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FIFTEEN PENCE

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Contents

Our cover picture shows
A still from the film "HMP", which was shot at Maidstone Prison and Rochester Borstal with the participation of members of the prison service and inmates. No actors were used. A prison officer physical education instructor explains the particular importance of teaching and supervision of sport for inmates, and the need to accept them as they are in the gym.

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Office: H.M. PRISON, LEYHILL, WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE, Glos. GL12 8HL.

EDITORIAL

The subject of bureaucracy occupies many of our pages in this issue. It is a subject which arouses more emotion than reasoned argument, as which of us has not his or her own favourite tale of petty restrictions or unfeeling examples of bumbledom to relate?

The success of the good soldier Schweik or the ultimate failure of Ken Kesey's hero in "One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest" strikes sympathetic chords in us all if we attempt to battle with the implacable, unthinking pressure of the bureaucratic machine. Yet, in itself, bureaucracy is necessary to the efficient running of any modern state, no matter what the prevailing political ideology of its rulers. A bureaucracy does not create policy: it carries it out in the most efficient way it can within the given limits of its powers. Danger only threatens when policy either ceases to be relevant to prevailing conditions or when that policy is itself wrong.

One suspects that what is most disliked about a bureaucracy is its sheer size, coupled with the dwindling importance which each individual feels when he or she comes into contact with it. This is also true for those who work within the bureaucratic structure itself. Sometimes, the seeming impossibility of making a worthwhile, individual contribution becomes almost overwhelming. Escape into apathy, refusing to accept responsibility for any decision, or a cynical regard for one's own well-being at the expense of others are some of the defensive mechanisms that are adopted by individuals in an attempt to come to terms with their position within a large organisation. Others can go the opposite way and become so identified with their task that they seem to delight in refining and applying every petty rule they can find, as those who have attempted to penetrate the workings of the average French "Hotel de Ville" can testify.

There is no need to spell out the implications for the Prison Service if an unfeeling application of rigid rules is made by its staff towards those who are in its care. Experience shows that the vast majority of both professional Prison Officer and administrators are caring and realistic in their interpretation of rules and instructions. Nevertheless, we cannot forget that we are ever vulnerable to charges of abuse of power or the bloody-minded application of Prison regulations, simply because so much of our work takes place behind high walls, and thus is hidden from public view. One consequence of this is that staff themselves often feel that their work goes unrecognised by the public, except when things seem to go wrong. It would be easy to fall into a paranoic defence or to blame "them up there" for being put into this position, but perhaps the best way forward is to open up as much of our work to the public gaze as is compatible with the rights of individual members of both staff and inmates. The Prison Service has nothing to be ashamed of in the way it performs its duty, and an open approach to honest enquiry is surely the best way of avoiding the odium of seeming to serve the needs of a supposed secretive bureaucracy.

A Day in the Life of the Barbican Centre

MARIAN LIEBMANN and FELIM O'LEARY

This article, taken from a longer account by two staff members, describes the work of a day centre in Gloucester, set up under the supervision of the Probation Service to help offenders and other adults.

THE Barbican Centre is a day centre in Gloucester which was set up in 1973 to cater for a group of people who were causing a lot of concern. Many of these people are well known to prison staff and tend to reappear in prison at frequent intervals, often with destructive effects on their lives, their families and their ability to survive outside. Research has shown that they are also unable to take advantage of most of the existing services in the community, such as voluntary aftercare. If this group was to learn how to survive in the community a new project was needed, using different methods from those already available. The Barbican Centre was set up to explore these alternative methods. This article describes a day in the life of the Centre, just over three years after it opened.

GETTING UNDER WAY

It was a cold Wednesday in January. Herbie put all the calor gas fires on in the lounge and the small meeting room, as well as the big paraffin ones in the craft area, workshop and playgroup area. As Wednesday was a playgroup day, Herbie decided to put all the remaining calor gas fires into the area the playgroup kids would be using. That left the library temporarily without heat.

Most of the staff arrived about a quarter to nine, to find a couple of members, Joe and Sue already there. At 9.00 a.m. Ann, as co-ordinator, hurried people up for the daily staff meeting to sort out details of administration. All staff were there except Megan—she and Dee took it in turns to stay in the office in case of telephone calls. Dee took notes during the meeting, starting with a record of who was there—Ann, Marian, Allan, Sylvie, Rick, Chris, herself and Herbie. This Wednesday there was a problem with transport, the volunteer van driver, who usually fetched the playgroup mums and kids, was sick. Fortunately, Megan was able to telephone one of the others and persuade him to do it instead. There was a quick run-through on heating and some discussion of who would be at Social Club that night. Ann said she would have to go to Probation Headquarters mid-morning and Chris said he would be in court in Cirencester later in the morning. Usually he was in court in Gloucester on Tuesdays and Fridays, but if a Centre member from somewhere in the county was in court then that meant a drive out on another day as well.

By the time the staff meeting had finished at 9.30, more members had arrived. Most sat in the lounge, huddled around one of the fires, as it was still pretty chilly. As soon as Rick came in Ray asked him to help sort out a letter from Social Security. Rick agreed and asked how he'd got on at the Job Centre the day before. "Not too well", said Ray. Rick looked at him shrewdly, "Do you mean you didn't go there? You want to try getting up a bit earlier". He'd guessed correctly and Ray didn't like it.

Allan came into the lounge to see if anyone was going into the workshop since several people had put their names down on Monday. After some discussion Kevin and Allan went off and a few minutes later everyone could hear the din of the bandsaw and circular saw.

Linda came in and asked who was going to the magazine meeting. She was a member who had been so timid and shy in the beginning that she hadn't said a word to anyone. She'd originally come at the suggestion of a social worker after she'd taken an overdose. It was difficult to believe all this, as she organised the meeting. This was the third magazine to be produced, and there was nearly enough material. A few people had promised short articles but hadn't done them so Linda suggested each person present tackled one of these. There was also a bit of editing to be done which Linda said she'd make a start on.

Just before 10.30 there was a yell of "coffee up" from Martin as he carried a tray full of plastic mugs and a huge teapot down to the lounge. Instantly, all sorts of people, who hadn't been much in evidence, appeared from all parts of the building. There were a few newcomers who hung back, confused and neglected in the general scrum. Sylvie spoke to one of them, a young fellow who'd come at the suggestion of his probation officer. He'd also brought a friend but neither of them knew much about the place. Ray, a long-standing member, joined them and offered to show them round after coffee, and also introduce them to Chris, who was the "intake" member of staff and tried to meet newcomers.

By this time Martin was collecting everybody's coffee money, with the usual protests, especially as many were broke and tried to fob him off. Martin was writing down all the names as people paid and also collecting dinner money. There was a bit of confusion as to who was cooking dinner that day. Normally, Betty, one of the playgroup mums, cooked every day except Thursday (when everyone was supposedly out on community projects)—but this week she hadn't been in. Sue said she'd go and see if the playgroup had arrived, and if Betty hadn't come she would do the cooking.

GETTING DOWN TO IT

At 11.00 Rick got up and said "small groups—who's coming?", and several people got up to go. There were two small groups; one with Rick, and the other one with Sylvie. These groups usually had five or six members, including some mums from the playgroup. They had been started by members themselves to share problems with others they could trust, and to learn from each other's experience. Each group met once a week for six weeks, then there was a meeting to arrange the next set so that new people could join in.

Rick and Sylvie were good members of staff to be involved in the small groups—they had had plenty of problems themselves and knew what it was like. They, and Chris, were sometimes styled "New Careerists" as they had come through their own troubles to start a new career for themselves help-

ing others still in a mess. Between them they had had experience of prison, probation, mental hospital, drugs and overdoses which gave them an understanding of members and also a sense of realism. This encouraged members to think there was some hope for them, and also helped staff keep their feet on the ground.

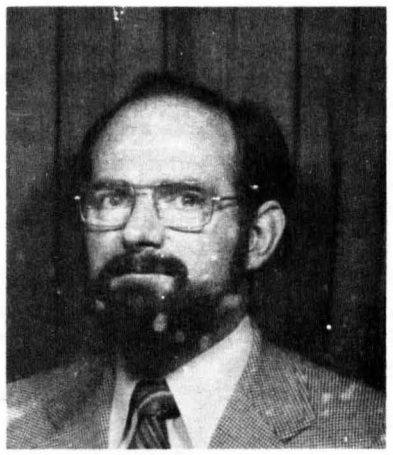
Gradually, most people left the lounge, some to the workshop, some to the art and craft area. Each person chose his own project and got on with it.

It was a busy morning in the playgroup. There were about 10 mums and 16 kids there. Christine was pouring out the milk for the kids, and two other mums were keeping an eye on the slide and climbing frame —the most popular piece of equipment made in the workshop. Val was helping four little ones using clay at one of the small tables. In the middle of all this hubbub was Andy, the playgroup leader—a slight and calm woman who moved quietly from group to group, picking up a child who'd fallen over to comfort him, chatting to the mums and kids. When the milk break came, Andy got all the kids in a big circle, and they sang a couple of nursery rhymes together. At 12.15, when the small groups finished, Linda and Julian hurried up to the library where Marian had just started a tutor training session. This was for members who wanted to help others with reading, spelling or maths in the Centre's literacy scheme. This scheme had quite a few outside volunteers, mainly housewives, who came in for lessons with individuals, but now there seemed to be quite a few member tutors too. There was also Angela's class on a Tuesday, but most new members who had reading problems felt too shy to join a class and preferred to work with one tutor. Mark was one of these; he had decided to get to grips with reading and writing because he was getting divorced and would no longer be able to rely on his wife to fill in forms for him. He enjoyed working with Pat, his tutor, and felt he was getting somewhere.

Rick was using the time after small groups to get the job board up to date. Being responsible for careers at the Barbican was no joke: what real chance did any members have of getting jobs in the present situation of unemployment? He put up the cards of jobs from *The Citizen* and wondered if anyone would even bother to read them. At that moment, Megan called him from the office: a 'phone call from the Skill Centre—there was a job going as a labourer, and if Rick knew of anyone suitable he should send him down for an interview. He thought of one or two likely candidates and checked out their suitability with other staff. Then he approached Dave, who didn't think he was interested, and after that Jack, whose eyes lit up. Jack was an odd bloke, who didn't get on well with other members. He was sleeping rough and looked it. But he was young, strong and desperate for a chance to prove himself. He immediately borrowed some soap and a razor and went up to have a shower and get cleaned up. Jack was a bit nervous about the interview, but quite hopeful—after all, he'd done a good many practice interviews in front of the Centre's video camera, and seen them played back. Before he left, he popped into the office to see if Dee and Megan thought he looked O.K. Rick lent him the bus fare and he set off in good time.

Chris had left for Cirencester and Ann was back from Probation Headquarters. Sylvie and a number of members were in the lounge waiting for lunch. Sylvie often used these in-between times to get to know people a bit better. Lunch was often late on Wednesdays because the cook was usually in one of the small groups. Tony and Oliver were playing darts, and Sylvie joined them. From a couple of jokes Tony made, Sylvie wondered if he was still on drugs, and if so, what to do about it. She hadn't much time to think because just then a stranger came in and asked to see someone about a problem. He'd just come out of prison and needed a place to stay: Sylvie suggested he should wait for Chris who had one or two contacts for accommodation.

Marian Liebmann trained as a teacher and taught in a comprehensive school for three years. During a period as an educational writer, she took up painting and ran art classes in youth clubs and also one of the first literacy and maths schemes in Bristol. She was one of the first staff appointed to the Barbican Centre when it opened in 1973, and has enjoyed putting her wide range of interests in art and education to good use.



Felim O'Leary was Director of the Barbican Centre from its beginnings in 1973 until recently. A professionally qualified Social Worker, he previously worked as a Probation Officer at Rugby, where he was largely responsible for setting up a Day Support scheme for disadvantaged mothers and their children. He is presently working in Scotland as a Social Work Adviser.

GETTING FED

By the time Sue had finished cooking dinner, it was 1.30 p.m. instead of 1.00, and she ticked off the names on her list as people collected dinners. Sometimes someone tried to have a dinner when he hadn't paid for it, and that meant someone else went without. This Wednesday there were eight members and staff for dinner, but others came up for a cup of tea and gave Sue the money for that. By 2.00 the dirty plates and cups were still in untidy piles near the sink. Two people should have been washing up, but nobody had turned up. Sue went down to see whose names were on the blackboard for that.

The blackboard was in the small meeting room and covered the whole of the end of the wall. It was divided into the five days of the week, and every Monday morning at the "works meeting" members decided which activities they wanted to take part in, and wrote their names on the board accordingly. On Friday, there was another works meeting so that members could share with each other how well they'd succeeded in their commitments. Sue looked for "washing up" under Wednesday and read: Dave and Bob. Dave was sitting in the lounge when Sue went to tackle him—he apologised that he'd forgotten. Bob was nowhere to be seen.

After lunch most people sat in the lounge and talked or played games—

chess, draughts and darts were all popular. Some went up to the library to watch T.V., others went out to do their shopping, and others, like Kevin, went to have a look at their "kardex".

"Kardex" was the trade name of the file that held all the personal records at the Centre. One of the privileges Kevin had as a member of the Centre was that he had access to his own record and the opportunity of adding his comments. It was available three times a week in the meeting room with a member of staff in attendance. Kevin asked for his card and read it carefully. Two members of staff, Rick and Marian, had made comments that week. He didn't agree with some of it, so made an entry to that effect and added some news about a job application he was making.

Over lunch-time Ann, as co-ordinator, met with Andy, the playgroup leader, and Sylvie to chat over any problems that had cropped up in the playgroup during the week. They also discussed how the playgroup mums could take part in activities in the Centre—among other plans were sessions on budgeting, cooking and child care, as many of them had difficulties in these areas. Ann hoped that other members could also join in, especially for the budgeting sessions.

GETTING BACK TO IT

At 2.00 the workshop was open again for the woodwork enthusiasts. Ray went up to the craft area to finish his painting, and Lorna had a reading lesson in the library. Joe had a contract meeting with Ann in her office. Joe had become a member by making a first contract with Chris who asked him which member of staff he'd like as his personal counsellor. His contract included commitments to get his teeth done, get into a work routine and try to control his temper, which were all definite things he wanted to achieve. Six weeks later at the contract review he would have to look at how far he'd succeeded. Most things had gone well, but maybe for his next contract he'd need to work out something more specific for the temper problem.

Shortly after lunch, two middle-aged blokes who occasionally came to the Centre walked into the lounge. They didn't look too steady, and Sylvie could smell drink. She explained the rule, made by members, that anybody who'd had a drink was not allowed into the Centre. Fortunately, on this occasion they left quietly, to everyone's relief—if they hadn't, the police would have been called in to remove them, and nobody liked that. It was horrible having to throw people out, but experience had shown it was necessary.

At about 2.45 Chris arrived back, and Sylvie introduced the stranger with the accommodation problem. His name was Peter. Chris suggested the Church Army Hostel, but Peter didn't look too happy. Chris had managed to get lists of accommodation, and had even persuaded people to start new ventures in that line—but for emergencies he still had to turn to the Church Army. "Oh well, I suppose for a couple of nights it will be O.K." Chris 'phoned; luckily there was room, so Peter went straight round. He didn't want to spend his first night out of prison dossing—he really meant to start a new life this time.

GETTING TOGETHER

At 3.00 it was time for the community meeting. There were about 30 people at the meeting, the second one in the week—the other one being on Monday. Ray, who was the chairman on this occasion, had collected the agenda from the notice board; there were seven items on it. Ray read them out and asked which one should be taken first. Someone suggested Bob's membership, as people were more important than anything else in the Centre. Chris said that Bob had made a contract the day before, and wanted to be a member. One or two people asked Bob questions, but he was rather shy in front of a big group, so Ray welcomed him into membership. Being a member meant that Bob could vote, put items on the agenda, and also borrow equipment from the Centre under some circumstances. In any case, it gave him a sense of belonging.

The next most important item was the staff training session, which was on the Friday of the following week. Most staff wanted the Centre to close, but most members thought it should stay open and the argument became quite acrimonious. Members had run the Centre more or less on their own on previous occasions, and took it as a slight that the staff wanted it closed. It was one of the few issues that brought staff and members into conflict. After 20 minutes' discussion, people were getting impatient, and no solution seemed to be in sight, so Ray suggested holding it over till next Monday.

The social club committee needed a new member. Don volunteered and was accepted; he agreed to start straightaway, that night. The other members of the committee arranged to meet him afterwards and show him the ropes.

The other items didn't take very long. Joe had lost his socks—had anyone seen them? Nobody had. Rick complained about the number of fag butts on the floor, and quite a few members agreed with him. Oliver wanted to remind everyone not to interrupt the small groups—his group had been interrupted twice that morning.

Finally, Community Day was discussed. This week there were four projects. Marian was driving the van to Grange village to help mentally-handicapped adults with farming work; Allan was taking his car to Cheltenham to finish a decorating job for a battered wives' centre; Rick and a group were decorating a house for an invalid, and Joe would be chopping firewood for old folks. There were quite a few volunteers for the first three projects, but some people said they couldn't go out all day because they had to pick their money up; they agreed to join Joe chopping firewood.

After the community meeting, people sat around and chatted; or went on their way to have their tea at their hostels or digs.

Jack came back from his interview at the Skill Centre. He'd taken his time coming back because he'd been told he'd know the result at the end of the day if Rick rang up. He told Rick he thought the interview had gone well and he'd got the job. But when Rick rang up he found the job had gone to someone else. Both he and Jack were bitterly disappointed—after all their hopes it was the same old story. It really was a problem for members to find a way of moving on from the Centre. Jack muttered something about it not being worth making an effort, and Rick could't think of much to say to that.

The staff met at 4.30 for another half-hour and slumped into their chairs exhaustedly. Over 40 people had been at the Centre that day. The end-of-day meetings were concerned with people and their problems, and Wednesdays were usually set aside for discussion of how the small groups had gone. Before this, Sylvie mentioned the problem about Tony and the possibility of drugs, and Rick told the others about Jack's failure to get the Skill Centre job. Then Rick and Sylvie described what had happened in their small groups—Rick's had been very good, members had talked a lot about loneliness, but Sylvie's had been a bit

sticky and had suffered from the interruptions.

Five o'clock came and most staff left. Herbie stayed behind to lock up. He turned all the heaters off, checked the windows and locked the doors—by this time all the members had left, except Jack who wasn't looking forward to going back to his cold derry, but after a bit of chivvying from Herbie he left. As Herbie went, he switched on the outside lights to help the police patrol at night and prevent break-ins, which happened from time to time. Herbie walked past the garden, making a resolution to start digging it next day.

GETTING SOMEWHERE

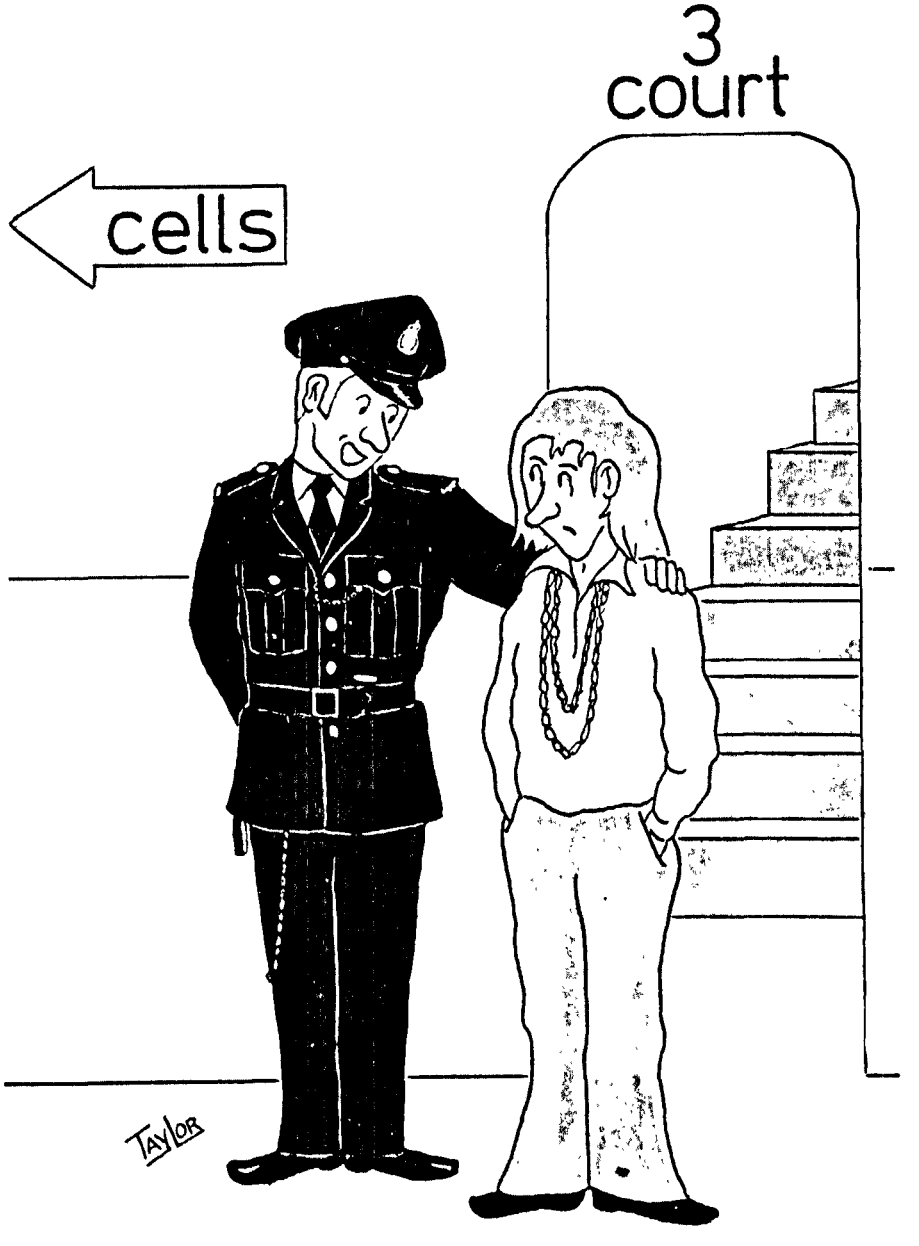
The Barbican Centre has moved through many stages during the three years from the opening date to the day described. The important concepts were voluntary commitment and self-help. It was no good pouring social work skills over people if they were still unwilling or unable to do things for themselves. The aim of the project was to provide a setting where people could try out different ways of learning to help themselves and stand on their own feet. If people are prepared to come voluntarily to the project, often in a depressed or shattered state, and are aiming at helping themselves, they have to be approached as people who are capable of doing this: as equals. This led to the idea of the community of equals, staff and members—an idea which has become more and more a reality, within the limits defined by the fact that one group is paid, and the other is not. The staff, too, have tried to work with each other as equals, not easy because of their different backgrounds.

The idea of member responsibility gradually became crystallised in the making of a "contract". This is a voluntary commitment from a new member to (a) give the Centre what he or she has to offer, and (b) work on the problems he or she would like to solve. On the Centre's side, whichever member of staff is involved contracts to see that the promised facilities are provided. These contracts have become the lynch-pin of the Centre, giving both members and staff the structure they need to get the best out of themselves and the Centre.

The initial concentration on personal problems has given way to a more practical approach to learning much-needed skills, e.g. interviews, budgeting, etc. With the increasing emphasis on learning skills and being responsible, it became clear that the project had something to offer any adult who was wanting to look at himself and make some changes. This widened the scope from ex-offenders to other categories, e.g. ex-mental patients, lonely and depressed people, long-term unemployed people and "overdose" patients. Even so, almost all those using the Centre are offenders.

This means that the Centre's membership has become much more of a cross-section, and has reduced the temptation for people to get together in cliques of similar background and reminisce about experiences in prison or hospital. The accent is on accepting people for what they are now and looking forward. Along with this comes a need to look outwards into the community, hence the important links with other agencies, community projects, helping others, and so on.

Life at the Barbican Centre is sometimes fragmented in spite of great efforts to keep the pieces together. People come and go, grow and slip back, succeed and fail. In all, the apparent chaos it's good to reflect on the growing number of members who are obviously more able to organise their own lives. Members of the Centre now do the cooking, run the social club, welcome new people, help with reading—and if they are helping others, they realise they are also helping themselves.



"Look at the bright side. You wanted to opt out of society, and now the judge has made it official."

Professionals in the Prison Service

G. HARRIES-JENKINS

Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, LLB, MA, M.Phil., was educated at the University of Wales, College of Europe, Bruges, and the University of East Anglia. His specialist field of interest is the study of Professions in Bureaucratic Organisations, and his publications include, *Professionals in Organisations, The Military and the Problem of Legitimacy, The Army in Victorian Society.* He currently teaches in the Department of Adult Education at the University of Hull, and is a visiting Professor at Universities in the United States and in France.

CONCERN with the problems faced by professionals who work in large-scale organisations has long been a feature of wider discussions about the relationship between individuals and their work place[1]. From the analysis of this relationship, a common conclusion is that professionals in bureaucracies suffer a high degree of strain. Indeed, it is often argued that the basic incompatibility of the characteristics of "professional" and "bureaucracy" is such as to produce a situation of persistent conflict. Thus the professional with his sense of commitment, his expectations of responsibility, his definition of expertise and his insistence on autonomy, is said to find it difficult to accept the rules and regulations, the hierarchy of authority and the limited job specification of the bureaucratic organisation.

This has long been the traditional point of view, but in recent years an alternative conclusion has been put forward. On a number of grounds, it is argued that the presence of strain or conflict has been grossly exaggerated. Firstly, the whole notion of "professional" or "professionalism" is questioned. The professional, it is said, is no more than a worker under another name, so that the professional who is a member of an organisation is an employee in common with other craftsmen, skilled and unskilled workers and so on. Consequently, any emphasis which is placed upon the importance of the professional ethos or the professional "way of life" is interpreted as a search for status or as a postulated justification for the privileges which this group of employees demands. Any strain which does arise is thus seen to follow logically from the competition between groups for an enhanced share of available resources or rewards. Alternatively, it is argued that if the professional can indeed be distinguished from other employees, then the professional who becomes a salaried employee rapidly adjusts to the demands of the organisation. This willingness to adapt and to accept organisational rules reduces any implicit strain, for the individual who is unable or unwilling to adapt leaves the organisation. Finally, it is pointed out that in discussing the "organisation" there is a very real danger of forgetting that the organisation is not an entity with a life of its own; in reality it is a collection of individuals, a group of professionals working together, so that there is no evidence of conflict between the professional and a monolithic body. Rather, there may be competition between those groups who in total constitute the organisation, as one group or another strive for dominance.

Whether professionals who work in the Prison Service experience a sense of strain or conflict in the work situation is thus a far from simple issue. Yet it would be injudicious to conclude that it is a question of unimportance. What is very pertinent here is what individuals on the staff of the Service actually feel. If professionals, irrrespective of the rationale for their feelings, believe that they are in some way disadvantaged or that their work is associated with a sense of strain or an awareness of conflict, then the question becomes very important. Such feelings and beliefs will, for example, have a considerable effect upon motivation and morale. More importantly, they may ultimately affect the quality of the work which is performed, and in the context of the prison as a total institution this may have a very significant extended effect. The question of the relationship between the professional and the organisation is thus of considerable importance in the Prison Service because of its potential effect upon staff, Service and inmates, and it is not one that can be lightly dismissed.

In looking further at this question, it is apparent that the Prison Service is a classic example of a bureaucratic organisation.* "Bureaucratic" in this context is not used perjoratively as a term of abuse. It simply signifies that the mode of organisation exhibits characteristics which closely resemble those set out by Max Weber (1864-1920) as indicative of a particular type of authority system. The Prison Service is thus an example of a rational-legal organisation. It is rational because the means are expressly designed to achieve specific goals. It is legal because authority is exercised through a system of rules and procedures by an office-holder who is recruited on the basis of his technical competence. Yet it is the employment of such experts which is the initial source of subsequent problems. A developing bureaucracy recruits an increasing number of specialist experts with their own departments. To co-ordinate and control their actions, an authority structure is created. This is based on a hierarchy of offices, each successive step embracing all those beneath it. There is a set of rules and procedures within which every possible contingency is theoretically provided for. But this implies that authority is based in the office and that commands are obeyed because the rules state that it is within the competence of a particular office-holder to issue such commands. To Weber, this was "rational" and a means of ensuring "efficiency". Talcott Parsons, however, pointed out that there was a fundamental difference between legal competence and technical competence. The former is a question of power[2]:

> The position of the exerciser of authority of this sort is legitimised by his incumbency of a legally defined office. It is not logically essential to it that its exerciser should have either superior knowledge or superior skill as compared to those subject to the orders.

In contrast, technical competence suggests the professional expert who exercises authority because his expertise commands respect. This may or may not be reinforced by his legal position within the authority structure, and we can expect a degree of strain to develop if the professional believes that those superior to him in organisational terms, lack the technical competence which he sees as the only legitimate base of any claimed right to issue orders and enforce the rules. Conversely, the office-holder who relies on his legal competence to justify the actions he takes, may have little patience with professionals who seem reluctant to accept one of the basic characteristics of authority patterns in the bureaucratic structure.

The contrast between those interpre-

*See also review of *'A General Theory of Bureaucracy'* which appears in the book review section of this magazine.

tations of the legitimacy of authority is thus one of the major sources of tension within the organisation. It emerges at all levels within the Prison Service. The prison officer may question the technical competence of the newly recruited assistant-governor, even though the latter has the legal competence to issue rules and instructions. The education officer may react to a superior who relies on his claim to legal rather than technical competence to introduce innovation. Moreover, this sense of strain may be exacerbated because professionals tend to develop a different sort of structure from that which is characteristic of the administrative hierarchy as described by Weber in his analysis of the ideal-type bureaucracy. Instead of a preference for a rigid hierarchy of status and authority, many professionals opt for the "company of equals". This implies an equalisation of status which cuts across the gradation of authority within the formal structure. This is often evidenced by a demonstrated impatience with the established channels of communication, and by a preference for informal consultation with colleagues. The structure is seen to be "mechanistic" in that it hinders rather than facilitates "getting on with the job". Consequently, there is often a developed sense of frustration when it is concluded that the collegial style of management which professionals would advocate is replaced within the organisation by a style derived from authoritarian, custodial and leadership approaches.

In addition to the strain which is seen to be derived from the system of authority and the structure of the prison system, a third source of stress is associated with more fundamental issues implicit in the idea of the professional ethos. In this context it can be argued that these issues emerge irrespective of any conclusion as to whether "professional" should or should not be defined in narrow terms to include only a limited sector of those employed in the Service. Given that all members of the Prison Service are professionals in that they have expertise, commitment and responsibility, it is still possible to isolate two distinct categories of specialists. The first of these can be termed *achievement professionals*. This is a group comprising a wide range of specialists who are initially trained outside the employing organisation. Usually, they acquire theoretical and practical expertise through a lengthy training course, frequently as full-time students in an educational institution. At the conclusion of their studies, they are examined, either by a professional association or an educational institution, before they are allowed to practise their skill. Most of them belong to a professional association which lays down a code of conduct and a set of professional ethics. This may extend outside the work situation to cover their extra-occupational activities. It normally includes some form of sanctions mechanism so that a deviant who infringes the code can be disciplined by the professional association. The ultimate sanction in some professions is the withdrawal of the right to practise the occupation and where the professional has a legal monopoly in an occupational area, this effectively excludes the individual from subsequent employment in this field.

As part of the educational and training programme undertaken by the entrant to the professional group, a sophisticated system of socialisation and assimilation inculcates specific values. These are seen to be important professional attributes and they shape attitudes towards such characteristics of professionalism as commitment, responsibility, expertise and autonomy. When these achievement professionals join an organisation, they bring with them their internalised attitudes. In addition, they retain close links with their colleagues outside the organisations so that they are often "cosmopolitan" in their orientation, looking outward to the profession rather than inward toward the organisation. Moreover, since they are qualified to carry on their occupational role outside the immediate work-place, they tend to be less dependent on the organisation, accepting very frequently that their current employment situation is simply one amongst a number of alternatives. This in turn affects perceptions of organisational loyalty, and conditions attitudes towards the postulated values of the employing institution.

In contrast, the second group who can be termed *ascriptive professionals* are primarily trained within the organisation. Recruited on the basis of external academic qualifications, the level of which varies according to the grade of employment, it is the organisation which defines the level of required expertise, provides the academic and theoretical training and subsequently evaluates, often through examinations, the potential ability of the individual to carry out the designated task. Very frequently, the breadth and depth of this initial training is less than that received by the achievement professional. This is understandable in that it is more specifically geared to a job specification. It is however, normally supplemented by progressive and extensive training courses throughout the individual's career. The important question, though, is not whether the training is quantitively inferior to that provided outside the organisation. Nor is it an issue of the merits of a programme of education versus one of training or vice-versa. The important question is the effect of those internal courses which inculcate a set of values and attitudes that are derived from the needs of society as a whole. In this context, many organisations implement a sophisticated programme of induction and assimilation which has as one of its objectives, the creation of a set of organisational values. These are essentially "local" in their form and nature, for although they may reflect the effect upon the organisation of external influences, these values are devised within set boundaries. Consequently, the postulated characteristics of professionalism are interpreted by the ascriptive professional in accordance with an ethos which differs in its origin from that of the achievement professional. Thus "commitment" is defined in terms of its relationship to organisational loyalty rather than in the sense of commitment to the client or to the professional association. Equally, "responsibility" is primarily seen as responsibility to one's organisational colleagues, particularly to superiors, rather than as a more vaguely expressed responsibility to the parent society. In a similar way, "expertise" and "autonomy" are more narrowly defined; the former in terms of the job specification and the latter in terms of the limitations inherent in a structured hierarchy of authority. Moreover, since the ascriptive professional is rarely able to practice his acquired skill outside the employing organisation, he is far more dependent than his achievement colleague upon the organisation with a tendency to accept more readily the unquestioned legitimacy of organisational goals.

In this third area of strain, a degree of stress is therefore likely to manifest itself very readily when these two types of professionals join together to implement plans for goal attainment. It can be argued that this is inevitable because of the presence of two different sets of values, each of which is a rational and logical derivative of the employed patterns of training and recruitment. In addition, however, the

competition between these value systems for the dominant position accentuates the degree of strain. In the Prison Service, as in other public service organisations, the position is complicated by the existence of staff grades within the hierarchy of authority. Here, ascriptive professionals are located at all levels whereas achievement professionals tend to be primarily employed in what can be termed middle and senior management levels. On the one hand, therefore, staff at the base of the authority structure who are in competition with achievement professionals in more senior appointments, tend to resist proposals which they see as a threat to their established value system. Indeed, there can be a total lack of mutual understanding in extreme situations. Evidence of the type of reactions to which this can give rise, can be seen in the way in which the work of the achievement professional may be identified with a "feminine" role in contrast with the "masculine" role of the ascriptive professional who is considered to be more directly concerned with the "real" objectives of the service[3]. This definition of the "real" objectives of the organisation, however, depends upon the extent to which in more senior levels of the authority structure the value-system of the ascriptive professional dominates that of the achievement professional. A measure of this domination can be achieved by noting the extent to which professionals in the latter category are promoted to the most senior and prestigious appointments. A general conclusion, here, is that it is ascriptive professionals who obtain these appointments and that achievement professionals such as doctors, education officers, social workers and so on are primarily seen as those who provide a service to the real decision-makers. The associated degree of strain is analogous to that noted in the Civil Service and there is little doubt that many achievement professionals suffer from a feeling of relative deprivation.

Having suggested that a degree of strain may be expected in these three areas, it has, however, to be noted that the situation can be eased in a number of ways. The Prison Service for example, operates a sophisticated system of initial recruitment whereby a form of social control ensures that those recruited, irrespective of the professional category to which they belong, tend to be those who are prepared to adapt to organisational needs. This suggests that the potential extremist is excluded from the outset. Moreover, the service tends to attract those who feel that their attitudes will "fit" within the organisation. Rosenberg's model for occupational choice would suggest that for most professionals, their attitudes towards the Prison Service are initially formed before they actually join[4]. The professional values in this case are the products of anticipatory socialisation so that while there is still a difference of degree in terms of the respective attitudes of the achievement and ascriptive professional towards organisational values, both groups primarily comprise those who are favourably disposed towards the value system as a whole.

Even so, initial induction courses remain an important means of reducing the stress potential. If it is accepted that a degree of strain is normal and not an aberration, then these education and training courses, in common with subseqent post-experience courses, can do much to ease the problems which arise. Indeed in this context, it is the willingness to analyse critically the problem situation and bring to light the difficulties which occur, rather than ability to produce prescriptive solutions to specific problems, which is one of the most valuable features of these courses. Their potential for success, however, depends in no small measure on the support which they are given by senior members of the service. Two fundamental problems have to be faced here. Staff development in the Prison Service as in other public service organisations is constructed on the basic premise that the professional needs to be more a "generalist" and less a "specialist" as he advances in rank and responsibility. Yet, as Toffler comments, "We shall continue to need and breed even more refined work specialists as the technical base of society increases in complexity"[5]. The Prison Service is not exempt from this need so that the "generalist" superior has to accept that an increasing number of achievement professionals will be required in the Service. This increase necessarily gives rise to the need to provide the means of minimising the strain which may be present. A tendency to assume that the attitudes of others should logically conform to those of the "generalist" cannot replace an awareness of the fundamental problems often faced by this growing number of "refined work specialists".

The second problem is a more complex one in that it is derived from the physical and social isolation of much of the Prison Service. The isolation of the total institution can lead to cultural isolation. The horizon of many members in the Service may end at the institution's boundaries so that their interests become superparochial. In this situation there may be a failure to understand those professional attitudes which are derived from a cosmopolitan rather than local orientation. More importantly, there may be an unwillingness to support measures designed to ameliorate any sense of strain since there is a preference for the maintenance of boundaries which protect the institutions from what are seen as attempts to erode fundamental values. It is where this happens that the sense of strain then becomes most acute.

The existence of a sense of inter-professional stress within the Prison Service thus has important consequences for the attainment of organisational goals. Any evaluation of the intensity of this stress is, in the absence of data, essentially subjective. What can be suggested here, in conclusion, is that the Prison Service no less than any other large scale bureaucratic organisation is unlikely to be exempt from the problems which are seen to arise elsewhere. The theoretical origins of the strain can be readily analysed and perhaps the most important conclusion which can be reached is that the potential effects of this strain can be most readily ameliorated through a willingness to accept that it is likely to be present. Once this has been accepted, then various strategies can be adopted as a solution to the perceived problem. The very real danger is that a reluctance or refusal to accept the existence of strain produces a situation in which the degree of stress increases in intensity until a true conflict situation emerges. It is then that the overall professionalism of the Service is greatly weakened so that the prospects of the organisation achieving its objectives are very much reduced with serious consequences for both the organisation and for society as a whole.

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Management Review—Stage III The Way Ahead

J. D. McCONNEL

THE Prison Department Management Review Stage 3 (MR3 as it is usually known) which deals with the management structure of penal establishments, was published just over a year ago. The report represents the most radical, systematic, detailed and wide-ranging review of penal establishments ever undertaken, and as such it has attracted a lot of attention. Certainly, the Prison Department, at the time, attached great importance to it, and hundreds of copies of the report were made available to interested parties throughout the Prison Service as part of a huge process of consultation which was claimed by the department to be the start of a new, more open approach to the management of the Prison Service. The report immediately stirred up a hornets' nest, and both the Prison Officers' Association and the Governors' Branch of the Society of Civil and Public Servants rejected the report as a basis of negotiation. This storm of protest, despite great efforts to "sell" the report to Prison Service staff, coupled with the budgetry cuts in man-hours, which effectively prevented full and adequate consultation with staff in individual establishments, led to the department quietly dropping their global approach to the reform of prison management. Instead, governors were asked to extract those parts of the report that they thought useful and which could be implemented without additional resources. Piecemeal reform was once again the order of the day.

Why did the report produce such an outburst of protest? What follows is a critical analysis of the contents of the report which I hope will help clarify the thinking behind the report and its implications for the Prison Service (both the staff and inmates) and in particular the governor grades.

In presenting this analysis, I do not wish to completely undermine or dismiss the report and the enormous amount of work that has gone into it. In fact, there are many good points in it, e.g. the delegation of authority from the governor down to the appropriate level, the idea of organisation by activity, the creation of the role of living unit head and the general insistence on planning and monitoring activities. However, there are a number of points which, in my opinion, require serious and careful consideration.

(1) MR3's Analysis of the Current Situation in our Prisons

In its "case for change" the report suggests that there is organisational confusion in penal establishments which it attributes to "the cumulative effect of superimposing new objectives and resources on to a simple but outdated 'command' concept until the point has been reached when staff can no longer work within it" (para 22). There is undoubtedly some truth in this—but it is only part of the story. The report fails to relate the situation in penal establishments to the general context in which they exist—the confusion is seen entirely as a product of "bad" management *within* establishments, instead of the result of the "bad" management *of* establishments by Head Office who in turn are effected by Parliament and the public and events beyond their control. To some extent, therefore. the report deals with symptoms rather than causes and the governor grades are left carrying the can. It ignores the fact that society generally cannot decide on the role of penal establishments and vacillates from punishment, to reform, to security; that the system is subject to many changes beyond its control e.g. the abolition of capital punishment, increasingly long sentences, rapidly fluctuating populations plus political over-reaction to crises. It ignores the fact that Head Office has never formulated clear objectives for individual establishments or individual activities and the Service has never sorted out the role of the governor grades and has basically trained them poorly.

(2) The Redistribution of Power and Increased Bureaucratisation

The underlying theme of MR3 is power and bureaucracy—basically who should control each penal establishment and the activities that go on within it. As such, the report is part of a long historical struggle that has been going on since the Prison Act of 1877 which first brought all prisons under central control. In recent years, the power struggle between central government in the form of the Civil Service bureaucracy and governors of penal establishments has accelerated, particularly with the abolition of the Prison Commission in 1963. The Prison Service is now subject to all the rules, regulations and general management methods that apply to the rest of the Civil Service. In practice, this means standardisation, uniformity and conformity to the central authority of the Home Office bureaucracy. Hence the setting up of the regional organisation, the reduction in direct entrants to the governor grades; the change in the assistant governors' training course from a theoretical to a more job-orientated course, the recent para 6 dispute where the Establishment were intent on downgrading the pay and status of governor grades I and II and threatened to end the privilege of rent-free quarters for all governor grades and most recently the introduction of strict budgetry control of man-hours.

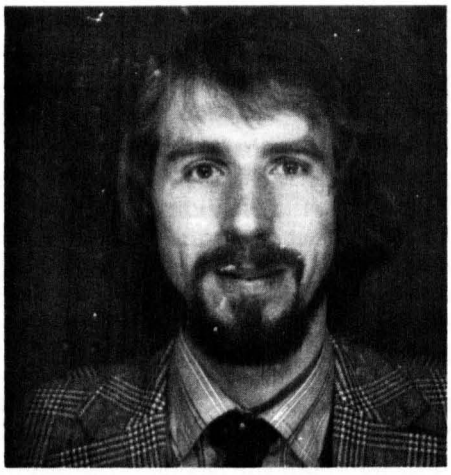
MR3 needs to be seen against this background. It is another step along the road of bureaucratisation, and in many respects it is the most invidious because not only does it suggest a radical shift in the balance of power within establishments and *between* establishments and head office, but it also seeks to impose on all establishments set methods of achieving each specified objective, thereby standardising all jobs and reducing all staff to the level of conforming operatives. Leadership and charisma are out and more systematic hard work is in. Scope for individual initiative and variation is eliminated and we are all reduced to the status of small cogs in a vast impersonal bureaucratic machine.

Is this an exaggeration of the case? The facts speak for themselves. There was a time when the governor of an establishment had considerable freedom to use initiative and make real decisions and he was seen as being very much in charge. The MR3 report is very much against governors, and therefore estab-

lishments, having any autonomy whatsoever and indeed the whole report is based on the principle that "local management is not free to add to or to reduce its designated activities according to its own assessment of penal priorities" (para 4) and this is emphasised constantly. The aim of the report is quite baldly stated in para 13 as "to provide a lasting means by which headquarters can tailor the organisation of any establishment according to the role it is called to play in the penal system". It speaks of "the need to control the more sophisticated staff" (para 21) and condemns the experiments of individual governors as "one off systems which distort organisational concepts in their favour, a disruptive trend which needs to be checked" (para 23). Nowhere in the report is there any mention of discussion, participation, negotiation or consultation with governors of penal establishments and their staff in deciding the regime of an institution.

The extent of this obsession with control at all costs from headquarters is revealed in two particular examples: (a) in the report's extremely reactionary comments on the training of the governor grades. Para 245 refers to the "dangers" of "training staff for higher levels of consideration at too early a stage in their career" (i.e. teaching them about broad developments in penal policy and behavioural research). "We have noticed a tendency for some junior and middle managers to be concerned more with, as yet unformulated, matters of policy and penal development than with mastering the jobs they are paid for". In other words, assistant governors should not think about the wider implications of their job; nor suggest improvements in the system, but merely keep quiet and do as they are told. This is a far cry from the days when assistant governors were seen as a source of innovation and change; (b) the statement in volume II under "Rights and Privileges" that "all arrangements for matters of common interest (e.g. visits, letters, bathing and exchange of clothing, association and recreation, payment of earnings and canteen attendance) should have regional approval". In other words, the governor of an establishment should not make even the simplest and smallest alterations to the regime of his establishment without the consent of regional office.

Not content with reducing the governor of each establishment to a cipher, the report sets about systematically undermining his position within the establishment. As the report states in paras 246 and 247 "the proposals contained in this report entail a radical change in the style of managing penal establishments and will require corresponding changes in systems of operation . . . and a fundamental readjustment of existing attitudes at senior and middle management levels in establishments". Thus the command structure or hierarchical system of authority on which prisons have operated until now



After graduating at the University of Essex, John McConnel joined the Prison Service in 1970 and worked as a housemaster at Lowdham Grange Open Borstal until June 1974. He has since worked at the new Glen Parva Borstal, Leicestershire.

is out—the governor should become a "general manager" and his decision-making powers should be delegated to appropriate levels e.g. living unit head and living unit manager. This is commonsense and good management but, at the same time, it is suggested that specialists should be given a completely free hand—no longer should they be regarded as back-up services to line management but, as virtually equal and autonomous professionals responsible for their own specialism, with little or no interference from the governor and none at all from his subordinates in line management, who are seen only as custodians and the enforcers of law and order (para 48).

This proposed system may satisfy the status needs of the various specialists, but it would do little to solve the problems of managing an institution and in fact it could increase them. Rivalries between specialist departments could increase as there is a danger of each going its separate way as a result of the vacuum which the proposed set-up creates. Nowhere is this more evident than in the section on the "Assessment, Treatment and Progress of Inmates" which divides treatment up into five parallel areas representing the interests of the medical officer, education officer, living unit manager, vocational guidance officer and probation officer and suggests that each specialist should draw up his own treatment plan for the individual trainee.

"As no single discipline can possibly diagnose all the needs of one inmate, decide on the treatment required and monitor and report on their effectiveness as a whole" (para 51[1]) and as plans for the treatment of inmates by professionals should not be subjected to adjudication by other disciplines either individually or as a group" (para 52[2]) case conferences with the house or wing manager attempting to act as the executive chairman, deciding, reviewing and amending a combined treatment programme are generally scrapped and communication by file is substituted. The fate of the inmate is divided among five parallel specialists and no one person is accountable for his overall training. Co-ordination of treatment is out; anarchy is in. The inmate is to be left in a Kafkaesque world, not knowing what is happening to him or when he is to be recommended for release and by whom (para 83 on borstals in particular refers)".

The proposed increased bureaucratisation of penal establishments has other implications:

(1) *Management is seen as an end in itself rather than as a means to an end.* It is assumed that management will solve all problems, eliminate all conflict and lead ultimately to a situation where everyone is performing efficiently and obediently. Despite its pretence at consulting inmates and the penal experience of some of the MR3 team, the report might as well have been written about a factory or some other commercial concern. It ignores the coercive element in the regime and the fact that prison is a community not a machine. It ignores the fact that the staff working in penal establishments are there for varying motives and have highly personal and often emotional perceptions of the job. It neatly side-steps the main issue of the purpose of imprisonment by concentrating on the limited objectives of different operational activities (e.g. visits and security). There is no "soul" or philosophy motivating the report. The concepts of management, efficiency

and economy are neutral and purposeless and can only alienate staff and inmates in the course of time.

(ii) *Everything is dehumanised.* Penal establishments are seen as mechanisms rather than living social organisms, and the report team admit that they concentrated on operational requirements rather than human relationships. Each penal establishment is to be built up of "modules and sub-modules" which head office can at will add to or take away from at the stroke of a pen, with no regard for the human consequences (para 6 refers). Not surprisingly, the contribution of the chaplain and matron in terms of human relations is ignored and eliminated as it does not fit neatly into the management structure.

(iii) *Everything is standardised.* I have already referred to the way the report standardises the job staff are expected to do, but this process of rationalisation extends further to the standardisation of all establishments into one of two basic models—planned treatment establishments and care and custody establishments. Thus detention centres, borstals and young person prisons all become planned treatment establishments along with training prisons operating in basically the same way and individual variation and experimentation in treatment methods are eliminated. (This particular recommendation has in fact been rejected by the department).

(3) The Report's Perception of the General Performance and Ability of the Governor Grades

If one was cynical one might have thought that the main purpose of the report was to totally discredit the governor grades who are shown in a very unfavourable light compared with other staff. Thus the medical authorities are described as competent, and specialists are seen as professionals, the administration staff are "highly knowledgeable and responsible" but the governor grades? The message comes through loud and clear—they are lousy managers. They have failed to adapt to the complexities of modern prison organisation maintaining inappropriate and outdated command-type attitudes which need drastically changing. They are lazy, unsystematic, they do not plan, but merely react to crises, they manage by presence only, they have "a dislike and incapacity for paperwork, and welcome any opportunities to unload it on office staff" (para 236) and many junior staff regard them as "ineffective and therefore largely irrelevant". Generally, by under-rating their basic job as custodians, they have hindered the development of their professional competence and attitudes. In future, "prison managers must now accept a requirement to work perhaps harder and certainly more systematically and with more foresight than their staff" (para 246).

There is no recognition of the governor grades' particular experience, knowledge, leadership ability and contributions towards improving and changing the penal system. There is no mention of the various tasks which have to be undertaken by the governors such as disciplinary reports, petitions, inquiries, negotiations with the P.O.A., dealings with the Board of Visitors, public relations and contact with head office. It is therefore not surprising that the writers of the report actually considered (a) replacing the governor by a lay management committee and (b) making the general manager's post an opportunity post for any grade experienced in prison administration in its widest sense.

(4) The Implications of the Report for the Governor Grades

These are as follows:

(a) As already mentioned, the power and influence of the governor would be reduced to that of a general manager co-ordinating the activities of a number of parallel specialisms.

(b) The role of the assistant governor would be clarified, simplified and more narrowly defined. The perennial question "what are assistant governors—managers or social workers?" is answered and we are left in no doubt that assistant governors should be basically managers—not of the whole institution, or of inmates' training, but of the residential areas in "planned treatment" establishments where, as "living unit managers", assistant governors would have three functions only, i.e. as residential custodians, co-ordinators of lay counselling and of the timing of inmate attendance at other treatment facilities. On this basis, posts for assistant governor II's in local prisons and remand centres would be drastically reduced as all the legal documentation such as checking committals, doing appeals and so forth would be done by the administration staff.

(c) The position of deputy governor as such would disappear. How many posts at assistant governor level and above would actually be eliminated by this change would depend on how the position of living unit head was filled. As the deputy governor acts as governor for almost six months of the year, the removal of the deputy post would place an intolerable strain on the living unit head to the detriment of the smooth running of the establishment.

(d) The proposed amalgamation of assistant governors I and chief officers and the suggested eventual amalgamation of principal officers and assistant governor II's would swell the numbers to be considered for promotion and would further demoralise existing assistant governors whose promotion prospects have declined drastically in recent years. Furthermore, unless principal officers and chief officers on being assimilated to the assistant governor grades received significantly better training there would be a decline in the quality and professional standing of senior management and that, combined with the drastic reduction in direct entrants to the governor grades, would make the Prison Service more insular and less open to new ideas and methods of training.

(5) The Implications of the Report for Prison Officers

These are considerable. Overall, the report recommends the elimination of a considerable number of principal officer posts from training establishments. All training officer posts in local establishments, the civilianisation of all works staff, workshop instructors and catering staff and the extension of welfare officers into all borstals as well as training prisons (as at present). In other words, a drastic cut-back in job opportunities, job satisfaction and promotion prospects for most prison staff: a recipe for trouble.

(6) The Implications for Borstals

These are particularly alarming. Until now they have had their own distinctive traditions and philosophy with a great emphasis on training through personal relationships with staff and varied opportunities for learning and personal growth. The recommended elimination of the principal officer and matron posts, coupled with the recent cut-back in man-hours, would reduce borstals in reality to little more than training prisons for young offenders, and would mark the end of one of the most successful innovations in British penal history.

(7) The Future of the Prison Service

Taken as a whole, the overall implications of the report for the future of

the Prison Service are grim. In their eagerness to provide a formula for increasing central control and pacifying specialists within establishments, the writers of the report have ignored or discounted the current trends in society away from centralisation (with its inevitable feeling of alienation and powerlessness) and towards decentralisation and involvement. They have missed a valuable opportunity to revitalise the Prison Service.

Instead of offering us a future where each establishment can develop and maintain a consistent philosophy and regime, where the staff can participate in change, where staff can use initiative and devise their own methods of work and respond to changing circumstances and needs in creative and dynamic ways, we are offered more bureaucracy, more control from outside departments removed from the realities of the situation, more conformity, more economy and more efficiency. If MR3 was our only answer to the many problems facing us in our penal establishments, then the future for both staff and inmates would be bleak.

(8) Conclusion

Fortunately, there are some signs that the brave new world of MR3 may not materialise. Although the report offers the Prison Department some very attractive opportunities to economise on staff, by creating a more efficient machine or human warehouse, there is a growing realisation that we are in the "people business" and, as such, we cannot be totally objective, impersonal and mercenary in our approach to the treatment of the people in our custody. The ideals of the past cannot be conveniently cast aside just because they have proved so difficult to achieve. The department's immediate rejection of the concept of two types of establishment with the two classes of prisoner (those worth helping and the rest) clearly illustrates this, as does the move away from the briefly fashionable concept of "human containment". This was officially buried by the Director General of the Prison Service in a speech to the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency on the 1st December 1976 in which he emphatically rejected "humane containment" or "warehousing" and reasserted the importance of Rule 1, with a plea for "more caring, more purpose, more dedication than ever before". If these sentiments are put into practice, then perhaps much good may yet come out of the MR3 debate.

A Most Peculiar Absence of Monsters

ANDREW A. FYFFE

INDECENT EXPOSURE

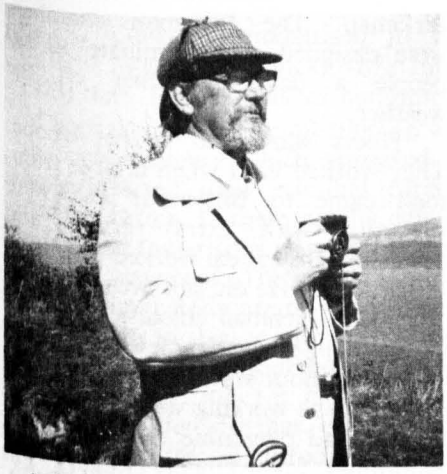
I DID some reading recently about the penal system of Adolf Hitler's Reich. This was, of course, the penal system which became the vehicle for the Final Solution of the Jewish problem. I was appalled by what I read. Appalled, however, not by the general descriptions of the humiliation, degradation, suffering, and death of millions of people, nor by the more particular descriptions of lampshades made of human skin, beatings, torture, mauling by dogs, medical and surgical experiments, the use of human beings for target practice, and the whole cult of cruelty. I was appalled by all that many years ago, as I was appalled by the bombing of Dresden and Hiroshima and have since been appalled by more recent horrors like the genocide in Vietnam and in Uganda. Because of increased exposure to knowledge about man's inhumanity to man, we have become rather cool or cold towards his increasingly desperate preoccupation with the humiliation, degradation, torture, and killing of his own kind. Man as predator we have come to accept, and the gas chambers of Hitler's Reich are but a long-time-ago symbol of a continuing commitment.

A SHORTAGE OF SOFT SOAP

On this occasion, however, as I was reminded of the facts, my cool was disturbed by another kind of horror which I had previously experienced but had not perceived as urgently as now. I became aware again, in a new historical context, that the people who took part in the setting up and administering of Hitler's penal system, from the First to the Final Solution, seemed to be the "ordinary decent people" we all believe ourselves to be in comparison with others like criminals, Jews, Arabs, Christians, communists, gypsies, blacks, whites, capitalists, Catholics, Protestants and so on. In the dark story of the Final Solution one finds few monsters—Irma Grese might be a candidate—and, apparently, only one saint, Sgt. Anton Schmid, who helped Jews to escape and got shot for his pains. Even the men at the top in Hitler's Reich and in his penal system rationalised the evil of their actions into apparent good, as though they, too, wanted to appear like "ordinary decent people". The approach to the gas-chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau was made beautiful with trees, and lawns and shrubs and flowers, and music could indeed be heard, such as the Viennese waltzes loved by Hitler, as people approached the abomination at the end of that lovely road. It was very nicely and sensitively done, up to a point, and the ante-chamber to death was camouflaged as shower-baths, though the bars of soap were stones. Indeed, there was a shortage of soap throughout Germany, and this and other shortages were not irrelevant to the Final Solution. The Final Solution was the inevitable result of trying to achieve a mammoth objective with ever-diminishing resources. In short, cutbacks in public spending.

THE BANALITY OF EVIL

It was the absence of charismatic monsters in the whole terrible story which now appalled me. It was what Hanna Arendt called "the banality of evil" that became obvious. Good, decent, ordinary, people are not suddenly, or even consciously, corrupted in this kind of situation. They are corrupted slowly, imperceptibly, over a period of time, to a point where they can manage, and operate, the technology of extermination and genocide without recognising the evil of their actions. Indeed, so subtle is the process, that they come to see their evil actions as being good. They make here, over a period of time, a series of minor moral accommodations, and there, a series of intellectual compromises, and elsewhere "practical" adjustments to what is presented to them by their masters as "reality" or "common-sense". In the end, they do not realise that their behaviour has become monstrous. Their perception of themselves is certainly not that they



Andrew A. Fyffe was educated at Hutchesons Grammar School, Glasgow. War Service 1939-45. Glasgow University and Trinity College. Ordained Minister, Church of Scotland. Joined Prison Service 1957. Served at HMB Portland, HMB Lowdham Grange, HMB Pollington, Staff College Wakefield (Management Studies), HMRC Risley, HMP Drake Hall, HMRC Pucklechurch. Governor designate HMB Hollesley Bay Colony.

have become monsters. The Nuremberg trials are a case in point. Even Streicher seemed a nonentity.

GOOD ANNUAL REPORT

I cannot find, for example, that Adolf Eichman—the "Resettlement Expert"—was a monster, unless evil is born of virtues like intelligence, obedience, commitment, loyalty to established authority, diligence and hard work. Eichman was a good S.S. officer. He was a reliable and resourceful civil servant. He never questioned the "rightness" of the will of his political, military, or bureaucratic superiors. He did not question their objectives. He did not overtly doubt their intelligence. He had all the virtues loved in subordinates by those who exercise authority and power. His sins were of the flesh, and venial. It was his virtues which were malign. He did what he was told, unquestioningly and efficiently. He got on with the job he was given of "resettling" millions of Jews and other enemies of the State. By unquestioning loyalty and commitment, and a dependent desire to be thought well of by his superiors, he was driven by his pragmatism to most monstrous behaviour. He had a remarkable ability to think his way through to what "worked" and then got things done. What more can be required of an organisation man than this?

WORK IS GOOD FOR YOU

The First Solution was that all Jews should be deported or repatriated. (This concept has a familiar contemporary ring.) This, however, proved impracticable. There was no Jewish state, and no nation was prepared to receive, suddenly, that number of surplus Jews. Some Jews, who were able to, voluntarily deported themselves before the Second Solution was applied to the great advantage of their adopted countries. This was the "apartheid" solution. "Hitler has given the Jews a city." A propaganda film with this title was made, showing happy Jews living and working together in a community, like a "New Town", segregated from "ordinary decent" Germans, working and producing to maintain themselves and to contribute to the economy of the Fatherland. This, too, proved impracticable, given the enormous number of Jews and, anyway, it was far too expensive. Available resources were diminishing. It was a kind of glorified unisex open prison concept, really. The Leyhill solution. It was followed by the Coldingley industrial prison concept, the Third Solution. Factories and work-camps were set up. Flich factories, after Friedreich Flich. Perimeter fences and cages were erected to contain the "workers". If only the Jews and other internal enemies of the Reich could be put to work under strict control and supervision, this would pay for the cost of their segregation and serve the industrial productivity of the Reich. The "work-detail to Paradise" it was called. The work-ethic was enthroned as the New Solution and, bizarrely, on the gate of Auschwitz in large letters in wrought-iron, was the declaration WORK LIBERATES *(ARBEIT MACH FRIE)*. It did not, however. While more and more potential workers were flooded into the system, fewer and fewer resources were available for keeping them in health or, indeed, in life, far from liberating them through work. Sick, dispirited and starving people do not achieve high productivity. The sick rate became embarrassing. Numbers in the system grew and grew. Resources were ever further reduced—food, medical attention, heating, clothing—and what remained of them were increasingly diverted, sometimes legally and, more often, illegally, to the needs of staff. Production fell off. Liberation became slavery. Inmates starved and died of hunger or disease in ever-greater numbers, helped by medical officers. Officials and guards, in order to survive without too much pain or sensitivity to human suffering, ceased to recognise anything human in these skeleton-thin, broken, shuffling creatures who dropped dead at their feet and had to be disposed of. The Final Solution was now but one logical step away. Why wait until they die? Why not speed up the inevitable process? Why not use them for research, and then get rid of them? Reality had to be faced. ("Facing up to reality" has as contemporary and as sinister a ring as "repatriation".) The logic was simple, if diabolical.

SURPLUS OF SCAPEGOATS

The Nazi penal system had to cope with two major problems. The first was that a nation of "good, decent people" in fear because of a sick political economy, had been encouraged by its masters to identify internal enemies who were to blame for all their troubles. So the Jews in particular were scapegoated. The Jewish problem became a penal problem. The second was that the penal problem grew in magnitude of numbers as resources for achievement of the "resettlement" Solution diminished.

The gruesome logic necessary for matching a mammoth penal task to inadequate and diminishing resources led inevitably to the Final Solution. This solution—genocide and extermination—was not the deliberate Hell's child of evil men. It was a simple matter of applying a certain kind of political, economic, and organisational logic. It was a straightforward exercise in the art of the possible. Given certain objectives, a certain input, and certain resources, then a certain process and output is inevitable. In the whole thing there was a most peculiar absence of monsters. There was, however, a massive presence of "ordinary, decent people" simply doing what they were told, step after logical step becoming corrupted, until their behaviour became monstrous, though they themselves were not monsters. That apparently most of them who survived, including Adolf Eichman, returned after the war to live again like ordinary, decent people, being good neighbours and kind to women and children, says much for the resilience of the human spirit but little for its moral and intellectual integrity.

MORE REALISM, PLEASE, WE'RE OBJECTIVE

Corruption can steal upon us like a thief in the night, taking away from us, imperceptibly, our sensitivity, our compassion, our integrity. We, too, live in a frightened society, politically and economically upset, which is identifying internal enemies and seeking scapegoats. We live in a society in

which expanding tasks are being given ever fewer resources. Our penal system begins to be under severe stress. We "regret" the overcrowding and the erosion of the rehabilitative processes to which we were once committed. We talk about being "more realistic". We did not make any noticeable noise about the intoduction of imprisonment without trial in Ulster. We did not protest, from within the system, about Special Control Units. Both of these have been done away with, but not because those of us who work within the penal system felt that we would be corrupted by operating these measures. We just accepted them as we now prepare to accept more overcrowding and further withdrawal of resources, etc.

NO CONSCIENCE, PLEASE, WE'RE BRITISH

If the Patersons, the Vidlers, the Bradleys, the Fairns and the Almeric Rich's of our recent Prison Service past were often enough sentimentalists with little of the organisational and political *nous* which satisfies modern mandarin, at least they cared, in their patrician way, about the dignity of people, and very impressive was that caring. They pushed out the boundaries creatively. They set and maintained standards of behaviour in human relationships. What have we done with the heritage they left us? Who now, within our increasingly depersonalised system really cares or, caring, is allowed to find practical expression for it? Numbers, statistics, returns, systems, computerisation, manpower control, operations, tactics, control rooms, dogs, overcrowding drafts, O. & M., and mechanistic modular management reviews which do not begin to recognise the human dimension of organisation not only *reflect* the desensitisation of the process, but also *creates* it by conditioning us to an arid mathematical logic, an unreal reality, and an impersonal perception of our task.

It is not a matter of conscience. To read about the Nazi penal system does not give one any confidence that conscience in any active sense is any part of the equipment of "ordinary, decent people". If there is a most peculiar absence of monsters, there is also a frightening absence of saints. It is a matter of developing *some* awareness of how easily we can become corrupted by making too many moral compromises, too many intellectual adjustments, too many practical accommodations with the new "reality" before it is too late.

IT COULDN'T HAPPEN HERE

It could not happen here? Possibly not! Yet it has begun to happen, perhaps. Leyhill and Birkenau are at different extremes of the same penal continuum, with other prisons at many points between them. With change in political and economic environment, they can move fairly fast along that continuum, as we have had opportunity to observe in the last decade. "Open" prisons increasingly become irrelevant. The real action is in the "Dispersals".

We cannot begin soon enough to ensure that the kind of thing that happened to S.S. Lt.-Col. Kurt Hoess does not happen to us. Hoess commanded the extermination camp at Birkenau. The Birkenau chambers were designed to exterminate 10,000 people a day, depending on the weather.

"Hoess was good to his troops. They worked hard when a large trainload came to Birkenau, and were rewarded with extra rations and schnapps. His system worked with great efficiency . . . He did not even get upset when Col. Eichman unloaded a quarter of a million Hungarian Jews upon him, almost without warning".* The Final Solution was working well. The professionals had overcome the dangers of emotional involvement. Reality was served, and authority was satisfied. Logic was vindicated.

*Leon Uris—EXODUS.

Readers Write . . .

TO THE EDITOR
Prison Service Journal

REDUCING THE PRISON POPULATION

The weekend conference sponsored by the Prison and Borstal Governors' Branch of S.C.P.S. on 26th-27th February was reported by the media to represent the opinions of governors. In view of this, it is strange to note from the discussion paper circulated after the conference that "the involvement of prison governor grades was intentionally restricted". Before we all find ourselves committed to joining the lobby against custodial penalties, perhaps we should consider the implications of this stance.

The Background

In the present desperate state of the Prison Service, it is tempting to ascribe to the aim of reducing the prison population greater virtue than it deserves. The practical arguments which concern the Service should be seen against the background of a five-fold increase in serious crime during the past 20 years. The use of non-custodial sentences has greatly increased, and we should not allow the high prison population to obscure the fact that the *proportion* of offenders sentenced to imprisonment has consistently fallen.

On the basis of these facts, two comments may fairly be made. First, the courts have demonstrated their willingness to use non-custodial sentences. Second, those who would argue that it was the deterrent effect of imprisonment which contained the level of crime until 1955 have the facts to support their contention. Other interpretations may be possible, but this does not nullify the assertion that the facts are consistent with a "general deterrence" argument.

A Sliding Scale for Remission

Dr. K. Pease of Manchester University suggested that remission should be awarded on a variable scale. Thus, the effective length of each custodial sentence would depend upon the number and length of sentences imposed in the meantime. This scheme is not without virtue. We could apply it until the population was reduced to any chosen figure, however small. Whether this would be wise, in view of the rise in serious crime and the fall in use of imprisonment, is a matter for debate.

The application of Pease's scheme would introduce to British sentencing policy a completely new principle—that the court cannot choose to afford protection to the public for a fixed period against the activities of a particular offender. The lengths of sentences imposed for various crimes would still bear the same relationships between them, but their absolute lengths would depend on the prison population.

The Unique Effectiveness of Custody

If it is borne in mind that the prison population does not represent a random sample of those convicted, but is disproportionately composed of those for whom other sentences have been found insufficiently effective, it is, perhaps, astonishing that anyone discharged from prison stays "out of trouble" at all. What is certainly remarkable is the evidence produced

by R. Cockett (summarised in the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL of July, 1973) that, for the bulk of his sample of borstal trainees, borstal training was the only sentence which appeared to have affected their criminal careers for the better. If these results can be replicated for prisons, it will provide a weighty argument. The suggestion that periods in custody are no more than a preparation for bigger and better crimes after release is undoubtedly true for some inmates, but for most it could be argued that further offending is less likely after a custodial sentence than after any non-custodial alternative.

Pease invites us to agree that "probably the best scheme would be one where high prison intake led to increased remission, but low prison intake led to prison closures". Such an approach is contentious in principle and dangerous in practice. It transfers discretion from the courts to the Prison Service, and takes no account of the growing number of offenders for whom non-custodial sentences are ineffective, and those activities in the community are altogether unacceptable to the public.

"Just Noticeable Difference"

Pease's second proposal is that long sentences should be expressed in months, and short sentences in weeks. The reduction of a sentence from, say, 30 to 25 weeks would be "just noticeable" to society, but would produce a reduction in the prison population. Given the conflicting pressures already experienced by courts—to deal with the crime explosion, but to reduce their use of imprisonment—it seems a little ungracious to ask them to limit themselves yet further. One suspects that the courts would rather "round up" than "round down" the lengths of sentences, in view of the number of cases on each successive calendar.

Sentencing Powers and Policies

Another speaker at the conference was Dr. A. Ashworth. He suggested that the power to impose imprisonment should be withdrawn from magistrates courts. Closer examination of this rather simple expedient suggests that it might be fraught with pitfalls. Magistrates courts impose imprisonment on only four per cent of those they convict of indictable offences. If they had to remand these cases to Crown Court, it would increase the proportion of the population remanded in custody, and would be undesirable. Where the recorder or judge felt that the period on remand was itself a sufficient sentence, a non-custodial sentence might ensue. This use of remand as a sentence has already been rightly criticised, and one is reluctant to accept any proposed scheme which might increase it, especially if there appear to be no compensating advantages.

Ashworth suggests that some offenders could be diverted from prison—alcoholics, vagrants, inadequates, mentally disturbed petty criminals, etc. Whilst one is reluctant to see in prison those whose condition renders them unable to benefit from the experience (and whose offences are irritating rather than damaging) there is no sign that the community will be able to manage them better than the Prison Service in the near future. As a long-term goal, this proposal has clear advantages. As a solution to the immediate crisis, it is impracticable until community resources are greatly improved, and its effect would be marginal.

Ashworth's criticism of the use of extended sentences would have carried more weight in the allegedly good old days of preventive detention. In recent times, existing public disquiet has been exascerbated by several highly-publicised cases in which serious offences attracted light sentences. Any further movement in the same direction might dangerously alienate the courts from the public.

Ashworth also contends that the first custodial sentence of a criminal career has special significance, and should not be lightly awarded. One can only agree with him. If he implies that juvenile benches are at present dispensing custodial justice with too liberal a hand, it seems he has failed to hear the protesting voices of magistrates struggling with the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act. There is nothing to be gained by delaying the first imposition of a custodial sentence if the consequence will be a continued acceleration of a budding criminal career.

Finally, Ashworth suggests that the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, Section 3 (1) may increase the borstal population by imposing on courts a restricted tariff. In effect, the Act means that those who would otherwise have been sent to prison for any period between six months and three years, must instead be sent to borstal. The contention that this provision increases the total population seems extremely dubious. It rests on the assumption that the current borstal sentence is, on average, longer than the term of imprisonment with which it would be replaced. Since borstal training has already been reduced to an average length of about eight months (by cynical and dishonest application of the flexibility which was originally intended as an aid to treatment, training and rehabilitation) it seems likely that the alternative prison sentence would be longer, and the population would rise.

The experts have failed to devise a solution to the overcrowding problem. Some measures might produce a marginal or temporary reduction, but the only safe long-term plan is to increase the capacity of the Prison Service to cope with the rising tide of crime.

D. A. GODFREY
H.M. Prison Service College
Love Lane
Wakefield

TO THE EDITOR
Prison Service Journal

Dear Sir,

The Bristol Group of RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison) is grateful for the review of their *Defendants' Handbook* in the October issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL and we are pleased your reviewer thought it was simplified! However, the Handbook does *not* mention the Bristol magistrates, nor their achievements in helping to fill the prisons. This reference comes from an earlier round of publicity from Bristol RAP, and we, and many defendants, are pleased that the Bristol branch, now part of Avon and Somerset, has helped this police force area to a position in the league equal to the national average.

Bristol magistrates and their clerks, at the start of our campaign, had no idea that they were the most punitive. Since this January, we have made a big effort to inform all benches (by police force areas) of their exact position related to the latest figures, which very surprisingly, are not published and have to be applied for.

We would agree with your reviewer that it is a "force of habit" that makes magistrates in Dorset, Devon and Cornwall, Sussex, Gloucester and Lancashire send so many more people to prison (by percentages of all sentences) than Merseyside, Hertfordshire, South Yorkshire and most notably, Gwent.

NICK FULLER
70 Novers Park Road,
Bristol 4

BOOK REVIEWS

WE ARE STUCK WITH BUREAUCRATIC ORGANISATIONS ...AND WE HAD BETTER TRY TO UNDERSTAND THEM"

—CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION PRESENTEL IN THE PRECEDING ARTICLES—

A GENERAL THEORY OF BUREAUCRACY

ELLIOTT JAQUES
Heinemann, 1976. £6.80

ELLIOTT JAQUES is one of the best known exponents of the theory and practice of organisations. His writings, and especially his connection with the Glacier Metal Company, make him a recognisable figure to the more thoughtful and fortunate members of the Prison Service since, at one time, the communication between members of the Glacier Project and the Service was fairly extensive. Members of the Prison Service College staff, for example, went on study courses in the early 1960's to learn something of styles of management.

In this book Professor Jaques is primarily concerned with the sociological concept of bureaucracy. Despite what some newspapers would have us believe, it is not concerned only with red tape. The concept of bureaucracy is complex, but fascinating, and here the writer does three useful things. He introduces the elements of bureaucracy and, in this way, provides a valuable text for beginners. He criticises and develops existing theory using, especially, the Wilfred Brown model which helps us to understand why the stated aims of organisations so often differ from their practice. And, most importantly, Jaques suggests that bureaucracy need not be the overwhelming, dehumanising, anti-social monolith which it is commonly reckoned to be. It is, he claims, "potentially one of the most creative of all human institutions". Well? You have to read his defence, and make your own judgement. What is indubitably the case, is that we are stuck with bureaucratic organisations (unless we decide to grow our own vegetables on some quaint commune in the Hebrides) and we had better try to understand them.

One especially interesting theme is the conflict between a kind of technocratic efficiency, and human needs and judgments. The danger in "management education", especially in what Goffman calls "people work" organisations, has appeared to some to be a shift away from the human touch. Jaques makes a case for the rehabilitation of humanity in organisations, and tries to demonstrate compatibility between such humanity and more effective administration. "Human beings", he writes, "are always trying to substitute so-called objective indicators in place of the simple act of human judgment, and losing the essence of human ability in the process... the art is not to try to eliminate human judgment but to ensure that it is fully employed. The exercise of judgment is the greatest of human assets". Much of the book is concerned with maintaining the dignity and autonomy of the individual, and might come as a relief to members of the Prison Service who claim to have detected a correlation between concepts of "management" and a decline in the classic, simple, interest in people which once distinguished the English prison system.

Reading this book, one really does become convinced that generalisations and deductions can be made about life in organisations, because Jaques is describing people you know in familiar situations. And here comes the problem. His several analyses of organisations apply *in toto* to the Prison Service. Take a typical discussion like the one about the relationships between position in a hierarchy and authority, out of which comes a familiar figure, the "straw boss" who has no real power to decide what a subordinate should do, to marshal the resources for him to do it, or to remove a subordinate who is unsatisfactory. Or, take his notion of "intrapsychic conflict", in which an individual is seeking two or more incompatible goals at the same time. Or his discussion of the importance of clarity in respect of accountability and authority: vagueness in this area leads to power becoming "delegitimated", and, once lost, being difficult to retrieve. Or, finally, the aphorism I liked best: "It is a wise manager (or subordinate) who knows his own subordinate (or manager)". The point is that all such symptoms of organisational malaise are present to some degree in the Prison Service. Who, for instance, can remove *anyone* from a job? The "delegitimated power" phenomenon is shown at its most extreme by some officers moving into power vacuums and assuming power through militant action. And "straw bosses" abound.

The question which Jaques' systematic analysis provokes is whether what is wrong with organisations can be put right. It may be that they can be put right in some organisations and not in others. Could the Prison Service be improved in the light of his account? Or is it that—because of the structure, the remnants of para-military hierarchies, and a host of other things—tension is endemic and can only be coped with? The much overworked matter of conflicting goals may simply be a fact of organisational life for the Service which cannot be modified at all. Perhaps what is needed now is a study which would apply the wealth of ideas in Jaques' books (and in those of others) to the particular case of the Prison Service. Meanwhile, I would have thought that the book is very relevant, especially to those in the governor grades who have any wish at all to understand the complexities of managing, and living in, bureaucratic organisations. To these, especially, I commend it.

* DR. J. E. THOMAS
Senior Lecturer in the Department of Adult Education University of Hull, is author of "The English Prison Officer since 1850"

Read adhuc

A MILLER'S TALE

INSIDE OUTSIDE

ALISTAIR MILLER
Queensgate Press, 1976.

WANDERING down memory lane is a favourite pastime of prison staff, and signposts bearing the names of people who have left their mark on the Prison Service are scattered liberally along the route. Although I have never met Alistair Miller, his name has featured in so many reminiscences to which I have been subjected that he must have earned himself at least a small signpost on the prison folklore trail.

Inside Outside is an unpretentious book which will appeal to prison staff. The author describes it as "simply a record of my experiences in the prison world. It does not seek to represent the views of prison officers...; nor does it seek to be a textbook on penology". It consists mainly of a collection of anecdotes—some quite humorous—and Mr. Miller's simple, almost conversational, style makes for easy reading.

The picture of Alistair Miller which emerges is of a caring, humane man who, as a governor, was often an innovator and usually enjoyed flying by the seat of his pants—sometimes into the teeth of bureaucratic storms. His managerial style appears to have been based upon his faith in the old-fashioned virtues of honour, trust and honesty rather than any consideration of management theory. His dignity is clearly illustrated by the way in which he defends his actions at the time of the Parkhurst riot for which he was criticised and which, he suggests, cost him any further promotion.

Alistair Miller may have his critics—who hasn't—but I think he would like to be remembered for the enthusiasm he displayed for his work and the pleasure he so obviously obtained from it. In fact, the one aspect of his reputation which he seeks to correct is the frequency of his visits to the golf course: "In later years I am reported as having played a lot of golf; all I can say is that if that had been really true, I would today be a much better golfer".

R. MITCHELL
Assistant Governor
H.M. Prison Service College
Wakefield

Inside Outside is no longer readily available because of the bankruptcy of its publishers. Copies, however, are available from the Library, Prison Service College, Wakefield.

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MEN IN CRISIS: Human Breakdowns in Prison

HANS TOCH

Aldine, 1976. £10.70

WHEN the Reviews Editor sent me this volume, I decided to post it straight back—I was far too busy—but I thought I'd just glance at it first... That was a mistake, because I was hooked. What the book offers is both a sensitive account of distress among prisoners, largely in their own words, and also a convincing framework for interpreting their experience.

The late Professor Toch's book on violent offenders (*Violent Men*, Penguin 1972) will be known to some *Journal* readers. This time he and his co-workers have interviewed, in New York prisons and jails, 381 inmates who were known to have committed acts of self-injury or attempted suicide. They also interviewed a control sample of 175 prisoners not known to have committed such acts—though in fact seven per cent had. Finally, they compiled exhaustive case-studies ("psychological autopsies") of four suicides by studying the records and talking to prison officers, fellow-inmates and other members of each victim's network.

In Toch's considered judgement, "... almost no inmate's institutional career has been free of serious (and potentially disabling) stress. This fact highlights the question... of how some inmates cope (or at least survive) while others do not". To find an explanation, it is no use focussing only on weaknesses or defects of the individual, or only on the difficulties of his environment (whether in the prison itself or events outside). What one has to look at is "the 'transaction' between individual and environment—the relation between personal areas of susceptibility and the difficulties presented by concrete situations. Specific tests are posed by the environment", which certain people fail and others surmount.

From the mass of interviews, three broad types of crisis emerged: coping (problems in adjustment to prison); negative self-assessment (problems springing from the relationship between self and others); and impulse management (problems of internal relationships between "self and self"). Within each type, one of three concerns was dominant: impotence, fear, or need for support. That yielded nine categories. Various recurrent themes linked to stress and breakdown occur in each category. Summarized like this, the classification appears highly abstract; but Toch succeeds in putting flesh on each theme by letting the victims themselves tell us what it felt like at the time of crisis.

The first chapter draws attention to the effects of familiar prison myths. The myth of the "Manly Man", for example, offers a way of coping with the impotence of imprisonment—"it saves face, insures stability, confers status"—but it also means that feelings of despair and vulnerability have to be denied and bottled up, with destructive consequences. Toch comes back to this point in the final chapter, entitled "Crisis Intervention", where he urges the importance of matching the milieu to the very varying susceptibilities and requirements of "men in crisis". Developments in the field of human ecology allow us to analyse the properties of the differing social and physical sub-environments of a prison and actively to design an appropriate range of such environments. He also wants to see much more use of the "untapped therapeutic skills" of custodial personnel. Their opinions are neither sought nor respected: "when an officer escorts an inmate to a psychiatric interview, his role is that of non-participant in an alien ritual". Finally, he envisages that fellow-inmates can be effectively mobilized in supportive roles.

Although this book, therefore, offers salutory reading to psychiatrists and psychologists, it deserves much wider attention in the Service. (Training Officers, take note!) It is a pity that—so far as I know—no study like this has been encouraged in British prisons. There is always the risk, however, that such research arouses academic and wider public interest but impinges only indirectly, if at all, on prison management. It is too easy to reject the findings as being inapplicable in one's own specific setting. Hence I should like to see the research workers in any similar study collaborating directly with one or two prisons in designing experimental changes. In this way the opportunities and constraints of specific situations can be taken fully into account.

ERIC J. MILLER
Tavistock Institute of Human Relations,
was presenter of a Radio 3 series, *Life Inside*, during 1976.

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PROBATION DIRECTORY 1977

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PROBATION OFFICERS

Owen Wells, £1.75

HAVING gone to the trouble of producing a directory, it is always a difficult task to keep it up to date. At the present time, there are nearly 5,000 probation officers of all grades in 56 probation areas. Despite the co-operation of a great number of people the task has proved too great for this publisher who admits in an accompanying list of amendments that he has been unable to include some recent staff changes. I have, nevertheless, referred to the *Directory* regularly and have found it extremely valuable.

BRIAN FELLOWES
Probation Adviser
Prison Service College
Wakefield

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ME AND MY BROTHERS

CHARLES KRAY

Everest Books, 1976. £3.95

Me and My Brothers is Charles Kray's answer to what he regards as the guess-work, half-truths and pure fantasy related in Pearson's *Profession of Violence* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972) and the numerous newspaper accounts of "The Firm" and its activities. He sets out to trace the lives of himself and his younger twin brothers, to describe the social environment in which they lived, and to destroy some of the myths which surround them.

Much has been written about mum-centred family life in Bethnal Green (e.g. *Family and Kinship in East London* by Young and Willmott, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957, and the numerous references they make). A comfortable, friendly environment with its own strict mores and rough justice. Mum, the focal point of family life and domestic economy, maintains high standards within the home and, when necessary, takes a job to keep body and soul together or provide little extras. Dad, with his booze and his mates, adopts a proud, chauvinistic attitude to the East End in general and his family in particular. Villains and Old Bill live in an atmosphere of mutual respect and tolerance; violence, always just below the surface, is used to settle feuds and level scores. Professional boxing is one way into the big time—crime is another.

The Kray family differed from others in few significant ways. Both grandfathers were well known and respected local characters; father, Charles Snr., made a good, and largely honest, living "on the knocker" and mother provided a comfortable home without having to take a job herself. Charles and the twins, Ronnie and Reggie, liked their parents and enjoyed the benefits of a close extended family. War, that great disrupter of family life, sent Charles Snr. on the run from conscription, and the three boys and their mother into the country. Family ties were maintained, however, with Mr. Kray visiting his evacuee family in Suffolk as often as he could. The threat of invasion, real or imagined, caused Mrs. Kray to pack up and move her sons back to London. Father was a frequent, if furtive, visitor and the boys learned to avoid answering police questions.

Boxing grew in importance as the boys developed. All three became competent fighters taking seriously the rigours and discipline of the sport. The roadwork, training and early nights kept them from petty mischief and paid dividends. Their names on the bills of promotions, sometimes all three on the same bill, drew good crowds and popular support. Very great success may have been within the grasp of each of them, particularly the twins, but in the event it slipped away.

Charles spent his national service in the Royal Navy but ill-health meant early discharge and, later, retirement from boxing. A few years later the twins were obliged to join the army. Within a few hours of reporting to the Tower of London garrison the twins were on the run having had a violent disagreement with a corporal. The remainder of their army experience was gained at Shepton Mallet military prison.

The Kray brothers spent the 1950's and 1960's developing a gambling and entertainment empire. From humble billiard hall management they expanded, using business acumen and strong inter-personal skills, into a large lucrative organisation which, although operating on both sides of the legal fence, never had to buy police protection or use excessive violence in the normal course of trading.

George Cornell had let it be known that he was going to get Ronnie sooner or later; as it happened Ronnie got him first. Jack McVitie died from stab wounds inflicted by an over-zealous acquaintance of the Krays. They just wanted him beaten up to teach him a lesson. Frank Mitchell was very much alive the last time the Krays saw him. The Old Bailey trial and sentences are now so much legal history.

A great deal so far written about the Krays has made them objects of contempt; gangsters who brutalized and intimidated. This book puts them into a different perspective, that of family men who lived in a tough environment and fought to succeed. Those injured in the process came from the criminal element and knew the rules of the game or provoked the brothers beyond all reasonable limits. Their faults are not glossed over but Ronnie is seen as a victim of the drug Stemetil, which was administered during an early term of imprisonment, rather than as a brutal thug showing early signs of psychopathy. Reggie is the thoughtful, placid twin eager to make a success of business and private life. Charles is on hand to give help and advice, not to control or direct. Constantly in the background are Mum and Dad lending

stability and support to their developing family.

Anyone reading this book in the hope of finding detailed revelations about the inner workings of the Kray empire will be disappointed. It is, however, far more than a protective elder brother putting the record straight. The emphasis is on the family and because of this the account contains some poignant moments. The death of a much-loved aunt, the suicide of Reggie's wife (briefly but sensitively handled), the break-up of Charles' marriage. Is it a convincing story? I think anyone who knows or has read about the East End will see the Krays in the context of that place at that time. It is not a book for someone seeking verification of classical criminological theories or social case-work explanations but it is a jolly good bedside read.

Biography

PETER J. LEONARD
Assistant Governor
Officers' Training School
Wakefield

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JUVENILE VICTIMISATION—The Institutional Paradox

C. BARTOLLAS, S. MILLER and S. DINITZ

Wiley, 1976. £12.00

Juvenile Victimisation is a summary of a unique research programme—an attempt by the authors to explore the form and extent of exploitation and victimisation in an American juvenile correctional institution.

The aim of the book is apparently to demonstrate the paradox of inmate victimisation in an institution designed to rehabilitate inmates. Ninety per cent of the inmates were either being exploited or were involved in exploiting others. The authors conclude that, for inmates to survive, they "... must make some kind of adaptation to being used, or using others" and that "... exploitation and victimisation like the deprivation of freedom and the other pains of imprisonment are inherent aspects of institutional life".

The research programme involved observation and interviews with both staff and inmates over a period of about six months. The study was conducted in the young offender institution at Columbus, Ohio, which holds many of this state's most violent and aggressive inmates. The material was then used to describe the exploitation of inmates by each other and by staff as well as the "games" used by inmates to take advantage of staff. As a consequence of the research techniques, many of the findings must be considered to be strictly subjective and liable to manipulation by staff and inmates. The authors' conclusion that 18.8 per cent of the inmates were "exploiters" loses meaning when the difficulty of defining exploitation is considered. The American context also limits the application of the programme's findings. Black inmates were in the majority and race was very much a live issue: a black "ghetto" culture ruled and whites found themselves much more likely to be victimised. The researchers also suggest that there was a high level of sexual exploitation—inmates forcing other inmates to have anal or oral intercourse—blacks usually exploiting whites. All of this seems somewhat divorced from the situation in young offender institutions in Britain.

The authors' description of the various inmate roles, however, and the chapter on inmate "games" do seem more relevant. The book is probably worth reading for this material alone. Those who have worked in young offender institutions will recognise some of the roles and games described. For example, the game "Look How I'm Fouling Up" is played by the boy who does everything wrong. "Cottage staff are quite concerned about the boy's welfare, while at the same time afraid that his destructive behavior may make them look bad . . . he begins to spend considerable time talking with staff, assuring them that he needs their help . . . Suddenly the "mess-up" becomes an ideal inmate . . . staff decide to give him an early release . . . and the game is successful".

Perhaps the greatest value of the book is in highlighting inmate exploitation in penal institutions as a subject in need of more extensive research—particularly in view of the suggestion that inmate victims in young offender institutions are "marked for life" as a consequence of their institutional experiences.

RAY TOMLINSON
was formerly an assistant governor at Wetherby Borstal

□

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

PETER HAIN

Quartet Books, 1977. 90p

MOST people have been the subject of mistaken identity. When a total stranger approaches you and says, "How are you? Nice to see you again!", such an incident is embarrassing but easily remedied. How would you feel, however, if the stranger was a policeman who, instead of a friendly greeting, was advising you that you had been identified as the person who had carried out a crime which you knew you had not committed? I think your feelings would be very similar to those which Peter Hain describes himself suffering in *Mistaken Identity*.

This account of his extensively publicised case is unashamedly one-sided. Mr. Hain is attempting to present a victim's view of police procedure and the legal system. It is not recommended reading for policemen suffering from high blood pressure. It is, however, credible, well-written—many journalists could learn from the interesting way in which the court case is summarised—and topical coming so soon after the cases of George Davis, Patrick Meehan and the publication of the *Devlin Report* (see PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL number 24, page 15).

The book deals not only with Peter Hain's arrest and trial, but also describes a number of other less well-known incidents of mistaken identity which came to his attention as a result of the publicity surrounding his own case. Hain came to realise how fortunate he was in being a public figure with supportive family and friends. "I thought again what it must be like to be unknown and a victim of mistaken identity: if my own predicament was a nightmare, that must be hell".

He is critical not only of the methods of identification which police are allowed to adopt, but also of the philosophy of their investigations: "The myth is of a body whose main aim is to uncover the truth about a crime and, in so doing, to discover the person responsible and bring him to justice. The reality is that their primary concern is to ensure that a prosecution is brought: they are 'prosecution' oriented rather than 'investigative' oriented, not overbothering to uncover the truth about a case so long as they can make a charge stick".

The book raises a number of important issues which are worthy of further study by anyone involved in the law-and-order business. I found it so worrying that I read in depth the final part which consists of advice to anyone who finds themselves the victim of mistaken identity.

Criminal procedure

RAY MITCHELL
Assistant Governor
Prison Service College
Wakefield

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CRIME AND DELINQUENCY IN BRITAIN

Volume 1: The British Tradition

Edited by W.G. CARSON and PAUL WILES

1971

Hardback £5.95 Paperback £2.85

Volume 2: The New Criminologies

Edited by PAUL WILES

1977

Hardback £6.45 Paperback £2.95

MARTIN ROBERTSON

VOLUME 1 of this set is a new edition of the 1971 version which has been modified somewhat to match the format of the newly available Volume 2. Volume 1 remains an invaluable and comprehensive collection of readings that will both assist in providing a sound background for those new to the field and act as a fund of readily available material for those wishing to remind themselves of a number of important studies. The first section of this volume reviews the development of a sociological perspective on crime in Britian, taking as a starting point the essay of Engels "Crime and the conditions of the Working Class". The nineteen pieces that follow cover a remarkably wide spectrum under the groupings, "The Sociology of Delinquency" and "Crime, Delinquency and Control".

In his preface to the second volume, the editor acknowledges that "a distinctly British criminology has tentatively begun to emerge", and it is this that spurred the preparation of his book. Ten years ago there was only one university in the British Isles that regarded the subject as one worthy of its own institute. Paradoxically that was a university which, at the time, had no sociology department and in which criminology was seen as a rather esoteric branch of the law. Today the increased opportunities for research in the subject have led to the broadening of the understanding of criminal problems. Whilst British criminology still owes much to the theoretical bases established in the United States it is no longer necessary for the British student to assume parallels when considering crime in this country.

Volume 2 contains ten essays, and I found of particular interest Taylor, Walton and Young's piece, "Towards a New Criminology", and Howard Parker's carefully prepared piece of participant observation, "The Authority Conspiracy", which is about the first three post-school years of a group of Liverpool adolescents. The most stimulating piece for me was Stanley Cohen's "Protest, Unrest and Delinquency: Convergences in Labels and Behaviour". It seems self-evident that there is some confusion in distinguishing between political and criminal offences. Yesterday's terrorist is often today's hero, and today's hero may become tomorrow's war criminal. Protesters against regimes can easily perceive themselves in the "political offender" role—but the perpetrator of mundane property offences may come to see himself as a political prisoner. In this context, Professor Cohen reminds the reader of George Jackson's transition from thief to revolutionary. Rather than providing answers, Cohen prompts the reader not to accept at face value the labels given to the student protester on the one hand or the situationist bomb planter on the other.

I would recommend these two volumes to the theorist and to those of us who work in the criminal justice system. The books present in a bright and readable manner many arguments of critical importance to the further understanding of the phenomena with which we deal.

Criminology

PETER M. QUINN
Assistant Governor
Long Lartin Prison

THE EMPLOYMENT REHABILITATION OF THE EX-OFFENDER

APEX CHARITABLE TRUST

Annual Report, 1975-1976

THIS is the tenth annual report of APEX, which operates as a charitable employment agency for ex-offenders, outlines its work and the particular projects undertaken by the Trust. It also contains recommendations for a constructive programme of training and preparation for employment on release which should prove interesting to anyone involved in prison management.

R.M.

ALTERNATIVE PENAL MEASURES TO IMPRISONMENT

COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 1976

THIS booklet sets out the "European view" of alternatives to prison, and includes a survey of current practice in Europe and elsewhere.

Unfortunately, it starts off with "Resolution (76) 10 on some Alternative Penal Measures to Imprisonment" which is couched in what can only be described as "Common Marketese". The meat of the report, however, is much more intelligible and becomes quite interesting.

The report examines the development of alternative measures and attempts to evaluate them in various countries. The majority of these measures will be known to readers, but certain refinements are worthy of note. In France, deferred sentence means the court need not pass sentence on conviction, but may defer this for up to one year. Amongst the "supervision on probation" awards, the "rehabilitation councils" existing in Sweden and the Netherlands are of note, as is the concept of "differential supervision" set up under the IMPACT project in the U.K. Both these projects are reported at some length in appendices to the report. Fining is examined in some detail and the idea of suspended fines with supervision is proposed. Under the headings of "semi-liberty" and "semi-detention", the report considers a number of measures, varying from end-of-sentence parole and outwork schemes to weekend or overnight imprisonment. In most current examples of semi-detention, the punitive element appears to be uppermost (the weekend prison sentence is an example) but the report cites cases where the therapeutic element predominates (work release in France and periodic work detention centres in New Zealand are two of these).

The report concludes that non-custodial sentences are to be preferred where they are not ruled out by considerations of public protection, public economy or respect for individual freedom. They have the advantage that they do not separate the offenders from the influence of other social systems, and so may improve the prospects for rehabilitation.

Treatments

M. A. MOGG
Assistant Governor
Feltham Borstal

THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBS

BRIAN GIBSON

Barry Rose, 1976. £4.00

THIS is a fair account of a revolting subject: the IRA activity in England between 1972 and 1974. Mr. Gibson, who has worked for the B.B.C. in Ireland and Birmingham, is a careful and generally competent witness. There is one blunder. On the bombing of the Parachute Regiment's mess at Aldershot in February 1972, he writes: "For the Provos it was a one-off. It was thirteen months before they repeated the attack". That operation had nothing to do with the Provos. The Officials did it and said so.

The Provo campaign began in March 1973 with car bombs in London. By the end of the year the national toll was two dead and about 370 injured. By the middle of 1974, over the country as a whole, there was a bomb every three days. Birmingham had received more than its share. In August, the police rounded up most of the gang in Birmingham and the Provos there had to make a fresh start.

When his brother was killed by paratroopers in Belfast, Jamie McDade became a Provo. He blew himself to bits in Coventry on November 14th, 1974. That accident was to prompt the killing of 21 young people in two pubs in the heart of Birmingham. Two of the pub bombers (Hill and Power) had been at school with McDade in Belfast; two others (Hunter and Callaghan) had been close friends of his. The other members of the "revenge" squad were Murray (the co-ordinator) Walker, Sheehan and McIlkenny. Their plan was to place bombs in the city centre, then travel to McDade's funeral in Belfast. Raising the fare was a problem. Hill conned a nun with a sob-story. A nimble greyhound helped to stake Hunter and Power. The whole affair was a hasty, vindictive shambles.

On the evening of November 21st, Power left his plastic bag of death in The Mulberry Bush; McIlkenny, Hill and Callaghan dumped theirs in The Tavern in the Town. Callaghan saw his comrades off at New Street station. There was (at 8:11) a telephoned "warning": it was late, vague and useless. The Mulberry Bush went up at 8:18. The Tavern in the Town, at 8:20. Rescuers struggled frantically to save the living and the half-alive and to dislodge the dead. Several of the 162 who were injured lost limbs. A girl was blinded by fragments of bone from a man's skull.

A railway clerk at New Street had spotted that five Irishmen were travelling as a group, with consecutive tickets. The five were met by police at Heysham. They spent that night in police cells in Morecambe.

Friday was Punch-A-Paddy-For-Jesus Day. Anyone Irish was fair game, especially in Birmingham where about six per cent of the population is Irish-born. Roy Jenkins promised quick anti-IRA legislation.

By the weekend, nine of the gang were in police custody in Birmingham. Before they appeared in court on Monday morning it was noted that Hunter had scratches across his body, and Walker a black eye. From court, the accused were remanded to Winson Green prison where, within four hours, they showed peculiar symptoms: black and blue skin, dilated noses, missing teeth. Nobody in court that morning had noticed the symptoms although—as Dr. Harwood, the prison's medical officer, eventually concluded—the injuries were twelve hours old at least. The doctor's original statement (to the Home Office) took a different line. Hunter said he had fallen down the steps of the police van. Hill admitted a similar feat of foot. McIlkenny averred that he had fallen *up* some steps (in the prison). Dr. Harwood, in that first statement, found their injuries to be "consistent with their explanations". Anyone who appreciates the dizzying challenge a flight of steps represents to an average Irishman may feel tempted to think he was right. But the doctor had the courage to repudiate his initial, glib perception. It dawned on him that those injuries had just got to be at least twelve hours old.

Six of the bombers got life. Twenty-one of their victims got death.

Brian Gibson has performed a service for the public. And a service for the Service.

PETER DONNELLY
is a freelance writer with a particular interest in relations between Britain and Ireland.

THE ECONOMICS OF CRIME

R. W. ANDERSON

Macmillan, 1976. £1.95

FOR those who thought they had heard every possible definition of punishment, how about this one? "For punishment here is conceived of as an efficient, in varying degrees non-transferable, stochastic price". If that means anything to you, then reading this book will be a joy; if not, then reading the book will be a pain. I found it a pain.

I struggled through "The Supply and Control of Offences", "The Socially Optimal Level of Offences" and the rest of the chapters, not understanding the mathematics, but then experiencing a "let down" when confronted by conclusions which I knew all along. For example: "The view is often heard that it is pointless to jail offenders if their post-release behaviour is not changed. As we have seen, there are two reasons why it might not be pointless: (a) the preventative effect of detention and (b) the effect on others" (page 49).

The attempt to apply a cost-benefit analysis to crime and its control has some attractions, but I do not think the case is made here.

M.G.

SISTERS IN CRIME: The Rise of the New Female Criminal

FREDA ADLER

McGraw-Hill, 1976. £3.30

WOMEN, CRIME AND CRIMINOLOGY: A Feminist Critique

CAROL SMART

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976. £4.95

FREDA ADLER and Carol Smart have brought into the debating forum the increasing problem of the woman criminal. Previous literature on women and crime has avoided the new social facts of female liberation and changing societal attitude. Both authors contend that it is time to analyse and assess the crime patterns of females, in particular the increase in violence which until the last decade has not been seen as worthy of study.

Freda Adler looks at the deviant American woman and questions why she is now committing many of the crimes which were once the almost exclusive domain of the male. She argues that offences traditionally associated with women, such as prostitution, have in the past been viewed in psychological terms and that social aspects of prostitution are worthy of assessment. The greater social acceptance of female sexuality and its need for expression is taking the offence out of the accepted world of vice to which it has been confined.

She has drawn on past research and the present experience of law enforcement agencies and has combined both aspects in a book which is easy to read. Increasing female juvenile delinquency is seen to be closely correlated with the emancipation of women: "The departure from the safety of traditional female roles and the testing of uncertain alternative roles coincide with the turmoil of adolescence creating criminogenic risk factors which are bound to create this increase". The provocative considerations are greater societal stress on material success, upward mobility and urbanisation.

The author investigates drug offences, maintaining that drug abuse is one of the most popular deviant forms, by which those females, frustrated at the lack of educational, vocational and political opportunities, express their psychosocial turmoil.

In the final chapter, Adler looks at what lies beyond liberation and concludes "as women gain greater equality with men, the male dominated judicial process will likely treat them with less deference and impose more stringent sanctions; the condition of being a woman in a man's world will carry less protection". Despite this prediction, "Women's Lib" readers will loudly applaud this treatise, though chauvinists may find occasional strong feminist phrases irksome. Whatever the reader's view, the book is recommended.

Carol Smart's book is equally comprehensive and readable involving a catalogueing of existing psychological, medical and social research into female deviance but strongly contending that "the quality of the work which does address the question of female criminality leaves much to be desired".

Smart, like Adler, looks at female violence, maintaining that the traditional socialisation of British society has limited the nature of any manifested violence. Until recently extreme female aggression has been viewed as a pathological exception in a female, but now social factors cannot be ignored and pathological answers are inadequate.

Smart's book becomes particularly interesting, from chapter five onwards, for those working in English female prisons. There are provocative statements, like "Most regimes employed in penal institutions for female offenders are typically those which reinforce the stereotypical traditional sex role of women in our culture". Arising from this, there is criticism of the policies of female prisons. The new Holloway is criticised because of belief inherent in the redevelopment that female criminals will be viewed as psychologically sick. Smart maintains that such "Lombrosian" assumption in the work will enhance classical views and take no account of social trends which are part of the process of criminalisation. There is danger in perpetuating the view that women criminals are abnormal. Smart advocates that future studies of female criminality must be situated in the wider moral, political, economic and sexual spheres which influence women's status in society.

Both books, if they can be afforded, would be valuable for debate among prison staff. Smart's book is particularly relevant and strongly recommended.

Female Crime

J. M. FOWLER
Assistant Governor
Styal Prison

ESCAPE ATTEMPTS

STANLEY COHEN AND LAURIE TAYLOR

Allen Lane, 1976. £5.50

Escape Attempts is not a do-it-yourself guide for tunnellers or springers. If you remember Cohen and Taylor's last book, you'll guess correctly that this book is about how people cope (*Psychological Survival* was about long-term prisoners at Durham).

Escape Attempts is not particularly about people in prison but it is about prisoners of routine. Cohen and Taylor paint a depressing picture of us tied down in society, playing our parts, but striving to find some evidence of our individuality. Their book reflects on what you and I do when faced with the momentary or continual realisation that we are up against a tedium of duties, responsibilities, timetables, and expectations and that we don't like it. Trapped in a culture that urges each of us to find his "true self", to inject some meaning into life, and to seek happiness through progress and novelty, we may find we are caught instead in a rut of repetition and routine.

What do you do when you are struck by this realisation? First, you try mentally distancing yourself from the alienating activity. Secondly, you might re-invest effort and meaning into it. Thirdly, you may start digging away at your particular "escape routes": you invest in phantasies, hobbies, games, gambling, sex, holidays, art and culture, drugs, therapy... whatever makes you "you" until you hit the next snag. And that, according to Cohen and Taylor, will be the growing realisation that you've been here before: your exciting escape route becomes repetitous or is taken over by other people (as when the hippy culture was commercialised). Then it's time to start digging a different escape route, even going to extremes—moving frantically through a series of activities so as to preserve the illusion of freedom or taking on a once-and-for-all adventure or crime.

Although Cohen and Taylor did not set out to advance the sociology of deviance by means of this book, they do provide—in discussing extremist escape routes—a notable insight into the behaviour of the bizarre criminal. The growing number of sensational and "inexplicable" actions follows society's increasingly specific expectations, exploitation, and exemplars of noteworthy lifestyles: Charles Manson and the man who shoots at random from a clock tower are both examples of individuals pushed to the extremes in seeking identity, of people going over the top. There are other extremists, it is true—like adventurers, gamblers, mystics, druggies, madmen—but none of these put others' lives so much at risk.

Escape Attempts is not, however, focussed on extremists but rather starts from and concentrates on the coping strategies of ordinary people. It is very honest, at times gloomy, and all too true. These are the features which make the book realistic and if you share an interest in people then you might find, as I did, that this is the most engaging book you've read in years. If I had strictly to justify its inclusion in the book reviews of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, I would say it was valuable to those trying to understand the coping strategies of prisoners (who, more than the rest of us, are temporarily stripped of personal effects and techniques for maintaining their identities) or that it was of interest to anyone who wondered what would follow *Psychological Survival*. The truth is that I believe it to be an important book for anyone who claims to understand how ordinary people get on with the mundane routines of everday life.

RICK EVANS
Senior Psychologist
Gloucester Prison

DELINQUENCY, CRIME AND SOCIETY

JAMES F. SHORT

University of Chicago Press, 1976. £11.25

THE Chicago school of the 1920's and 1930's stands as a landmark in the development of criminology. It is notable, not only for the rigorous application of theoretical principles to social behaviour, but also because it bridged the void between academics and practitioners.

Henry McKay was one of the key workers in the Chicago school and is best known for the book he wrote with Clifford Shaw, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. This present volume, which was compiled in his honour, is an impressive assessment of the relevance of research undertaken in the 1920's to problems in the 1970's.

Urban areas with high crime rates—be they slums or problem council estates—are still with us, but this volume takes the issues further. Contributions from Weinberg, Clinard and Abbott consider the importance of area studies to the developing countries of Africa, while Miller and Short consider the characteristics of youth gangs. The discussion of their continuity and development in times of political crisis has immediate relevance to Northern Ireland.

The strengths of the book are many. In the opening chapter, Harold Finestone contributes a most constructive appreciation of the Chicago tradition, and this is followed by a chapter by Simon, Puntil and Peluso which considers recent research in Chicago. Many of the articles are reflective summaries of research already published and are therefore invaluable to the practitioner who does not have time to read the full reports—Wolfgang's article on measuring recidivism, cohort delinquency rates and crime seriousness is an excellent example.

In short (if one may be allowed a pun) this set of readings can be highly recommended, not just to those who wish to dwell in the past, but to those who aim to deal constructively with present issues.

R. I. MAWBY
University of Leeds
Liaison and Advisory Officer to the Prison Service College
Wakefield

PROBATION AND AFTERCARE: Its Development in England and Wales

DOROTHY BOCHEL

Scottish Academic Press, 1976. £7.50

THIS book is particularly welcome at a time when such rapid change is occurring and when the Probation and Aftercare Service is still so much in the melting-pot. To understand the present, to try to cope with the future, we badly need more perspective from the past. Moreover, we need mutual understanding between the services responsible for dealing with offenders. There have sometimes been times when it has seemed as though police, sentencers, prison and probation services existed in separate worlds, dealing with quite different people. In the face of rising crime and severe strains throughout the system, it becomes more and more apparent that what happens in any one sector vitally affects the rest.

Dorothy Bochel traces the history of the Probation Service in England and Wales from the first tentative nineteenth-century experiments to the most recent expansion of its role in the *Criminal Justice Act* 1972. At many points, it interacts with the history of the Prison Service. From the start, the pressures on prisons were a powerful factor in securing acceptance of statutory probation for adult offenders. The Herbert Gladstone who chaired the famous Gladstone Committee at the end of the nineteenth century was the same Gladstone who, as Home Secretary, introduced the *Probation of Offenders Act* at the beginning of the twentieth. The same idealism which at that time claimed rehabilitation as one of the objectives of the treatment of prisoners established it as a central purpose of probation. Special measures for particular classes of offenders within the prison system, from borstal and preventive detention to the more modern detention centres and parole, have depended upon probation officers for supervision after release. At the same time, the ultimate sanction behind probation has been the possibility of a sentence for the original offence—in the last resort, a custodial sentence. And now, once more, it is the overcrowding of prisons—on a scale far worse than that faced at the beginning of the century—which has forced the government to seek out and encourage new alternatives, such as community service orders and hostels for adult probationers, which are further expanding the scope of the Probation and Aftercare Service.

In terms of arrangement, the book takes each successive stage in the development of the Probation Service, surveying its administration, personnel, attitudes and methods, the scope of its duties, and internal and external relationships. Contemporary official reports are taken as milestones and major sources in illustrating each stage. Thus, in order to follow through developments in relation to a particular issue, such as after-care or prison welfare, it is necessary to resort to the index. But the index is a good one and to use it is very rewarding.

There is almost always a temptation, however thoroughly an author may have carried out the task he has set himself, to wish that he had attempted more. If this book fails to take full account of the changes in mood and attitude, the tensions and controversies, which have developed in the Probation and Aftercare Service over the last few years, it may be because they had not become so apparent at the time it was completed. The vexed question of the involvement of probation officers in prison welfare, which has produced problems and controversies amongst probation and prison staffs since 1966, is barely touched upon. Especially when dealing with recent years, the book gives a feeling of being too impersonal, too much on the surface, insufficiently attuned to underlying trends and sharpening conflicts.

Such criticisms must, however, seem ungrateful. Bochel has done well what she set out to do. She has brought together, for the first time, a great deal of tediously scattered material, some of it hitherto unpublished. The additional bibliography and references bear witness to her thoroughness in that respect. All this offers an invaluable starting point, not only for under-

standing the Probation and Aftercare Service but for any attempt to probe more deeply into the significance of its past development and the attitudes of probation officers today.

JOAN F. S. KING
Senior Assistant in Research
Institute of Criminology
University of Cambridge

ILPAS '76

A REPORT ON ASPECTS OF THE WORK OF THE INNER LONDON PROBATION AND AFTERCARE SERVICE

£1.25

THE report gives in concise and digestible terms factual information about how the Service and its work have changed over the years, especially in the last fifteen years, for Inner London as compared with England and Wales as a whole. Aftercare work increased from fourteen per cent of the total caseload in Inner London in 1963 to forty-seven per cent in 1975. Probation cases over the same period fell from a seventy-three per cent to a forty-one per cent proportion of the total caseload. In manpower terms, between 1963 and 1973, the Inner London Service increased by seventy-seven per cent, its total caseload by ten per cent. The report mentions a few of the implications of these changes—the extent to which London probation officers are now dealing substantially with seasoned offenders of all kinds rather than with first or minor offenders, and having to fulfil a role which is more difficult and involves a greater use of authority.

The chapter on training is good in that it touches on some very central issues. It refers graphically to the range of methods and philosophies which have their place in probation work, a range which is probably wider and more rapidly changing than that handled by any other professional discipline which carries public accountability. The task of training, and to some extent of the Service's organisation, is to "aim broadly at reconciling these different concepts, penal and therapeutic, into one coherent whole". The report has some useful specific sections on training for different aspects of the Service's work, and it mentions some intriguing possibilities which most people in the Service would dearly love to see developed: helping the person under supervision to act "in a role other than that of a recipient of social work help", making "'differential' selection of methods of intervention an everyday reality", and the suggestion that the Service should have a "research unit or laboratory for exploring different methods of social intervention". One might be forgiven for wondering if the magical associations once ascribed to casework have now been transferred to audio-visual equipment, the use of which is described very vaguely indeed as "used in a variety of ways"!

The chapter on innovations in the non-custodial treatment of offenders is an important collection of material, reflecting a range of new developments in which Inner London has had more experience than any other comparable Service. The account of the Day Training Centre is impressive, and the reader is still left with the question why is it that Day Training Centres have not "taken off" as a really substantial alternative to imprisonment.

This section of the report mirrors the Martinson research finding that one ingredient in helping to find that elusive quality of success in penal measures is the need to be flexible and innovatory in response to changing definitions of needs. There is abundant evidence of the capacity of the Inner London Service to meet this requirement. The problems of London society, as they express themselves in social dereliction, homelessness and crime, are probably more intense than in any other part of the country, and these are vividly illustrated.

One is left with a number of basic questions. Where is the heart and focus, or if you like the basic aim, of this large and well developed Service, and in particular of its substantial training programme? It is probably true that many probation areas have not identified this, but the report makes it clear how essential such an aim is in a Service which has accomplished so much. Why is it that the problems of reconciling the idea of individual work with offenders with the organisation of a large and complex Service still remain unresolved after fifty years of experience? What does the Service really know about the effectiveness of some of the measures described in the report? How does the Service assess its relationship with courts, police, Prison Service and the public in London, and the quality of its contribution to the community as a whole, and on what basis does it make the decisions about the use of resources, and the introduction of innovation?

Nevertheless, the report is full of value. There are things in it which are likely to catch the imagination of almost any reader. Some of the descriptive sections really light up. For readers with some relevant experience of their own to add, this work could be of profound value in the insights and graphic impressions which it will give.

W. R. WESTON
Chief Probation Officer
West Yorkshire

AN INTRODUCTION TO AFRICAN CRIMINOLOGY

WILLIAM CLIFFORD

Oxford University Press, 1975. £4.85

THIS book, written for African students of criminology, is commended to those who are interested in the relationship between crime and culture. The African criminologist shares with his Western counterparts the problem of exploring "why some people continue to observe established standards whilst others do not", but can look back on opportunities for research which were lost during the almost indecent haste for independence after the second World War. Clifford, however, still sees the territories of Central Africa as fertile ground to test out hypotheses relevant to the developed world.

One major part of the book deals with why people commit crime. The factors influencing the African criminal are not significantly different from those responsible for the recent crime explosion in this country. The value for the Western criminologist is that in Africa he is able to confirm the causes of crime by watching it happen all over again. Despite this experience, African preventative measures are either not applied or are ineffective. Coercive institutions have been developed rather than attempts to restore the social control so ably enforced by the tribal system and tradition.

The other major section of the book is entitled "Predictions". The author evaluates prediction studies and concludes that their methods could become viable in Africa. Such an approach would enable a more appropriate response, particularly in providing preventative measures.

The final chapter, "Prevention and Treatment", suggests that, whilst urbanisation and industrialisation are viewed as essential needs in Africa, their effect of disintegrating family life is disastrous. Modernising, but retaining the best of existing tradition, is the appropriate prescription for treating the sore of delinquency. As the author points out, however, the main treatment for criminals in Africa is imprisonment. This illustrates not so much a desire to punish as the failure of preventative measures and the search for alternatives.

G. A. SHORE
Assistant Governor is tutor to the "Overseas Course" at the Prison Service College Wakefield

CRIMINOLOGY AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE: A bibliography

L. RADZINOWICZ AND R. HOOD

Mansell, 1976. £15

GOOD eating can be had out of a thorough and painstaking collection of recipes. I know people who can give every appearance of having fed well after simply reading Elizabeth David's books! This volume from Radzinowicz and Hood gives everyone entry to the writers' kitchen, since it brings together all the sources of criminological writing the editors have found useful between 1964 and early 1976. It is really two volumes in one, the first covering up to mid 1974, with the second, working to the same system, bringing it up to 1976. Subsequent "updatings" are promised.

The book, essentially, is one of reference, which repays consultation whenever anyone wants to find their way to particular issues within criminology, though many of the items included can be found only in specialist libraries. The sections of most direct interest to the Service are: "The Effectiveness of Punishments and Treatments"; "Assessing the Impact of Imprisonment"; "New Approaches to the Treatment of Offenders"; and "Parole". The best place for the book is at the elbow of a librarian, always ready to advise readers of useful sources which they might never find without his help. The Prison Service is fortunate not only in having such a librarian, but in having one with access to this valuable source.

M.B.

PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN: Causes and Treatment

DAVID R. WALTERS

American University Publishers Group, 1976. £6.40

THE abuse of children in the United States is the subject of this book, and its author appears to have had several aims in writing it: to inform the reader about the overall problem in his country; to reflect his convictions based on his practice (he has had extensive clinical experience in this field); to help professionals in the field explore new ways of working; and to give information to professionals in associated fields. He has pursued these several aims in a book so short that it is likely to leave most readers at least a little unsatisfied. In content and style what he has produced is a rather confused mixture of moral tract, cultural propaganda, psycho-social analysis and treatment manual. If this book is to be read by workers in this country (and in view of the relative shortage of literature on the subject perhaps it should be) it might be approached as a tract expressing the ideals, reflections and recommendations of one man rather than as a cool presentation of facts based on evidence. Dr. Walters may be entirely accurate in his arguments and analyses—indeed I found myself nodding at many of his assertions and moral imperatives. Regrettably, however, assertion is too often unaccompanied by either evidence or reasoned argument.

The basic arguments are that physical and sexual abuse of children are variously determined—neither can be adequately explained by individual pathology. They derive from more

fundamental cultural factors, namely historically and culturally determined acceptance of violent or other physical child-rearing methods and the lack of any defined rights guaranteed to children in the United States. His ultimate answers to the problem are a "Bill of Rights" for children and a rejection of unacceptable methods of child-rearing and control. To do him justice, Walters gives his views on the mechanics of how these solutions may be achieved. Until these two objectives are achieved, casework, psychotherapy, increased employment and housing opportunities will not, in his view, prevent abuse. Given that it will continue, Dr. Walters offers his views on methods for dealing with child abuse and a rudimentary typology of physical abusers. Punishment, condemnation and rejection of abusing parents are not recommended; neither is the separation of the child from its parents.

Dr. Walters discusses treatment methods for both physical and sexual abusers which include the children. He argues with some cogency for differential determinants and therefore differential treatment for the two types of abuse, but is much stronger on treatment methods in the sphere of physical abuse. (Indeed this was the most convincing part of his book and, taken with the ten-part classification of types of physical abusers that precedes it, could usefully be read in isolation from the rest.). Whilst accepting that treatment will have two objectives—to prevent further abuse and to deal with the inter-personal relationships in which it is rooted—he spells out clearly that the ending of abuse should be the first objective to be achieved. He rejects with vigour, if without argument, that greater insight on the part of abusers is the necessary route to ending abuse.

The author describes, in detail, methods of behaviour modification based on learning theory. These methods are not used extensively in social work or penal practice in this country but deserve more study. Essentially, he describes the same method adapted to family and group treatment settings. He strongly advocates group-work methods for abusers, but describes a purposeful, symptom-orientated treatment method in which families examine their behaviour and test out specific alternatives. It is note-worthy that the N.S.P.C.C. Special Units in this country are experimenting with group methods for the treatment of parents who have inflicted non-accidental injury on their children.

Child Abuse

PAUL TAYLOR
Assistant Chief Probation Officer
West Yorkshire Probation and Aftercare Service

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NEW YORK COPS TALK BACK:
A study of a beleaguered minority

NICHOLAS ALEX

Wiley, 1976. £9.00

NICHOLAS ALEX continues his study of the attitudes of patrolmen in the New York City Police Department. In his first book, *Black in Blue*, he examined the attitudes of Negro policemen in various precincts of the Department. The results prompted him to research the views of selected white patrol officers on matters of importance to them.

The author uses the same method as in his previous book—the taped interview—and excerpts are reproduced verbatim. The author asks basic questions of the officers: why they became policemen, what are their feelings about their work and how are they treated by their superiors, how they get along with colleagues and in particular black officers, how they see the community and what separates them from others.

The picture that emerges is of a group of policemen who see themselves as a beleaguered minority. They are resentful and defensive, unwilling to do the job and take risks. They see themselves unsupported by authority, the courts and the public.

Their reactions to the Knapp Commission disclosures on police corruption and their resentments of the decline in standards of entrants to the police department receive full chapter treatment and reveal interesting views on the recruitment of black and Puerto Rican patrolmen.

The book will no doubt form essential reading for the student of sociology and urban political science. It is also interesting for anyone in or interested in police work. It should obviously be read as a follow-up to the author's earlier work.

GEOFFREY BUFFHAM
Chief Superintendent of Police
Gloucestershire Constabulary

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OF NO FIXED ABODE: Vagrancy and the Welfare State

JOHN STEWART

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. £7.00

VAGRANT ALCOHOLICS

TIM COOK

Manchester University Press, 1975. £4.95

WHAT do you do for people at the bottom of society who have no home, no job and no resources? Vagrants are unable to benefit much from official social services: they are inhibited from using them by the way they live or the sort of accommodation they are forced to use. As the number of common lodging houses decreases, vagrants increasingly sleep rough, stay in small hostels run by voluntary organisations or, if totally destitute, seek shelter in reception centres or Social Services accommodation. There is a great overlap between those who are officially described as "homeless single men" and vagrant alcoholics, and these two books study aspects of the same problem. They do not set out to look at the causes of vagrancy, but rather to study dispassionately what is and what should be provided for these "dispossessed citizens".

John Stewart's study is of the social services available to homeless single men in the North West of England. His book analyses the records and statistics available in 1971, focussing on the use made of the statutory resources of the Department of Health and Social Security and the local authority Social Services departments. There are interesting (if depressing) studies of the mental and physical disabilities and the incidence of alcoholism and criminality amongst homeless single men. *Of No Fixed Abode* is a scholarly work with chapter notes, bibliography and appendices, but the text is far from dry. While focussing on the use of statutory provisions, it does recognise the vital role of voluntary organisations.

Vagrant Alcoholics reports on one such voluntary agency, the Alcoholics Recovery Project, which started in 1966 to help provide for some of the homeless men in South London. As John Stewart's study affirms, it is difficult to gain admission to a hostel or hospital if you are severely alcoholic as well as homeless. Tim Cook—director of the project and a member of the Home Office Working Party on Habitual Drunken Offenders, which reported in 1971—describes the growth of the project from a single hostel, and several studies of alcoholics, to the use of "shop fronts" (non-residential centres to make contact with vagrant alcoholics) and recovered alcoholics. Like John Stewart's book, *Vagrant Alcoholics* is a thoughtful and well-researched work which also provides a bibliography. It squarely faces the limitations of the project and the difficulties of providing an ideal and co-ordinated service but says the agency is "still travelling hopefully".

Both books look at the possibility of establishing special hostels for "drying out" or curing vagrant alcoholics. John Stewart records the current support for such centres on the grounds that "this would take pressure off hospitals and local prisons, who now perform most of the work done for vagrant alcoholics" (page 118). Tim Cook sees the work of the Prison Department differently: "The court-prison system fails to work with this group, not because it is inhumane and brutal, but because it is simply irrelevant to the needs and problems of the drunkenness offender" (page 109). He fears that "detoxification centres" will seem equally irrelevant to alcoholics and will only restrict their access to other agencies and full medical attention. At all costs, the need is for more awareness and greater co-ordination of services rather than a "hiving off" of alcoholism and vagrancy onto special circuits. John Stewart agrees with this conclusion: "It seems irrational to suppose that the single homeless would benefit from a special hospital or social-work service specially for them . . . If the treatment is not readily available now, why should anyone suppose that the creation of a special medical service for what are ordinarily considered a rather unpleasant collection of people would produce the money, skills, equipment and staff necessary to treat their complaints?" (page 125). Both authors see the potential problems of a special service, but are only too aware that at present the elusive yet needy vagrant slips through society's fingers.

R.E.

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THE DELINQUENT WAY OF LIFE

D. J. WEST and D. P. FARRINGTON

Heinemann, 1977. £6.00

The Delinquent Way of Life is the third report of a project detailing the lifestyles of some 400 youths from a working class area of London who were born between 1951 and 1954. They were chosen as research subjects in 1961 and were then followed up for some fourteen years. The present report surveys them at 18-19 years of age and compares this stage in their lives with the earlier stages.

The book describes the differences in personal histories, attitudes and behaviours between the delinquent minority, who have been found guilty in court, and their non-delinquent peers, who make up the other three-quarters of the sample.

The way of life of the delinquents was very different from that of the non-delinquents. The delinquents frequently changed jobs and avoided work requiring training; they smoked, gambled, and drank more than non-delinquents; they were more promiscuous and had more sexual experiences; they committed more offences against the *Road Traffic Act*; and they were more aggressive, more anti-establishment, and more likely to use weapons and to be involved in fights. If they had numerous previous convictions, aggressiveness and constant trouble-making had been in evidence from an early age. Contrary to other studies, they did not appear to be members of large delinquent gangs, but had committed offences in small groups of two to four.

In any report of this kind one looks for the motivating factors, hoping that some key motive will have been uncovered which will assist in new treatments and preventative action. Alas, the motives appear to have an old familiar ring about them: drunkenness, shortage of money, boredom, enjoyment, girl-friend problems and group pressures. It would seem that the easiest way of satisfying one's needs is to be delinquent. In fact, the personality profile emerging from the findings in the book is clearly in accord with establishment views of what a young delinquent is like, and is entirely consistent with expectations from the earlier surveys.

There are a number of interesting suggestions and proposals listed in the final chapter, but one feels that the book almost proves the old adage that, there are no delinquent children, only delinquent parents.

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

CLASS, CONFLICT AND CONTROL (Studies in Criminal Justice Management)

JIM MUNRO

Anderson, 1976. $13.95

ERNEST HEMINGWAY once stated that an essential quality for a writer was the possession of a built-in, shock-proof crap detector. This is good advice for anybody, but especially for book reviewers, since our biggest pitfall is to assume that anyone capable of writing a book must have something worthwhile to say. This sometimes leads to a misguided sense of reverence, increasing in proportion to the length of the book, and has the same effect as the philosophy that since there is *no such thing as good or bad* art, we have no business to make qualitative judgements anyway. The end result is therefore merely a form of advertising. Such is the thirst for knowledge (as opposed to understanding) and particularly for knowledge that claims to be scientific, that a book bringing together research findings can easily be welcomed uncritically as a contribution towards our further understanding—without anyone asking why it was written or whether it says anything new or important.

Class, Conflict and Control is an advertisement for research. It is a 600-page compendium of thirty-four papers written over the past decade on the subject of American criminal justice. Taken together they resemble a very long answer to an exam question of the "Write All You Know About . . ." variety. The compiler, Jim Munro, concedes that many of them are about the police and possibly not of general interest. He also admits that these are not included because of their merit, but simply because more research has been done on the police than on any other area of criminal justice in America, and he hopes that this sample will demonstrate that research is *a good thing!* Indeed he makes the questionable assertion that "criminal justice and society are too complex to be managed with any set of principles derived from armchair speculation" and that only research can provide us with our principles.

The theme of this book is that American criminal justice is not as fair or effective as it should be because of various constraints (organisational, cultural, legal, human) and that only by further research can we do better in future. Apart from the number of police articles (e.g. "The Personality Perceptions of South Australian Police Officers"!) there is a preference for a systems analysis approach that I find obscure and unhelpful. The papers on organisations looked impressive but said very little (e.g. "Applying Information Technology to Organisational Design") and I was reminded of Anthony Jay's comment in *Management and Machiavelli* that despite the vast literature on organisations we still know very little about them and have perhaps been looking at them in the wrong way. Rather like expecting medical tests on the human body to indicate the presence of a soul.

This book does, however, contain some half dozen papers that are worth reading. I would single out those by Leslie Wilkins on the concept of "cause" in criminology, by David Gordon on "Capitalism, Class and Crime in America", by Stewart Brodie on "The Political Prisoner Syndrome", and by Walter Miller on "Ideology in Criminal Justice Policy". This last is an interesting comparison of typical left and right wing attitudes to crime and punishment set out clearly in table form, and a discussion of attitudes among criminal justice professionals. Brodie's article is relevant to people working in penal institutions, especially dispersal prisons. He discusses the traditional prisoner roles of "sick" and "bad" and identifies the "political" role that first appeared with the Black Muslims in the mid-sixties, and has now made a big impact on prisons in America. Their prison population has become younger, blacker (forty per cent out of a national average of twelve per cent) and more violent; they were exposed to the student and civil disobedience movements of the sixties, and have now managed to politicise older criminals of the conservative "do yer bird" persuasion. A large proportion of criminals now see themselves as political—there is a chance that all the blacks will soon do so—and they have been reinforced in this way by the media, by radical lawyers, and by middle-class guilt. This makes it more difficult to change the values of prisoners or even to communicate with them.

This book implies that the criminal justice system in America is unhealthy, and that research is the only remedy. It fails to mention the constraints of shortage of cash, political corruption, human failings and conflict of objectives. It therefore suffers from severe limitations, but can be dipped into fastidiously for a few individual items. The editor approves of the transition in industry from the swash-buckling entrepreneur to the scientific manager, and looks forward to a time when what he calls the "quixotic practical management of criminal justice organisations" should be replaced by "knowledge, experiment and administrative rationality". With the exception of one good article on research by Daniel Glaser, this book manages to make such a prospect appear more of a nightmare than a dream.

TONY LEWIS
Assistant Governor
Wormwood Scrubs Prison

Sociology
Deviance

WE SPEAK FOR OURSELVES

JACK BABUSCIO

S.P.C.K., 1976. £2.95

ACCORDING to the publisher's notes, Jack Babuscio has written this book "for anyone who gives help to those wanting understanding and assistance in accepting their sexual orientation". Mr. Babuscio is a film critic, lecturer, contributor to *Gay News* and former organiser of FRIEND—the homosexuals' counselling organisation. He lives, according to the biographical note, "in London with Richard Dunn".

Drawing on his experiences as a counsellor, Babuscio describes the difficulties faced by both male and female homosexuals. Quoting at length from about seventy interviews, he ascribes the homosexuals' problems partly to the laws, attitudes and practices of heterosexual society, but concedes that many homosexuals also face problems connected with their own feelings of guilt. He speaks of the "legacy of repression", which is particularly difficult to overcome in the case of older homosexuals, who have learned from years of experience that their sexual orientation is unacceptable except to other "gays". Such people tend to seek a "cure" for their condition, but Babuscio asserts that self-acceptance is the only viable approach to these problems of identity.

"Coming out" (openly acknowledging his preferences) is seen as the most significant step in the homosexual's progress towards self-acceptance. It is likely to evoke negative responses from the homosexual's family and friends, and Babuscio can offer no simple answer to this problem, but stresses the benefits of "coming out" for the homosexual's mental and emotional health.

This book may be a useful guide to those who counsel homosexuals, if the counsellor believes that they should be encouraged to "come out". Those whose professional contact with homosexuals is limited may like to read the summaries at the end of each chapter. Those who believe that homosexuality is unnatural, dangerous, deviant and wrong are unlikely to change their minds after reading Babuscio's book, and I do not expect it to make any profound impact upon the "straight" majority.

D. A. GODFREY
Prison Service College
Wakefield

(1) VANDALISM: An Approach Through Consultation

NACRO

1976

(2) COMMUNITY PLANNING PROJECT: Cunningham Road Improvement Scheme

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING RESEARCH

1976

THE interim report of the *Community Planning Project* is lengthy and looks dauntingly academic. But with it comes NACRO's six-page cribsheet, *Vandalism*. From it we gather that these two documents are not for academic consumption alone. They are about a housing estate and are about a problem which preoccupies us—how to cope with what is described as vandalism.

NACRO initiated this two-year project in January 1976 to test the theory that "environmental improvements which are (and are seen to be) in line with the needs and wishes of residents will involve people more with their surroundings. If they are more involved, they are more likely to take care of their environment (perhaps to the extent of helping to improve it) rather than destroying it". This derives from the work of Oscar Newman (*Defensible Space*, Architectural Press, 1973).

NACRO's summary makes it clear that the project was not designed to study the causes of vandalism. If the design of the experiment has any weaknesses, it may be because vandalism means different things to different people—residents, children and researchers. Despite this, the full report makes fascinating reading, though we shall have to wait until mid-1978 before we can find out whether the project is succeeding in its wider aims of reducing vandalism on the Cunningham Road estate in Widnes.

The aims of the action programme are reminiscent of the early optimism of some of the Community Development projects before politics, economic blizzards and the difficulties of evaluating complex social phenomena cooled white-hot enthusiasm. The aims are: to find out through consultation what people on the Cunningham estate want in the way of environmental improvement, to ask the council and other agencies to implement these improvements, "where practicable and economic—involving the residents as far as possible", and to monitor the effects of consultations plus improvements on the life of the estate. Nevertheless, "even with all this material we will not be able to prove incontrovertably that whatever changes take place in the incidence of vandalism, happen because of the public involvement programme. Other developments are taking place in and around the estate which may be more important".

This study may serve two purposes: to advertise the relevance of consultation about planning and design issues to the subsequent quality of life of residents, and to explore some strategies whereby concern about "problem" neighbourhoods may lead to their improvement. At best, the final report may indicate benefits accruing from consultation with residents. At worst, it will tell us more about the related processes of consultation and implementation in a community setting.

ROBERT ADAMS
Director of Youth Social Work Project
Dr. Barnardo's
Pontefract

DETERRENCE—The Legal Threat in Crime Control

FRANKLIN ZIMRING and GORDON HAWKINS

University of Chicago Press, 1976. £4.50

ZIMRING AND HAWKINS' book was first reviewed in PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL number 14 (April 1974). Given the importance of deterrence in penal philosophy, the reissue of the book in

paperback is appropriate, especially while people are proposing the "decriminalisation" of various sorts of conduct. The original publication did not have a marked impact: maybe the authors and the publisher are showing their determination to promote the issue in earnest so that legislators, penal administrators and researchers may begin to share an understanding.

M.B.

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(1) INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF OFFENDER THERAPY AND COMPARATIVE CRIMINOLOGY

Volume 20. Number 3, 1976.

(2) THE SOUTHFIELD PAPERS

Number 6, 1976.

THIS recent edition of the journal records various attempts to treat offenders, and also includes a study of an English bail hostel. This Hampshire experiment—set up since London's Field Wing Bail Hostel, the evaluation of which was reviewed last year (PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL number 22, page 12)—suggests that residents are less likely to receive custodial sentences than offenders who were remanded in custody.

For some who do receive custodial sentences in Hampshire, there may be help on release from the Resettlement of Offenders Co-ordinating Committee. *The Southfield Papers* include a description of R.O.C.C. which manages hostels and other facilities for ex-offenders in that area. Papers are also included which describe staff training courses, appraise hostel life, and explore the advantages of hostels as therapeutic communities. The other half of this edition of *The Southfield Papers* comprises four essays which discuss the role of religion in residential settings. None of these eight papers is restricted in application to hostels and hostel staff: each has some relevance to the Prison Service.

R.E.

□

JOURNALISM, BROADCASTING AND URBAN CRIME

A Day Conference chaired by
MARK CARLISLE
NACRO, 1976. 50p

NOT all young offenders are abashed at having their names in the papers. James, one youngster I used to see in court regularly when I was on a weekly paper, used to greet me outside the court with a grin: "Are you going to give us a good write up? I'm on at the Crown next week".

When I first realised he liked the publicity I was relieved. But I should have been twice as concerned. James's reaction shows the awesome responsibility of the media.

One of the points made at NACRO's one-day conference on *Journalism, Broadcasting and Urban Crime* was that "crime is to some extent reading your own press notices". The press provides a stage on which teenagers can rebel. The conference was held to discover the effects of news presentation on the country's crime rate. Did it blunt people's sensitivity to violence? Where was the line to be drawn on reporting crime fairly without glamourising the criminal? Did the media reduce the attractiveness of crime and encourage the quality of urban life? These questions, posed by the conference chairman, Mr. Mark Carlisle, M.P., were not fully answered during the day, but a pretty damning case was made against the press for distorted crime reporting.

The conference report is an interesting study of the contrasting attitudes and interests of journalists, penal reformers and politicians—especially since one of the journalists was Mr. Larry Lamb, Editorial Director of the *Sun* and the *News of the World*.

Sir Charles Curran, Director General of the BBC, underlined the responsibility of the press, and its power to mislead. He mentioned a survey of newspapers in America which showed that ninety per cent of crime coverage was of violent crime, though only five per cent of recorded crime was violent. This distorted picture of crime was reflected in the public's assumptions about crime. When the survey asked people which crimes were committed most often, people answered that it was the violent ones.

The press was defended by the well-worn argument that the media gave the public what it wanted to hear or see. Mr. Bernard Sendall, Deputy Director General of the IBA, pointed out that sex and swearing brought more complaints from viewers than violence. The audience was more worried about "bloody" on television than blood.

More points were raised at the conference than could be followed up in a day, and there are more questions than answers in the report—but they are questions that reporters (and readers) should perhaps consider.

Journalism

ANGELA SINGER
General news reporter for the "Yorkshire Post"

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INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY
H.M.S.O., 1976. £1.55

Intermediate Treatment is the report of a residential conference held in 1974. As the foreword of the book states, the "Conference was promoted by the Social Work Service Development Group of the Department of Health and Social Security to review current developments in Intermediate Treatment and to share and promote ideas for its development".

Whilst, as a report, *Intermediate Treatment* suffers from the presentation problems of any attempt to convey a conference experience to non-participants, as a contribution to the literature on intermediate treatment it has a place.

Probably the most exciting presentations are those based on actual projects. One, by Robin Grunsell, describes work undertaken at the Islington Centre with drop-outs from the official education system. Small groups, a flexible and relevant teaching approach and a refreshing lack of preoccupation with professional roles ("The teachers do social work, and the social worker teaches") are the keynotes. However, the length of the "treatment" puts it way outside the statutory limits of intermediate treatment.

A presentation, by Dan Jones, concerns a detached youth work project. Here, the old case-work precept of "starting where the client is" appears to be practised with results which can only be described as impressive.

These two projects suggest that a substantial investment is beginning to take place in intermediate treatment. Whether it produces the goods in terms of better-adjusted and less-delinquent children remains to be seen. The need for the monitoring and evaluation of projects was recognised but there is little evidence of its occurring.

Projects apart, there is grave disquiet about all the administrative paraphernalia associated with intermediate treatment. Planning regions are much too large, co-ordination between departments is pitifully weak, education authorities play an inadequate part and there are "too many generals and not enough troops".

Intermediate Treatment is a useful "ideas book" for both practitioners and administrators, and is recommended accordingly.

DEREK A. WILLIAMSON
Assistant Chief Probation Officer West Yorkshire Probation and Aftercare Service

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ORGANISATIONAL WORK: The Language of Grading/The Grading of Language

DAVID SILVERMAN AND JILL JONES
Collier Macmillan, 1976. £8.30

CAN you imagine being given the chance to eavesdrop on some of the selection training and appraisal procedures of, say, the Prison Service? Silverman and Jones had precisely this sort of opportunity—with an anonymous public sector organisation based in London which recruits between fifty and a hundred administrative staff each year from either "direct" or "in-service" entrants.

Silverman and Jones are especially interested in how people make sense of the organisation in which they work and in how this depends on the way people talk to each other.

In a traditional way, the first section of the book sets the scene, the middle section provides the "meat" and the last winds up with some theory. It is the middle section which is so applicable to the Prison Service. The chapter on selection, apart from showing how to put yourself across as an unacceptable candidate, is searching for the rules which are operated by selectors as they make their decisions. The chapter on the fate of the ideals and enthusiasm of the new recruits shows how these are "controlled" by training staff. In the appraisal procedure, employees' "acceptability" is crucial and "is identified by the Organisation's hierarchy through a display of not having a 'chip on one's shoulder'. Of course, 'strong' opinions can be expressed, sometimes even if these opinions differ from those of the hierarchy. But 'acceptable' people know the time and place to voice their own opinions and know at all times that they must appear to be ready to defer to the 'accumulated wisdom' of their seniors".

In the closing section, the authors discuss the intelligibility of interviews. So far, so good. The book has, as it were, hammered a sequence of pitons into the bare rock face which we have to scale if we wish to say that we "understand" the organisation. Then in their last chapter, the authors could be expected to have driven home their final anchorage before their bivouac. For me, it offers nothing but an awful plunge into space, made all the worse by the heights gained.

It is when the authors sprout wings and take off into a sunset which glows with philosophy, interpretations and literary criticism that the unadorned reader is abandoned to the abyss. They seem to end up saying, among other things, that analysing the language by which bureaucrats do their business cannot reveal the mysteries of how they do what they do, despite the self-evident fact that they accomplish things. This failure has to do with what language *is*. The irony which Silverman and Jones have woven into their book is that the researcher himself is no intermediary who can make sense cross from one community to another. Rather, he introduces the preoccupations of his own community as an additional complication.

The last chapter apart, this book holds up a mirror to the Service. In doing so, it casts fresh light on some of the Service's obscurities and on what it takes to live and work within it.

Labelling/language

MARK BEESON
Leeds University

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