when, despite the many contradictions, there are surely useful parts of both which could be adopted even in the present climate of economic stringency.

It is my view that there are concepts in both which are acceptable and if these could be used to form a broad base from which each institution could determine its aims, objectives and goals, then this could well be a step forward. As an example, I believe that there should be much more autonomy for management within individual establishments and that it should be the role of senior management within each institution to maintain a process of evaluation and review appropriate and suitable for their particular community. I would wish to include the senior probation officer working in the penal establishments as a fully committed and integral part of this management team and to be fundamental in supplying and focusing on the value of social work practice in its contribution towards institutional life.

The differences of ideology and philosophy between people will remain, but I feel this itself can be stimulating and positive, providing there are channels of communication built in so that dialogue can take place. The very coming together of these opposing forces seems to me to be essential if a really balanced view is to be obtained. Surely we have now reached a stage where we can say there is sufficient experience within the Prison and Probation Services to begin to use "specialist", if indeed he is any longer one, in the real meaning of the word, as a resource available to, and used by, the institution as a whole; to all inmates and grades of staff and management alike. I would have thought that we could now really commit ourselves to working in this way, certainly for a beginning, in young offenders' and adult training prisons.

Providing the right sort of lead is given by the administration, then I for one, am convinced that there is sufficient potential and goodwill within the Services for this to be brought into universal operation without too much difficulty.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS JOURNAL

The Editorial Board is happy to consider any original contributions for publication, and particularly welcomes readers' letters on published articles or on any subject which is relevant to the Journal

# Alcoholics Anonymous in Prison

GORDON W.

Gordon W graduated from Durham University before the war and then joined the Metallurgical Research Department of the British Aluminium Co. Ltd. He was commissioned into the Territorial Army in 1935 and served throughout the war in various capacities, finishing as a Brigade Major.

He returned to the British Aluminium Co. Ltd. in 1945 and reached a senior management position before his retirement in 1972. He is still active as a member of the Industrial Board.

He first became a member of the Fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous some 15 years ago. He was elected a member of its General Service Board in 1970 and is now its chairman. He was until recently responsible for the Fellowship of A.A. within penal establishments.

THE other day in my reading I came across the following which I thought appropriate to this subject: "On one unhappy occasion I looked out of the barred window of a police van in transit from a police cell to the court at which I was to appear. The people walking along the city street seemed to me to be unaware of how fortunate they were, as compared with myself, who no longer had the liberty to move among my fellow men wherever and whenever I wished.

"I thought about this, and then I thought 'Why the hell am I here? What stupid thoughts and actions led to this predicament?' I could not really answer these questions logically. All I knew for certain was that I did not have any natural tendency to break laws or commit crime, I was basically an honest, law-abiding man, who had been taught to have high standards of behaviour by devoted parents. My father had been a magistrate—yet here was his eldest son to appear, miserably, in the dock. Nor was this my first appearance—I had been through all this before and despite that, it was happening again. Why? I had been humiliated and punished on previous occasions, obviously this had not done me any good. In fact, this time I did not even feel so ashamed, although I was even more resentful.

"Thinking back, I could see that drinking was always involved in my troubles, not necessarily drunkenness, but drinking to the exclusion of any sensible actions or thoughts. However, it was obvious to me that very many people drank, and often drank a great deal, without finding themselves in police vans. What was different about me? Was it bad luck, bad companions,

or bad drink? I made up my mind, definitely, that when I was free again I would be very careful about where I drank and with whom. I wished more than anything that I could have a drink then and there, as I knew that its warming comfort would enable me to see a way out of my troubles—or at least to forget how serious they were".

Very many alcoholics would recognise themselves in this picture, and many who have not yet had such an experience will inevitably do so—and soon—unless they take some positive action to arrest their illness.

At the World Conference of A.A. at Toronto in 1965 our co-founder, Bill W., gave us the pledge of Responsibility. "When Anyone, Anywhere reaches out for help I want the hand of A.A. always to be there and for that I am Responsible". This pledge really fits the needs of those unfortunates in gaol or prison.

The Fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous whose primary purpose is to stay sober and help other alcoholics to achieve and maintain sobriety came into being in 1935 when two drunks, the co-founders Bill W. and Dr. Bob, got together and realised that by sharing their experiences, hope and strength developed and they were able to recover from alcoholism and by the same principles help others to do so also. The only requirement was a desire to stop drinking and that is the only requirement for membership of the Fellowship today. A.A. does not claim to have the only answer to the problem of alcoholism. It is the most widely known and most highly respected of the programmes dealing with the problem. As I have said, the Fellowship came into being in 1935 and in the first few years did not have much success,

but today it has a membership of more than one million men and women in 92 countries.

The first group to be established within a prison was at San Quentin in 1942 through an enlightened prison governor who gave much thought to the problems of prison reform including the special needs of the inmates imprisoned for crimes committed while drinking. He recognised that, if from all the training and programmes provided for the inmate, the problems which drove him or her to drink were not solved then he or she would go out, drink again, and return to prison. It was for this reason he asked Alcoholics Anonymous to help the inmates with their drinking problems—with the words "I look upon Alcoholics Anonymous as a tool to help us rebuild their lives".

There are now approximately 1,000 prison groups throughout the world with 35,000 members. Alcoholics Anonymous came to Great Britain in March 1947. Prison groups were not established until about 1960 and these were at Wakefield prison in England and Barlinnie, Glasgow in Scotland.

The situation as of today throughout Great Britain is:

Number of prison establishments	79
Number of established A.A. groups in the prisons...	67
Number of A.A. contacts to prisons not served by an A.A. group ...	8
which amounts to an overall cover of 94 per cent.	

The Home Office and the Scottish Office recognise A.A. and encourage the establishing of groups within the prisons. The first call was to prisons but now we have been asked to spread our wings, as it were, into the young offenders institutions and borstals.

The Report of the Working Party on Habitual Drunken Offenders which was set up in 1967, producing its report in 1971, gives full support to the provision of an A.A. group in every prison.

I will now quote from some of the relevant sections of the Report:

Sec. 8.54. It is probably true to say that no alcoholic can afford not to try Alcoholics Anonymous to see what it has to offer him or her. A.A. as it is familiarly known is a self supporting body which offers a form of group therapy to its members. The only qualification for membership is a desire to stop drinking. It is in becoming sober and staying sober that A.A. helps, not in providing clothes; accommodation, jobs or money.



Sec. 8. 55 There is a belief that A.A. is only for the middle class alcoholic but this is not so. The make up of groups can vary from one part of the country to another and with the growth of A.A. in prisons a more balanced membership generally is developing. In the past the preponderance for middle class members has often been one of the reasons given by vagrant alcoholics why A.A. could not help them. Prison groups could well mean that men will now seek the help of A.A. who in the past would have avoided it.

The great strength of A.A. is in its ready availability to all alcoholics with no selection, no strings attached and with nothing asked of them other than a desire for sobriety.

Groups within the prison are run in a similar fashion to groups outside. The inmates foregather in a room set aside for the meeting and are joined by the outside sponsors. We try to encourage the inmates to run the meeting themselves with a group leader and group secretary. The meetings commence, as all meetings do, with the reading of the preamble: "Alcoholics Anonymous is a Fellowship of men and women who share their experience, strength and hope with each other that they may solve their common problem and help others to recover from alcoholism. The only requirement for membership is a desire to stop drinking. There are no dues or fees for A.A. membership. We are self-supporting through our own contributions. A.A. is not allied with any sect, denomination, politics, organisation or institution, does not wish to engage in any controversy neither endorses nor opposes any causes. Our Primary Purpose is to stay sober and help other alcoholics to achieve sobriety".

The meeting itself is a sharing of experiences by those present so that they may identify themselves, as alcoholics, and find comfort in that they are not alone—others have experienced the overpowering compulsion and terrible mental obsession for alcohol and have done similar stupid things; that it is an illness for which there is no cure but which can be arrested.

It is the responsibility of the A.A. sponsor of the prison group to present the A.A. message to the prison governor and the staff and all those involved with rehabilitation. It is of vital importance that these people be properly informed of our motives and

of what A.A. actually is. They should fully appreciate by the living examples that the A.A. programme works.

We must abide by the institution rules. The governor has the responsibility for the security within the prison so it may be that groups cannot operate quite in the same way as outside.

In the prison there are roll calls, use of last names and numbers quite unlike a typical outside meeting. However, once the meeting is in progress the group will operate under the principle of anonymity just as an outside group. In a prison group we must always try to place principles before personalities, not always easy in a prison society where there is a great variety led by the lifers down to the lowest form of prison life, the rapist or child molester. It is difficult to overcome the prison code in an A.A. meeting but overcome it we must and indeed do and the example at Saughton prison where there are separate groups for the long termers and the short termers may well be a good example to follow. Even the most hardened criminal has respect for A.A. though at first suspicious of our activities. It is the power of example and success that appeals and when they recognise this they come forward.

Somehow, someone, somewhere is always asking "Why A.A. in prisons?" People ask what sense is there in A.A. talking to prisoners. They cannot drink where they are, can they? Let me say without fear of contradiction, alcohol is available in prisons. It is not sold in the canteens, but the inmates can and do make it—anyone who wants liquor seems to get it. I was at a prison meeting recently and one of the members reappeared causing quite a lot of back chat. He had just been released from solitary following a drunken brawl at Christmas caused by alcohol made from ingredients stolen from the prison kitchen during the making of the Christmas fare. They had made a load of hooch from the raisins stolen and it had had disastrous results, one inmate losing his sight. Men who want help and are willing to be helped can start practising the A.A. way of life right away while in prison. There are no statistics on how many prisoners achieve sobriety through A.A. while in prison or how many continue to drink after release, but we do know that a good many do and these were the people who were bound to lose. To help in the continuity of sobriety on release an aftercare process is started well before the offenders are actually released from custody. This is

done provided the offender is willing. Arrangements are made by the prison sponsor and/or the prison probation officer or prison welfare officer or prison chaplain for contact to be made with the local group near to where the offender is going on release by letter or by meeting up in the street and then taken to their first meeting outside.

Life in prison is terribly restricted and it has deep growing effects on thinking—developing what we in A.A. call stinking thinking. I've heard it said by inmates attending group meetings just prior to their release. I'm entitled to a good drink and a woman and then I'll go to A.A. (I talk of men's prisons and possibly the woman inmate does not think too differently). The system of aftercare, the meeting up and attending an outside meeting on release is therefore very important. Once they have linked up they may make up their own minds, sober, as to their priorities.

I will conclude with a case history written by an ex-prisoner of Barlinnie prison, Glasgow.

**Experience, strength and hope.** These are for me the most important words in the preamble of Alcoholics Anonymous.

At 36 years of age, my life was finished. I was an alcoholic and didn't know it. By the year 1961 I had become a regular inhabitant of various lodging houses in my progress towards alcoholism. In the early years of my social drinking I could recall many pleasant occasions associated with drink; but as I travelled around I found the pathway of life more rutted and strewn with obstacles. Differences arose in my domestic life. I got at sixes and sevens with my relations. My inter-personal relationships at my work suffered. Everyone was walking out of step with me. The further I progressed into alcoholism the quicker I started to go downhill instead of forward through life.

Then came the inevitable brush with the law resulting in my being put on probation, one of the conditions being that "I didn't drink". That was something of an insult to me. After all booze wasn't entirely responsible for my being in court in the first place. Within weeks I was back again.

The system was not modernised as it is now. I was given a dirty white, well-worn suit, a pair of ill-fitting black shoes and knee length stockings (many times darned).

In the course of that sentence I vowed during the hours of darkness that I would never again expose myself to this experience. Of course, I discounted the

power of booze. I came out, and was re-united with my wife and family. I regained a little happiness and inward peace; until I again took a drink of alcohol. A few months after my first release from prison I was back again in Barlinnie.

By then my worldly goods were just what I wore. As for my state of mind, well so many hopes had died that I just gave up hoping. Feeble can best describe my condition. At this point I was incarcerated again in Barlinnie for my behaviour under the influence of drink. It is a strange paradox that one has to go to prison to find freedom from the filth and squalor, the loneliness, the abject misery that only an alcoholic can understand.

I was "conned" by the chaplain to go to the A.A. meetings which took place for certain inmates. I went with doubts. Here I met Eric and Bob. Another night I met Meat Market Bobby. Whatever else they said, they had this drinking taped. That day hope was born and from then on strength grew in me. I was transferred to Peterhead prison and there, too, the governor thought that I should maintain this new-found association with these people in A.A. With this in view he wrote to the Aberdeen group of A.A. advising them they could call and see me outwith the usual hours. This they did. Several members of that group of A.A. travelled 76 miles each week to give me strength and hope. Of course, there are those who may think "Why bother when there is no drink available to the inmates".

However, by trying to develop this way of living outside, I was able to build a defence against the day when I would again be liberated. I learned, thanks to a little sharing, to make time my friend and not my enemy. Thus I started to cleanse my mind of all resentment towards *life* in general. Instead of living with the "vision" of what a good drink I'm going to have on Liberation Day. I tried to purge myself of such places as Barlinnie, Walton and Peterhead. I started to develop the method of living that those members of A.A. were sharing with me on their weekly visits. I knew that these men had something in common with me. They all had suffered the shakes, D.T.s, mental turmoil and desperate loneliness. They now had a purpose in living and this I desperately wanted after I left prison.

I did leave for the last time in September 1968 and with some success

I have achieved some measure of purpose in my life.

I am no longer alone, I have no longer to depend on cheap booze. I walk through life and am no longer afraid. All these things and much more I have gained, thanks to many indivi-

dual members of A.A. who took time to share their recovery from alcoholism. With unending gratitude to A.A. I will continue into the future a *day* at a *time*.

Living a day at a time is one of the philosophies of the recovery programme of A.A. and *it works*, even in prisons.

# Hindley Neighbourhood Borstal

## An exercise in Joint Management between the Probation and Prison Services

H. N. LOUGHRAN



H. N. Loughran joined Probation Service in 1964 as a direct entrant after former career as a shipping executive. Served as a probation officer in Liverpool and took a Diploma in Social Studies (Liverpool University). Became senior probation officer in 1972. Served as a team based S.P.O., also as a specialist S.P.O. concerned with special projects in Liverpool. Later was seconded to Hindley Borstal and involved in all preparatory work for Neighbourhood Scheme. Now serving as S.P.O. in Waterloo, Merseyside.

THIS paper is based largely on experiences encountered in working as a senior probation officer in the Hindley Borstal Neighbourhood Scheme, which in itself is an exercise in joint management. Perhaps the main difficulty in the two services working together lies in the different philosophies and aims. An interesting comment was recently made by the combined study group from the Home Office Prison and Probation Departments. This group produced the

controversial discussion paper on Social Work in the Custodial part of the Penal System and stated that the "*task of the prison system is to provide a regime that is, humane, dignified, constructive and participatory and that looks outward to the community rather than inward*". I wonder if many people see it in these terms which are very idealistic and remote from the reality.

The idea of a neighbourhood borstal was evolved at a conference arranged by the Home Office at Moreton-in-Marsh in May 1972. Discussion had been going on for some time prior to this date at the Principal Probation Officers' Conference and meetings with P.P.O.s and prison governors.

Eventually, in May 1973, it was decided to experiment with two borstals: Hindley and Hewell Grange over a two year period initially.

A steering committee was set up by the Prison Service and, in the case of Hindley, the catchment area was altered to cover only lads residing in the Merseyside and Greater Manchester areas. The Probation Services of these two areas were invited to participate in a joint attempt with the Prison Service to devise a more effective method of rehabilitating those committed to borstal.

The aims and objectives are listed as follows:

1. To develop a closer relationship between the Prison Service and the Probation Service.
2. To enable the borstal to learn more

about the trainees' social environment.

3. To enable the borstal to engage in activities with families, ex-offenders, mixed groups, etc. and to develop closer links with employers institutions and social agencies.

4. In return the borstal will be able to offer service to the community.

The borstal is divided into Merseyside and Manchester ends, each with two wings supervised by borstal principal officers and an assistant governor in overall charge. The trainees are placed in groups according to where they live and a borstal (group) officer is allocated to the group to liaise with the probation officer for that neighbourhood and to concern himself solely with the trainees in the group.

The method of working used by the Probation Service is to appoint specialist officers to work with an average case-load of 30 (pre-release and aftercare), to allow for more intensive work and to give scope for the development of new ideas and methods of working. In each probation area there are 10-12 specialist officers based at local district offices but covering a particular geographical neighbourhood. Their case-loads are drawn only from trainees residing in that neighbourhood so that they can develop closer links with relevant agencies in the community.

Overall there is a senior probation officer in each probation area with the sole responsibility for the co-ordination of the specialist officers and acting as a representative within the borstal with the governor and his staff. The senior probation officers are permanent members of all the main boards in the borstal, and indeed are part of the management team.

The neighbourhood project involves close co-operation by staff of both services at all levels and an integral part of the project is the development of partnerships between probation officers and borstal officers. Together they are responsible for the assessment of trainees, the planning of training programmes and their implementation. New facilities and approaches to the treatment of young adults are being developed both in the borstal and from within the community.

In the area of relationships very close links have been established. Most probation officers and borstal group officers have spent one week on attachment in the opposite service and some borstal group officers frequently spend one day per month outside the borstal in the trainees' home environment,

visiting homes with the probation officer and contacting community organisations etc. The team of group officer and probation officer makes recommendations on the treatment and training to the labour board (for change of job, etc.) and to the institution board for early discharge or sometimes for removal of discharge date. The specialist probation officers are continually visiting the borstal in the daytime and sometimes in the evenings, contacting all the borstal staff with whom the trainees relate so that a complete picture is ascertained. They have been fully accepted by borstal staff and are provided with key facilities to enter almost every part of the institution. This enables visits to be made to places such as the education block, workshops, farm, etc., without the need to be accompanied by borstal staff.

The Prison Department has provided extra staff to allow the borstal group officers to spend more time with trainees, probation officers and also for report writing and documentation. This has had a marked effect on the work with the groups and could be extended to enable the neighbourhood project to develop more fully.

Undoubtedly, the borstal is learning more about the trainees' social environment through the continuous dialogue with the Probation Service and this is further enhanced by the home visiting carried out by the group officers. Communication with community groups is also helping in this connection and will be increased. The Probation Service is likewise learning how to work closely with the Prison Service and it is hoped that this in turn, will have a positive effect on our future methods of working with borstal trainees.

There has been some progress with the third aim but, like the fourth aim, this has been hampered by lack of finance, prison rules and the failure in the past to approve imaginatively planned projects. Both services have experienced periods of frustration and disillusionment and usually blamed the Home Office or Treasury as a result. However, in any experiment involving radical change, it must be recognised that progress will only be made slowly and ideas tested and passed before full resources are sanctioned.

Any co-operation between the Probation Service and the Prison Service is almost bound to be concerned with through care and aftercare. The A.C.T.O. Report of 1963 identified certain principles essential to any effective system of care for the offender.

The report also suggested certain remedies to the weakness noted in the prevailing system at that time, and recommended the expansion and re-organisation of the Probation Service, the appointment of social workers to penal institutions and also changes in emphasis in prison officer and assistant governor training. The underlying theme was integration—particularly in "institutional care" and "aftercare".

The two services have very different organisational structures. On the one hand the Prison Service is organised and funded from central government, and the Probation Service is organised at a local level by independent committees funded partly by local authority but mainly by central government. Policies are mainly formed at a local level although there is some oversight by the Home Office in the shape of the Probation Inspectorate.

In combining for joint ventures, therefore, it is extremely difficult to establish lines of communication and determine and implement common policy and practice. Prison regional structures do not coincide with probation areas and indeed the Probation Service has no defined regional structure at all. At a national level the Prison Service structure is clearly defined but, in the Probation Service, the Home Office Probation Department, the Conference of Chief Probation Officers and the Central Council of Probation and Aftercare Committees all determine policy, as well as the National Association of Probation Officers.

Consequently, it is important that each service has a clear understanding of its own task and the limitations in the way of both resources and rules which govern those tasks. There must be some common ground in which each service can share as well as recognition of the differences which the other has in its organisation.

The main difference, perhaps, is that the Prison Service has a hierarchical structure with clearly defined disciplinary procedures. This means that everything must be passed through recognised channels by an official with the appropriate rank. There appears to be little chance of direct communication by-passing the recognised channels as this would either be resented or cause some confusion. In any co-operation therefore, the Probation Service is expected to send representatives of suitable rank according to the level at which discussion is held. There is a great reluctance by the top grades in the Prison Service to relinquish any



authority such as chairmanship of a committee in case the "other side" takes over. In any partnership there is a need to recognise that conflict will be created and there should be a readiness to "give and take" without anxiety, and without the need to dominate or to suffer loss of identity. It has been said that the Prison Service suffers from over bureaucratisation, lack of finance and or resources, confusion of purpose and regimentation. If this is so then perhaps until this is remedied it always will be extremely difficult to work in partnership with the Probation Service.

Whilst working in any penal institution it is acknowledged that ultimate responsibility for any decision taken affecting the institution lies with the governor, and the Probation Service only participates in a supporting role. The whole situation can alter within the institution with a change of governor. It is he who sets the tone, produces the ideas and makes the policies and indeed is the "father figure" to all the staff. This is somewhat foreign to the Probation Service where all grades of staff are encouraged to initiate ideas and experiment with methods of working. Subsequently, when the governor grades operate outside the institution their thinking tends to be coloured by their institutional experience. Serious thought should be given to organisation "structure". The old bastions of bureaucracy and the inherent conflict of authority and power that permeates such situations reinforce perceived inequalities so that if progress is to be made then this is the place to start.

In his book *Overcoming Mismanagement in the Human Service Professions* Weissman comments on three strategies of change, viz.:

- (a) by demonstration, i.e. where proposed changes can be quantified in terms of their effectiveness;
- (b) by integration, i.e. a kind of mutual problem solving, and
- (c) pressure strategy, i.e. the application of force and or power.

It is paramount that if one is seeking to effect some change in the management of the Prison Service then a fuller understanding of the organisation and its social systems is a pre-requisite to adopting one or other of these strategies in a change situation.

Which strategy is likely to be the most beneficial? Does one have to take account of tradition? Should we take into account any resultant reward or loss? Resistance to change basically

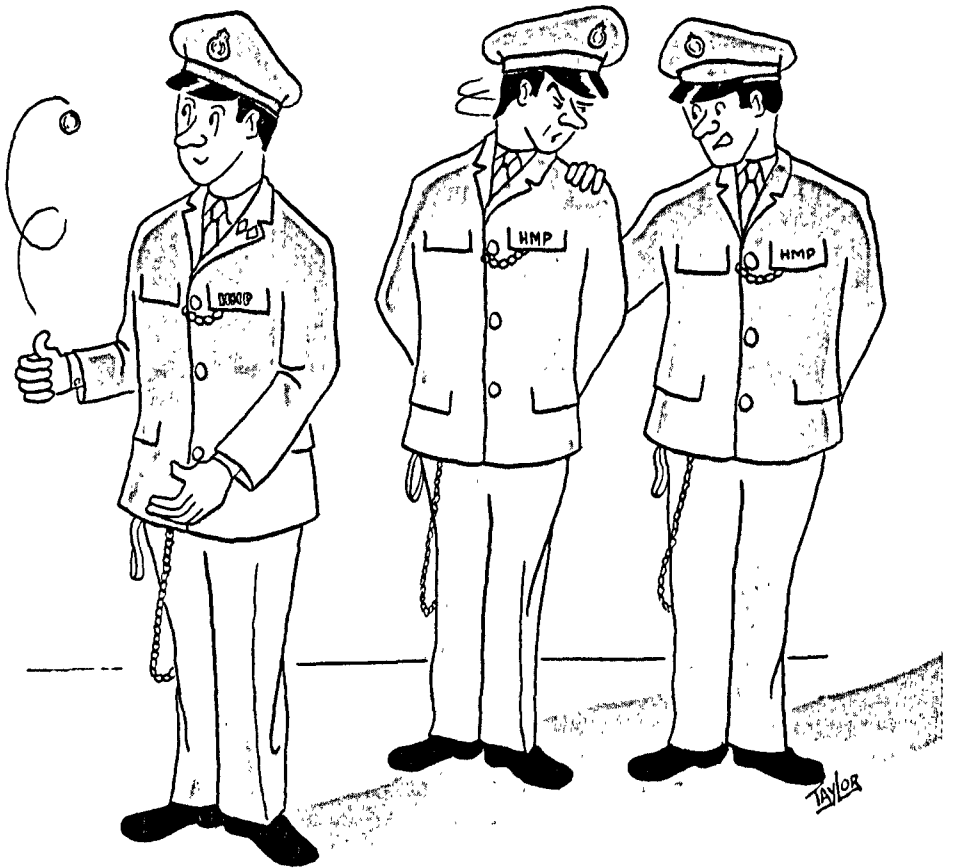
has its foundation in people's perception of rewards and costs allied to the proposed change, whether viewed from individual, department or organisational levels.

Questions need to be asked such as "Is the timing right?" Can existing formal procedures be used to effect change? Has the time come for taking risks by placing professional values above organisational allegiances?

It is difficult to answer these questions and indeed I do not propose to try in this paper. What I wish to do is to emphasise the common ground between the two services. In the past the Prison Service has focused exclusively on providing institutional care. Because of this the service has experienced difficulty in viewing institutional care in the wider context of penal policy and practice. Perhaps the importation

of specialists into penal establishments have tended to reinforce this focus as undoubtedly this must have reduced the roles of existing staff and weakened the sense of identity of the service.

The Hindley borstal experiment has offered the Prison Service the opportunity to establish identity by participating more fully in the care and rehabilitation of offenders. The Prison Service must clarify what it stands for and undertake a commitment to the joint task of throughcare in all penal establishments if it believes it has a part to play in developments outside penal institutions. If this commitment is made then some serious thought will have to be given to management for this will mean an increasing contact in its relationship with the Probation Service. The questions I have posed earlier will then have to be answered.



"TREASURE THIS MOMENT BERT, IT ISN'T EVERY DAY THAT THE LIKES OF US GET THE CHANCE TO WITNESS DECISIONS BEING MADE" !!

# BOOK REVIEWS

## REVIEWS COMMITTEE:

RICK EVANS (H.M.P. Gloucester)

MIKE GANDER and

RAY MITCHELL (Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield)

MARK BEESON (Leeds University)

## Living with Violence

### VIOLENCE

Edited by NORMAN TUTT  
H.M.S.O. 1976. £3.15

WORKING with offenders in custody is a brutalising experience. Try as we might, there really is no getting away from it. What most of us do is to devise some sort of personal survival kit that enables us to function in a violent environment where conflict manifests itself in many ways. To interpret what is happening on our own patch as a distasteful reflection of international or national disorder is one way of trying to make the situation bearable. At the same time, there is a need to put violence institutions into more manageable proportions, to hive off the most intractable people and to devise ways of protecting ourselves and others from their harmful activities. One need not look too far back in prison history to find examples of this thinking converted into practice. And now, with proposals for creating secure units in regional hospitals and "training units" for psychopaths in prison, the Butler Committee has demonstrated that this view still has powerful advocates.

In response to a plea by staff in approved schools for the adoption of the "hiving off" approach, D.H.S.S. undertook to look at the problem of violence. Its strategy differed markedly from the solution originally proposed by the staff association for the creation of secure accommodation for "exceptionally violent and aggressive children and young persons". D.H.S.S. sought to increase the competence of staff to deal with a great variety of difficult behaviour in a wide range of institutions. To this end, a working party (including administrators, social workers, doctors and staff association representatives) devised a programme of seminars. It was intended from the outset that a permanent record of working material should be produced. The result is this collection of 12 essays, by a variety of contributors, together with a final chapter of case studies written by participants in the seminars. Of course, it is no part of this book's purpose to evaluate the effectiveness of the seminars, though a number of members of the Prison Service who took part will probably

testify to their value. What is certain is that, in drawing together this collection, D.H.S.S. has made available a great deal of stimulating material.

All the essays are informative and an enormous list of further reading is provided. For me, five essays and the case studies (unedited and without comment) offered most. Norman Tutt's introduction sets the scene and the objective, which he describes as being "not merely to provide some alternative to current sensational and negative views of violence but also to offer a great understanding of how the potential for violence is within us all". Aside from sketching in the historical aspects (a fuller account is provided by John Robinson's piece on the history of violence) Tutt draws attention to the semantic pitfalls that bedevil discussion about violence. In examining the difference between aggression and violence he offers the interesting thought that perhaps "aggression is something 'we' have and violence characterises 'them'". But the best part of Tutt's essay is his review of theories of violence in which he identifies nine approaches and offers brief comment on them.

Colin Campbell's essay reminds us of the "usualness of violence" in our history. He makes a determined effort to shift the discussion from "condemnation to comprehension". On a related theme, Vladimir Kahan returns to the age old question—"nature or nurture?" This is a familiar debate to many, though changing fashions sometimes make it difficult for the layman to make much sense of the argument. The arguments are well presented here.

The essays on violence in community homes (by members of the Social Research Unit, Dartington) and in groups (by John Harrington) provide the most compelling reading when seen against a prison service backdrop—and it is not altogether comforting reading. The Dartington team raise some searching questions about the anxiety created by the prospect rather than the incidence of violence, about the fact that the evidence from violent episodes invariably reflects only staff viewpoints, and about the expectation among staff that those who have been violent once will be so again.

Two issues raised by the Dartington team seem especially relevant to our work. One is that violence does not "just happen". There is a build up, a trigger, and an unwillingness by those concerned to back away, to lose face. This notion is also picked up by Harrington. Writing of mob violence, he says it "erupts under a variety of trigger mechanisms, usually a single and sometimes trivial incident which is exaggerated by rumour and is used by small groups of agitators to trigger mob violence". It is not too difficult to make the connection with our situation. Perhaps we are only now coming to appreciate what consequences flow from staff and inmates having to live their lives in public. Saving face and diversionary tactics are much easier in the sanctuary of an office than on the landing.

The other challenging observation by the Dartington team is that violence seems to increase as less rigid regimes are introduced. There are perfectly respectable reasons to explain this, but the Dartington team do not examine what I believe is an important factor, namely that "less rigid" is equated with "laissez faire". Sadly, what often seems to happen when regimes change is that previously held and sound, professional standards are ditched on the grounds that less rigidity means "anything goes". In fact, it has been found in therapeutic communities that, while "acting out" behaviour is acceptable, there have to be well defined boundaries for behaviour and transgression produces a predictable response from the community. Maybe this is a lesson we are slowly learning in our own work.

If any reminder is needed of the harsh realities of the world we work in, it is provided by the case studies which appear as the final chapter. They provide a clear rebuttal to the sentiment that appears in the prologue (lifted from graffiti in a London underground station) that "a bit of violence never hurt anybody".

TONY PEARSON  
P6 Division, London.



### THE ACT ON TRIAL

The Non-implementation of The Children and Young Persons Act 1969  
MIND, 1975. 55p.

### CHILDREN IN PRISON

HOWARD LEVENSON  
National Council for Civil Liberties, 1976. 25p.

### ELEVENTH REPORT FROM THE EXPENDITURE COMMITTEE

Volume 1. House of Commons Report. 75p.  
Volume 2. Minutes of Evidence. 7.70p.  
H.M.S.O., 1975.

THE Children and Young Persons Act 1969 has been the subject of much bitter debate since it was made law. One side insists that the Act must bear part of the responsibility for the recent rise in juvenile crime while the other insists with equal force that it is precisely because the Act has not been fully implemented or adequately resourced that it has not been as successful in preventing juvenile delinquency as it ought to have been.

In one sense both sides are wrong insofar as they do not recognise the "system effects" at work in the context of juvenile delinquency. It is futile to use the 1969 Act as a stick with which to beat one's opponents. The "failure" of the Act is our failure as a society to cope with problems that have outstripped the social mechanisms that were once at least moderately effective.

It is, perhaps, equally futile to look for "solutions" to these problems in either of the publications by MIND or N.C.C.L. although both are clear that, in their view, the Act has

failed so far due to deliberate foot-dragging by the agencies involved in implementing the Act (local authorities, government departments and police) together with equally deliberate opposition from, amongst others, the magistrates, who are accused of granting too easily "certificates of unruliness" to make sure a juvenile was placed in secure accommodation.

Of the publications by MIND and N.C.C.L., the one worth reading for its attempt to discover some figures and facts about the extent of the problem and for the sanity of its conclusions and recommendations is the one by MIND. I cannot say the same for the N.C.C.L. Report—it is light on reason and heavy on polemic, with disparaging comments being made associating prison staff with, by implication, repressive treatment of juveniles.

The *Report from the Expenditure Committee* and the *Minutes of Evidence* are definitely worth perusal; not merely because the *Report* contains recommendations like:

"We recommend that courts should be enabled to impose sentences of detention in a detention centre for any period between two days and three weeks in addition to the existing sentences of three and six months", but also because it throws light on what some of our decision makers are thinking. The *Minutes of Evidence* themselves are a mine of information on the thinking of the pressure groups (N.A.C.R.O., R.A.P., Police Federation, Howard League, B.A.S.W., Magistrates' Association, and others) and should be turned to by anyone who wants to understand what these groups are trying to say. It is with regret, however, that one sees that Prison Department representation was not very noticeable and that none of the staff who have to care for the 5,000 juvenile admissions to Prison Department establishments each year gave evidence. Surely we have something to say?

M.G.

### THE PRISON: Policy and Practice

GORDON HAWKINS

University of Chicago Press, 1976. £7.50

THIS book is by an English associate professor of criminology at an Australian University, and was written while he was doing a research fellowship in the United States. Those who might be put off by the American orientation of the book can be assured that the message is an important one and that the arguments, which are logical and forceful, are essentially of general interest and application. What is more, it is relatively short and eminently readable.

Gordon Hawkins' basic argument is that the prison will be with us for some time to come and that we should therefore direct our attention to the prison as it is here and now. He is concerned with essential, intrinsic problems which will remain however much the sentencing policy, the composition of the prison population or the criminal law may change, and he has tried to select for critical analysis some half dozen key issues which arise from the use of imprisonment as a penal method. His choice of issues may be questioned, but his realistic approach is refreshing. It is a measure of the extent to which criminologists have been infected by the "total abolition" bug that he feels it necessary to apologise for using this "restricted" frame of reference.

The subjects selected are: the main criticisms of imprisonment; the effects of imprisonment; prison officers (alias "The Other Prisoners"); employment of prisoners; prisoners' rights and impediments to change.

Critics of imprisonment are placed in four groups—abolitionists, rigorists, reformists and reductivists—although the distinctions are slightly blurred since it seems that many so-called abolitionists are misunderstood reformists and some rigorists are less rigorous than others. The genuine abolitionist rejects

reform since he regards the prison as a mistake from the start and argues that to pursue a policy of amelioration is to compound the error. His position is not strengthened by the noticeable evasion in the literature of the practical implications of the total dissolution of penal institutions.

Even though the evidence of history is not on his side, we are advised not to dismiss too hastily the arguments of the rigorist, who condemns rehabilitation as a misguided and sentimental departure from sound punitive principles. After all, he is right to insist on the deterrent function of imprisonment, and he is justified in questioning the promises and results of progressive penology.

The author likens the implications of the reformist ideology to G. K. Chesterton's celebrated aphorism about the "Christian ideal": "it has not been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and left untried". The evidence, arguments and confusions are well-known and the author, like many others, concludes that the reformist's more-of-the-same prescription must be regarded, in the light of experience, as a recipe for disaster.

The reductivist agrees but, unlike the rigorist, he does not reject rehabilitation in principle, rather he would drastically reduce its scope. He argues that the reformatory myth is at least partly responsible for the lengthening of sentences and that the main thrust of prison reform should be the prevention of deterioration, but he does not offer any constructive suggestions for improving the system.

Hawkins analyses the implications for policy of these critiques. He discusses the powerful constraints on rapid change and reviews the present state of knowledge of the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes, which should offer no encouragement to the "pure" reformist. Hawkins seems to go for humane containment with voluntary treatment on offer—in Norval Morris' terms, "the substitution of facilitated change for coerced cure". He suggests that those who find this flat and uninspiring should ask themselves how far short we fall of providing conditions throughout the system which are consistent with human dignity. Surely the notion of "facilitated change" opens up unlimited possibilities for those interested in institutional dynamics.

The "schools of crime" and "prisonisation" theories are effectively demythologised in an examination of the effects of imprisonment, though aspiring reformists may not be entirely happy about the conclusion, from studies on "inmate culture", that prison has little lasting effect.

The chapters on staff and work are of considerable interest, but will not blaze any new trails. It is heartening to find staff included as a key issue in such a book, and the more so for the findings of a study on inmates' reasons for liking and disliking staff members which showed that this was determined by the manner in which staff expressed themselves rather than by the things that they did. The author needs to catch up on progress in selection and training in this country.

In the chapter on prisoners' rights, Hawkins assesses the significance of the movement in the United States within the last decade to bring the law and the judiciary into relationship with the penal system, and the implications of this movement for prison administration. Despite our traditional constitutional differences, this account of the United States' experience should be of particular interest to us as a foretaste of things to come. Considering the possible problems of management and resources alone, it may be cold comfort to learn that for the most part the discretion of prison authorities in the United States has not been seriously limited as a result of these developments, and that the lack of effective communication channels within the system for prisoners to air their grievances is seen as having far more bearing on prison disorder than "interference" from outside by the courts.

Finally, there is an examination of some of the forces operating against rapid change in the penal field and an assessment of their strength. The sections on public opinion and staff reaction are of particular interest and, as with so many of the issues examined, the author argues convincingly that their barks are worse than their bites. Lack of knowledge is seen as a major obstacle to policy formulation and planning and, although he clearly feels very strongly about the need for good research, his examination of the problems is sensitive, balanced and objective, with full weight given to the faults of researchers and the difficulties of administrators.

This important and timely book is strongly recommended to practitioners and administrators alike.

DAVID HEWLINGS  
formerly Controller  
(Operations), is now  
Director of Assistant  
Governor Selection.



### UNDERSTANDING EPILEPSY

GEORGE BURDEN and PETER SCHURR

Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1976. £2.50.

MOST prison staff, especially those who have worked in local prisons, will have had contact with people who suffer from epilepsy. Some will even have encountered the frightening sight of an inmate having a major seizure and will have been called upon to give assistance. An officer's capacity to understand the occurrence and act in an appropriate manner would have been greatly enhanced if he had read this "plain man's guide".

*Understanding Epilepsy* is aimed at the non-medical reader and its intention is to dispel some of the fear and superstition with which epilepsy is generally regarded. In accordance with its aims, it is written in simple language using neither jargon nor medical terminology. The book contains a brief description of the nature and function of the brain and its various abnormalities of which epilepsy is a symptom. The several types of seizure and associated disorders are described and explained. Some of the myths surrounding epilepsy (such as the concept of an "epileptic personality") are convincingly destroyed and useful advice is given to the relative, colleague, teacher or employer of the epileptic. Those working with offenders may be surprised to learn that "the incidence of criminal acts among people who have epilepsy is no greater than among the population as a whole" (page 28).

There is little doubt that people suffering from epilepsy are, because of fear and ignorance, discriminated against in almost all societies. This short and readable book should go some way towards replacing fear with acceptance and ignorance with understanding.

JIM BURKE  
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Prison Service College  
Wakefield.



### ANOTHER STRETCH OF PORRIDGE

DICK CLEMENT and IAN LA FRENIAIS

B.B.C. Publications, 1976. 60p.

ADDICTS of the television programme *Porridge* will be pleased to see more Clement/La Frenais scripts in print. Like the first book, which was reviewed in the July 1976 issue of *PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL*, this volume contains a batch of cleverly adapted scripts which relate the adventures of Norman Stanley Fletcher and his fellow inmates at Slade prison. The inside stories include the episodes about the stolen tin of pineapple chunks, Fletcher's quiet Saturday afternoon in the nick, Lennie's boxing match and the Christmas tunnel.

R.E.



**THE BRITISH JURY SYSTEM**

Edited by NIGEL WALKER  
University of Cambridge Institute of  
Criminology, 1975. £1.50

**THE JURY SYSTEM IN AMERICA**

Edited by RITA JAMES SIMON  
Sage, 1975.

GOVERNMENT by rotation is hard to practise in modern society. Trial by jury is its last major survival in the common law world and, even there, it is mostly shrinking or being subjected to compromises that sap it of some of its individuality. Only in the United States, thanks to its constitutional position, does it keep a role through much of the spectrum of litigation. Elsewhere it has been increasingly common to abandon it save for the most serious criminal cases in which guilt is disputed. But where this is so—as is the case in this country—the amount of criminal business makes the jury still an important institution.

These two books show the continuing fascination that the jury system exerts. *The British Jury System* records papers and discussion at one of the 1974 Cropwood Conferences at Cambridge. It is introduced by some telling reflections from Geoffrey Marshall on the ideals that the jury may be seen to embody and on certain tensions that arise between these ideals. The conference was rounded off by a description by Judge Molin of the use of lay assessors in Swedish courts, which may suggest to open minds an interesting alternative to trial by jury. In between came papers demonstrating the very different ways in which the system may be seen from practical and theoretical perspectives.

The conference met at a time when the late Lord Justice James' Committee on the distribution of criminal business was reaching its conclusions, and the Committee's subject was reflected in a paper from one of its members, David Thomas. The Committee's chairman was also present and drew on his wealth of experience in a thoughtful paper on judicial directions to juries. Research into the functioning of juries was also dealt with in a number of sessions, accounts of the work being done at Oxford and the L.S.E. being set beside the contributions from Hans Zeisel, one of the doyens of the vast Chicago Jury Project.

Rita James Simon, introducing *The Jury System in America*, points out the effect of that project in catalysing scholarly interest in the jury system in America and relates it to the movement to study the functioning of the whole legal system with the tools of the social sciences. The project did provide fruitful opportunities for the collaboration between lawyers and sociologists (such as Zeisel) and social psychologists (such as Simon herself). A major purpose of this volume is to review the learning that has been achieved in the two decades since the Chicago work began. This is the particular emphasis on Part II, in which contributors discuss work that has been done on the selection of jurors, the psychology of their deliberations, their relations with litigants and the effect of pre-trial publicity. But, like the Cambridge volume, other perspectives are included, in this case covering the views of writers and journalists as well as trial lawyers and judges. At the very end there is the still, small voice of the juror himself.

While Professor Zeisel writes of American jury trial as being on the wane, it remains a much more central process in his own courts than in ours. Of course, we do well to think carefully about an institution that has held so symbolic a position in our firmament of political liberties. But it needs to be remembered that magistrates' courts are now our main instrument for determining criminal guilt. There is an undoubted danger that fascination with the jury system will divert attention from the point where it ought to be concentrated.

W. R. CORNISH  
London School of  
Economics.

**CRIME EVERY DAY**

STANLEY FRENCH  
Barry Rose, 1976. £4.50.

MR. FRENCH spent 38 years working on the administrative side of Magistrates' Courts. Starting, in 1929, as a second clerk and rising to senior chief clerk, with no legal qualifications whatsoever, he retired in 1967.

His book is not only the story of his working life, but a record of the vast changes which took place in criminal law during the period. Mr. French also traces the history of the Magistrates' Courts service from 1730 to the present day. All this may sound rather dull, but the book is far from dull. Mr. French is obviously warm-hearted, with a delightful sense of humour, and it shows in his writing. There are plenty of anecdotes to bring forth a chuckle, and his vivid description of some occurrences really brings them to life.

His observations on other servants of the court, including the police, members of the probation service, solicitors and counsel, make interesting reading, and his account seems fair and balanced.

He also makes reference to some of the celebrated cases which came before the courts in which he served, and his views on the cases of John Christie and Timothy Evans are worth noting.

From his record of the changes in criminal law, I get the impression that Mr. French feels that the more laws you make, the more law breakers there will be. The more law breakers there are, the more a sentencing policy becomes necessary. I was pleased to see that Mr. French did not support that view ("sentence by computer"), except for minor motoring offences and implied that each case should continue to be dealt with on an individual basis.

The author also compares the size of the Magistrates' Courts from the time when he started—"your local friendly M.C.", as it were—to today's vast blocks—"supermarket justice", as it were. He wonders if the personal touch has been lost. I would think that whilst people of Mr. French's calibre serve the courts, justice will be seen to be done, and that is the main thing.

A. J. GRIFFITH  
Executive Officer  
Gloucester Prison.

**PSYCHIATRY IN DISSENT**

ANTHONY CLARE  
Tavistock Publications, 1976  
Hardback £7.50; paperback £4.00

It should be stated right at the outset that this is a highly readable book. The matters discussed will have meaning for anyone who has had contact with the field of mental health. The nine chapters discuss areas of concern ranging from philosophical issues to the very practical problems faced by the psychiatric services.

My initial reaction was to evaluate the book in terms of its glaring omissions rather than to examine what is actually included in the text. For example, there is minimal attention paid to psychological models of mental illness. The great majority of patients referred to the psychiatric services who reveal problems variously described as social inadequacy, deprivation, personality disorder, etc., receive scant attention. But what this book does succeed in doing remarkably well is to provide the reader with an insight into the thinking of a practising psychiatrist.

The opening chapters provide the reader with an understanding of the rather cramped thinking which abounds in psychiatry. Alternative models of mental illness are never fully expounded and evaluated, in particular, arguments like those put forward by Sedgwick hardly receive the serious consideration they deserve. Clare views everything from a basi-

cally medical standpoint, the pathology is construed as being within the individual patient and to this extent his argument is always predictable.

There are, of course, some mildly amusing ideas. We learn later in the book that a consultant psychiatrist believes himself responsible for the mental health of a catchment area of 60,000 persons in the general population. This is clearly a fantasy in the minds of psychiatrists but even if it were true that statutory demands were to be made of certain professional groups as they are of social workers we might ask ourselves if psychiatrists are the appropriate group to fulfil this role. The closing two chapters are largely devoted to the practical problems facing psychiatrists, problems which one feels they have largely brought upon themselves. Statistics reveal that if my G.P. referred me to a psychiatrist the probability is that I would be seen by an Asian doctor who has entered the profession by default, basically preferring to be in some other branch of medicine.

The issue of compulsory admission is well argued. Every citizen has a right to expect the State to protect and help him if his mental condition should be so disturbed that he cannot cope alone and might endanger himself or others. The issue that is not discussed is whether psychiatrists are the group in which to place this public trust. Their previous record in the asylums and mental handicap hospitals is not impressive, as Clare readily admits, while the current state of affairs in the Eastern block countries does little to inspire confidence.

Clare briefly outlines the case for increases in the psychiatric establishments while at the same time apparently confounding his own argument. In particular, he refers to the case for an increase in forensic psychiatry services but it is not difficult to imagine other concerns in penal institutions having higher priority. In earlier chapters, Clare makes it clear that there is little in the training of psychiatrists that is of particular relevance to issues concerning social deviance—indeed, he argues against this concept of illness. The other alternative is that forensic psychiatrists are concerned with questions of individual will or intent and hence provide evidence for the courts to decide guilt. It is very apparent from our newspapers that certain psychiatrists are prepared to engage in this kind of activity for a suitable fee but its appropriateness is hardly questioned by Clare.

In the light of this book, it might seem that psychiatrists are perhaps the least appropriately qualified professional group to attempt the kind of tasks that they have so readily taken upon themselves. In summary, this is an excellent source book upon which to base seminars about psychiatry.

ALAN R. DABBS  
Senior Lecturer in  
Clinical Psychology  
Leeds University.

**RESIDENTIAL CARE**

N.A.C.R.O.-  
Barry Rose, 1976. 85p.

THESE three papers, based on talks given at N.A.C.R.O. training sessions for residential workers, make interesting and worthwhile reading. "Theory and Practice" and "The Hostel as a Learning Environment" expose various aspects of residential care while "Who is Difficult" poses some interesting questions about staff attitudes to residents. In particular, it examines the temptation to label people, thereby producing the type of behaviour that labelling anticipates.

The booklet is easily read and provides useful insights for the uninitiated into various methods of residential care. Its contents will also be helpful to prison staff.

J. B. PUDNEY  
Deputy Governor  
Appleton Thorn Prison

## PRISONS: HOUSES OF DARKNESS

LEONARD ORLAND

The Free Press, 1976. £6.50

THERE are 51 complete prison systems in the United States: one for each state, plus the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which is itself about the same size as the Prison Department of the Home Office. This book is about those systems. There are, in addition, hundreds of county jails ranging in size from a cage or two to the massive Cook County Jail in Chicago. Within this wide range of institutions are to be found many humane and idealistic people devotedly working to create some of the more exciting of the world's institutional programmes. Nevertheless, it is probably true to say that there are more people locked up without hope in intolerable conditions in the United States than anywhere else in the civilised world.

The treatment of prisoners in America has long been largely outside the law. Neither substantive law nor the law of the constitution seemed to run within the prisons. Until recently, the courts tended to deny or to ignore the civil rights of prisoners. The turning point probably came in 1974 when the Supreme Court, in handing down a judgement, declared that "there is no iron curtain between the Constitution and the prisons of this country". This meant, in effect, that any prisoner who asserted that his imprisonment or the conditions of his incarceration was an unwarranted violation of his constitutional rights could seek relief in the federal courts. Many such cases have alleged violation of rights which are guaranteed by the *Eighth Amendment* and the *Fourteenth Amendment*. The former, in language borrowed directly from the English *Bill of Rights* (1689), protects the citizen from the infliction of cruel and unusual punishment; the latter rules that the citizen may not be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Having reviewed the principal cases in some detail, Professor Orland proposes reforms in sentencing, the administration of prisons and the determination of parole dates which, he believes, will bring the American prisons within the law.

Although this is a book about penal reform it will disappoint the radical who would sweep away prisons altogether. Professor Orland acknowledges that many men are in prison because their behaviour is deviant, dangerous, or both. He writes on the assumption that prisons will be with us for some time to come. His attack is upon lawlessness and penal humbug. He seeks to bring the rule of law into the administration of prisons, judicial scrutiny into sentencing and rationality into the determination of discharge.

The very real differences between the American and the English penal systems will come as a surprise to many. As a result of reformist zeal for indeterminate sentences, most American judges find themselves constrained to pass very long sentences—on the assumption that "experts" will determine an appropriate release date. The judge is not called upon to give reasons for his decision, nor is there any appeal against sentence. Once in prison the felon finds himself governed by a set of rules which almost never has any legal validity outside the institution. The most arbitrary regimes may be imposed with no means of remedy or redress. Finally, the answer to the question which is uppermost in the minds of all prisoners, "When do I get out of here?", is given by a parole board. Professor Orland has served on parole boards and is in no way wishing to question the sincerity of the people involved. They are, however, faced with an impossible task because the truth is that nobody knows when a prisoner is or is not ready for parole. It has been demonstrated time and again that there are no valid and reliable methods for determining when a person is ready to give up crime. The boards, furthermore, are overworked, their processes are not open to scrutiny and their decisions often seem to be capricious and irrational.

Professor Orland's proposals would in effect bring the American penal system into line with its British counterpart—with shorter, determinate sentences reviewable on appeal, and a code of prison rules ratified by the legislature. His most radical proposal, however, is for a reform which is currently a matter of controversy in our own penological circles: the abolition of parole boards.

Although much of this book is of little direct relevance to us in England, those parts which deal with parole can be seen as a contribution to the current debate. The American system has grave disadvantages which ours has not: for example, the incidence of plea-bargaining in the United States is so extensive that a parole board cannot even begin by assuming that it knows what offences have been committed by the person before it. Furthermore, as has been said, the use of indeterminate sentences with very long maxima, or frequently no judicially defined maximum at all, puts enormous power into the hands of the executive. However, both the American system and ours purport to make decisions about when and whether a person may be released from prison with an improved chance of not re-offending. A lot of time, thought and money goes into it but the fact remains that it is sheer guesswork. As Roger Hood and others have argued, it would be as effective and certainly much cheaper to fix a parole date at one third of the maximum sentence for the great majority of prisoners.

A great deal of the book is about the way in which American prisoners have used the federal courts and the Supreme Court to bring about changes in prison administration. This will be of interest to those who currently feel that the time has come for Britain to have a new Bill of Rights? Perhaps even an entrenched constitution on the American pattern. Some—by mentally substituting "Strasbourg" for "Washington D.C."—may try to foresee the way civil rights movements may operate within and around our own prisons.

D. SHAW

Governor

Shrewsbury Prison.

## THE PETTY SHORT-TERM PRISONER

CHARLOTTE BANKS and SUZAN FAIRHEAD

Howard League/Barry Rose, 1976. £1.25.

THE twenty-odd pages of the pamphlet expand on a talk given to a Howard League summer school in 1973, reporting on a study of a ten per cent sample of adult men under sentence in prisons in the south-east region. Timothy Cook provides a slashing foreword calling for action to provide for prisoners serving up to 18 months who do not really need custody. Since the authors estimate that a quarter or more of all short-termers are in this group, the way is clear for a dramatic reduction of the prison stage-army.

The pamphlet reports some preliminary findings of a survey to discover something about the sorts of men who are locked up and to suggest what might be done about them. Information about the men was drawn from their prison and C.R.O. files: short, medium and longer term men were contrasted. The focus here was on the short-term men, though the full study will provide much more information.

Among the short-termers, the authors identified the "petty" group—according to pretty straightforward evidence like their record, their offence, and their nuisance value. They then looked at what distinguished the petty offender from the more serious one, with the idea of arriving at the "needs" of this group in particular. The cynic, reading between the lines of the report, could be forgiven for seeing their "needs" as being ideally met in prison, where the older ones get the food, shelter and solace no one else will provide. One especially troublesome finding, however, is the number

of these men who had outstanding suspended sentences activated—and usually consecutively.

Apart from its ridiculous price, this is an important addition to our knowledge of the prison population, though it falls at the last hurdle when it attempts to get at the short-termers' needs. My hackles rise when anyone starts to tell me what I need. Perhaps the short-termers need to have his hackles pre-served, above anything else.

M.B.

## MAGISTRATES' JUSTICE

PAT CARLEN

Martin Robertson, 1976. £4.95.

FOR 12 months, Dr. Carlen was an observer at the Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrates' Courts and also made visits to the Inner London Magistrates' Courts. Her observations and discussions with stipendiary magistrates, magistrates' clerks, solicitors, police and probation officers are the basis of her book.

Justice is seen by Dr. Carlen as a ritual requiring a theatrical setting. The defendant is the centrepiece of the action but he is allowed to take only a limited part in it because the purpose of the other players is to coerce and control him into submission so that he becomes a victim of the law and the machinery by which it is enforced. Indeed, he becomes the plaything of the "professionals" who, in reality, are seeking to perpetuate throughout numberless performances their own role in the drama while appearing to be concerned with the administration of justice.

Once placed in this theatrical setting, the defendant is subjected to the "machinery of the court". Whilst there is co-operation between all those concerned in the various cases, it is limited to the extent to which it benefits the party concerned in his or her professional capacity: co-operation ceases when it is no longer of benefit in their "fight over the carcass of the defendant" who is seen as being merely a pawn in their game and who is for the most part either deliberately or incidentally left in ignorance of what is really taking place.

The author does not supply or suggest solutions or remedies for any of the problems or ills that she seeks to expose. This is a source of some frustration to the reader who is concerned with practical court work. Certainly, the descriptions and the analyses of the interplay between the "professionals" are provocative, but one is left feeling cheated in that there is no hint of suggestion of any way in which the machinery of justice, or the justice it produces, might be improved. If the author is right, improvement is sadly needed.

F. D. L. LOY

Stipendiary Magistrate  
Leeds.

## SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

CAROL MEYER

The Free Press, 1976. £3.45. Second edition.

SOME months ago I received a letter from an ex-colleague who is now doing a sabbatical year in America. About the practice of social work as he is perceiving it, he wrote: "It may interest you to know that all the same dilemmas, poor levels of performance, exist in America . . . The system is punitive, in an advanced state of chaos . . . sounds familiar? Certainly, this is a land of contrasts—enormous wealth, extreme poverty. The dark side of America—food banks for the poor, no adequate health care, the mentally ill in prison instead of hospital". This is a useful background to Meyer's latest considerations.

The book is about the practice of social work: policy is developed from theory but this book is concerned with the practical implementation of policy. If you don't see the Prison Service in the orbit of social work knowledge, skills and values, but conceive it as providing a service for society, rather than as society providing a service for its less able members, don't read Meyer. As a means of generating ideas and inspirations, conceptualisations of what is going on, this volume is indispensable—there is food for thought on every page. But, having recently resigned from the Prison Service because I felt it was following a too negative, even punitive, line, I can hardly be an impartial reviewer! As Dr. Johnson remarked, "A man who is settled in his opinions does not love to have the tranquility of his convictions disturbed".

Perhaps a brief check-list of what is in each chapter is the easiest way of giving a review. Chapter 1—the ambiguity of society's mandate to social work and the development of social services from charities. Chapter 2—the changing way of American family life and the necessity for an array of services: social work practice is at the interface of those services and the citizen. Chapter 3—the ways in which problems, services and clients get defined. Chapter 4—the framework and structure that identifies the social work approach. Chapter 5—the design and process of intervention. Chapter 6—practice roles of intervention.

Before you move on to read a review of a potentially more "useful" book, one last quotation by Meyer: "People suffering from institutions that can't respond, problems that are virtually left untouched, and the myriad uncertainties of their own private and public existence, must inevitably rise in protest".

BOB WAGHORN  
Former assistant  
governor in the Prison  
Service.

## CONTROL WITHOUT CUSTODY?

Edited by JOAN KING  
University of Cambridge Institute of  
Criminology, 1976. £2.20.

THIS collection of papers was presented to the Cropwood Conference at Cambridge in December 1975. The papers are written from a variety of perspectives, with academic theorising balanced by contributions from people actually in the business of controlling deviants. Although the papers rightly focus on the control of offenders in the community, the analysis is of relevance and interest to all those who have the job of controlling.

The contributors demonstrate how the exercise of control is circumscribed by what the community will allow. They also illustrate how control depends upon the co-operation of the person being controlled. Such difficulties will be familiar to anyone working in prisons or other institutions where staff control is constrained by the norms and climate of the institution. However, it is interesting to draw parallels with other agencies, such as the police. In his analysis of factors influencing police arrests, Chatterton was able to observe at first hand the way police constables undertook their duties within the community. He gives some fascinating insights into how the decision to arrest or not is arrived at, and stresses the dependence of the police on the co-operation and approval of the local populace.

Whilst conceding that control is often regarded by society in rather negative terms, most writers emphasise the importance of involving clients/offenders/patients in making decisions about targets and methods. Fowler and others reject the idea of treating deviants

as if they were sick since few offenders "would regard themselves as sick, in which case the process of influence is handicapped at the outset by different definitions of the problem" by worker and client. West similarly is sceptical of attempts at control where the clients "have been unable to understand the method or the benefit to themselves".

Adams, commenting on his experience of establishing and running a Day Training Centre, took advantage of the experimental nature of the project to move control nearer to what he calls "mutual control" in which the clients help to write records about themselves and the staff as well as drawing up a contract at the beginning of their period in the Day Training Centre. In this way the control relationship becomes purposeful and is directed towards "easily identifiable goals... (which) must be adhered to fairly strictly and be under constant review". Adams' approach makes very challenging reading, with its emphasis on building opportunities for a regular sense of achievement into that situation and avoiding "a re-gurgitation of past problems which have always been used as excuses for delinquent behaviour". Fullwood brings together some telling ideas on control and authority from British and American sources. Of particular relevance are the studies by Elliot Studt who examined both control-orientated and help-orientated supervision of United States parolees and concluded that surveillance was time-consuming "whilst doing little to protect the community from criminal acts and making the parolees feel insecure in their efforts to survive in society". Studt's point that a combination of surveillance and help reduced the effectiveness of both is one that merits further study.

A different perspective is given by West who grapples with the treatment/punishment issue in relation to Community Service schemes, and develops the idea that work is a sort of currency in sentencing. Her view, that under a Community Service Order work can have the "very immediate benefit of helping to re-value the offender in his own and society's eyes", contrasts sharply with the position within most prisons, where enforced idleness and irrelevant, degrading work seem to be the norm.

In the preface to this book, Joan King states that it was hoped that the conference would "at last clarify and sharpen" some of the issues concerning control without custody. Having read the various papers with considerable interest, frequently returning to an earlier paper to compare different situations, I am convinced that the issues have wide relevance and applicability not only to control without custody, but to control in any setting.

G. R. BEST  
Assistant Regional  
Staff Development  
Officer, Probation  
and Aftercare Service  
Northern Region.

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

WILLIAM B. SANDERS  
Praeger, 1976. £3.85

IN this book, Professor Sanders examines various sociological theories of juvenile delinquency. He points out the relationship between defining an act as delinquent and the likelihood of a juvenile being labelled as a delinquent.

He devotes a lot of attention to youngsters who have committed no criminal offence but who, because of their age and behaviour, are likely to appear before a juvenile court. He also examines in detail the juvenile justice system and police attitudes, developing the theory that these bodies to a great extent create delinquency, as both determine what is a delinquent act.

In the first two chapters, Professor Sanders considers what delinquency is, the amount, its distribution, and how it could be seen as a phase in growing up. He gives some of the causes of juvenile delinquency and evaluates some recognised theories. The next four chapters deal with the different forms of delinquency. In his chapter on drug usage by juveniles, Professor Sanders' treatment of the subject is very tolerant: although he does not exactly condone the use of drugs, his attitude is one far from condemnation. In attempting to look at such a wide range of subjects, his investigation of each lacks depth but, for the new student, he gives a basic understanding of the various forms of delinquency.

In the last three chapters, which deal with the police and the juvenile justice system, the author takes a rather critical look at the system and finds it far from perfect. I noted with interest his observation on "kerbside justice" as administered by some police departments. This informal handling of a situation, whilst being a breach of recognised police duty, seemed to be no bad thing. At one time, this method of dealing with delinquents appeared to be a basic part of the British policeman's job, but restrictions placed on the policeman's discretion in dealing with juveniles and his removal from the beat, resulting in a loss of personal contact, leave very little alternative to formal procedure.

Professor Sanders takes a most sympathetic viewpoint on juvenile delinquency and has written a book which is easy to read.

B. STRYKER  
Senior Officer  
Hindley Borstal.

## DEVIANCE AND CONTROL IN EUROPE

Edited by H. BIANCHI, M. SIMONDI  
and I. TAYLOR  
Wiley, 1975. £7.50.

SINCE the emergence of criminology as a separate discipline it has been characterised by a precious conservatism. It has been fed by judges, psychiatrists, police and other agents of social control. It has been protected by academics whose concern for method has often tended to keep it at a distance from the persons, institutions and processes it seeks to analyse. Its gestation, in this country, has been in the safekeeping largely of lawyers, and it has only been in comparatively recent years that the imposed structure of the study has accommodated the analysis of its concepts by sociologists. So, at least, argue Cohen and Taylor in their lucid exposition of the growth of the National Deviancy Conference—the first in a most valuable series of papers emanating from the first conference of the European Group for the Study of Deviancy and Social Control. Similar essays comprise the first of the books' three sections concerning the state of criminology in Italy, the Netherlands, West Germany and Norway.

The second section of the book contains essays which have more immediate relevance to us as penal practitioners. There is an examination of the marriage between self-help notions and the growth in political awareness amongst prisoners. Accounts are presented of these phenomena in Scandinavia, Great Britain, France and Italy.

Mike Fitzgerald's article on P.R.O.P. is the one likely to cause most interest to those working in British prisons. His paper contains a chronological survey of the growth of the organisation and reproduces the Charter of Rights and various other handouts. He exposes clearly the politics of confrontation that P.R.O.P. was involved in and there is an almost triumphant celebration of the ensuing mayhem. His paper is disappointing in that he makes no analysis of the result of the movements' activity—other than in the very



restricted sense of mentioning the disciplinary awards that followed the demonstrations. I have long held the belief that there is much of value in P.R.O.P.'s cause. The essential sadness is that the methods used could only, from the outset, alienate those bodies of opinion whose support is essential for change to take place. Fitzgerald has the opportunity to consider this and to look to the future: he does not. He would have been wise to consider the statement of Jacques Donzelot who, writing on the movement in France in the same section, says: "In my opinion the fundamental problem . . . is that of liaison between their struggle and that of the working class". Ted Ward is trying hard to achieve this with his London group—and Fitzgerald comments on this. With fragmentation and lack of common purpose, however, the movement seems destined for yet more storms. Dick Pooley's use of the unfortunate events at Hull bears this out.

The final section of the book deals with a variety of unrelated topics: organised crime, psychiatric control, blackmail and the societal tasks of criminal law all examined from the European Group's perspective.

Taken as a whole, the book presents an interesting collection of essays wherein criminal activity and the responses of the state are viewed in a novel light. The graphics on the cover show a living tree struggling against the constraints of a rope which fasten it to a sturdy stake. Its growth and direction are controlled. I have sympathy with this analogy—one central to the Group's philosophy—but my sympathy is tinged by the reservation that it is not every tree that is strong enough to stand alone, and indeed, not every stake that is bedded in firm ground.

PETER M. QUINN  
Assistant Governor  
Long Lartin Prison.

### THE FORBIDDEN LOVE

Edited by William Kraemer  
Sheldon Press, 1976. £2.50.

THIS is a book about paedophilia—the erotic love of children. It's a difficult subject to talk about sensibly in the Prison Service, sexual offenders against children being widely viewed as the lowest of the low, but this book may prove useful. I've not come across many books on the topic.

This one is written by four "analytical psychologists"—followers of Jung, a one-time associate of Freud. They wheel out cases they have treated which involved any form of paedophilia, dust them down and make sweeping conclusions about the causes, normality and cure of what most people would describe as a very unnatural attraction towards children. One author, having run out of patients, turns to literature, to films like *The Night Porter* and *Death in Venice*, and even to a discussion of the roots of the word "paedophilia". Not only is it "unscientific" to generalise from a small number of cases, which may be far from representative, but it is hard work at times translating the Jungian ideas and terminology into everyday language (even though a glossary of terms is provided at the end of the book "to help the general reader").

I meet quite a number of imprisoned sexual offenders against children and I was therefore eager to understand more about their behaviour. Having read this book, I am little further forward though there are one or two ideas which I could follow up. For the psychoanalyst, the cause of the problem is always in the paedophile's own childhood and sometimes even before his birth. Every one is different, of course, but while reading the cases I was continually on the look out for common denominators and general features. Take men who seduce pre-adolescent girls and even their own daughters: they are so (sexually)

frightened of adult women—who remind them of big, dominant mum—that they fancy (and take revenge on) young girls. Or take men who play around with small or adolescent boys: they had mothers who swamped them with the wrong sort of love and fathers who were totally ineffectual or absent. With no adequate model from whom they could copy the appropriate masculine behaviour and with no clear identity of their own, separate from their mothers, they spend an unhappy time looking for themselves in other boys. Take men like this, as prisons have to, and it is difficult to know how to help them.

For the authors of this book, the answer is a long, drawn-out therapy in which paedophiliacs talk about themselves and their past while the psychoanalyst drops in Jungian interpretations. It's a process difficult to imagine happening in prison and unlikely to work with many offenders. What the book does offer, however, is a more sensitive approach to the subject than one gains from newspaper headlines. It also makes clear that the young victims of paedophilia are often far from passive or innocent. But, like this book, they're just too Jung.

RICK EVANS  
Senior Psychologist  
Gloucester Prison.

### THE SOCIOLOGY OF LAW AND ORDER

LYNN McDONALD

Faber and Faber, 1976. £7.95.

THIS book is a difficult one to review. It is set in the rather unfashionable sociological tradition of grand theory and, not surprisingly, McDonald does not have the stature to carry it off. Much of the book is badly written, poorly argued and, frankly, a waste of time to read.

In the first part, the author separates criminological theories into one of two groups—a conflict tradition (where theories are based on the distribution of power) and a consensus tradition (rather inadequately defined as theories not related to the power structure). It is a badly written section—the literary equivalent of an American's tour of Europe (so much was seen and so little understood). However, pages 50–52 and 62–66—on the growth of statistical research—are worth a glance.

Having listed every criminological theory you could dream of, McDonald sets out to test them in the second part. Chapter 7, a bitty attitude survey in Ontario, is best forgotten. In Chapter 5–6, however, the author uses national crime data to test out the various theories she has outlined and, despite shortcomings, the method and results are well worth reading.

The results from the international survey are conveniently illustrated by: "In the case of England and Wales, high official crime and sanction rates were related to economic prosperity . . . and the development of the welfare state. They were associated with a high rate of enrolment in formal education, and high expenditure on education, rather than to (sic) inadequacies in the school system . . . Again unemployment was a factor. Both for the post-war period, and for the whole of the period since 1900, official crime rates were positively associated with expenditure on the police and police force size" (page 286).

McDonald's thesis is that, whilst increased prosperity is not likely to decrease the crime rate (although less unemployment might), a decrease in expenditure on the police could well have that effect! Of course, the argument is full of loopholes. For example, the author has not demonstrated that expenditure on the police causes the crime rate to rise, only that the two factors seem to be related.

A number of studies, including my own, have found that the role of the police in the discovery of crime is minimal and, if this is so, it is difficult to see how an increase in their numbers has this effect. Finally, McDonald is unclear about whether these fluctuations in the crime rate are due to changing patterns of crime or to changing attitudes towards reporting or recording offences: if there were fewer police, would there really be less crime or just less recorded crime?

These are crucial points and it could be argued that, because McDonald has failed to answer them satisfactorily, the book should be ignored. On the contrary, the Prison Service operates in a system where such phrases as "the rising crime rate" and "the need for more police" are taken as truisms. To be confronted with such a contrary argument, even if it is not impregnable, should be accepted as a breath of fresh air.

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### DEVIANCE IN CLASSROOMS

DAVID HARGREAVES, STEPHEN HESTER  
and FRANK MELLOR

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. £5.50

ONE might wonder why the authors chose the classroom as an area for study. Perhaps the classroom represents a microcosm of society, or perhaps Frank Mellor, who taught in secondary schools for ten years, wanted to try and find some solutions. "On the contrary", say the authors, "it is our impression that it (a study of this kind) increases the sense of fatalism and powerlessness, for there is very little they can do to change the home environments and they cannot make claims to be psychotherapists . . . It provides no panacea for classroom deviance".

The study, according to the publishers, seeks not only to provide an appreciative understanding of classroom deviance from a teacher's point of view, but also to elaborate both symbolic interactionist and phenomenological contributions to deviance theory. This is the book's major fault. The authors do not seem to have had a clear idea of their intended readership and as a result have probably missed both educationists and social scientists.

The first two chapters are full of jargon and dull references to past work. On one page the authors refer to some 25 men who have worked on the labelling theory. If one perseveres beyond the "Who's Who", however, the chapter on rules is both interesting and relevant. Teachers and social scientists could use much of the work carried out on this aspect of deviance. Those of us who still have to work with deviance in the classroom will gain very little from this book. It does not make one wish to hide in the staff room and read it.

MIKE WHITLAM  
Hammersmith  
Teenage Project.

### THE FEMALE OFFENDER

Edited by ANNETTE M. BRODSKY

Sage, 1976. £2.50.

THE material in this publication was originally contained in a special issue of a United States magazine, *Criminal Justice and Behavior* and its appearance in book form is an indication of the increasing interest in females as a subgroup within the penal system.

The book is divided into two sections. The first part contains articles reviewing some of the research concerned with female offenders although its intention appears to be to high-

light the relative dearth of such research. None of the offerings are particularly exciting although one article, on the personality differences between male and female prison inmates, is interesting if one can cope with the statistical data and jargon. This section also includes a 15-page bibliography concerning delinquency and crime among females.

The second part contains some papers presented to a conference at the University of Alabama. The selection reflect a mainly feminist viewpoint and the conference appears to have been largely influenced by the National Organisation for Women (N.O.W.). The feminist movement has not been noted for its objectivity and some of these papers suffer from an over-emotional presentation. It is an interesting comment on the strength of the feminist movement in the United States that N.O.W. is not only sponsoring criminological conferences but also appears to have an influence on prison building and treatment programmes.

This book has limited value, even to those working with female offenders, but it does have the virtues of being short and of containing a useful bibliography.

R. M.

### PROBATION AND AFTERCARE— THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

Chief Probation Officers' Conference, Leicester  
1975. £1.25.

This is a collection of the papers presented to the Conference of Chief Probation Officers at Windermere in October 1975. It is a sort of "snapshot" of the Probation Service taken by some very knowledgeable photographers from rather a lofty vantage point. Some of the papers are the result of the work of sub-committees of the Conference of Chief Probation Officers and others are the work of individuals. The overall impression is that most "photographers" were optimistic in their treatment of the subject and the warts tended to be firmly identified on the noses of the "others" rather than on the noses of Chief Probation Officers. This is not to deny the fascination of the areas examined nor the sincerity of the examination.

In his introductory paper, Fred Jarvis points to the development of the Probation Service from small organisations with one primary task to large organisations with multiple aims and a resulting confusion about tasks and priorities. He offers a simplistic model in terms of input of resources and output of services to clients and courts. He makes a useful distinction between that output and another area of activity essential to any organisation—its development, in terms of training, recruitment, research and public relations.

The first three papers are of major importance and interest to those wishing to understand the attitudes of probation officers towards their clients in custodial settings. Two are devoted to analysing the social work task for probation officers in penal establishments and to responding to *Circular Instruction 48/74*. The third is the Conference's response to the *Younger Report* which now has a rather dated feel about it for reasons which are well expressed in the following paper on "The Use of Probation Resources". This paper, presented by Mr. M. E. Head, Assistant Secretary in the Probation and Aftercare Department of the Home Office, presaged the economic stringency we all now know. In a detailed analysis of the Service's tasks and workloads, Mr. Head spells out for Chief Probation Officers that rigorous attention to priorities and objectives is inevitable, though painful.

Two further reports on organisation and training for the future were prepared by the development and training sub-committees. These are interesting more for their analysis of the present than for their forecasting of the future. Then follow two papers looking at the

proposals for establishing Family Courts to administer domestic legislation. The first argues that the Probation Service is best placed to provide such a service and the second suggests that, on balance, the local authority should provide it.

The theme of the conference may well have been appropriate and those who attended may have gone home with some conception of what the next five years may hold. I feel that it was an unfortunate choice of title for this particular pamphlet, however, and one is left feeling that it is easier to react to today's events rather than to project one's mind into the future. But the pamphlet is to be commended for its analysis of the recent history of the Probation Service and for its presentation of concerns that Chief Probation Officers faced in October 1975.

BRIAN FELLOWES  
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Adviser  
Prison Service College  
Wakefield.*

### THE SOCIAL SCIENCES TODAY

Edited by PAUL BARKER

Edward Arnold, 1975. £1.50.

It is unlikely that any book could do justice to the whole range of modern social sciences. In this volume, there is a chapter on each of nine disciplines, contributed in nearly every case by a professor of the particular area: anthropology, psychology, sociology, social administration, economics, geography, law, economic and social history, and politics. The chapters average only nine pages each and are based on articles which were published in *New Society*: they have been collected together by the magazine's editor.

Who will find such a book useful? It does not meet the needs of those interested in finding out exactly what the social sciences are about: with the exceptions of those on anthropology, social administration and economics, the chapters appear to shy away from what, admittedly, is the difficult task of presenting an overview of their particular field of study. Many of the articles are preoccupied with the scientific status of their disciplines, which leads to unhelpful degrees of navel contemplation but which is probably the result of their history—the grafting of rigorous scientific method onto what was the gentlemanly study of "humanities".

Today, most people want to know where all this social science gets us. At one time, it at least provided a valuable framework out of which to ask awkward questions about the inequalities, myths and other glossed-over aspects of society. Now that these questions are being asked, social science has to face the sceptics it has helped to produce, and answer the more awkward question "What is to be done?"

The answer, apparently, is that social scientists don't know. The social sciences, as presented in this book, continue to provide intellectual exercise for their students but few practical suggestions for society. Even Alan Ryan, in his introductory chapter—"The Values of the Social Sciences"—emphasises the philosophical benefits but seems to doubt the practical implications: on page 10, he says, "There may well be vocational pay-offs, because self-conscious social workers, lawyers and planners may do a better job than their less sensitive colleagues (though they may not)".

The articles will appeal more to those interested in the philosophy of science and to self-conscious social scientists than to laymen wondering what the social sciences can offer. The ideas in the section on "Further Reading" are more practical.

R.E.

### THE POLITICS OF RAPE: THE VICTIM'S PERSPECTIVE

DIANA RUSSELL

Stein and Day, 1975. £5.80.

### THE RAPE CONTROVERSY

ANNA COOTE and TESS GILL

National Council for Civil Liberties, 1975. 50p.

RAPE is one of the most problematic areas in the criminal field, and yet its study has been poorly neglected. Ms. Russell's book relates the accounts of 22 rape victims. Some of the accounts highlight current myths about rape, loopholes in the law and police insensitivity. Fundamentally, however, the book is an attempt to explore the impact of sexist ideology in this field. Ms Russell is involved in the California Women's Movement which interprets rape as the extreme manifestation of sexism, of male oppression of females. One of Ms Russell's co-researchers "re-evaluated early experiences and realised that she had been raped twice". The subsequent politicisation of some of the victim's meant that events, which previously were seen as unenthusiastic role-playing, became redefined as rape. This could have led Ms Russell to discuss the whole problem of the definition of rape, but she preferred to allow victims their own definitions, thus detracting from her argument.

There were, however, some nice touches in the book: Ms Russell's analysis of hippy relationships as a form of sexist utopia (where women can't say "No") and her discussion of rape within marriage. She does not leave prisons out of her book: she doubts our ability to reduce the sexist attitudes of rapists when they are surrounded by equally "macho" prison personnel who, she feels, need re-socialising, as does society as a whole.

*The Rape Controversy* also points out many of the myths about rape, and the problems of a woman getting herself believed (unless she happens to be a white, middle-class housewife, who has been raped by a strange negro and has put up a great struggle resulting in visible injuries and has reported the incident immediately). It also has an invaluable section giving advice to women on what to do if they are raped, both during and after the incident. The authors suggest a number of reforms, including the anonymity of victims. They also reject the validity of an examination of the victim's private life (usually an attempt to discredit her) beyond her relationship with her attacker.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the pamphlet is the support for the so-called "Rapist's Charter" which stated that juries should not reach a finding of guilt if they accept that the man genuinely believed that the woman consented. This, the N.C.C.L. believes, maintains a necessary balance of justice between victim and accused. Ms Russell would doubtless regard the N.C.C.L. authors as traitors to their sex.

CLIVE WELSH  
*Assistant Governor  
Wormwood Scrubs  
Prison*

### SOCIAL WORK IN THE CHILDREN'S HEARING SYSTEM

Edited by DONALD HOUSTON

Committee for Further and Advanced  
Training, Edinburgh, 1976. 75p.

BEFORE reviewing this publication, it is appropriate to give brief comments on Children's Hearings, Children's Panels, and Reporters to Children's Panels.

Children's Hearings began operating in Scotland in April 1971. They deal with children in trouble who may require compulsory measures of care and supervision. In many ways, the Hearings have taken over from the courts in dealing with children, although some children still appear in court—those, for

example, who commit very serious offences or certain cases where offences were committed along with an adult. Panel members are appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland. In each region or island area there is a Children's Panel Advisory Committee which advises on the appointment of panel members.

Reporters to Children's Panels are officials of the Regional or Island Councils and are responsible for deciding whether or not to bring a child before a Hearing. He receives reports from police, social workers and education authorities—although anyone can report a child who may be in trouble. He investigates the circumstances and decides on what action should be taken.

This publication comprises papers delivered to a course for Reporters to Children's Panels. Although at first glance the four papers may deter because of their "social work" bias, I found them to be comprehensive, challenging and constructive in the approaches, contents and suggestions. All four papers touch on or develop issues which have been the subject of debate in social work over many years and, possibly, should have been considered more deeply by the penal service.

Although the reader loses through not having participated in the follow-up discussions, I think there is sufficient meat in the papers to justify their publication and reading if only to make the reader rethink his or her views on many of the vital issues raised.

LEN HEWITSON  
Assistant Governor  
Prison Service College  
Wakefield.

## REPORT OF THE PAROLE BOARD 1975 H.M.S.O. 70p.

THE 1974 *Report* was a model of complacency, recording that "the parole machinery has continued steadily with its task" and concluding that the Board had "steadily coped with the cases referred to it despite their growing number". By comparison, the 1975 *Report* devotes considerable space to answering the criticism that it "has not been venturesome enough—that not enough offenders get parole and that those who do get it are not paroled for long enough". In defence, it presents statistics to prove that the percentage of reviews which have resulted in favourable recommendation has risen with the growing experience and confidence of those who operate the system. It also stresses that parole is a privilege and not, as in some countries, a right. By quoting the statement made in August 1974 by the Home Secretary—"the use of parole can properly and safely be extended"—the *Report* also implies that the Board is very dependant on political initiatives.

Although the 1975 *Report* is interesting, it suffers from dealing with its subject in isolation. It does not evaluate the influences which parole has on the rate of re-offending nor explain, at a time when the "percentage of reviews which have resulted in favourable recommendation" has reached 40 per cent and new alternatives to imprisonment are receiving strong support from the judiciary, why the prison population has reached a record high.

R. M.

## DRUG EXPERIMENTS ON PRISONERS

PETER B. MEYER

Lexington Books, 1976. £7.50.

MEYER is one of a growing number of people in the United States who are worried by the exploitation of prison "volunteers". The main issue is whether prisoners paid as guinea-pigs in drug and disease experiments are "free to choose".

"All experiments on humans in the United States are supposed to elicit voluntary and informed consent on the part of the participants; those that fail to do so . . . are illegal. Examination of the nature of voluntary action and information, however, may demonstrate that the inmates of total institutions differ significantly from the non-institutionalised population" (page 24). In particular, prisoners differ from other people because they need be offered only minimal incentives. They are an expedient and "captive" group and are open to all the subtleties of coercion.

The book asks whether pharmaceutical experiments conducted on prisoners are cheap and efficient, in the widest senses. Although the disciplines of ethics, law and logic are drawn on, it is basically a treatise in economics. The overall result is a lengthy and rather flat examination of the issue. Even this, however, is a welcome and healthy antidote to *Pharmacological Testing in a Correctional Institution* (reviewed a year ago in PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL) which attempted to whitewash over the moral implications of experimentation on prisoners.

R. E.

## TWILIGHT OF AUTHORITY

R. A. NISBET  
Heinemann, 1976. £4.80.

SPEAKING at the University of Edinburgh in 1901, William James remarked that it had hitherto been the practice for American scholars to look to the United Kingdom and to Europe for guidance and inspiration, and he expressed the hope that a current might begin to run in the reverse direction. This has certainly happened; it is increasingly to American academics that we look for a certain kind of traditional scholarly analysis, one more likely to be rooted in the older disciplines (history, philosophy, letters) than, for example, in the social sciences. Lionel Trilling was one such, Robert Nisbet is another. To be sure he has been a professor of sociology but he is, more exactly and importantly, a distinguished historian of ideas and conservative theorist in the tradition of Burke. (He occupies the Albert Schweitzer chair in the humanities at Columbia University). He writes not as the official representative of any doctrine or school, nor as one concerned to advance the claims of any discipline or subject, but reflectively, and on his own account. In a way that has ceased to be fashionable, he means what he says.

The jacket promises a "closely reasoned and incisively written" analysis. Admirers of *The Sociological Tradition* will expect nothing less. Certainly the scholarship is there, visibly rooted in his earlier work on the history of sociological ideas and the philosophy of the historical process. His theme is the waning of the historic political community, the decline in commitment to and respect for the state and the traditional machinery of democratic government. This he illustrates with analyses of centralisation, and the ever-increasing impingements of a state that is military, bureaucratic and welfare-oriented at one and the same time. There is an acutely reasoned account of the revival of "royalism" as manifested in the American presidency: conspicuous wealth, the appearance of a court and courtiers, a substitution of image for reality, and a disposition to view mere legality as subordinate to *raison d'état*. He sees populism as a concomitant of royalism and, therefore, in view of what he sees to be the decline of common law in favour of Roman law—legislation as a creative act rather than as affirmative or interpretative—sees marked affinities between the contemporary American scene and the early Roman empire, including the bread and circuses. If his comparison stands, then the resemblances go even further since he is clearly a Roman too, a conservative republican in the style of Cicero.

His analysis of the corruption of the twentieth century presidency is devastating. He insists that Watergate did not begin with Nixon, as we would like to think, but was already foreshadowed in Woodrow Wilson's use of "transpolitical" means to engineer America's entry into the European war in 1917, in Roosevelt's handling of the New Deal, and in the glamorous style of J. F. Kennedy with whom deception became a routine instrument of government. Government employees everywhere will do well to take account of that, as of his observation that the Watergate conspirators were not, again as we would like to think, exceptionally evil men, but, allowing only for their nearly limitless dedication to one man, "men of almost striking temperamental balance, rectitude and probity". They just happened to believe that the ordinary processes of law and order were not equal to the gross breaches of public morality they thought they saw about them. Even more disturbing is his account of how it came to light. Believers in institutional checks and balances will take note that it was not the wisdom of the constitution that eventually prevailed. It was not an ever-vigilant Congress that brought Watergate to its culmination, nor was it an ever-vigilant public, nor was it the judiciary. Watergate, he insists, came to light as the result of the merest chance: the accident of a bungled break-in.

These are not the traditional targets of liberal academic polemic, mainly because of the by now almost total involvement of the academic world with the military state. That is his main burden and he demonstrates it at length: if statism goes uncontrolled then this is due to the lack of any independent critique. The only security against despotism is an independent aristocracy. This was the traditional role of the universities, but now we are all in one way or another beneficiaries. Social work trainers, theorists of social policy, recipients of Home Office grants: we are all of us in it up to the neck. Like Orwell he notes the liberal intellectual's fascination with power. This involvement goes beyond the merely institutional, extending to thought itself: "it has become evident to all that the social sciences are hollow sciences, with only a vagrant insight to offer here and there for the most part. The contrast between what is actually present in the social sciences and what was so grandly claimed for them in the 1950's is entirely too great to be other than the subject of disillusionment or farce. Against the almost total impotence of economists in our present combined recession and inflation lies, by way of background, the almost aristocratic assurance they possessed only a few years ago. The blunt fact is, they—and other social scientists—know very little".

Hard words, but does any one seriously doubt it? Nevertheless, one wishes it had been said more systematically. As a whole, the book is disappointing. There is no doubt partly because it will inevitably be judged by the standards Nisbet himself has set, partly because if he fails to achieve his objectives that is because his objectives are different, and more difficult to achieve. Previously we have been treated to scholarly analyses of particular issues, and these have satisfied. Here he is concerned not to understand and to explain, but to diagnose and to prescribe, and this he does not achieve convincingly. Thus the first chapter (and it would be a pity if the book were to be judged by it) is a catalogue of woes simultaneously insightful and deadening. It is all true, but there is just too much of it. One misses, what one had a right to expect, the detailed treatment of fewer salient examples. That is just the difficulty, since it is difficult to see just what he thinks is salient.

This is partly a consequence of his method which, notwithstanding his insight into the role of accident, is surprisingly deterministic. "No dogma or superstition", he says, "in any religion yet uncovered by anthropologists is more tyrannising, and also more intellectually absurd, than that of the historically inevitable or necessary".



But if that is the case then what is the force of his argument that this was all foreseen by Burke, Lamennais, Tocqueville and others? People who predicted that we would see petrol at 50p a gallon by the end of 1974—and were proved right—cannot really be given credit for having foreseen the Arab-Israeli war. Also, if the seeds of destruction lie so far back then what about the period in between? Were those periods of decline too? There is an uncertainty about time scales here. It makes for some strange judgements. Not only is the Renaissance viewed, perversely, as a "twilight epoch", but Al Capone's St. Valentine Day massacre is cited not as an example of contemporary lawlessness, but as exemplifying a form of criminal heroism whose passing is symptomatic of our decline.

When was it ever a good time? It is difficult to know what his standards are. There are many inconsistencies. Is or is not a respect for "forms" important? There is a splendid passage on page 39 to the effect that it is, and that authentic genius will never find them a real hindrance. But it is difficult to talk about the stranglehold of bureaucracy, and to find interesting justifications for Nixon, at the same time. Is war essentially "constrictive of freedom, of creativeness, and of genuine individuality", responsible for the "suffocation of thought" (pages 151, 191), or is it that "we are so often obliged to look to the kinds of crisis generated by war alone for explanation of the significant release of individuals during spurts of intellectual progress" (page 159). Nisbet thinks both.

Finally, if Burke foresaw it all so long ago, then the chances of reversing the process would seem to be slight. Here one feels that the shadow of Watergate hangs too heavily over

the book; it is too evidently a product of the mid-seventies. To be sure he does have recommendations. They are, as one would expect, a return to the sacred and to intermediate associations, to the values of self help, localism, pluralism, smaller patriotisms, the jury system and the tradition of common law. He may very well be right. But the recommendations are merely a mirror image of the diagnosis: he tells us what we need, but not how to achieve it.

PETER NOKES  
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### THE CRUMBLING WALLS: (Treatment and Counselling in Prisons)

Edited by RAY E. HOSFORD and  
C. SCOTT MOSS

University of Illinois Press, 1975. £4.95.

THE co-editors claim that this book is designed to help psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists and lay people to obtain a better understanding of prison problems and the methods of management which are now used to help rehabilitate the young offender. These methods and courses of treatment are based upon experience gained at the Federal Institution at Lompoc, California.

At the time of writing, this institution had 1,450 inmates, the majority being between the ages of 18 and 26. All the inmates had violated federal laws which usually means fewer sexual and violent offenders than would normally be found in a State penitentiary but more gun-law violators. The book is in two parts; the first deals with specific management techniques which it is claimed may reduce hostility, bitterness, depression and social withdrawal.

There are contributions by the warden, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, a correctional training specialist, and a former inmate. The second half of the book deals largely with individual case-histories with emphasis placed on crisis orientated counselling. It recognises the scarcity of professionally trained staff in the prison, but concentrates upon mobilising and utilising the general resources of the institution, including basic grade staff.

The argument is that the only way for prisoners to learn socially acceptable behaviour is through contact with society outside the prison walls. It is suggested that the "prison walls" will have to extend into local communities. It is inferred that imprisonment *per se* does little to rehabilitate the individual. Unfortunately, the book is rather short on statistics: it would be interesting to know how many of the offenders at Lompoc had undergone treatment and rehabilitative programmes in the community and the results of such programmes.

The first part of the book is by far the most instructive, dealing with the community of the institution as an entity and showing how it can be altered and directed towards the good of the individuals. I was particularly impressed by the way basic grade staff were used. The second part of the book is very shaky indeed, and chapters like "Empirical Case Study of the Systematic Desensitisation of Stuttering Behaviour" or "Treatment of Recurrent Nightmares in a Drug Abuser by Hypnosymbolism" would seem to be out of place. This is a book I would not buy for myself but it is well worth reading if it can be obtained from a library.

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All books reviewed here are available on loan to members of the Prison Service from the Librarian,  
Prison Service College, Love Lane, Wakefield.

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