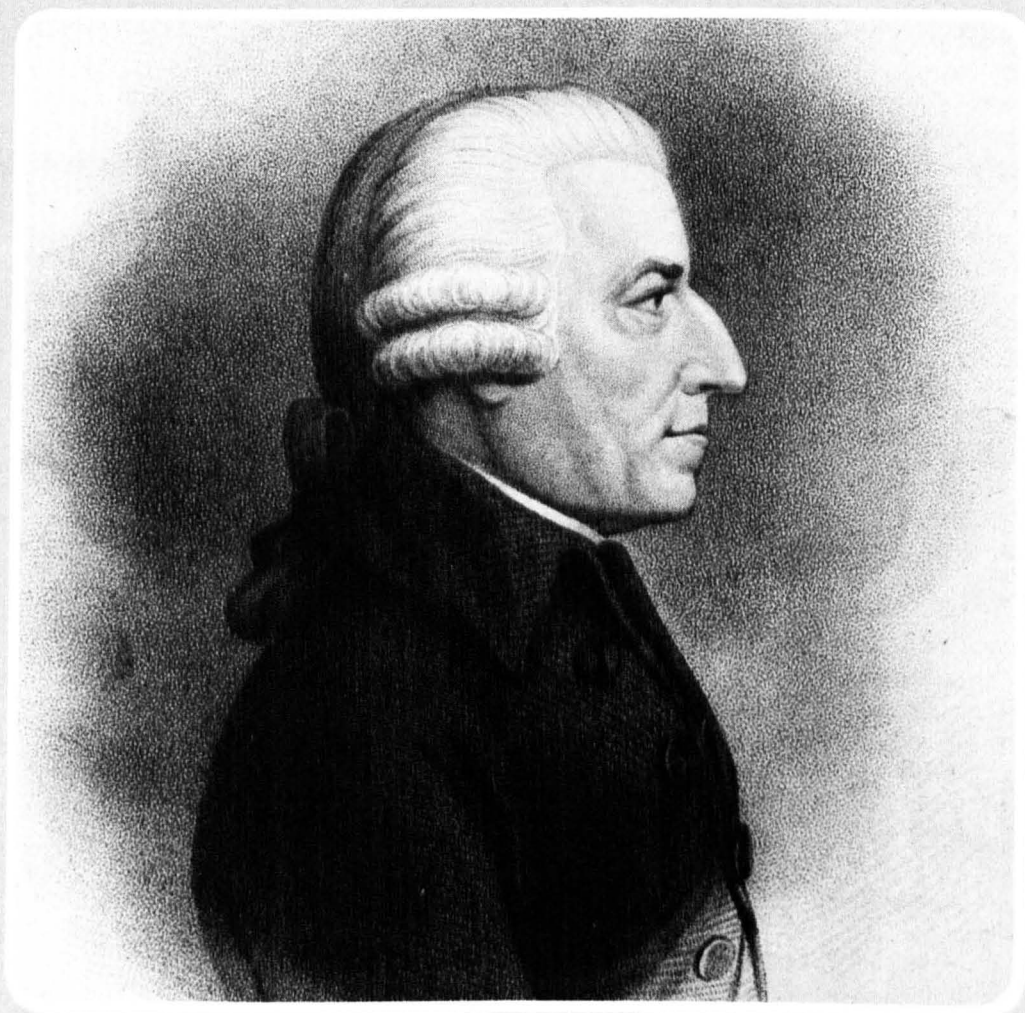


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P R I S O N S E R V I C E J O U R N A L



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Cover picture

"John Howard—Prison Reformer 1726-1790"

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PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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*The editorial board wishes to make it clear that the views expressed by contributors
are their own and do not reflect the official views or policies
of the Prison Department*

EDITORIAL

IT IS two hundred years since John Howard produced his great work "The State of the Prisons". The Howard League has been foremost in leading the commemorative celebrations culminating in a conference at Canterbury in June which attracted much publicity. If one examines the reports of the conference that appeared in the media, there was evidence of the continued search for alternative methods of treatment for the offender, together with some muddled thinking about the actual effect of imprisonment itself. Prisons usually attract morbid curiosity at best from most people, but the average, thoughtful citizen must have read the reports of the Canterbury conference and wondered if anything had changed for the better since Howard.

If that same citizen was also to read the recently published report by the Chief Inspector of the Prison Service on the causes and course of the riot in Hull prison, he would have found a partial answer to his query. In Howard's day, the prisons were used to house debtors or those awaiting trial in conditions of appalling overcrowding and disease made worse by official indifference. The prisons were not used for sentenced prisoners after conviction: their fate was either flogging, transportation or death. Hull provided excellent physical conditions for its men but was forced to keep them in prison for the duration of what were often very long sentences with little hope of early release.

This is the dilemma for the twentieth century reformer. No one is sent to prison in 1977 whether it be on remand or for sentence unless there are excellent reasons for doing so. This may be because they are too dangerous or unco-operative or, far too often, it is because there is no other provision for them. There is work yet for a latter-day Howard, but it lies outside the prison in persuading the community to take responsibility for its social misfits. If the prison population can be thus reduced then the prison system will be in a far better position to cope with those who must stay in prison because of the danger they present to their fellow citizens.

Several articles of this issue are devoted to an examination of the problems faced by the victims of crime. It includes this personal view from Charles Irving M.P., who has been closely associated with the plight of the victim for many years. In his article he makes constructive criticism of the work of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board who will reply in the January 1978 issue of the Prison Service Journal.

The State of the Victims

TWO HUNDRED years ago John Howard shocked contemporary opinion with the publication of his book "The State of the Prisons". He detailed the appalling physical conditions and the moral degradation which prevailed in the English prisons of the late eighteenth century.

If Howard were alive today he would be well pleased at the progress made in the prison system to eradicate many of the evils to which he drew people's attention. But if he were to divert his gaze to another area of the legal and penal systems he would find another situation almost as scandalous and neglected; namely the state of the victims of crime in our country today.

For virtually every crime committed it is possible to identify someone who has been harmed by it. There are obvious exceptions but most thefts and burglaries and all offences of violence involve the violation of another person's privacy and personal integrity. Some of these individuals are crippled for life, some severely injured, some suffer from severe shock and psychological disturbances and others face financial losses, ill-afforded. A lucky few are simply inconvenienced or temporarily upset. All this may appear to be a statement of the blindingly obvious. What is not so obvious is

why a society lavishing more than one billion pounds annually on crime detection and prevention and the execution of criminal sentences should spend less than one per cent of that figure on caring for the people on the receiving end of the crime wave. Where are the social workers employed by the state to look after the victims of crime? Where are the residential rehabilitation centres for disabled victims? Where are the special medical facilities they require? The answer is nowhere. Victims are the forgotten people of the welfare state; the people the state has failed to protect and whose emotional and material needs are largely ignored.

The National Victims Association was set up in 1972 to draw attention to this appalling state of affairs and to press for a better deal for victims. In the five years since then the condition of the crime victim has hardly been transformed but a small start has been made in the right direction. Much more remains to be done as I hope to show in this article by looking first at some of the problems, then at the scanty services available, and finally by making some suggestions about what needs to be done.

VICTIM PROBLEMS

Theft and burglary between them

account for an overwhelming proportion of the personal victims of crime each year. At first sight their problems may seem to be primarily of a financial nature. But a moment's reflection will suggest something very different. For many individuals who are burgled or stolen from, the cash loss is often either trivial or covered by insurance. For many, however, the intrusion of a stranger into their homes causes more distress than could ever be inferred from a bald catalogue of goods stolen and their insurable values. Women whose homes have been burgled and turned over and sometimes vandalised, refer to the experience as akin to emotional rape. That an unknown person should finger through their most personal possessions, taking this and throwing that down can be a profoundly disturbing thing. In extreme cases it can produce symptoms of shock and of lasting psychological disturbance. Sometimes people who have been burgled cannot bear to remain in the same house and move elsewhere.

The victims of violent crime have more immediately obvious injuries to contend with, but even in cases of "mild" assault it is possible for permanent psychological injury to be sustained. For those with serious

A plea for Reform

CHARLES IRVING M.P.

Member for Cheltenham

Charles Irving has been Member of Parliament for Cheltenham since 1974. His record of public service began with his election to the Cheltenham Borough Council and the Gloucestershire County Council in 1948. He has twice been Mayor of Cheltenham and he is at present the Chairman of the Gloucestershire Social Services Committee. In Parliament he is a member of the Conservative Parliamentary Committees for Health and Social Security and for the Social Services. His work with both offenders and the victims of crime is well known and he is at present the National Vice-Chairman of N.A.C.R.O., the founder and Chairman of the National Victims Association and the Chairman of the National Stonham Housing Association.



injuries there are consequences such as hospitalisation and convalescence and loss of earnings from work. Less obvious is something which might best be called "victim stigma". For some curious reason it seems to be the case that individuals who have been the subjects of severe sexual or violent assaults are shunned by other people, including relatives and close friends.

Another class of victim handicap is created by the nationalised power industries, British Gas and the regional Electricity Boards. In cases of meter thefts where no offender is apprehended and where strong evidence of forced entry is absent, the Gas and Electricity Boards have a deliberate policy of forcing the luckless consumer to repay the amount stolen on pain of disconnection. My estimate is that some 10,000 people every year are blackmailed by these official bodies into paying twice for their gas and electricity supplies.

HELP FOR VICTIMS

Since 1963 there has existed in this country a body known as the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board whose job is to pay *ex gratia* sums of compensation to the victims of violent crime. This pioneering body exists as a result of the work of the late Margery Fry, a noted penal reformer and one-time

secretary of the Howard League, and it has acted as a model for schemes in other parts of the world.

It may seem ungenerous to criticise the work of the Board which pays out several millions of pounds annually to thousands of victims of violent crime, but in fact its operation suffers from grave and glaring defects which could be put right by simple administrative action.

For a start, the Board is extremely badly publicised, with the result last year less than one in five of the victims of violence who were eligible to claim from it, did so. Since the inception of the scheme it is likely that almost half a million eligible victims have failed to claim from the Board. In some cases this is clearly because the injuries sustained do not merit any claim, and in others it is probably due to the reluctance of the victim to prolong what has been an extremely unpleasant experience. But in many cases the failure to apply must stem from the ignorance of the victims about the existence of the Board, which has never undertaken any systematic national advertising to inform the general public about its work. Nor has the Board sought to have its services brought to the attention of victims by the police who are in contact with all

of them at one time or another.

The National Victims Association has written to Chief Constables on a number of occasions urging them to advise victims of the existence of the scheme. Astoundingly, many of them refused to do this at first, saying it was not their responsibility but that of the Home Secretary. After the N.V.A. publicity campaign and further letters to Chief Constables and to the Home Secretary, most police forces in the country have now undertaken to tell victims about the compensation scheme. Hopefully, this will result in a higher proportion of victims than one in five applying for compensation.

For those victims who make applications to the Board, the results can be extremely disappointing. Some claims take several months to complete and the amounts of money handed out are often seen by the victims as derisory in comparison to the sums which are expended on their offenders. Some examples:

£600 to a man who almost died from stab wounds and was off work for almost nine months.

£200 to an elderly widow savagely beaten up and forced to leave the shop which was her livelihood.

£150 to a young woman severely injured during an attempted rape.

£25 to the parents of a murdered boy.

When these sums are compared to the nett cost of keeping one man in prison for one week (currently £80) they appear even more pitiful.

There is one further aspect of the compensation scheme which only affects a tiny minority but which creates injustice and dissatisfaction. Under the terms of the scheme the Compensation Board is allowed to take into account the moral character of the victim in deciding whether to make an award at all or in deciding its size. What this means in practice is that a known offender may end up getting no cash for the most severe injuries inflicted on him in situations where he is a totally innocent party. Such a restriction has no precedent in civil compensation proceedings on which the Board claims to base itself. It is unthinkable that the victim of a road accident should have the amount of his civil damages reduced because he was thought to be a bad character, or that the widow of someone killed in an industrial accident should receive less compensation because she had convictions for shoplifting. Yet the C.I.C.B. does actually make decisions of this kind and refers to them in its annual reports.

Dissatisfaction with the work of the Board and with its restriction to cash awards only has led in the past three years to the establishment of a number of Victim Support Schemes following the example of the one established in Bristol by local voluntary effort. It is significant that the Home Office has not as yet contributed any financial support whatsoever to the establishment and development of these schemes which provide much needed counselling, advice and support for the victims of property offences.

SOME PROPOSALS

When proposals for improved services are made, even in the best of economic times, it is necessary to answer the question, "Where is the money going to come from?" In today's apocalyptic conditions, the question is even more pointed. But in the case of the victims the answer is clear: the money should come from some of the vast amounts currently devoted to the care of the offender. It is not a question of increased spending, but of re-distributing within the criminal justice and penal systems. This in turn raises further questions about what should be done with offenders which I will return to after looking at how the needs of victims

might be met.

In the first place it is necessary to create a climate of opinion in which the needs of the victim are high on the agenda of all the agencies which concern themselves with crime and the relief of human suffering; from the police to the courts to social services departments, to the probation and aftercare service and voluntary agencies. This and other desirable objectives might be reached through the creation of a new national body—a Victim Commission—funded by the Government and charged with assessing the need for victim care in the community and meeting it; either through existing agencies or by the creation of new ones operating possibly as joint statutory-voluntary organisations. The Victim Commission would undertake basic research into the extent and nature of criminal victimisation in this country and publicise the results as part of a sustained campaign to bring the problems of the victim before the widest possible audience. It could take over the functions of the present Criminal Injuries Compensation Board and exercise them with more alacrity and with more generosity than at present. It would stimulate experimental new services to meet the needs of victims, and it would grasp the nettle of the offender's involvement in all this.

Under the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act 1972, courts are empowered to make compensation orders against offenders for amounts of up to £400. Courts have not made much use of these powers because in very many cases the offender is simply unable to comply with such an order, either because he is poverty stricken or because he is about to spend the foreseeable future in prison. In either case the victim is likely to get nothing. Critics of this situation suggest that draconian measures should be taken to enforce the payment of such orders, or call for the implementation of profitable work schemes in prisons from which the victims of crime could be recompensed. Anyone who has had anything to do with either debt enforcement or with prison industries will recognise the futility of both schemes. On the other hand, there is a great deal to be gained from encouraging offenders to assume a measure of personal responsibility for the damage they have done to the persons and property of others. This cannot be done by coercion but only by invitation and I suspect that it would get the support of a much higher proportion of offenders than public opinion might credit.

At the court stage it might work by the simple expedient of asking offenders if they wished to undertake some measure of *financial restitution to their victims either as part of their sentences or as an alternative*. These should be realistic proposals and be acceptable even when they account for only a small fraction of the amounts involved. When offenders are sent to prison there is no reason why some arrangement should not be made for men to do extra work if they wish to earn money to pay off some of their debt to society directly to victims. In other cases where the prospects for earning any extra money are nil is there any reason why an offender should not offer to do community service at some task which could be specified by the victims. Arrangements like this could easily be organised alongside the existing Community Service Orders by the probation service.

In other cases both offenders and victims, providing both parties consented, might learn a great deal from a carefully arranged and professionally supervised meeting to explore the human consequences of the offender's behaviour. Such meetings are less likely than they might at first appear since many offences involve victims and offenders who are related or known to each other. Even in serious assault cases there are victims and offenders who will agree to meet each other and may gain a great deal from the encounter. Victims on the one hand may cease to think of their offenders as inhuman predators; and offenders can achieve profound insights into the effect they have had on the life of another person. Such insights could be more reformatory than almost anything else it is possible to do by way of "training or treatment" inside or outside prison.

THE PROSPECTS FOR THE VICTIM

Simply to point out an injustice is no guarantee that anything will be done to put it right. The Home Secretary is not short of advice on how to improve our legal and penal systems, but the proposals made in this article to provide the basis for cautious and reasonable advance into territory where the way in which society deals with its deviant members begins to look very different. Instead of ignoring the injuries of the victim and lavishing unwelcome attention on the offender, it would seek to strike a better balance in which the needs of both were reconciled in processes of reparation and restitution.

Crime, Victims and the Prison Service

MARK BEESON

A member of the staff of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Leeds and a contributor for 10 years to Assistant Governor training courses at the Prison Service College, Wakefield, Mark Beeson writes with authority on this subject.

PROLOGUE

I DON'T write letters anymore. Since I bought a cassette player I simply send cassettes to people instead. So that's how it was I was sitting quietly in a small tiled cubicle the other day, seemingly murmuring to myself when an extraordinary thing happened. Someone else strode in to the bigger room outside and began to sound off as if he was making a speech. I couldn't switch the recorder off and I couldn't easily get up and leave. I felt I'd embarrass him. This is how it went:

MESSAGE

Standing at the bar the other day I found myself saying that the Prison Service misses the point. I was about to go on to say that it wasn't the Service's fault, when I found myself drenched in my own beer and no longer welcome to say anything much at all. So I retreated, licking my chin, feeling victimised. Why would no one hear me out?

What is crime about? Surely it is about damage to society? Who is most damaged by crime? What recompense do *our* efforts provide? Those four questions seem to me a good set of starting points for looking at crime, at attempts to deal with it and at where the Prison Service fits into the complicated apparatus which we've created to deal with it.

Fortunately, after many years of arguing, writing, research and more arguing, we have some answers to these four questions. First, crime is about a great many things and no one answer

is good enough. Among other things, it is about property, greed, lust, having a good time, taking short-cuts to respectability. Criminologists, of course, have very special words for these things and demand a lot of listening from people who ask "What is crime about?" Generally speaking, people who ask the question get impatient about how long the criminologist takes to give an answer.

Second, crime isn't very much to do with damage to society—still less is it to do with damage to people. Typically, the criminal is someone who nicks someone else's property. Typically, he nicks the property of someone who is of even less account than he is himself and, typically, nobody could care less. Typically, he is a sneaky sort of fellow and, typically, he doesn't get caught. It doesn't take a lot of wit to make a fair bit out of pinching things—although it probably takes more wit than it does to be law-abiding—the most witless state it is possible to imagine.

Crime, in practice, is to do with the law and with policemen and with some of their relatives—like meter-readers, D.H.S.S. staff, headmasters, supermarket managers and the man in the street. Most important of all, there is the law, and the law is a strange creation—like the roof line of a cave—continually developing new protruberances, new stalactites in an inhospitable atmosphere of gloom, stuffiness and putrefaction, in which cloaked, be-wigged and sinister figures flit silently and seldom observed. "The law is an

Ass", said Mr. Bumble and although he was oversimplifying, he deserves to be remembered. No one else has managed to put it so succinctly and so quotably, though it is a bit unfair on the ass, which has a pretty unfulfilling life as it is, without getting mixed up with the law.

The law works a bit like you or me trying to make up rules to deal with the mistakes we made the day before. We manage to work out rules for all the routine things, like how to get up in the morning and, if we're lucky, how to see that we are fed so that we survive the day. Ten to one we don't work out ways to be sure that we've a pair of shoes for the next day or money for the week-end—unless we work by *sheer* routine. Like our own rules, the law is a bit behind and it is also very mixed up with the worries of lawyers, litigation, appeals, paraphernalia like gowns and wigs and bibs and protocol and terms with silly names like Hilary. The law is not much about compassion, not much about social damage.

Crime is about threats to society—but it is about threats to well-represented interests to do mainly with property, but also to do with violence, with sex and occasionally to do with cheating, with unscrupulousness. Inevitably, perhaps, crime has to do with *collective* concerns, not with individual concerns. In an important sense, the things that worry society as a collective are not simply the sum of all the individual concerns and consequently it is not surprising that the way we deal with crime has little to do with the grievances

of people who suffer because of it. And the grievances and the damage, the injuries and hurts which people suffer because of crime are tiny in comparison with the sufferings (and rewards) they endure (or enjoy) from the way society works as a whole. Weighing up the suffering and rewards becomes an ideological issue; if you're politically committed to egalitarianism, to worker's power, to British supremacy, to "I'm alright, Jack", you'll see these sufferings and rewards differently. This is why crime, poverty, wages, overtime, unemployment are ideological issues and, so, political issues. They are also economic, social and sociological issues, by which I mean that there are lots of people studying and arguing about how we are to control them and about whose interests are likely to be served by using various attempts at control.

Going to the third question, the question of who is most damaged by crime is one which has to be set against the question of who is most damaged by some of the other features of society. Although the social costs of crime are truly astronomical, they are almost trivial compared with the costs of some of these other features—like industrial conflict, expenditure on "defence", failures in our attempts to predict and control economic developments. The question, too, has to be set against the question of who benefits from crime. In a perverse sort of way, we should all feel safer in our beds and our property should be more secure *because* of our awareness of crime and our awareness of the need to protect our interests. And, of course, as professionals, we, together with policemen, lawyers, magistrates and so on are kept in bread and self-esteem as a direct product of crime.

But if we persevere with the question of who is most damaged by crime we may find yet more paradoxes. In our concern for our own children or our own adolescents we are afraid that their misbehaviour or their delinquencies may damage *them*. We may feel that they *deserve* punishment or chastisement, but we desperately want them not to be damaged. Of course, we cannot usually be as *directly* involved on behalf of the borstal trainee or the young prisoner as we are for our own. In the case of the old lag or the character going in that direction or the bomber or the lifer, we may feel that he has sacrificed any claim to our concern—but that is only a confirmation of the damage he has done himself. Perhaps, then, the criminal is the one most damaged by his crime and it is

part of the job of the apparatus that deals with crime to see that this continues to be so, though one of the costs of accepting this may be that when he gets the opportunity, such a man will simply wreak more havoc with the social order—widening the damage he inflicts and demonstrating the futility of this approach. "Top him", some people will say; lots of people do. They are misguided for many, many reasons, but that is a different matter.

So, next to being concerned with the criminal, and with those involved in dealing with him, our system of criminal justice is concerned mainly with the general damage arising from crime rather than with the damage inflicted on the individual, though, of course, he or she has begun to be considered. The introduction of awards of compensation by magistrates and judges, of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board have both recognised the interests of the offended. Meanwhile, the injured had always had the option of insuring themselves commercially. This still leaves gaping loopholes—like the victim of the uninsured driver who gets no benefit from prosecution where the offender is one of the have-nots. But, as far as the *principle* of the law is concerned, those not in the least involved in the actual damage arising from the offence are those who are offended against and on whose behalf the offence is dealt with. Yet we all know that having your car pinched, your house done over or your good name attacked is apt to disturb your state of mind while being savaged with a broken bottle may end your life. Ideally, though, the trauma is temporary and the concern of one's friends and neighbours will tide one over the worst. In Bristol and elsewhere, the Probation and Aftercare Service and their volunteers, working with the police, may try to make up for the friends and neighbours we no longer have in the anonymous urban sprawl.

But to say all this is to neglect one or two rather important things. Crime, for example, may occur without a victim. Victims may be victims without there being any crime. At bottom, being a victim of crime may not be very different from being simply a loser or a sucker. How do we compensate the simple-minded? By letting them share in the laughter we enjoy at their expense or by pretending to take them as seriously as we take ourselves? In some circumstances, too, the "victim" may be just as bent as the offender, since his motivation may be no less

dishonourable. In practice, research has shown that it is unusual for the victim to be simply an innocent bystander. We may not like to know it, but the victim may have wittingly or unwittingly provoked the offender. We may shriek with rage at the man who assaults our daughter, forgetting that her innocence, her youth and prettiness in which we take delight are the very cues which may excite the twisted masculinity of her attacker. We may deplore the fact that there are such "beasts" to be encountered in our midst, and that we have to live in an awareness of the risks they represent to our children. But we have to ask just how helpful it is to exact vengeance. The law, after all, does not simply aim to take care of the guilty, it also seeks to protect the innocent and stay the hand of the righteous. The greatest threat to the rule of law is the return of the vigilante, with his temper roused, his judgment clouded and his blood lust high.

As part of the apparatus of criminal justice, the Prison Service exists to serve society. It is important that its personnel should understand where they fit into this team. What recompense, then, do the combined efforts of the Service provide for the social damage inflicted by crime? It is easy to be cynical and say that the prison system simply serves to throw a cloak of obscurity over the offender for a while so that society can breathe a sigh of relief. It is easy for outsiders or even for some former insiders to say that the Service sends its charges out no better or even worse than they were when they arrived. It is easy, too, to say that prison and custody, generally, are now reserved for the virtually irredeemable. All these things which it is easy to say have a grain or more of truth in them. But whether we like to recognise it or not, the prison system does provide an opportunity for partnership between the prisoner and the staff. One of the characteristics of many prisoners is that they have not been able to maintain a partnership with anyone in their periods of liberty. To the extent that our prisons or borstals have any prospect of contributing, it must lie in making positive use of this partnership and of eliminating the negative consequences.

"How is that to be done?" some people will ask, thinking of prisoners as obviously the least trustworthy group of men and women imaginable. "We do that already!" some others will say. "He must be crackers", others will explode, thinking of prisoners serving out three or four years in the

local. Others will have visions of prisoners' Trade Unions, of prisoners having every freedom to intimidate (and victimise) their weaker fellows. Others will recognise the prisoner who takes every advantage of partnership already, fed and clothed, kept warm and clean and exercised and more content in prison than outside. Yet others will see the lifer, with his spirit broken, his relationships outside withered to nothing and with some indeterminate time still to go.

But wait a moment. What do we do to people when we give up all trust in them? What kind of partnership are we making in even the better prisons? Is the local a practical institution anyway? What's so wrong with obliging prisoners to exercise responsibility of the same sort as their fellow men outside accept or ignore? What kind of a partnership is sheer dependence? How does the lifer get to lose hope, and can we not learn from those who don't?

At the same time, we have to recall how unthinkable the Trade Unions were little more than a hundred years ago and how susceptible to intimidation and victimisation workers have been at the hands of employers and bureaucracy. The battle for even pale imitations of liberty "within a secure perimeter" cannot be joined without a broader concern for liberty in society at large. The prison will probably always be one step or more behind the outside world, but it is the outside world which will drag it forward.

There is a serious risk of the Prison Service itself becoming a victim of the public's definitions of the job. If the public gets away with the idea that prisons serve simply by throwing a cloak of obscurity over the prisoner for as long as he is sentenced, then that cloak will cover the staff as well. The Service *must* become more public and more positive in determining the "conditions currently acceptable to society" in which prisoners are held. In the end, this comes down to prison staff showing their understanding of crime, criminals and society and demonstrating standards of compassion in the way they do their job which are not simply a reflection of society's attitudes but an example.

EPILOGUE

At this point, he stamped his foot hard, twice, and left. I got up, feeling distinctly sore here and there. I have a feeling he was some chap from a University somewhere. Does anyone want the cassette before I use it for something else?

In recent months more concern than usual has been shown about the victims of crime. We have had an appeal on television for a nationwide scheme, similar to the Bristol Victims Association, and if one is to believe the TV presenters, the appeal met with a favourable response. There have also been several articles in the papers, and on radio, concerning the plight of the victim. This is somewhat of a surprise, as normally much is made of the problems of the ex-offender, languishing in over-crowded prisons, difficulty in finding work, etc.

"VICTIMOLOGY"

DOUGLAS MORIARTY

WHEN I was first approached concerning this article, I admit I was completely at a loss. "What is Victimology?"

To police, psychologists, criminologists, etc., the effect on a person who has been the object of a crime is traumatic. The effect on a person seeing his home entered, interfered with and mutilated by person or persons unknown, can often lead, after the initial anger and desire for vengeance, to a feeling of uselessness and frustration as to exactly what to do. To the victim of an assault, the result is both a mental and physical shock. How best to begin repairing the damage? What is he entitled to? Can he get financial help from anyone? To whom does he turn for help and advice?

The Victims Scheme goes some way in offering the physical support that the victim might need, and no doubt they also offer advice to the victim as to exactly what he is entitled to under the Law.

When I, along with others, started the National Organisation of the Victim and Offender, it was our intention to build a hostel from where we could

have a nucleus of volunteers, some of whom would be ex-offenders, to supply a work-force where damage had been caused in gaining entry. It was intended that the local police, who operated a home-beat scheme of policing, would contact us at a 24-hour attended number and inform us of the crime and any possible help that we might be able to offer; in this way it was intended, and hoped, that the ex-offender would be made aware of the problems and stress he had caused. We would also have had solicitors, doctors, etc., on call who would give any professional advice necessary.

We have, however, found ourselves more concerned with the problems of the ex-offender, for having got our hostel functioning, we were inundated with requests for help. We now find ourselves running a network of houses where we offer accommodation for any homeless person. We have no special brief other than that anyone who looks to us for help should in turn be prepared to help us. This covers all possible jobs from washing up to building a brick wall.

Since we have had no financial support from any of the usual sources, we have had to find the money from our own resources. We had a very difficult financial first 18 months, living virtually hand to mouth. Now, having solved most of our problems, we are building a more permanent base from which to go forward. As you will have noticed, we have done practically nothing toward helping the victim.

There can be no doubt as to the need of physical support for the victim. But what is left for the victim to do once the matter has been reported to the police? He must begin to build again that which has been knocked down. What help does he get, and who gives it?

I should like to see greater use made of the Community Service Order which operates in parts of London. This



D. F. Moriarty served for five years at Pentonville, leaving in 1974 to work as a volunteer for NOVO. He joined the Social Services Department of Westminster City Council in May 1976, where he is at present at Bruce House, a common lodging house for over 700 men. His spare time is spent in travel, working for the Samaritans and photography.

would enable the offender to work for the victims, and less fortunate people in society, i.e. the aged, homeless, etc. This could be done in conjunction with the Probation Service, and supervision would be with the Community Service Officers.

Secondly, the courts could take steps to involve the offender by ways of fines to be paid to the victims; to work like this: A person found guilty of theft from cars or property, etc. to the value of £500, could be ordered to pay a weekly sum, over a period of time to be set by the courts, thereby

paying for the damage he had caused. The amount and time allowed for payment would obviously be fitted to the needs of the individual. This would have another advantage in that it would keep some offenders from prison; instead of the State paying to keep the man in prison, he would, in fact, pay to stay out. It is not sufficient for the courts to abrogate their responsibility once sentence has been passed.

Thirdly, a Government enquiry to see the problems of the victim, to analyse just what help they do need, and how the professional bodies and

voluntary organisations could help them more effectively.

Finally, the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board's latest report for the year ending 31 March 1976, showed a 17.5 per cent increase in the number of applications it received for compensation. They state that not all people who are entitled to help even bother to apply for it, although they know their rights. They also state: "Until suitable research is undertaken, we can only speculate as to the real reasons why some victims choose not to apply for compensation".

"I think they call them Psychopaths"

HERSCHEL PRINS

M.Phil. (Leicester), Cert. Ment. Hlth. (London), F.R.S.H.



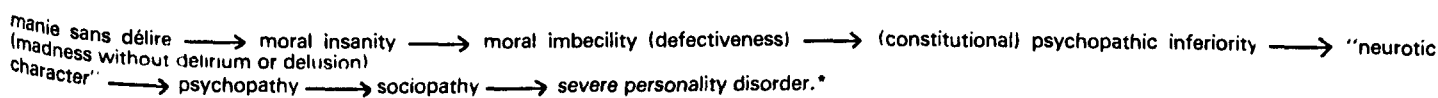
Herschel Prins has worked as a probation officer and as a psychiatric social worker. He spent five years in the Home Office Probation and Aftercare Inspectorate before going to Leeds University's Department of Psychiatry where he taught on the course for the Certificate in Psychiatric Social Work. He moved to Leicester University's School of Social Work as a Senior Lecturer in 1972 where he teaches methods of social work and organises the psychiatry and mental health teaching. He is also heavily involved in the University's new Medical School. He has written numerous articles for professional and learned journals and also three books. He is particularly interested in social work in mental health and in clinical criminology. Member of a Local (Parole) Review Committee and a Member of the Mental Health Review Tribunal for the Trent Regional Health Authority. Married, with two teenagers, he says this helps him keep theories of behaviour in perspective.

"A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME..."

IMAGINE if you can, that a top-level conference has been called to discuss the meaning of that much used and abused word *psychopathy*. You are privileged to be an observer at these discussions at which are present psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, lawyers, sentencers, theologians, philosophers, staffs of penal establishments and special hospitals and social workers. You have high expectations that some total wisdom will come from this group of well-informed and experienced people and that a definition will emerge that will pass the closest scrutiny and satisfy all concerned. After all, *this* is a gathering of *experts*. Alas, your expectations would have a quality of fantasy about them, for in reality you would find as many definitions as there are experts present. Let me just present one or two as examples of this statement. There would be little agreement even amongst psychiatrists; for some continental psychiatrists, the term would be used to cover a very wide range of mental disorders, including those we might describe as neuroses in this country; for some psychiatrists (for example, from the United States), the term might include minor disorders of personality and for others the term might be synonymous with what we describe as recidivism. The lawyers in the group would disagree also. Some might well accept the definition in the Mental Health Act,

1959, which describes psychopathy as "a persistent disorder or disability of the mind (whether or not including subnormality of intelligence) which results in abnormally aggressive or seriously irresponsible conduct on the part of the patient and requires or is susceptible to medical treatment...". They would immediately begin to ask questions, however, about the legal implications of the words "disability of the mind" and "irresponsible conduct". At this stage, the philosophers would no doubt chip in and also ask searching questions about the same terms. Later on in the discussion, a theologian might start asking awkward questions about the differences between "sickness" and "sin", and "good and evil". The representative from the field of sociology in the group might usefully remind us that psychopaths lack what they describe as a capacity for role-taking, i.e. seeing yourself in an appropriate role and in relation to others in their roles in your environment. And so the discussion would go on, and on, and on. Don't assume that it has ever been different. For over one hundred and fifty years, the arguments have raged over definition, classification and management. Those who would care to find out more of this interesting history should refer to the useful accounts by McCord and McCord¹ and Walker and McCabe². Summarising a complex (and eventful) history very superficially, the development can be shown in the following way:

Figure 1



* This last term is the one preferred by the members of the Committee on Mentally Abnormal Offenders (Butler Committee).³ It is a trite but nonetheless true comment that the above descriptions probably tell us as much about notions of morality and "right" behaviour over the last one hundred and fifty years than they tell us about the intrinsic nature of the condition itself.

THE NATURE OF PSYCHOPATHY

Although there have been many disagreements over classification and much controversy over the causes of the condition (see below also), many authorities seem to have reached agreement that psychopaths have certain common characteristics and that when all or most of these are present, one is then justified in using the label. One authority—Professor Harvey Cleckley, whose work will repay careful study⁴—suggests that it is possible to distinguish the "true" psychopath from the ordinary recidivist offender. He makes the following distinctions—amongst others:

(a) The ordinary criminal seems to work to his own advantage through his crimes, i.e. seems to act with more purpose. In contrast, the psychopath appears so much more likely to be found out that his criminality has almost an "insane" quality to it. (You can imagine the problems inherent in trying to suggest that "wickedness" without accompanying bizarre behaviour can be so severe that it is a form of true mental disorder).

(b) The careers of psychopaths begin earlier and spread into many areas of their social and personal behaviour. This is well supported by the experience of many clinicians and other practitioners. Many psychopaths *do* seem to have been highly difficult as children, often violent, cruel and prone to persistent lying. (But so, too, have many other children who have often in time given up such unpleasant ways). Certainly, the true psychopath seems much more unmoved by overtures of help, punishment or persuasion than the ordinary recidivist offender, and his criminal career is more rapidly continuous. Moreover, his words seem to bear no relation to his feelings. (I will come back to this important issue later).

(c) The psychopath's anti-social acts are often quite incomprehensible and he seems to indulge in them for quite obscure reasons. Often, he seems to be also injuring himself; frequently, the greatest degree of harm he often causes others is largely through their concern for him and his rejection of

he may (and often does) inflict on his mate, parents, children, etc., is not, it seems, inflicted for any major voluntary purpose or from a well-focussed motive, but from what weighs in at little more than whim or caprice... in the disaster he brings about, he cannot estimate the affective reactions of others which are the substance of the disaster. A race of men congenitally without pain sense would not find it easy to estimate the effects of physical torture on others. A man who has never understood visual experience would lack appreciation of what is sustained when the ordinary person loses his eyes".

He states elsewhere that the psychopath "is invincibly ignorant of what life means to others".

In these extracts we can see the three essential and characteristic components noted by so many authorities. First, lack of what psychiatrists call "affect—(mood, feelings and emotions); secondly, an apparent inability to relate these feelings to the words with which they are expressed; thirdly, the chain of destructiveness (physical and emotional) that the true psychopath leaves behind. This lack of affect has been well described by numerous authorities and alongside of it an accompanying inability to feel guilt or remorse (though some have questioned whether this is the case with all psychopaths). Less attention has been given to the singular disparity between speech and feelings, though I imagine that many prison staffs will be very familiar with just this phenomenon. Thus, it has been well stated that the psychopath "knows the words but not the music".⁵ I imagine it was this curious disparity

them. In other words, he leaves behind him a chain of chaos and destruction—in my view, one of the key characteristics of the true psychopath.

(d) The ordinary recidivist offender seems more frequently to have a certain loyalty to family and to his fellow criminals. The true psychopath appears to have none and is essentially a "loner". Cleckley, in the work already referred to, has an apt descriptive passage. He states:

"We find the typical psychopath not consistently seeking to inflict major disaster on anyone. More characteristic is the psychopath's pettiness and transiency of affect (both positive and negative) and his failure to follow a long-range plan, either for good or evil. The emotional damage

that led Cleckley to formulate his interesting, if little known, concept of *semantic dementia or disorder*. Crudely put, and at the risk of distortion through compression, Cleckley suggested that just as damage to certain higher nerve centres in the brain might produce a physical inability to comprehend or produce language, so, with the psychopath, some form of neural damage (unspecified, but likely to be within that part of the brain dealing with the higher functions of speech and meaning) might produce this strange inability to "gear in" to the needs and wants of others. As we shall see shortly, there is some slight evidence

from the field of experimental psychology that might support such a thesis. A not altogether inappropriate illustration of what I have somewhat inadequately tried to convey is provided by the statements of Patrick Mackay about the horrific and apparently senseless crimes he committed. One small passage will suffice. "I feel terrible about what happened all the more because I do not know why or what made me do it. I find it all a confusing matter . . ."⁶.

on which much of the following It is postulated that the same thing summary is based)⁷.

Defects and Dysfunctions in Brain Mechanisms

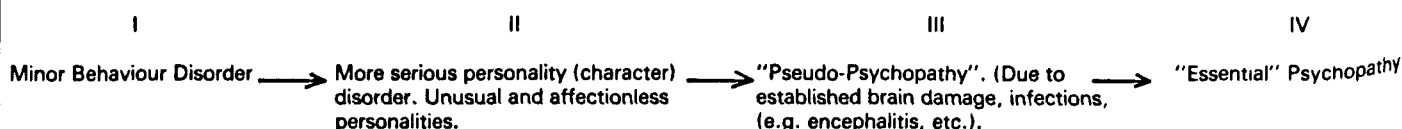
There is some evidence to suggest that certain psychopaths (notably the more aggressive) have brain "waves" (as shown by tracings on the electroencephalogram) which, in their pattern, are like those of young children. We know that these particular brain "waves" in young children change in

CAN PSYCHOPATHY BE DISTINGUISHED FROM OTHER CONDITIONS?

I suggested earlier in this article that it might be possible to distinguish between ordinary criminals (recidivists) and true psychopaths. I think it is possible to do this and also to distinguish what I prefer to describe as "Essential" psychopathy from other similar but less severe conditions. I hope the following diagram will make my meaning more clear:

Figure II

BEHAVIOUR DISORDERS OF INCREASING SEVERITY



EXPLANATIONS OF PSYCHOPATHY

I hope readers will have noted that I do not use the word *CAUSES* in this sub-title. Such a term denotes a certainty and specificity of knowledge and a clearer connection between cause and effect than we have at our command at present. Therefore, the word "explanations" is preferred, being less precise and certain in its intended meaning. In a short article, it would be unwise to even summarise the vast amount of literature concerning the suggested explanations of psychopathy. I shall merely content myself (and hopefully my readers also!) with calling attention to some aspects, leaving readers free to follow up lines of interest for themselves. As with many other comparable areas, the "nature" v. "nurture" debate has raged for many years in relation to psychopathy. Evidence has been adduced from studies of twins, neurological disorders, genetic abnormalities (chromosomes) and others. Many of these offer interesting leads, but none offer conclusive evidence. Other evidence has come from the environmentalists, who suggest that family background and social environment are all important. And, indeed, we know from retrospective studies of inmate populations in prisons and psychiatric hospitals, just how seriously adverse and traumatic have been the personal backgrounds of some individuals labelled as psychopathic. Recent work can be summarised in the following way. (And readers who wish to pursue these studies in more detail should consult Hare's excellent book—

pattern over time as the child matures. occurs in some psychopaths: we also know from experience that some psychopaths do "mature" and "calm down" over the years. These factors have led to what is sometimes described as the "cortical immaturity" hypothesis.

Psychopathy in relation to the functioning of other parts of the Central Nervous System

Mention has already been made of the psychopath's alleged general lack of anxiety, guilt and emotional involvement. Experiments carried out under laboratory conditions have tended to give confirmation to these clinical impressions. Thus, when linked up to various instruments that measure physiological changes, psychopathic individuals tend to be under-active on a variety of measures of autonomic activity, such as cardiac function and skin responses. There is also evidence from laboratory studies that psychopaths may actively seek stimulation with arousing or exciting qualities. However, in the process, they may be unaware of, or unattentive to, many of the more subtle cues required for the maintenance of socially acceptable behaviour and for adequate socialisation. It is in this respect that the earlier statement of knowing "the words but not the music" applies so vividly. Other work suggests that because of some neural defect (unspecified as yet) psychopaths are less easily disturbed by responses that would induce fear or disquiet in most of us. As a result of this, they are probably less likely than most normal persons to make connections between past events and the consequences of present behaviour.

The borderline between categories III and IV may sometimes be unclear. One way of looking at it would be to suggest that the term "Essential Psychopathy" would only be used for those cases with a long history of severe behaviour disorder and which fulfilled for the most part Cleckley's criteria. The term "Pseudo-Psychopathy" in category III is meant to denote an "as if" situation. That is, the disorder has the appearance of "Essential Psychopathic" behaviour, but in which some clear cause can be ascribed. The causal factors in cases of "Essential" Psychopathy can be disputed, but it seems likely that in some cases an (as yet) unknown genetic factor may be at work; in other cases, a severely adverse background may be causal, yet in others, an unclear combination of both these factors may be at work.

CAN THEY BE TREATED?

There is little doubt from both research and clinical evidence that personality disorders in general, and psychopathy in particular, are very difficult conditions to treat. For example, in child guidance practice, it is well established that it is easier to treat anxieties and phobic conditions in children than it is to treat behaviour disorders; though some such disorders, particularly those involving hyperactivity, seem to be amenable to an approach using behaviour modification. As for the more serious cases, we have to confess that in the present state of our knowledge and skills, they are most intractable. This is the more tragic when we know from good research studies such as, for example, that carried out by Lee Robins⁸ that

such behaviour disordered children of today often become the "psychopaths" of tomorrow. Such failure, in the light of my earlier comments about our lack of knowledge concerning explanations for psychopathy, is hardly surprising; it is, therefore, easy to write off such offenders as "untreatable". It is a fact that one of the arguments often advanced for finding a new term for psychopathy (such as severe personality disorder) is that it has become not only a meaningless term, but also one of abuse, and a "dustbin" category to which we all too readily assign all those clients, patients, inmates who are unwilling to be helped, are unresponsive and who show socially unacceptable behaviour to a marked degree. There is, of course, much truth in this, but it only touches upon one part of the matter. It seems to me, that whatever label we may use, we are *still* going to have to face problems of engagement, acceptance and communication, particularly with those who have also earned for themselves the label *dangerous*. There are many and varied reasons why we baulk at handling dangerous people; for example, fantasies about being overwhelmed emotionally and physically; fear about their unpredictability and uncensored behaviour. This aspect is so important that it deserves separate consideration. (Readers who would care to pursue this matter further might be helped by my paper in the *British Journal of Social Work—A Danger to Themselves and to Others*.)

In general, our reluctance seems to be based, in part, on what psycho-analysts describe as *counter-transference* feelings; that is to say, the (more often than not) negative feelings aroused in us by such people that get in the way of our being able to help them. The problem is compounded by the fact that we are not always aware of the way in which such feelings have arisen and are manifesting themselves, since they are often at a sub-conscious level. This is why the availability of staff consultation and supervision is so important in order that we can try to avoid the irrational and puzzling responses we so frequently make to such people. Somehow, we have to rise above the rejecting and unpleasant behaviour of these folk, to "hang on" to them, sometimes over many years, and hope that gradually there may be some modification of their attitudes. Dr. George Sturup in his book "Treating the Untreatable"¹⁰ demonstrates just how important long-term contact can be. He had the advantage that his staff remained with him for many

years—an advantage not so easy to achieve in our English penal system.

If we adopt the type of classification I suggested earlier in this paper, then we might in consequence be more discriminating and realistic in our efforts at management and treatment. For example, persons in my Categories I and II may well respond to comparatively simple methods of management, though some should be left to go their own way, provided that they do not come into conflict with the law and are not a danger to themselves or to others. Offenders in my third category may well respond to certain forms of medication or other methods aimed at improving, modifying or curing the underlying physical condition that has given rise to what I have chosen to call pseudo-psychopathy. These offenders may need the application of other measures too, for example, containment for a time, or exposure to one of the varieties of behaviour modification or re-training. Offenders in my fourth category—the essential psychopaths, present the gravest problems in management. We have to admit that, as yet, we have no known "cure"; for some, containment under conditions of strict security for very long periods of time *may be* the only answer. I would like to place the emphasis here on the *may be*, for there is some slight evidence to suggest that even the essential psychopath may be helped to modify attitudes over time, though how much of this is due to a general process of maturation or "chance" factors it is impossible to say at present. One-to-one therapy along classical psycho-analytical lines holds little hope of success. However, some psycho-analysts (such as Dr. Schmeideberg for example¹¹) have modified their traditional methods in order to tackle the "Essential" psychopath and they have reported success in individual cases. In similar fashion, where social workers are prepared to modify their more traditional approaches, there are also some indications of success.¹² There is also evidence to suggest that some psychopaths, even the more intractable, make some response in a group treatment situation, provided modest goals are set and a good system of "through-care" is in operation. It seems that in a group, psychopaths are more readily forced into a confrontation situation in which they *have* to examine critically their attitudes towards others and the responses they evoke. Working with individuals labelled as psychopathic with intelligence levels at the lower end of the I.Q. range, both Craft¹³ and Miles¹⁴ have found that group

approaches can bring about some change, even though it may be small. I suspect also that when we have learned more from our experiences with children about the indications for the application of behaviour modification techniques, we may be able to apply these with an increasing degree of success to adult psychopathic subjects.

CONCLUSION

Since it seems that, for whatever reason, psychopathic subjects in my "Essential" category are not able readily to register or respond to the feelings and attitudes of others, our keynote considerations in whatever treatment setting we are working should be those of persistence, insistence and consistence.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

I am conscious of a certain foolhardiness in trying to summarise a very complex subject in so short an article. It has been contributed in the hope that it may not only stimulate discussion, but lead people to explore the subject further for themselves. In this connection, the works by Cleckley, Hare, Walker and McCabe are highly recommended. A longer (duplicated) paper, containing an account of the historical development of the concept of psychopathy and further references to the literature is obtainable on application to me, at the School of Social Work, Leicester University, 107, Princess Road (East), Leicester, LE1 7LA.



Dr. K. Walshe-Brennan, a Fellow of the Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene, qualified in psychiatry at Trinity College, Dublin. He met his first murder case as a State Psychiatrist with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1964 and since his first British Consultancy in 1965, as a Lecturer at Sheffield University, has examined 1,000 cases for the Assizes' and Magistrates' Courts.

Viewpoint . . .

This is a new feature in which people both within and without the Service contribute their personal thoughts on any topic they wish. It is begun by Mr. K. Walshe-Brennan, a consultant psychiatrist, who has often contributed articles to the Journal in the past.

VIOLENCE in Britain is increasing steadily. Tommy Doherty, as former manager of Manchester United Football Club, called recently for the restoration of birching for hooligans, while a new law to deal with hooliganism on buses came into force as the Public Services Vehicles (Arrest of Offenders) Act, 1975, on the 1st August that year to try and decrease the 40 assaults averaged weekly on bus crews in Britain.

Britain is not the only state with a violence problem. In France, for example, there has been a 60 per cent increase in rowdyism in the past five years: Italy and Germany also suffer. The United States has a hooliganism problem worse than that in Britain, but it is expressed in schools where, in New York City, over 1,000 security guards are posted to schools in order to protect teachers from pupil violence. For muggings and murders, Detroit heads the list; killings there are five times the Ulster average.

A variety of causes are put forward. Lord Shawcross blamed childhood experiences. "Socially", the former Attorney General said in 1965, "there is the fact that in England many mothers go out to work and cannot give the same attention to their home life. There is the decline in religious belief, the breaking-up of homes through divorce, and what seems to be a general diminution in parental authority and discipline in the home. If you ask me why do children go

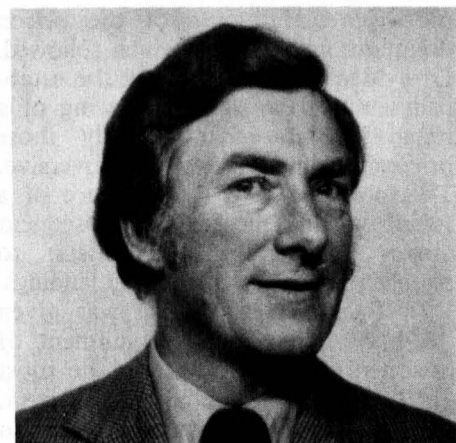
wrong, I'd answer: 'because they aren't brought up right'". Melanie Klein, from her study of children at the Institute of Psychoanalysis, London, says "all children are naturally destructive and aggressively hostile" and states that there is "a primary need for inhibition, restriction, discipline and sublimation against the inborn infantile hostility and death wishes". While other researchers favour constitutional or hereditary factors, the stress at present appears on the delinquent's domestic environment.

From this it would appear that the measures to curb violence lie only to a small extent in psychiatry and one should search on a broader spectrum. Preventive measures through school curricula may help.

In Britain, the Labour M.P. for Ormskirk, Mr. Kilroy Silk, is pressing the Secretary of State for Health and Social Services to provide better facilities for disturbed adolescents. The Secretary of The Magistrates' Association in a letter to *The Times* on 16th April 1977 feels that detention and especially attendance centres, which were set up under the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, should be used more and wonders why they are not, even though the Home Office has threatened to withdraw the availability of detention centres from Courts that use them "willy-nilly". He adds that, while the Children and Young Persons Act, 1969 empowers the Home Secretary to abolish these centres, nevertheless their need continues. On the other hand, the Secretary to Aston Villa Supporters' Club, considers £18 expense for football vouchers would deter most of the Old Trafford trouble-makers as increased fares in the past have apparently stopped railway hooliganism. Revisions might be made in the Children and Young Persons Act, 1969 particularly in view of the increase in teenage drinking.

With football hooliganism frequently in the news, Denis Howell, as Minister of Sport, has announced plans to stamp it out and Home Secretary Merlyn Rees is working out more ways to stop ticket touts selling without discrimination. Compulsory military service is another suggestion.

There is thus a wide variety of opinion about what might be done. Perhaps the Duke of Edinburgh summed up the general situation best in 1959: "The human mind, particularly in young people, is wide open to influence; the important thing is to expose it to the right influence. Physical and moral therapy before rather than after the injury is the key".



The author, a probation officer, has held seconded appointments in both Local and Training prisons. He is now a Senior Probation Officer in Gloucestershire. Since 1974 he has been Chairman of B.A.S.W.'s Treatment of Offenders Committee.

CARE, CONTROL AND PUNISHMENT

ADRIAN STANLEY

The author takes up the question: "How far is constructive treatment compatible with punishment and control?" He develops this within the punitive and controlling areas of the probation officer's developing role in prison work and within the community. He argues that the ability of the probation officer to exercise his authority appropriately may be more pertinent to a sound penal strategy than legislative reform.

A QUESTION asked increasingly since the Criminal Justice Act, 1967 and the Children and Young Persons Act, 1969 is how far is constructive treatment compatible with punishment and control?

It is probably still true that for most people, and certainly for the majority of reasonable parents, punishment and control only have meaning within the confines of caring. Treatment inevitably contains all three factors; care, control and punishment. Why then do they so often seem to be "incompatible" when it comes to social work?

There have been occasions when I have heard magistrates falling into this trap: "... this is not a punishment... you are being sent away for your own good... you will be helped" are words which are too familiar and which not only imply an incompatibility between care, control and punishment but also a denial of the dignity and capacity of convicted persons to face up to and accept punishment.

In my training (as a probation officer) both within the context of studies relating to child development and in penal treatment, punishment and control were viewed as essential ingredients of caring. What seems to have happened to this essential truism? Possibly it is relevant to this question that two of the hotter issues currently abroad within Probation and Aftercare Services concern, first, the future of that cohabitation which took place in 1966 (though it is whispered, was never consummated) between Probation and Prison Services and, secondly, the extent probation officers feel able to exercise control within the area of penal social work which is non-custodial.

I was head of the Welfare Department of Parkhurst prison at the time of the riot there in 1969. I saw and

participated in some of the prison organisational changes which followed. Of evident significance was the establishment on Parkhurst's C wing of a regime which included only those prisoners who were seen as subversive. This plan included the presence of a social worker, the first of subsequent moves throughout that prison to establish probation officers on landings.

In Parkhurst this wing was given the brief of optimal containment of prisoners who were among the most difficult within the whole prison system. C wing was jointly managed by an Assistant Governor and a Medical Officer, and it appeared at that time remarkably successful not only in effective containment, but as a resource and influence within the rest of the prison.¹ The same regime which provided effective control (operational management shared through frequent multi-disciplinary team meetings) allowed and fostered the best prison conditions I have yet encountered with regard to opportunities for effective team-based custodial social work, ironic when you consider the sector of prison population with whom we were concerned.

Yet shortly after this apparently successful experiment, 1974 saw the emergence within the prison system of control units. Why did they seem so sinister? Perhaps the form they took, in notable contrast to Parkhurst, involved the exclusion of the subversive prisoner even from the prison community itself rather than control within it; there was also the double-bind situation inherent in the system's procedure for restoration. Perhaps worst of all, the regime epitomised polarisation between punishment and caring.

In 1974 the British Association of Social Workers set up its own working party with the mandate to define professional tasks appropriate for the social worker in custodial penal establishments and to prepare draft evidence for submission to the Home Office in response to their discussion document "Social work in the custodial part of the penal system".² In 1976, the National Association of Probation Officers published its report.³ Both these reports arrived independently at a number of similar or compatible conclusions and recommendations, e.g. that welfare tasks, including social work, should be depolarised from the notorious welfare/control axis; that probation officers should be working as part of a prison team and not, to quote a colourful and memorable phrase, as "virtuoso social work

performers or ladies with lamps";⁴ and that, contrary to the popular vote among probation officers, they should be moving further into institutions and not abandoning them.

The nature of the custodial social work task is still to be defined. That there is a different social worker role in Local and Training prisons and that this has implications for the complementary role of the outside probation officer is already widely recognised amongst the increasing number of probation officers who have now had the experience of work within Prison Department establishments. There are crucial and highly pertinent questions to be asked as to the unique contribution of the community-based social worker seconded to an alien custodial situation (this is where B.A.S.W.'s and N.A.P.O.'s evidence and recommendations seem to diverge) and the possible ramifications of this perspective in custodial case-work within that setting and the complementary wing social work tasks which may more appropriately be undertaken by prison department personnel. These as yet unresolved social work questions may well indicate a joint differential approach to custodial social work relating on the one hand to optimum containment and on the other to rehabilitation. These are new areas of penal social work.

On the non-custodial side, concern in the drop in probation orders and the evident disproportion in probation officers' working time devoted to enquiry work at the expense of supervising clients may well be related. David Matthieson, Vice Chairman of N.A.P.O. in an article to "Justice of the Peace" highlights this and suggests a selective strategy towards correcting this imbalance.

The problem of grasping the control/punishment nettle may to some extent relate to supervision time, and in turn to the probation officer's credibility. One of the "twin dragons" conceived in the report, "The Young Adult Offender", may yet be still-born. The Supervision and Control Order which evoked such authority palpitations may rightly have been dropped. Such an order could have rendered probation vulnerable and this in itself would have been much more harmful than the controversial custodial sanction within this proposed new order. Moreover, it has been suggested that the Suspended Sentence Supervision Order (S.S.S.O.), a provision first contained in the Criminal Justice Act, 1972 and so far available only within Crown

Courts, be extended to the Magistrates' Courts. The S.S.S.O. is still difficult even for a probation officer to distinguish from a probation order. So the benefit of extending the S.S.S.O. to Magistrates' Courts would seem questionable. Some of the "Diversion" notions promulgated by N.A.C.R.O., especially the post-conviction part of this package, the probation order model proposed in B.A.S.W.'s recent social policy statement where it becomes "... the normative disposal in all cases felt to require something other than a fine or discharge, but not a custodial sentence",⁶ and the proposed shorter probation order recommended by both B.A.S.W. and N.A.P.O. all seem to point towards a simpler but more flexible order for all ages from 17 upwards, rather than a complex series of so-called alternatives within the criminal courts. A gap which may well need to be filled is the provision of a national network of probation "holding hostels" which, like prison, could be required to accept immediate court disposals of persons considered suitable for hostel placement pending subsequent selection by general purpose or else specialist hostels. Such intermediate placements could all be contained within a simple but flexible probation order. Even the Community Service Order might eventually become part of such an order, as appears to be the proposal in Scotland.

Although this simple and flexible approach suggested by B.A.S.W. has attractions, the crucial ingredient of a sound strategy within the courts for non-custodial penal social work is surely contained in the attributes of informed, sensitive, firm and consistent authority which is not arbitrary, coupled with insightful caring which does not fear to punish. Given these ingredients in the treatment handed out by probation officers and courts as well as in our custodial penal establishments, we have reason to anticipate an effective penal policy.

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Readers Write . . .

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

In reply to your comments in respect of Mr. K. J. Fox's article, "The Danger of Fire in Prison Establishments".

We are somewhat concerned as to the degree of research that went into notes. We conclude from the article two points:

1. The hard and uphill struggle by some members to try and make our establishments a little more "Fire-proof", and through what limited resources are available, educate fellow officers as to the various hazards that exist and surround them daily.
2. The apathetic attitude of some in authority to ignore and offer no assistance to knowledgeable staff, who, with their expertise, would like to improve the standards of Fire and Fire Prevention in our establishments.

What is needed is constructive criticism to encourage individuals to keep coming forward with new ideas for the benefit of the Service as a whole.

With the introduction of the "Health and Safety at Work Act, 1974" and Home Office Notice 30/1975 and 214/75, it is no longer just a case of a moral obligation, but a legal obligation (see para 2.B. H.O. Notice 214/75) for the individual to protect himself/herself and other persons.

Success to Mr. Fox and all other Fire Officers, as through their efforts in the vast field of Fire Prevention, the Prison Service should have some improvement.

Yours faithfully,
FIRE OFFICERS DUNN & DIAMOND
Long Lartin Fire Dept.

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

In the April issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, Dr. J. E. Thomas, in a book review, states: "there is one aspect which could perhaps have been stressed more, and this was the damaging effect the growth of the Detention Centre had on the classic Borstal idea. Especially was this the case after the conversion of North Sea Camp, the symbol of Borstal training to a Detention Centre in 1963".

He has here missed an important point, for paragraph 100 of the report of the A.C.P.S. on Detention Centres published in 1970 states: "we were greatly impressed by what we saw at the only open Detention Centre, North Sea Camp, and by the spirit prevailing there".

Clearly, it is not that Detention Centres damaged the Borstals, but that the philosophy underlying Borstals, when given the opportunity, influenced positively the development of Detention Centres.

M. F. G. SELBY
Governor
H.M. Prison, Brixton

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

I have periodic bouts of Welsh reactionary emotion at the apparent waste of talent drifting at Assistant Governor level in our Prison Service.

In my early years as an Assistant Governor, I was thrown in where it all happens—at the shop floor level or as near to it as I could get; being responsible for a Wing, House, Living Unit, whatever title you like. I learned how to deal with the complicated, frustrating and demanding inter-relationship dynamic of staff-inmate, staff-staff, manager-staff, inmate-inmate contacts. As the job progressed and the service evolved, I had more or less autonomy over the administration, organisation and co-ordination of a Wing Staff Team in implementing domestic life-styles, routines, inmate programmes and the corresponding documentation; not forgetting on-the-job staff training and the commitment to and involvement in the central organisation and implementation of policy. In other words, I was really learning to govern a sub-part of the total organisation and helping to govern the whole. Where else can one learn man management?

Where does it go wrong for too many of my colleagues? I find that many are removed from staff and inmate contact and central organisation, and are performing clerical-type functions that do waste all that beautifully organised initial training; this, in the early embryonic stages of their careers.

I have been lucky, I consider my experiences as being extremely valuable and sound. I am full of sympathy for those of us who really want to learn the job the best way, but find themselves appendages.

Surely, it is not beyond belief that a satisfying and appropriate functional role can be found in the line management structure from years of experience, that is also in line with modern management concepts, and utilises the skills of Assistant Governors, at the same time training him for Governorship? I was given the opportunity by my Governors who saw the Assistant Governors as future Governors, and worked and trained them appropriately.

L. M. WILTSHIRE
Deputy Governor
H.M. Prison, Swinfen Hall

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

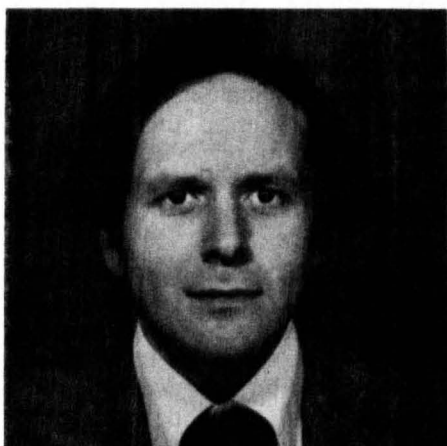
Comment upon previous articles is constructive and has also helped to illuminate problems in which theory could previously only grope. These articles have shown the way, but more are required on all subjects.

THE PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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

The Editor, *Prison Service Journal*,
H.M. Prison, Leyhill,
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SALFORD GAOL IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY



MARTIN BAGGOLEY

Martin Baggoley spent nine years in the Civil Service, working in the Navy Department and the Department of Health and Social Security, before studying for the C.Q.S.W. at Liverpool University. Since qualifying in 1976, he has worked at the Salford Probation Office. He is 28 years old, married and is interested in nineteenth century crime in the Manchester area, where he lives.

THE NEW Bailey Prison in Salford, Lancashire, was opened on 1st April 1790, and was the first prison to be built on the reformed system suggested by John Howard, who ironically died that same year. In the prison a rudimentary classification of prisoners was introduced, based on the age and crime of the offender. Prisoners were employed in such trades as shoe-making, tailoring and in work connected with the local cotton industry. Prisoners were paid for their labour, and some of the money was saved on their behalf and given to them on their release. The prison also had a reputation for maintaining a high standard of cleanliness and sanitation. However, the journal kept by the Reverend Henry Fielding, Chaplain to the New Bailey between 1825 and 1827¹ illustrates that although there can be little doubt that prisoners were contained far more humanely than previously, there was still much reform necessary to rid the penal system of many of its most wretched practices, even after more than thirty years of this "model" prison being opened.

The prison still contained all types

of offenders; women, children, adult prisoners and those awaiting removal to the Hulks and subsequent transportation overseas. A treadmill had been introduced into the prison as recently as 1824, and the journal also details other contemporary punishments, and the internal disciplinary procedures.

THE PRISONERS

Penal transportation was to continue into the second half of the nineteenth century, and many of those sentenced awaited their fate in the New Bailey. Reverend Fielding seemed particularly concerned about their lack of discipline and their effect on the other prisoners.

4th March 1827: The transports are the worst class of prisoners confined in the gaol, for they, knowing that the law can inflict on them no severer punishment than that which they already endure, and at the same time aware that their stay in prison cannot be of very long continuance, have not any inclination, nor object in view, to gain the good report or favour of the prison officers and thus set at defiance, as it were,

prison discipline and, worst of all, set an alarming example of insubordination, wickedness and vice, to the felon prisoners, amongst whom, as the accommodations now are, they must necessarily associate.

Women also served their sentences in the New Bailey, and as the following entry illustrates, during this period, the number of female prisoners was increasing.

16th June 1826: Make my usual enquiries from the last committed female felons and advise them generally. I am struck with the general degree of ignorance which prevails amongst the female felons in the gaol; few of them are enabled to read and the Matron informs me that their appearance on entering the gaol is of the lowest description. Their number, too, I am concerned to say, is much greater than I have hitherto remembered in a similar advance of the quarter.

It was to remain common practice for children to serve their sentences in prisons until 1908, despite the introduction of reformatory and industrial

schools in the mid-nineteenth century. The journal describes the treatment children received:

26th April 1826: Read prayers this morning. See the boy Clare who is in solitary confinement. He had just been whipped and was suffering severely. Promised faithfully that he would never be guilty of similar action again. This is an acknowledgment of his guilt.

The futility of this kind of treatment of children is perhaps best illustrated in a later entry:

16th October 1826: See the convict boys prior to their discharge tomorrow and observed, generally, that they evinced no strong signs either of shame or contrition for their past delinquencies. The terror which one would naturally suppose would have been excited by the circumstance of 12 of them being then about to undergo the punishment of flagellation did not evidence itself with any strong degree either in those who were about to suffer, and much less did it operate on the minds of the other boys who had been so fortunate as not to have had this additional punishment attached to their several sentences. The Surgeon and the Governor were present during the enforcement of this part of the sentence.

THE CHAPLAIN

As one would expect, a major part of Reverend Fielding's work was the spiritual well-being of the inmates, and service was held daily in the prison chapel.

9th April 1826: Attend the gaol this morning. Perform divine service at the usual hours. Catechise the children after the evening service. Exhort them to a decent and becoming behaviour during the ensuing sessions.

Also, he would tour the prison and perform his religious duties wherever necessary.

11th March 1827: After evening service, visit the hospital and read prayers, first for Clarke and Longworth and the invalid prisoners, and secondly, for Davies, a man who has attempted to destroy himself by taking the whole number of laudanum pills at once, which it was the Surgeon's wish he should have taken separately and at stated times.

However, the journal shows that Reverend Fielding did perform other welfare work, and the following entry

describes practical assistance for a prisoner on release.

15th May 1826: See Penny (convict) for whom I have interested myself in speaking to his former master (Mr. McClure, Fustian manufacturer, High Street), to take him into his service again or procure him situation.

The comfort he gave to one particular prisoner and his family is described in this moving account:

13th November 1826: At the request of Wm. Bates, witness his last interview with his wife and eight children. The advice he gave them was truly good, and the interview most affecting. He acknowledges the justness of his sentence, and warned his family to avoid bad companions, public houses and, above all, gambling, which last vice had been his ruin. His term of transportation is 14 years, and as he is a man advanced past the middle age of life, in all probability he will never, in this world, be restored to his family.

It is quite clear from the journal that he saw himself very much a part of the prison management, and he had little hesitation in reporting offenders against prison discipline and in suggesting appropriate punishment, which normally meant being sentenced to silence or to go without food.

20th December 1825: Had occasion to punish James Turner, John Gavin and Samuel Hopkins, three convicts, for irreverent and unbecoming behaviour. The Governor will stop their dinner to-morrow. It is necessary to make an example.

and a further example;

21st May 1826: Had occasion to order two of the transports to be taken from the chapel for improper behaviour. They were placed each in his own cell, had no dinner, and after evening service I visited them. One (Lee), whom I found hardened and determined, was ordered to be so confined till he should be removed to the Hulks; and the other liberated, having expressed contrition.

THE REFORM OF CRIMINALS

Reverend Fielding's first sermon in the prison was based on the text "This is a true saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners". However, he was not so naïve as to believe that an acceptance of the Christian faith would necessarily reform hardened criminals. He was obviously aware of

the failure of the prison, at that time, as an institution for reforming those detained. His journal contains his thoughts on trying to ensure that prisoners were not led into committing further offences on release. He was particularly concerned about the consequences of transportees being alongside less serious offenders and children.

25th November 1826: The transports go off this week. It would be desirable that in future these unfortunate persons might be separated entirely from the rest of the prisoners. Their constant association with young offenders, or those who are young in crime, having, as I conceive, a tendency to harden their mind.

Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, it was to be some considerable time before this practice was to cease, with the ending of penal transportation.

The Chaplain also believed in the power of education as a weapon in crime prevention. He lent books to prisoners to help them with their spelling or to enhance their general education. The following entry highlights the faith he had in education, particularly the prison school and the benefits derived by the children.

22nd October 1826: Examine the felon boys who have attended the school during this quarter; and have every reason to remark that the proficiency made by the majority of them strengthens my opinion as to the utility of the gaol school. Not only did I perceive that their progress in the elements of religious knowledge was creditable, but also that their manners and behaviour had assumed a respectful and softened tone, and were deprived of much of that rude and brutish appearance which they generally possess when first committed to the prison. With the attention, progress and behaviour of the adult scholars am much gratified.

CONCLUSION

New Bailey Prison was demolished in 1871 and replaced by Strangeways Prison, Manchester. Reverend Fielding's journal has provided us with a valuable insight into this prison's life in the early period of the nineteenth century, and shows the amount of work that still needed to be done in reforming the English penal system.

REFERENCE

1. The journal extracts are taken from Transactions of The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Volume XLV.

ATTITUDES OF PRISON GUARDS TOWARD THEIR OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

PETER O. PERETTI

Peter O. Peretti is an assistant professor of psychology at Kennedy-King College, Chicago, Illinois. He received his B.A. from Lake Forest College in 1962, two M.A. degrees from Roosevelt University (one in sociology, 1964; one in psychology, 1967), and his Ph.D. from Walden University in 1974. While Director of a Head Start Programme, 1965-66, Professor Peretti and his colleagues developed alternative forms of education leading to the programme's success. As an individual and group counsellor at the Indiana State Prison, 1966-69, his methods and techniques contributed new approaches to these areas.

The efficiency and effectiveness of a guard's performance in a penal institution is dependent on his attitudes toward his occupational role. These tend to increase when the individual's attitudes are consistent with those behaviours which are required of the job. The following research was conducted to find out the attitudes of prison guards toward their occupational role. Results showed that the major attitudes centred around integration, social distance, personal interest, job knowledge, rehabilitation-coerciveness, and custodial care.



WORKING for several years at the Indiana State Prison, Michigan City, Indiana, as a counsellor, I became interested in the ways in which different guards might perform their jobs and interact with the inmates. During counselling sessions, the inmates would tell me about various ways in which they were treated by different guards and their responses to them. I decided to interview a number of the guards and get their attitudes toward their job. This would give a better understanding as to which attitudes seemed significant to the guards in their occupational role, and which attitudes might be consistent with those behaviours required of this job.

INTEGRATION

The predominant attitude among the interviewed guards was that of integration. They viewed their job as one which demanded multiple duties and an interweaving of several kinds of behaviours. In a sense, they thought of themselves as "administrators", to the extent that to some inmates they were authority figures, human relations men, reinforcers of institutional rules and regulations, and confidants. Their attitude and behaviour would become modified depending on which of these persons they might want to be like at the moment.

When discussing the integration theme, the guards stated that they felt as if they were "part of the team" in an administrative sense. This attitude of integration gave them a more positive self-image in their occupational role. They expressed positive attitudes that their feelings and behaviour on

the job were consistent with the job demands.

Feelings of integration made the guards more attracted to their job, as well as increasing their resistance to job change. The men reflected a certain degree of group cohesiveness and belongingness. The quantity of interactions as well as their quality tended to increase the stronger the attitude of integration.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance was the second most frequently stated attitude of the men. The guards stated that they had to "keep their distance" from those incarcerated for several reasons: (1) inmates wanted "friends" for favours; for exploitation; for communication (to have someone to talk to), and for contraband (attempting to get things in their cells which were not allowed); (2) inmates attempted to get personal (intimate) with guards for assumed positive impressions and information they might relay to the parole board; and (3) inmates might attempt to "get something" on a guard to use in their own way as a device for coercive purposes against him. Using each of these criteria, the guards' performances on the job would tend to be directed toward a more formalised role. Relations between the guards and inmates would be utilitarian and impersonal with the interaction being more oriented toward institutional goals rather than personal or social ones.

The guards did mention that they believed that part of their job was to get to know the inmates better. However, they thought that the personal

contact would not be "personal enough" to encourage strong friendships, mutual obligations, and/or reciprocity. Such associations might decrease the efficiency and effectiveness of the guards' performance.

PERSONAL INTEREST

Most guards maintained they took a personal interest in their job and in relations with the inmates. Being civil, polite and friendly led to enhanced relationships with others and generally made their job easier. Further, it led to both parties (guards and inmates) treating each other as human beings on an adequate level of communication. They stressed that close physical proximity tended to enforce personal interest. They had to work with the inmates day in and day out, in close quarters.

Personal interest seemed to facilitate behaviour required by the occupational role, but, if carried to a more personal, intimate level, such interest might lead to negation of certain guard duties, conflicts between guard and inmates, and corruption of the guard role. Increased personal interest, it was felt, might lead to either guard or inmate attempting to manipulate and/or control the behaviour of the other in ways beyond what might be anticipated.

KNOWLEDGE

Job knowledge was the fourth most frequently stated attitude by the guards. Knowledge as part of their occupational role was usually associated with the "handling of prisoners" [sic]. This not only covered adequate recruitment and training but also how to "know

the system" [sic] of the institution. The latter covered a range of prescriptions and proscriptions which were not formally documented as requirements of the job. Having the proper attitudes in this area could make the individual more adaptable as well as more proficient in his job.

Norms suggest ideal ways of behaving and ideal relationships. They do not necessarily describe reality. Since each of the guards interviewed had a somewhat different definition of how they defined their job, what behaviours they thought were required, and what attitudes were thought relevant to their performance, modifications of group norms were found. These would lead to variations of the occupational role, but not necessarily affect efficiency and effectiveness. Different ways of thinking and acting can still be within the limitations of adequate role performance.

REHABILITATION

Fifth among the most frequently stated attitudes of the prison guards was rehabilitation-coersiveness. Foremost among the responses were socially desirable attitudes toward the rehabilitative process. The men did believe that there were socially desirable behavioural patterns among inmates which they might aid in developing. These included such things as developing trust and interest among the inmates, attempting to impart positive attitudes toward society, and creating communication to make such goals possible.

As part of the rehabilitative process, the guards stated they felt it was part of their job to "straighten the inmates out" [sic] and to "show them where they had done wrong" [sic]. Not only did they believe that this might be suggested to the prisoners, but that the inmates might be coerced into rehabilitating themselves. Coersive techniques suggested by the guards included verbal abuse, intimidation, or other punitive measures. It might have been helpful here if the guards first had training in rehabilitative techniques. This could aid the use of guards in a total rehabilitation treatment programme.

CUSTODY

Attitudes referring to custodial care

were among the last frequently mentioned. They centred around the penal institution as "custodian" for those "abnormal", "revolting", "radical" individuals who have committed grievous and/or heinous crimes [sic] against others. Many guard attitudes seemed parallel with those of zoo-keepers. Such guards perceived their role as guard to "keep these people away from society" [sic] and protect

and custodial care, the guard might be expected to perform his job with less positive expectations of the institution. In each of these instances, the occupation role would be more restrictive, limited, and formalised as compared to those above. Through his presentation of self to the inmate, the guard would appear to have less concern for him, whether this were the case or not. Such attitudes would be likely to decrease understanding between the guard and inmates.

Attitudes influence occupation role and behavioural performance. Attitudes of the guard will influence his carrying out of his occupational role. The inmates assess this role in relation to themselves according to the intentions and motives they impute to the guard. They also tend to judge and evaluate the men in terms of whether or not they like them, they are sincere in their duties, and interested in them as people. Prison guards need to be aware of these influences and their ramifications for themselves, the inmates, and the functioning of the institution.

Attitudes are often overtly expressed in movements, gestures, postures, and voice

qualities. These tend to lead to more negative or positive relations. The guard, having knowledge of his attitudes and their behavioural counterparts, will better realise why his relations with inmates form particular patterns. He can also measure his attitudes toward those required on the job at that specific institution.

To the extent that the attitudes of the prison guard are comparable to those of the administrators, they will be compatible. When attitudes and views differ between them, conflict is likely to ensue. Individual expectations and institutional expectations of any social role tend to be integrated, reinforced, and enhanced when the institution acquires personnel who are in sympathy with their views and further trains them in "proper" social roles. When penal institutions determine their expectations of the guard's occupational role, they are better able to pass on this information and train aspirants for the position, and the greater is the probability the guard will demonstrate job performance in harmony with the prescribed norms.



"Once we get the hole made, our only problem will be the screw."

the citizens from their harmful influences. This would tend to make the guard perceive his role as punitive. Part of this self-perception would be the stereotype of the guard with the "billy-club" or "night-stick" in one hand, and the gun in the other waiting to "tame the animals" [sic] as some said.

CONCLUSIONS

Depending on the attitudes of the guards toward their occupational role, would be the expected role behaviour. By perceiving himself in roles of integration, personal interest and rehabilitation, the guard might be expected to perform his job with more positive expectations of the penal institution. The interests of the inmate would seem to be of more concern to the guard than when the other attitudes found in this study prevailed. Such attitudes would be likely to increase the understanding between the guard and the inmates, facilitating communication and co-operation between them. By perceiving himself in roles of social distance, job knowledge, coersiveness,

BOOK REVIEWS

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Does Rule One Still Rule?

THE LENGTH OF PRISON SENTENCES

Interim Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System

H.M.S.O., 1977. 35p.

THIS six page document should not be overlooked; it packs in some rather stark statements about the Prison Service. Some in the Service might find its stance unacceptable and not entirely in accordance with what appears to be the Department's policy.

The report's basic tenet is the futility of imprisonment as an instrument of reform and it recommends that all medium- and short-term prison sentences should be reduced even further. It argues that the principle of rehabilitation, prevailing from the 1950's onwards, had the cumulative effect of lengthening prison sentences, as short sentences were seen as impractical for the purpose of reform. Imprisonment is now generally accepted as damaging rather than deterring the individual.

The report acknowledges that there is already an increasing use of alternatives to imprisonment. In 1948 of all those over 17 convicted of indictable offences 30 per cent went to prison, compared with only 10 per cent in 1975. For many sentences parole has further reduced the time spent in prison. Yet, as prisons are grossly overcrowded, it concludes that there is scope for further reduction in sentence length. As the report mentions, the Governor's Branch of the Society of Civil and Public Servants supports shorter sentences. One might ask if this is not due to a concern with short term, pragmatic remedies for today's problems, rather than a concern for the longer term strategy and overall policy. The latter *should* be the concern; the veiled philosophy behind the argument for shorter sentences should be made more explicit and the implications made clearer.

The negative and damaging image of life in prison implied by the report is sobering and raises serious questions about the task of those working in the Service. The efficacy of Prison Rule One is clearly challenged if the conclusions of this report are officially accepted.

I would suggest that the report is more potent than its length suggests and should be widely read for the implications behind the arguments. These need to be brought out into the open and their impact on the policy of the Prison Department fully recognised and acknowledged.

R. S. DUNCAN
Head of Development Training
Prison Service College
Wakefield

THE MAGISTRATES' COURT

IAN MCLEAN and PETER MORRISH

Barry Rose, 1977 (Third Edition). £4.65.

THIS reference work is sub-titled "An Index of Common Penalties and Formalities in Cases before Justices" and is described in the foreword as "a comprehensive reference guide for all those whose work takes them into the magistrates' courts". Prison Officers from remand centres and local prisons are the one group in the Prison Service to whom this literally applies, but all staff in such establishments (and elsewhere in the Service) could turn with gratitude to this publication when in search of guidance in the workings of magistrates' courts. It is well-indexed and clearly set out.

The most recent area of change covered in the book, and one which will particularly interest prison staff, is that introduced by the Bail Act of last year. In their foreword the authors state that the Act, "when it becomes law, will fundamentally alter the concept of bail". Whether it will fundamentally affect the size of the remand population remains to be seen, especially in view of the exceptions to the presumption in favour of bail and the consequent problems of finding suitable sureties. At Leeds at least, the steady increase in population in recent years has not been caused by remand prisoners. Their numbers have already fallen for the past two years and we may be reaching a minimum of unconvicted defendants who will be refused bail so long as any discretion is allowed by legislation.

The section on imprisonment begins with the sober warnings of the Home Office publication, *The Sentence of the Court*. The deleterious effects of imprisonment are made clear and one is reminded of the great variety of alternatives to imprisonment which most people coming into prison have already experienced. For the sake of the whole community it is to be hoped that further ingenuity will produce more sentencing options, either radical alternatives or refinements of present ones, which will both keep people out of prison and will work. It is not, however, the limited sentencing powers of magistrates' courts as described in this book which produce the growth in prison numbers, but the procession of offenders which appears before the higher courts. Will there ever be a future edition of this work in which the "Imprisonment" section reads as positively as some of the others?

DEREK TWINER
Deputy Governor
Leeds Prison

PAROLE IN ENGLAND AND WALES

C. NUTTALL and others

Home Office Research Study No. 38,
H.M.S.O., 1977. £1.75.

THIS report on parole, which could perhaps be regarded to some extent as an "official" evaluation of various aspects of the parole scheme, has taken an extraordinarily long time to materialise. Unfortunately, it contains little more information than can be gleaned from a thorough perusal of official statistics and reports.

The introduction of the report covers the familiar ground of the Parole Board's annual reports, with specific reference to decision-making on particularly "difficult" groups of offenders. Information on prediction scores, however, has not previously been generally available and discussions of the procedures for compiling these should prove useful. Such scores may be only of statistical and administrative interest, since my experience suggests that it would be over-optimistic to assume that they are taken into account by those actually responsible for the release of offenders. Data in the section on opting out of parole tend to reinforce previous work in this area. It would seem that, in many cases, opting out is a realistic reflection of individual offenders' chances of getting parole.

In discussing their work on parole failure, the authors seem to make unrealistic assumptions about the licence conditions, particularly when they state that these conditions "exist to safeguard the public; and define the relationship between the parolee and his supervising officer". Such a statement does not leave room for the uncertainty that my work has shown frequently existed in the relationship between the parolee and his supervising officer. The flexibility of the parole licence may help the probation officer to set up a style of supervision that suits the conditions of the individual parolee. At the same time, such flexibility may prove too fluid, particularly in difficult cases or with relatively inexperienced supervising officers. In such situations, there appears to be a lack of clear guidance on when and how to take appropriate action. In some cases, I found that probation officers were uncertain about the necessary procedures to be followed in dealing with parolee breakdown. It may be that with the increasing experience of parole such difficulties will become rarer.

It is most interesting that the report concludes, "any effect of parole upon the number reconvicted within two years of release was so small as to be of little practical importance". At the same time, the authors feel that the effect of supervision during the period on licence may delay reconviction. Such information comes when there is a widespread call for an increased liberalisation of parole policy. It should also be recognised that such a scheme provides a method for controlling the size of the prison population when this is a pressing problem.

When studying an analysis of statistical information one must not lose sight of the fact that a parole scheme deals with people. There may be a tendency in evaluation to be too greatly concerned with numbers rather than individuals. My work suggests that one of the most crucial factors in an offender's rehabilitation is the strength of his desire to change. Where this is strong, a period on parole may reinforce such intentions; early release provides a good start, since offenders feel it shows that the authorities have put trust in them.

Parole may be seen as one element of a policy which attempts to keep as many people out of prison as is practicable. In this context, one should bear in mind the need to give the offender a stake in society if there is to be any real potential for rehabilitation. Ostracism increases the offender's difficulties, tending to reinforce the isolation and increase his chances of continuing to pursue his criminal activities.

FARIDA BEVERLY
Co-Author of On Licence: A Study of Parole

CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR: A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

M. P. FELDMAN

Wiley, 1977. £9.50.

SOCIOLOGY must surely be credited with making most of the recent ripples in that murky lake which represents our understanding of crime and delinquency. In the Sixties, a whole school of radical sociologists took a public plunge into the water and the splash they made temporarily obscured other disciplines such as psychology, which were patiently paddling round the edges harvesting minnows instead of wrestling with Jaws in the middle. Now that the waves have subsided, Dr. Feldman wades in confidently to demonstrate convincingly that modern psychology has, at last, generated a viable perspective of criminal behaviour. In an exciting 300 pages, he indicates that while psychologists aren't laying claim to the whole lake, they certainly have it fairly well surrounded.

There is the obligatory introductory chapter defining terms, in which Feldman points out the complex factors which bias the construction of official crime statistics and hamper their interpretation. He then introduces the behavioural psychologists' viewpoint on the acquisition, performance and control of criminal behaviour; it is this perspective which permeates the book and gives it its radical flavour. The message, based purely on empirical evidence, is that criminal behaviour is primarily *learned* and therefore subject to exactly the same sorts of influences as any normal, non-deviant behaviour.

Chapter 2, in which Feldman looks to developmental psychology for an account of how children are socialised into *not* offending, contrasts neatly with the next which documents how both children and adults may positively learn to offend, either against property or other persons. The former section places some emphasis on studies of crime as a rational "economic" behaviour affected by rewards and costs, while the latter includes material from the literature on observational learning and the effects of TV, plus Milgram's experiments on obedience (See P.S.J. No. 18). The chapter on prosocial behaviour (i.e. that which limits or counters criminal responses) is an original departure in a criminological work. Feldman stresses that there is no real difference in the way "good" and "bad" behaviours are determined by prior experience and present situation.

A discussion of biological factors in crime follows. Perhaps it is not in vogue to suggest that these actually exist; yet Feldman's dispassionate review concludes that while the effects of genetics, sex and constitution are unlikely to be large, they certainly shouldn't be dismissed. An important argument is that a separate explanation of female criminality is not required. Turning to personality and crime, Feldman confines himself to an excellent critical evaluation of Eysenck's theory of criminality. A concluding proviso about the unreliability of personality measures somewhat undermines the intriguing theoretical speculation which has preceded it. The chapter on mental disorder and crime features Hare's seminal work on psychopathy. Feldman goes further than most in dismantling the myth of "psychopathy", either as a distinct type or as personality trait, arguing instead for the study of psychopathic behaviours which we are all capable of in the right circumstances. Moreover, he plays down the distinction between psychopathic and criminal activities—they are, he maintains, essentially the same thing.

After dealing sympathetically with many of the current sociological perspectives, mainly by showing how they often translate into psychological concepts already well-researched by experimental social psychology, Feldman devotes his last three substantial chapters to examining the achievements, prospects and ethics of the endeavour to control crime. After scrutinising the effects and effectiveness of our current penal systems, his conclusions will come as no surprise to anyone who has ever read any other criminological text. The treatment of offenders by psychotherapeutic methods gets the inevitable

slamming in chapter 10; but if the new wave of behavioural intervention techniques doesn't seem to have been strained through quite such a fine critical sieve, at least Feldman suspends his natural loyalties long enough to poke a few holes in the fabric of this admittedly very promising work. The final section provides a thoughtful exposition of the ethical and practical implications raised by a behavioural and deterministic approach to crime and crime control.

Although Feldman stops short of hazarding a full-blown integrated psychological theory of criminal behaviour, he builds a sound framework and supplies most of the raw material available up to 1975. What the book lacks in originality (it is after all more a review than a thesis) it makes up for in thoroughness and critical rigour. Given the sheer density of the material, the prose is surprisingly readable, barring a profusion of typographical errors which were frankly irritating and a few passages which produced intellectual indigestion.

As an elegant, challenging and panoramic synthesis of modern psychological knowledge about criminal behaviour, this book demands the attention of all personnel and professions involved with offenders. My guess is that it will be adopted as an important standard text and sourcebook wherever criminology is taken seriously.

JULIAN FULLER
Senior Psychologist
Usk Detention Centre



TREATMENT AND JUSTICE IN PENOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY

NIGEL WALKER

Edinburgh University Press, 1976. 50p.

PROFESSOR WALKER has done the debate about treatment in penology both a service and a disservice. First, he has provided a penetrating analysis of what may be called the "anti-treatment lobby". Secondly, he has chosen to side-step the difficulties associated with the dismal lack of success of treatment intervention in the penal setting. He says, in effect, do not get carried away by the clamour from the anti-treaters for they are not on too firm a logical ground when their arguments are pushed to their extremes. He concludes that the current scepticism about treatment has been healthy and should encourage us to ask searching questions about the efficiency of any system of treatment before attempting to use it in either prisons or mental hospitals.

M. G.



JAILS AND DRUG TREATMENT

CHARLES L. NEWMAN and

BARBARA R. PRICE

Sage, 1977.

Hardback £9.20. Paperback £5.20.

THIS book is a report of a very wide-reaching research project designed to determine what kind of treatment was available in American jails for those men who were either drug takers or drug addicts. This is a well presented book but there are two problems about reading it which I mention first.

It would have been helpful to have a glossary because I found myself asking what a jail is and not getting the answer until page 49, which says: "Jails operate at the local level for pre-trial detention, for custody and correction of those serving brief or intermittent sentences, and for

temporary incarceration prior to transfer". They seem, therefore, to be as near as anything to our local prisons, though some are nearer to the cells in a police station. It is important to understand this because we know from our own situation that any form of treatment in a busy local prison is far from easy.

The second problem is that it is difficult to read a book which relies heavily on sociological jargon. A statement like: "Interestingly, the current correctional rhetoric, which opts for community based correctional resources, does not usually include the jail either as a central or peripheral element in the spectrum of resources" is one about which I have to think twice to be sure that I have understood.

Having made these two minor complaints, I found this a worthwhile book which provides some interesting comparisons with our situation and perhaps offers heartening possibilities for our own difficult and overcrowded local prisons.

The book makes it clear what can be done and what kind of information is needed in order to plan for properly organised treatment both for those heavily involved in drugs for detoxification and for an ongoing programme aimed towards rehabilitation. There are interesting experiments going on and the difficulties that can occur are discussed openly; for example, the problems that arise from a community agency which may employ former offenders and drug abusers and the mistrust with which they may be greeted within the jails by the staff who are not unnaturally suspicious and anxious about their security arrangements. It can go the other way, one jail administrator said, "We'd like to have them come into the jail but a lot of these agencies are gun-shy".

The book proposes a model for the screening and identification, treatment and rehabilitation of all drug offenders which the authors say is economical, uncomplicated and applicable to all jails. The final paragraph may have wider implications: "Inmates are interested in only two questions, 'How did I get here?' and 'How can I get out?'. Beginning with the screening process an additional question should emerge for the inmate to ponder, 'How do I stay out?'. A partnership between the jail and the community human service networks can provide help towards answering that question".

This is an interesting and informative little book which, if one extrapolates from the specific situation with which it deals, has much to say about organisational problems and how they might be creatively overcome given the will to co-operate and the fostering of mutual trust between inside and outside.

MARY J. L. ELLIS MB, BS, FRCPSych, DPM
Senior Medical Officer
Feltham Borstal



GUERRILLAS AND TERRORISTS

RICHARD CLUTTERBUCK

Faber and Faber, 1977. £4.25.

IT WOULD seem from the press and television that few countries in the world are free from guerilla or terrorist activity. Like it or not, our lives in the community are affected to some extent by the activities of people who, for whatever motive, have chosen violence or the threat of it as a weapon to create social change.

It may appear a little odd to be reviewing such a book in this Journal, but the Prison Service now holds about 100 people who deserve the label of "terrorist". Their attitudes and behaviour inside prison, as well as their behaviour or threatened behaviour outside, can and do affect our work. If the Prison Service is to do its job professionally, then members of the Service need to know what they are facing.

Dr. Clutterbuck's book is a most useful contribution to the growing literature on the subject.

Clutterbuck clearly and succinctly examines the history of politically motivated violence, drawing balance-sheets and lessons from the activities of guerillas and terrorists in S.E. Asia, N. Ireland, the Middle East and the activities of the recent "international terrorists". He describes the strategies and tactics of the organisations and he analyses briefly why each movement succeeded or failed. More importantly, he demonstrates the need of both the terrorists and the established government to capture the hearts and minds of the general population; it is much more than just good public relations or propaganda, but a genuine will to offer and to produce practical benefits to the population. Television brings the action into our homes, putting us into the front-line; the battle for the mind, the affecting of attitudes is of utmost importance to the terrorists and the Establishment.

It is this particular message which struck one most forcibly. Prisons are small closed communities. They now hold a small but intelligent and skilful number of subversive prisoners. Such people have been able to cause mass disruption at Gartree, Hull and elsewhere. If the Service is to prevent recurrence, it needs to have the majority of the prisoner population at least passive, but even better, actively on its side. To do this it needs regimes which are seen by prisoners to be beneficial to them. It needs to demonstrate care and concern. If it does not, all it will create is fertile ground for the subversive to till.

This lesson, adapted from the success in dealing with subversion in Malaya, seems to be translatable into a strategy for preventing subversion in a prison. Concern for the general well-being of the population and freedom from intimidation soon denies support to the subversive and increases the flow of intelligence.

The book is aimed at the general reader, but is sufficiently detailed to provide a clear understanding of some of the movements and groups presently causing mayhem. Dr. Clutterbuck makes no attempt to theorise. He takes an historical, empirical approach. His first-hand experience as a soldier, his academic researches and his involvement with public organisations such as the BBC are all brought to bear on the subject. The book contains a useful bibliography for the reader who wishes to pursue the subject.

I believe Dr. Clutterbuck wanted to entitle the book "Kill one—frighten Ten Thousand" from an old Chinese proverb. Terrorism is frightening. Perhaps after reading this book we will be less frightened but more thoughtful and concerned, which is a far better basis from which to live one's life and do one's job.

J. L. UZZELL
Assistant Governor
Prison Service College
Wakefield



PRISON VIOLENCE

Edited by ALBERT K. COHEN

GEORGE F. COLE and ROBERT G. BAILEY
Lexington Books, 1977. £9.70.

THIS book is based on a series of papers presented at a conference in New Hampshire for academics, prison officials and ex-offenders from throughout the United States. The conference was concerned with violence both among inmates and between inmates and staff. The book contains many of the papers given at the conference as well as edited and paraphrased versions of the discussions.

The first part of the book includes papers

from sociological, biological and psychological perspectives. Emphasis is laid on the fact that "violence is the one recourse, the one currency, of those who have nothing else: the slave, the lackey, the buck private, the tenant, the field hand, the convict". Prisons have the same problems as outside society: "to construct a system of governance that reconciles freedom with order and security". One of the main difficulties is that, "most people are not that much interested in prisons".

Conrad points out that in a violent society, with violence increasing on the streets, we can expect it to increase in the prisons. Potential solutions to the problem of violence are: the abolition of the large prison; an examination of the ethnic origins of staff; more importance attached to training; and new efforts to eliminate injustice from the whole of criminal justice including the elimination of the indeterminate sentence.

Moyer's paper on the biological background to violence is perhaps of interest to specialists and those preoccupied with things such as cementing electrodes to the skulls of cats. It also includes eye-catching sentences such as: "The absolute physiological control of large groups of people is not here—yet".

Part II of the book, "Explaining Violence", consists of papers on collective violence in prison and its organisation. It is recognised that many major theoretical questions have been left untouched: emergence of leadership, formulation of demands, and changes in how and why inmates participate. The point is made that, "Complete control can be achieved only by reducing activities to nearly zero, a condition that is inherently unstable and ultimately brings about generalized outbreaks of violence".

Part III, "The Ecology of Violence", includes a paper on "Prison Architecture and Prison Violence"—a subject dear to my heart. "The Ecology of Prison Violence" then identifies three main themes: homosexuality, racism and political tensions, and "hustling" (seeing to your own needs). Eight determinants of inmate violence are listed and suggestions made for its containment, control and reduction.

Part IV, "Policy Implications", includes "The Study of Violence in California Prisons" and "Dealing with Prison Violence".

Prison Violence is not recommended as a book at bedtime. Whilst there are obvious differences between the American and British prison systems it is perhaps the similarities that make the book worthy of more than a casual glance.

K. N. ALDERSON
Assistant Governor
Parkhurst Prison



IN SPITE OF DUNGEONS

S. J. DAVIES

Alan Sutton by arrangement with
Hodder and Stoughton, 1976 (Second
Edition). £3.00.

REVEREND S. J. Davies who, as Chaplain to the "Glorious Glosters", spent 2½ years as a prisoner of Chinese Communists in North Korea, has produced a moving account of the struggle to survive physically, mentally and spiritually under conditions of grim suffering, deprivation and degradation. One marvels at the resilience of the men who lived through forced marches, torture and brain-washing; one envies the unwavering faith which not only sustained Mr. Davies but also enabled him to provide support for his fellow prisoners. This book, which was first published in 1954, has been out of print for some time but is now once more available.

R. M.

JOHN MAHER OF DELANCEY STREET

GROVER SALES

Sheldon Press, 1976. £3.95.

JOHN MAHER is a former drug addict and small-time gangster who, after serving sentences in reform schools and jails, overcame both his drug addiction and his criminal habit with the help of "Synanon", California's radical centre for ex-addicts. Delancey Street is the Foundation he started when he became disillusioned with "Synanon".

The book, relying mainly on anecdotes from Maher and those who have had close contact with him, is written in the lurid language of New York slums and some of the frequently-used adjectives would raise eyebrows in a seaman's bar. This, and the book's lack of academic pretensions, may deter some readers; which is unfortunate because it has much to offer. All institutional staff, for example, should read the chapter "The Jails", which gives Maher's perceptive account of the inmate subculture and the manipulation of staff by inmates.

Perhaps the most important issue raised by the book is the success of the radical philosophy of the Delancey Street Foundation. Maher rejected "Synanon" because he felt that it was becoming too insular and institutionalised. His vision of Delancey Street is of self-supporting groups located in the best residential areas and operating as power bases within the system to influence political and social opinion. As he says: "You can't cure a Puerto Rican dope fiend and send him back to live in the South Bronx. If he's really cured, he'd be the only sane man on his block, and this would drive him crazy".

Maher consistently refused all state aid and relied instead on his self-confessed ability as a con-man to obtain the unconditional, financial support of wealthy businessmen. He purchased properties that had previously been used as embassies by the United Arab Republic and Russia to house his growing band of ex-addicts and ex-prisoners. To counter the opposition of local residents, who objected to "dope fiends" in the neighbourhood, he recruited lawyers, tax specialists and real estate brokers who formed a team capable of overcoming all resistance and, as Delancey Street grew, he continued to purchase mansions in select residential areas—paying for the latest addition over ¼m. dollars in cash. The money to finance these ventures came from two main sources. First, the residents who contributed their income and received in return \$20 a month walking-about money; and, secondly, the income from the business empire Maher created. This comprises restaurants, bars, trucking, garages, property repairing and many other enterprises—all of which employ Delancey Street residents. The most audacious business venture was a Crime School Clinic, where store managers and security officers were taught how to prevent crime.

Organisations in this country which set up half-way houses and hostels for ex-offenders have something to learn from Maher. His mixture of capitalism and social reform may not work in the United Kingdom, but it deserves to be given the chance.

R. MITCHELL
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Prison Service College
Wakefield



TALKING ABOUT WELFARE

Edited by N. TIMMS and D. WATSON

Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976.

Paperback £2.95. Hardback £5.95.

THIS book, like many excellent women, has a good heart hidden by a horrible appearance; and its problem is that whatever its merits; it tempts few to make the effort to get acquainted.

There are two reasons for this, and the first is largely a matter of prejudice and tradition. *Talking about Welfare* is one of a series designed

to re-apply to social work and social administration the disciplines of philosophical analysis: a practice that has been ignored for almost half a century. As a result of this there has been a tendency not only for the two subjects to develop separately but for social work to be seen as a matter of feeling, not susceptible to any rigorous analysis of its underlying concepts. A work which proposes to conduct such an analysis, therefore, will meet the reaction that logic-chopping and philosophical hair-splitting are irrelevant in the social work context. The book might, in consequence, be immediately dismissed. In addition, the work's construction (although its ultimate strength) appears, at first sight, to limit its value. It has two parts: an introduction, which expounds the need for and nature of conceptual clarification, and a collection of 14 essays.

In the introduction, the editors argue that many of the terms used in talking about welfare are so badly defined as to obstruct understanding and discussion and that, to define them better, certain rules should be followed.

Although the introduction contains comment on the essays that succeed it, the editors do not apply their analysis to them. In consequence, since many of these essays are clearly badly considered, there is temptation to see the work, as a whole, as a worthwhile introduction and 14 chapters of nonsense. This opinion (one I held myself for a considerable time) reveals, however, only a lack of perception. For although the introduction uses a language which seems tortuous in its search for precision, and although its tight reasoning demands considerable concentration it is eventually comprehensible and, once understood, is applicable to the essays.

DAVID BRATTON
Assistant Governor
Pentonville Prison

PEOPLE NOT CASES: A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL WORK

NICHOLAS M. RAGG

Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977. £4.25.

AT THE outset of this book, Mr. Ragg emphasises that he is not concerned with a philosophical analysis of casework but with solving the long-standing dilemma in social work of the individual worker's allegiance to the client and to society. This is a big theme and throughout the first part of the book he employs an intellectual rigour which is rare in social work literature. Unfortunately, and despite the many interesting ideas along the way, the end result resembles a finely drawn plan of operations at a military headquarters which bears little relation to the muddy immediacy of the actual combat at the front.

He begins by reviewing various theories of social casework. The client is seen primarily in terms of certain psychological forces which can be "hallowed and directed aright" by means of a professional social work relationship. His sense of identity depends on how adequately his actions are characterised and the sincerity and honesty of those around him. In contrast to defining a client's behaviour in technical terms as something "adjustable" (which depreciates the client as a person) the caseworker should be committed to an egalitarian social relationship encouraging the client above all to describe his emotions and actions and by so doing to enhance his identity as a person.

While anyone would welcome a greater degree of honesty and charity along the walkways and in the living rooms of our more depressed housing estates, Ragg does not, except in passing, face up to the areas where family/social work (even on the lines he has described) is not exactly a workable proposition. Also his link between a client's self-description and the response he should receive from those around him and society has a somewhat sleight of hand quality about it. What also of our clients who are too

poor, deprived, and powerless to cope with more than improvising a night's lodging and perhaps winning a small battle with the D.H.S.S.? I would also query whether self-knowledge through description does always enhance an individual's identity. In some instances it can, I think, overwhelm people to the extent that their precarious attempts to live for today and tomorrow are cut down by the root.

The difficulty is that Ragg is really presupposing a society where people have more choice and room to manoeuvre than is the case. To quote: "what a person wants ultimately is to engage in some activity or partake of an experience worthwhile in itself". I would certainly support his emphasis on close attention to the harrowing self-descriptions which our clients are only too justified in pushing at us. Equally, the quick leap into diagnosis—"personality disorder", "psychopathic personality with mood swings"—has its obvious crudities and dangers but can illuminate the particular by reference to the general. What also of the whole problem of authority which is built into the social worker's role in almost every statutory social work agency? Ragg barely touches on this.

Despite the interest of this book, I feel that at the end of the day one is back with the compromising, the string-pulling, and the struggle to be consistently open and understanding in the face of often appalling situations.

A. J. G. HEATH
Probation Officer
Inner London Probation & Aftercare Service

A STUDY OF DETENTION CENTRE SENTENCES

COLIN BRIDGES

Wakefield Probation and Aftercare Service
50p.

HOPE, presumably, springs eternal in the breast of the Prison Department that, after 25 years, an end might some day be seen to its role of reluctant jailer of boys between 14 and 17. The most recent expression of this hope appeared in the A.C.P.S. (Younger) Report on Young Adult Offenders, 1974 which advocated that all offenders below 17 should be dealt with under the provisions of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act. The depressing fact that committals to Junior D.C.s doubled between 1969 and 1973 and the even more depressing fact that committals for borstal training of boys under 16 did the same, would seem to make it abundantly clear that the Junior D.C. will continue for the foreseeable future.

The present *Study of Detention Centre Sentences* by the West Yorkshire Probation Service is the result of discussions and shared thinking by Huddersfield magistrates and probation officers. Part I on "The Effectiveness of D.C. Sentences" provides a careful survey indicating re-conviction rates of more than 50 per cent for all ages and the discouraging figure of 64 per cent for the under seventeens. These figures are based on a two year follow-up of discharges during 1968 to 1971. There is little reason to believe that Yorkshire lads behave worse than others and perhaps even less reason to think that similar figures for 1972 to 1975 are likely to be more encouraging.

No study of this kind can be completely free from the occasional blinded glimpse of the obvious and perhaps the award for the understatement of the year should go to the comment in paragraph seven: "Whilst we appreciate that magistrates may often experience a sense of frustration about how to dispose of some young offenders, it seems valid to point out that the C.Y.P. Act 1969 can only be made to work by its active use (even though this may mean problems for individual Social Services Departments in the short-term)"—my italics. The reality

is that the C.Y.P. Act 1969 presented all Social Services Departments with an impossible task; the result has been that of every hundred boys committed to Junior Detention Centres, about 40 are subject to Care Orders, but proved resistant to any placement available to Social Services. They return either to other placements as certain failures or to their own homes to await the inevitability of borstal committal.

The conclusion of Part III, "Summary and Implications", indicates that, "if the object of obtaining low conviction rates is adopted" the criteria for selection should be:

1. no previous institutional experience;
2. no established delinquent career;
3. no involvement in personal supervision.

The question is bound to be asked whether such (relatively) blameless young men merit D.C. The reality is that of every 100 boys sentenced to Junior D.C. about 25 are first offenders, about 35 have had the benefit of some part of the "tariff" boys expect (e.g. conditional discharge, fines and supervision) and about 35 to 40 are subject to Care Orders. Perhaps the only melancholy solace one can draw is that, with such unpromising material, re-conviction rates are not even higher.

K. WHEELER
Warden
Eastwood Park Detention Centre

MURDER, MANSLAUGHTER AND INFANTICIDE

Office of Health Economics—
Briefing No. 4, 1976. 20p.

THE Office of Health Economics was founded by the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry and has as one of its terms of reference, "to investigate health and social problems".

This booklet contains well laid out statistics and analysis. The charts are models of clarity and the "slice of cake" method of representing proportions is particularly easy to assimilate. The accompanying text is interpretative and one need not accept its implications to find the comment stimulating. It is a useful little document.

D. C.

PRISONERS IN REVOLT

MIKE FITZGERALD

Penguin, 1977. £1.00.

FITZGERALD starts with a sketchy history of imprisonment, liberally sprinkled with his own interpretations which he neither justifies nor even explains to any satisfactory degree. He moves on to what he is pleased to call the "Functions of Imprisonment". This is in many ways the worst of several terrible chapters. The usual tired and simplistic evidence of the failure of prisons are trotted out (high rates of recidivism, increase in crimes, etc.) and this is employed to support his personal views by some of the most dishonest and selective manipulations of statistics that even the field of sociology has seen.

The main function of the first half of the book is to advance Fitzgerald's thesis that prisons serve purely to maintain the capitalist system by the removal of the unemployed, who might otherwise prick the consciences of the liberal or provoke revolution. The facile way in which he promotes this view is perhaps the best indicator of the author's position. To me, to hold the view that English prisons as they exist today are purely a device of economic regulation displays a theoretical belief that is entirely impervious to any self-evident fact.

A major part of his thesis is the indisputable but hackneyed fact that in many ways the application of law, particularly detention and

sentencing, is often weighted heavily in favour of the middle-class, the white collar criminal, and the industrial enterprise. Few of us would deny this, but our assessment of the meaning of it might vary considerably.

The middle part of the book deals with the PROP version of what happened during the demonstrations of 1972. No-one could call it a work of science as the content is most unscientifically derived. As journalism, it suffers from obvious one-sidedness and a dull and mundane style. It can best be called a piece of propaganda. As Fitzgerald is forced to conclude when recalling the dismal failures of PROP's attempts to mount outside support of prison demonstrations, the general public is at least apathetic or even positively antagonistic to organisations which seek to improve the lot of prisoners.

The last part of the book deals with the activities of PROP since its short heyday and a brief history of prison protest in American prisons, which is mildly interesting but of doubtful relevance to the stated purpose of the book.

Like so many who advocate the abolition of prisons, Mr. Fitzgerald does not state how he would replace them. He regards the treatment view of penology with as much contempt as the punishment/deterrence view; indeed, he regards them as different methods of operating the same system. It is interesting to note, however, that he regards one of the main shortcomings of PROP to have been the failure to organise their welfare/rehabilitative services. Obviously, from his political viewpoint, he considers a basic re-structuring of society to be the solution to the crime problem. How he would deal with the different strata of criminals that this new society would inevitably throw up, he does not say.

Those who share the political beliefs of the author or the life experience of his associates will believe the contents of the book already. Those in my position will disbelieve them, come what may, and the great majority of people will merely not read them.

STEVE TWINN
Assistant Governor
Officers' Training School
Leyhill

"CRIMES OF THE POWERFUL"

FRANK PEARCE
Pluto Press, 1976. £2.40.

THE sub-title of this book is "Marxism, Crime and Deviance" and the blurb would have us believe that "Pearce lays the foundations for a marxist criminology...". Herein lie the problems. First, can one acknowledge a marxist criminology, distinct and separate from other varieties of criminology? The mind boggles at such concepts, by analogy, as a Conservative criminology, a Maoist criminology, or even perhaps a feudal criminology. Because Pearce is committed to his notion of a Marxist criminology, and evidently this concept is not universally acceptable even among Marxists, both he and Jock Young (in an eleven page foreword) argue its political necessity at some length.

Secondly, Pearce is muddled about crime and deviance. It is all very well to enter the debate on the criminologist's legitimate areas of investigation, but when a political definition of crime, or more generally deviance, is attempted, the already blurred distinctions become meaningless.

Thirdly, the use of Marxist "Newspeak" makes it difficult for the reader accustomed to more conventional English to interpret some of the sweeping claims and allegations made about the structure of society. Indeed, the dedication

by Pearce, "to my comrades in the struggle to democratise the Polytechnic of North London", is enough to make my hackles rise: apart from the ugly non-verb "democratise", the advocacy of violent confrontation to establish the aims of a minority is alien to my notion of a democratic process.

What then of the book itself? Does it deserve recognition as a worthwhile contribution to criminological thought? The answer is—"No". It is bitty in its approach, trying to defeat (at one and the same time) what Pearce sees as "correctional criminology" and the more radical "labelling theorists". In a comparatively short book, the only way that Pearce can fight on this broad front is by ideological generalisations unsupported by hard evidence, and this seriously detracts from some of the points he raises which would rate more scholarly investigation.

It is also worth noting that this book follows the tradition of Karl Marx and his disciples in turning even interesting topics into tedious and minute polemic. Part One, for example, which comprises sixty-eight pages, has 119 notes of reference in the text. This makes the book virtually unreadable.

The book, although boring, offers an insight into a Marxist view of our society, but as a serious criminological work it never gets off the ground.

D. CURTIS
Assistant Governor
Officers' Training School
Wakefield

... but not least—Victims

SAMPLE SURVEYS OF THE VICTIMS OF CRIME

WESLEY G. SKOGAN
Ballinger, 1976. £13.40.

MOST readers will be aware that there are serious problems associated with the extent to which official statistics about crime and its prevalence can be relied upon to provide the whole picture. One only has to think about the number of decisions which are made following an incident before it becomes a recorded crime to realise that a huge gap exists between the number of crimes reported to the police and the number of incidents which *could* have been reported.

The comparatively new interest by social scientists in exploring the extent of the gap between what people experience and what gets recorded is called victimology and it is what this book is all about.

Readers of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL may gasp at the thought of decoding the esoteric language: "This volume offers a wealth of expertise on the use of sample surveys—a promising tool for constructing L.E.A.A.-mandated programme evaluation components..." and so on. Perseverance, however, is certainly rewarded.

The book is a collection of papers by victimology researchers. Most of them are (yes, you've guessed it) working in the United States and most are involved in a large-scale sample survey the like of which only the market research department of a well-known manufacturer of breakfast cereals would have the resources to attempt in this country.

Ten thousand households in 26 cities were surveyed *every month*: 40 questions asked about people's experiences of crime and its victims. There are several articles about the methodological problems of such research. There is also an account of a sample survey undertaken in London under the direction of Richard Sparks.

CULTURE AND CRISIS IN CONFINEMENT

ROBERT JOHNSON

Lexington Books, 1977. £10.00.

HANS TOCH'S *Men in Crisis*, which was reviewed in the last edition of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, included a chapter by Robert Johnson on ethnic groups and their ability to cope with prison. *Culture and Crisis in Confinement* is the full report of his research into the relationship between cultural background and self-mutilation or attempted suicide. Besides a useful introductory chapter on how men, in general, adjust to imprisonment, its main finding is that blacks are under-represented and Latin males are over-represented in the statistics of crises. White men lie somewhere between these two degrees; those with middle-class backgrounds or no family support being more susceptible to prison breakdown. Johnson argues strongly that an individual's ability to cope is a function of his socialisation. In a nut-shell, the black's experiences in society have fitted him better for coping with life inside; whilst the Latin male's background has fitted him least well for prison and separation from his family. Since its emphasis is on imprisonment and race, Johnson's work is not as obviously relevant to the Prison Service as the more general framework for suicidal crises provided by Toch's book.

R. E.

What are we in the penal system to make of this fascinating material? First of all, it helps us to relate the experiences of crime, which we have through our contact with prisoners, with the experiences of ordinary members of the public. Secondly, it makes one realise just how tolerant many people are who have been victims of crime (sometimes because the offender is a member of the family). Thirdly, it helps us to appreciate that the actual incidence of crime is very much higher than most of us realise. Fourthly, it emphasises the extent to which the criminal process is, in fact, dealing with a highly selected and relatively small sample of wrong-doers. (If less than 10 per cent of incidents are reported to the police as crimes, and only 40 per cent or so of those crimes are cleared up, it seems to indicate that something less than 5 per cent of perpetrators of incidents are identified as offenders). I found myself recognising that the often expressed view of the inmate—that he has somehow been singled out from the mass of offenders for specially vengeful treatment—may have a degree of truth which I had not previously considered seriously.

The use of sample surveys as an approach to finding out more about crime is probably heading for a big future and this should be welcomed. Such a development must bring into question not only what is meant and understood by the use of the word "crime", but the futility of trying to stamp it out. W. R. Weston, Chief Probation Officer, West Yorkshire, recently argued very cogently in the Frank Dawtry Memorial Lecture against the piecemeal approach to the criminal justice system which has characterised thinking in this and other countries. Any attempt to see the system as a whole must include consideration of the issues raised by this book.

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