

PRISON  
SERVICE

# JOURNAL



Theme:  
Young Offenders



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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

MOST OF this issue of the *Prison Service Journal* is devoted to the subject of Young Offenders. All the contributors are men and women at present working in institutions for the young, and their articles have been written from the material of their own experience. The numbers of young people of both sexes who are breaking the law increases year by year. Academics, politicians, schoolteachers and parents argue why this should be and there can be few of us who have not given the problem some thought. The Prison Service has to deal with the most difficult, dangerous and disturbed of these youngsters, but the pressure on our extremely limited resources means that all too often they are returned to the community before either they or the community are ready for each other.

Critics of the current system point to institutions as being irrelevant artificial communities or "universities of crime" depending upon their political leanings. It is true that single-sex institutions whose occupants span a very narrow age band must be "artificial" but that should not detract from their worth. Other institutions could equally be described in these terms but no one queries the existence of schools, hospitals, religious communities, etc., because their objectives are clear and understood. That is our problem. What should our borstals, detention centres and prisons for the young be doing? No clear answer emerges from either the supporters or critics of the system. Several years ago staff in borstals accepted that one of the most valuable things they could do was to provide a calm, purposeful atmosphere which gave young men and women the opportunity to grow to adulthood. The youngsters were temporarily removed from the frenetic atmosphere of their home communities and forced to do some thinking for themselves. It was a modest achievement, but one that never found favour with the fashionable.

Perhaps a return to the first principles of borstal training would once again provide both staff and inmates with a sense of purpose and commitment. However, this would be costly to both human and material resources because its basic ingredient is time and this is a commodity of increasing rarity.

# Feltham and Finnamore Wood Borstal

**E. V. H. WILLIAMS**  
Governor, H.M. Borstal, Feltham

Graduated from Birmingham University in 1953 in Economics, Politics and Sociology. After two years in the Steel Industry he joined the Prison Service as an Assistant Housemaster at Feltham Borstal, followed by Lowdham Grange and Wetherby. While at Lowdham Grange he was seconded to L.S.E. to take a Diploma in Applied Social Studies. Then to the Staff College where he set up and ran the Social Studies department. Spells as Deputy Governor at Ford and Deputy Governor at Grendon and Spring Hill led to him becoming Governor at H.M.P. Kingston, and for the last three years he has been Governor of Feltham and Finnamore Wood. He is due to take up the Governor post in P4 Division in January 1978.



THE MAJOR developments in Feltham's approach to dealing with its task have been the result of a lot of commitment and hard work by staff of all grades and disciplines over something like the last nine years. The redevelopment project has been a widely shared activity; my own part in this began only in January 1975 and I do not expect to see it through to the end (currently estimated as 1986), nor to leave more than a small personal stone or two on what one hopes will be its mountainous cairn of achievement.

## THE PAST

Feltham was opened in 1854 as Middlesex County Council's Industrial School, taking some 800 boys between 7 and 14 (looked after, it appears, by a mere 35 staff—food for thought!). Judging by the scale and grandiosity of the buildings, and the devotion of nearly 100 acres of ground to this enterprise, it must have been the County Council's pride and joy. The population was a mixture of the convicted and those picked off the streets as homeless and orphaned; it had a well-developed system of training, including a full-sized simulated schooner on which, to quote from the magazine *Chums* of 1898, "we teach them everything but seasickness".

In 1910, the school was taken over by the Prison Commissioners as the third of the new-fangled Borstal institutions. Even then—because of its background—it began to specialize in

the younger, less robust and less capable, leaving Portland for the "tough guys" and Rochester for the more intelligent. Apart from short periods in the two World Wars, it has remained a borstal and by the 1950's was well recognized in the developing borstal system, with its specialized national allocation, to be the establishment to which all the "odd balls" were sent. It had acquired the reputation among borstal lads themselves as "the nutters' borstal" and, when I joined the Service there in July 1955, it contained a curious mixture of the seriously physically handicapped, of those with convictions for, or leanings towards, homosexuality, and of what we would now regard as our normal population—the seriously deprived, inadequate, emotionally disturbed, grossly character disordered, with a fair sprinkling of the quasi-mentally ill and occasionally sufferers from definable mental illness, all having a criminal overlay. At that time, Mental Hospitals still offered locked facilities and there seemed to be a clear distinction in the Prison Department's mind and in the mind of staff at the establishment between the "mad" and "bad", the "mad" normally being transferred with some haste. The "bad" were treated in just the same way as people in the rest of the borstal system—traditional, hearty but firm, discipline, supposedly hard work (in practice, often anything but), compulsory evening education,

P.E. for all (only just beginning to be run by qualified instructors), and a dash of Trade Training. There was not a whiff of psychiatry; the singleton Medical Officer was not a psychiatrist. There were no visiting psychotherapists.

This pattern began to change radically in the mid-60's and I see two main factors behind that. First, the appointment of Dr. Mary Ellis to the medical staff; she soon became the Medical Officer in charge and, despite a great deal of myth and legend, began what so far has been a thirteen-year spell of consistent effort to establish a coherent philosophy and set of methods of working compatible with the role that Feltham had gradually assumed. The second influence was the beginnings of Departmental direction—indicated in 1968 by a request from the then Assistant Director, Tom Hayes, to the newly appointed Governor, Eric Cooper, to send him a critical evaluation of the establishment's purposes, structure—both physical and managerial—and regime. I discovered his paper recently, when clearing a cupboard, and felt quite humbled. It contained most of the basic ideas subsequently embodied in the difficult process of turning the establishment into a more precise instrument for achieving a better defined task, and in planning the total physical redevelopment of it to enable the task to be carried out in more appropriate and helpful surroundings.



To complicate matters, the satellite camp at Finnermore Wood was acquired by the Department in 1961 and included in the administrative responsibilities of Feltham's Governor, to act as both an open borstal in its own right and, as far as practicable, to provide an open outlet for some of the more suitable members of the Feltham population who might benefit therefrom and, if places allowed, to perform a similar service for Rochester and Dover. Finnermore's subsequently modified role is described later.

## THE PRESENT

It is necessary now to try to describe where we are. This is difficult, since I fear such a description will sound little different from what our colleagues in the rest of the borstal system, indeed in the rest of the Young Offender system and in at least some parts of the adult training prison system, are doing or aiming to do. We are not really trying to be different. Legitimate differences arise because having a population at the extreme end of the spectrum of normality influences the definition of the task, the provision of resources and creates more than average demand on staffs' capacities and reserves. I would like to look at developments in terms of organization and of the treatment approach.

### 1. Organization

Organizing to cope has been helped by the Management-by-Objectives exercise we were asked to conduct as a piece of practical work connected with the Stage 3 Management Review of the Prison Service.\* (It is not evident to me that MR3 took much account of that, since the report's composition began about the time the establishment was emerging from the teething stages).

Without wishing to pre-empt the results of our current review of MbO, I think its main effect has not been to introduce methods or organizations that are radically new, but to cause most managers to look carefully at their tasks and to re-define them both for their own departments and in terms of the links with others. It has also given an impetus to systematic reviews of what staff are doing; those parts of the system that remain constant do not therefore do so through inertia but rather because, on periodic checking, they are found still to be the most effective way of doing things. Some examples of the outcome of the approach are as follows:

The creation of the Central Support Team, a piece of machinery I have not heard of elsewhere; a small

group whose membership is the Deputy Governor (Chairman), Chief Officer, Training Manager (a senior Assistant Governor responsible for close supervision of the creation and review of trainee training plans, effective aftercare planning and the process of decision-making towards release), a representative House Manager and the Senior Psychologist (head of the Management Development Team).

This team is designed to draw together the lines of command concerned with routine operations and with the treatment/training system to resolve organizational problems and to find ways of tackling necessary changes while preventing the fighting that so often goes on between security and treatment goals, between administrative requirements and operational ends. The evidence is that when the members of this team work together, the solutions which flow from them are both comprehensive and workable; areas of difficulty can be systematically tackled rather than left to fester.

We are currently establishing an Educational Advisory Committee aimed to gear the work of the Education Department more overtly into our training/treatment tasks and to promote maximum understanding and use of its resources. The Committee therefore consists of House and other representatives and is structured to give a cross-section of staff, providing for Prison Officers, Senior Officers, Principal Officers and Assistant Governors at least one member of their grade who can act for his colleagues.

Likewise, other Committees and activities involve, as far as possible, cross-sections of staff. The Social Skills course, for example, devised originally by a Psychologist and run by members of the Psychology Unit only, is developing a team-approach in which courses are run by a Psychologist and two members of the discipline staff who voluntarily took a training course.

Apart from such features, the establishment is decentralized into five closed Houses at Feltham plus the Hospital (containing a small number of permanent or semi-permanent, severely socially incapacitated trainees who comprise "Hospital House") and the open House at Finnermore Wood. There are considerable and increasing differences between these units. Differences not, as traditionally, deriving merely from the differing personalities of staff, but having some functional

relationship to the population of each House. Feltham's internal allocation system, basically a control measure, throws up quite distinct populations, with definable treatment needs, which require emphases of different kinds in the provision and use of resources. Using MbO is one way of trying to see that the development of such variations is task-related and not purely idiosyncratic.

### 2. Treatment methods

As with organization, differences from other borstals are a question of degree rather than kind. Feltham and Finnermore Wood's role was described, in the first step in the introduction of MbO, as follows:

#### "FELTHAM

In... closed establishment... Feltham takes trainees of every I.Q. from the highest to the lowest in need of full-time psychiatric and/or medical oversight and/or treatment.

In addition to... normal facilities... Feltham has particular resources... which enable it to specialize in the care and treatment of trainees who suffer severely from problems (of):

Alcoholism, drug Misuse, Educational Difficulties, Epilepsy, Mental Illness, Physical Disability, Psycho-sexual Disorders, Personality Disorders."

Apart from the use of the Mental Health Act (section 72) and Grendon, Feltham provides the ultimate psychiatric resource for the borstal system.

#### "FINNAMORE WOOD

Finnermore Wood is an open satellite... Its role is:

- To make available closed training places by taking trainees in their last two to three months of sentence from closed borstals in the region (primarily Feltham and Huntercombe).
- To accept... suitable trainees... on allocation from H.M.P. Oxford.
- To accept selected trainees from Feltham/Huntercombe (and) to continue their training in open conditions."

Like every other establishment, we are in the business of treating social deviance of a particular kind—that which lands our clientele in front of the Courts. We therefore need to concentrate on helping inmates to examine their needs and to make use of the time available during sentence at least to begin to tackle some of the more critical ones that have a bearing on their criminality. Insofar as features

\*See Prison Service Journal—January 1976.

of their personalities are crucial to this process or, at a simpler level, are affecting their ability to cope with the institution and the institution's ability to cope with them, we have to try to tackle these too. We are no more (but no less) able to treat and cure mental illness than any other establishment, be it penal or psychiatric. The limitations on our ability to cope with drug addiction or other repetitive compulsive types of behaviour are severe. What we can do, through the building up of a tradition of handling the very difficult population sent us, is to help many of those we receive to overcome some aspects of their deprivation, to learn to live with parts of themselves that hitherto they have found intolerable, to perceive authority as firm, understanding and helpful rather than rejecting and punitive, to learn that every one of them has some human dignity and worth, however limited he may be in practical talent or intellectual ability. This requires considerable patience, as much knowledge about human behaviour and motivation and of the possibilities of known techniques as may be, willingness and imagination in using available resources, and the providers of those resources to see themselves as services to the total team and not as substitutes.

Apart from the statutory requirements such as six hours' evening education each week for all, the large range of techniques and resources available are used as far as possible in co-ordinated approaches: the large number of the activities are directed at specific groups of people at any one time—we do not attempt to provide everything for everybody. Examples of this are (a) the Social Skills courses mentioned earlier, designed to help those who have great difficulty in social relationships and whose offences can be related to this shortcoming; (b) Survival Courses, designed to help those who will have to look after themselves on release with cooking, housecleaning, personal laundry, shopping and the like; (c) various group techniques from counselling to the use, in one of the Houses, of transactional analysis, with an outside consultant, for mature but inarticulate trainees who characteristically have settled their arguments physically; (d) a small-scale experiment in behaviour modification in Hospital House involving an approved modification to the borstal earnings system; and (e) in addition to the normal P.E. facilities, there is a specially equipped Remedial Gymnasium, with a qualified instructor, to deal with the physical aspects of many trainees' incapacities.

## THE FUTURE

We are having to do this work on a building site. At one stage, we have had five sets of contractors working simultaneously. We now have new service mains, a new Works unit (albeit having to share facilities with the Carpentry and Sawmill industry), a new boiler house being built and a new laundry, victualling store and tailors shop. The last phase of the preliminary demolitions was the old Club and Mess building in October 1977, following conversion of a pair of former staff houses to bachelor quarters.

About 9/10ths of the perimeter is now fenced, although the completion of the circle is unlikely before November 1978. New House units should commence towards the end of 1978 and be ready for occupation in mid/late 1981. Feltham will then be living in one area, working in three or four separated areas, with building going on between the living accommodation and the remainder of the old borstal building in which the Kitchen, Education Department, Chapel, Gymnasium, and maybe other smaller departments will still be functioning, while new workshops go up on one side, a shared service block for Education, Chapel, Sports Hall, Kitchen on the other, and the beginnings of the Remand and Assessment Centre on the far side of the old building.

The new Feltham will consist of nine House units; triangular buildings holding a maximum of 32. The bulk of trainees will have their own room with integral sanitation, and the design allows maximum supervision with maximum freedom of movement for trainees within their Houses.

Occupation of the new buildings will not magically change Feltham's ethos, or what it is able to achieve. We shall move as we are; if the culture, as it once was, is anarchic, destructive and hostile, then we shall move across in that condition, probably spoil the new facilities as fast as may be, and in no way be better able to carry out our purpose. If, however, we move across in the current spirit of the establishment, we shall have much more congenial and manageable surroundings which should make marginal additions to everyone's morale that could enable us to achieve advances in our methods beyond currently perceived possibilities.

Although the "new Feltham's" trainee population is intended to come from the southern half of the country only, while Glen Parva deals with that from the northern part, it is likely that the eventual 280 places will be

required for a population very similar to that it now contains, since society does not seem to be producing fewer problem children and Feltham's ability to handle this population is regarded Departmentally as distinctly superior (always provided the current distribution of limited resources is not radically changed). Were the Younger Committee's proposals to be implemented, the major change would be to convert Feltham's population from a six month to two year sentence range into a three month to life sentence one; although this would have implications for techniques, it would not necessarily imply change in approach or organization.

I see one of the major problems of the redevelopment being nothing to do with the new borstal, but arising from having—within the one perimeter—this institution plus a Remand and Assessment Centre (containing a category A block) for some 550, and possibly also a sizeable Hospital performing tasks both for the complex and for the sub-region. Resolving tensions within and between such discrete elements could raise more difficulties than running the institution as we have it now, however difficult that may seem at times.

One other point needs comment: will an institution of this kind be needed in the 1980's? Experience shows that buildings are planned in one era but by the time they become available, philosophies have changed and they are no longer suited to their purpose or the purpose may have ceased to exist. I have never shared the fashionable view that institutions are wholly and inevitably bad and should and can be abolished. My experience over 22 years confirms me in the belief that institutions can often be powerful factors for good in the lives of individuals, provided they keep their eye firmly on relating what they are attempting to do to the individual's future in the community and not concentrating on his life in the institution (beyond the comparatively small problem of living peaceably and decently within it). Provided the Social Services, the Courts and the Probation Service understand the possibilities of institutions and keep very closely informed about their current performances, I am quite certain that, whilst their population should be held to the lowest level consistent with society's ability to tolerate and cope with offenders without incarcerating them, they can be used very positively. For some, this may mean at quite early stages in their lives; for others, there may be a



After completing her Certificate in Education, she became a V.S.O. teacher at the Tabora Girls Secondary School in Tanzania in 1969. In 1971 she joined the Prison Service and was sent to the Borstal Recall Wing at Holloway and later served in the Long Term wing at the same prison. In 1974 she became Deputy Governor at Bullwood Hall but resigned in December 1977 to become the Head of the Special Unit at Aycliffe School, Darlington.



He completed the Cambridge Social and Political Sciences Tripos in 1972 after which he joined the Prison Service. He served three years at Huntercombe Borstal before resigning to become the Assistant Director of the St. Mungo Community Trust and later the Director of the Daedalus Community. He rejoined the Prison Service in 1976 at Bullwood Hall.

# Problems of dealing with girls

JOANNA KOZUBA-KOZUBSKA  
DAVID TURRELL

WHEN INVITED to write an article covering the special problems of dealing with girls with reference to Bullwood, we were faced with two difficulties. One being the absence of any hard data as to exactly what the special problems are and secondly the desire to say "Yes, there are problems, but life at Bullwood is not quite the menagerie of horrors that many of our colleagues believe it to be!" To this end we have done some comparative studies, using some of the latest available Prison Department statistics, and within this framework outlined what we feel are the major problems.

## WHO GOES TO BORSTAL?

Traditionally, a sentence of Borstal Training has been seen as a specific option selected for its special value for certain young men. Even if what Roger Hood refers to as borstal's "Golden Age" is over, only 32 per cent of all convicted men under 21 receive a sentence of Borstal Training, compared with 57 per cent of all convicted women under 21. It is, therefore, apparent that Borstal Train-

ing for girls is a more generic sentencing facility to the judiciary than it is for boys. Therefore, female borstals, especially the closed one at Bullwood, receive a more diffuse population than is the norm for male closed borstals. This in turn presents major problems in terms of the appropriate regime, since Bullwood received girls who may well have gone to a female Detention Centre if it had continued to exist, girls who would function well in semi-secure conditions and girls for whom a high level of security is required.

The widening role of borstal for girls can be clearly illustrated. Between the mid-sixties and the mid-seventies the number of boys in borstal under 16 increased by 186 per cent and the number of girls under 16 by 366 per cent. With the raising of the school leaving age this has meant that the formal day-time educational provision for girls in borstal has had to be increased much more than it has been for boys. In 1966 the proportion of boys and girls under 16 in custody

who were in borstal both stood at 25 per cent. By 1975 this proportion had remained the same for boys, but for girls it had increased to 97 per cent. Borstal has become practically the sole provision of the Prison Department that the judiciary use when dealing with girls under 16 who, because of their need for educational provisions, then come to Bullwood. The same disparity in the role of Borstal Training for men and women over 17 does exist although not to the same extent; between 1966 and 1975 the proportion of boys in custody who were in borstal increased from 32 per cent to 34.1 per cent, but for girls it increased from 42.1 per cent to 52 per cent. Thus it can be seen that the provision of Borstal Training is the prime penal measure for girls employed by the judiciary.

If the pattern of criminality between both age groups of the two sexes is compared, it will be seen that three major differences are apparent. One is that the proportion of girls in borstal for burglary is much lower than for

boys. Secondly, the number receiving Borstal Training for more sophisticated crimes such as forgery, theft, handling stolen goods (some of which are no doubt provided by the boy burglars in borstal) is 50 per cent higher in both age groups. The third major difference is in the proportion within borstal for those crimes the Prison Department refer to as "Other Offences". In the sub-16 age group it is nearly five times as high for girls and in the post 17 age group it is nearly twice as high. Although this category is pertinent to social crimes such as drug abuse and prostitution, it also contains crimes such as arson, kidnapping, manslaughter, etc. The contrast between girls in borstal and that of boys can be seen as being an exceedingly complex one. In contrast to boys, girls in borstal institutions are a more diffuse population with a generally more sophisticated and disturbed pattern of criminality. This is certainly revealed if the pattern of indiscipline as shown by the nature of Governors' reports is compared between the average of the closed male borstals and Bullwood. In 1975 the average number of Governors' reports per trainee in a male establishment stood at 1.8 whereas at Bullwood it stood at 6.2. If the pattern of offences is then broken down it is possible to discover that girls appear less likely to assault each other or staff but that vandalism is much greater amongst girls than it is amongst boys.

### THE PROBLEMS OF TRAINING GIRLS

Many of the problems experienced at Bullwood are probably not the special problems of dealing with girls. In order to isolate the real problems it would be necessary to eliminate those caused by dealing with girls with an inadequate number of staff, a sometimes inadequately trained staff, and an inadequately experienced staff.

Bullwood Hall is a purpose-built institution opened in 1962 for a population of 54 girls. Most people gain an initial impression of oppressive and overbearing buildings unsuited to the young volatile population they house. The *Younger Report* was particularly damning in its comments:

"We consider that Bullwood Hall is inconveniently placed, far from some of the services which it needs, and that its tightly enclosed and forbidding buildings are unsuitable for its purpose and should cease to be used as a borstal for young women as soon as possible."

Table 1 illustrates the discipline officer position on 30 September 1977. It is obvious that there is a very high level of staff inexperience. Formal staff training sessions to counteract this poor situation have been badly hit over the past three years by the chronic staff shortage. In reality, staff training has to be done on an informal "on the job" basis.

The problems caused by staffing shortage are not, on the whole, those found in male institutions. For example, trainees have to be locked up throughout the staff lunch hour and again at night by 8.30. This is, in itself, a somewhat oppressive measure for what is a highly disturbed population even though there are fundamental reasons for this measure. The point is that there is no choice: no room for manoeuvre.

Bullwood Hall has a national catchment area. In August 1977, 49 of the 56 probation areas were represented here (including four areas in Scotland). This weakens families' contact with trainees. Consequently, Bullwood can seem very isolated to its inmates. The sound concepts of the neighbourhood borstal scheme can have no influence on the training offered at Bullwood. Indeed, it is difficult to see how Bullwood can be concerned with its trainees in practical terms other than to try

to help them to be happier, more integrated personalities with a corresponding better chance of successful rehabilitation.

Another problem of dealing with girls arises from the basic fact that they are different from male trainees although there is very little research available on those differences. The most useful data that we know of are the Aycliffe studies of problem children: "Troubled and Troublesome: a comparative study of boys and girls under conditions of security". Yet staff are expected to deal with girls within a nineteenth century system which is designed to be operated by men for men and boys. The resulting difficulties, therefore, are often wrongly called problems peculiar to girls. *Consequently we would go so far as to suggest that girls do not create any greater problems than boys: it is our inadequate response to their disturbed and perhaps different behaviour which gives rise to special problems.* Disturbed behaviour on such a scale is not to be found in male institutions

The limitations of the system together with the nature of the trainees as outlined produce predictable problems. These include a high staff turnover, a high staff sickness rate, a high rate of self-destructive activity amongst trainees, a high rate of indiscipline and a poor reputation for the institution.

In the past, Bullwood Hall has received a great deal of adverse publicity over serious incidents of mass bad behaviour. Fortunately, the situation has been reasonably stable over the past two and a half years. The net result of this publicity is a very poor reputation throughout the service which we feel is now undeserved. Staff, having heard of the "horrors of Bullwood" are reluctant to ask for transfers to Bullwood and new staff are put off asking for postings to Bullwood when they are at the Training School. The provision of P.O.U.T. training places has gone some way to changing this view but it will be many years before the old reputation dies.

The use of the largest and most valuable resource, staff, has been and is constantly under review. Assistant Governors no longer have the traditional "house master" role but have central management responsibilities designed to provide the maximum job satisfaction and influence on the institution. They are primarily managers, offering support, direction and guidance to other staff. These roles are in the process of evolution, and it is en-

Table 1

	Established Officers	Temporary Officers	Part-time Temporary Officers
Number in post	30	25	9
Length of service	4	11	
under 1 year	4	11	0
Between 1 and 2 years	7	8	3
Between 2 and 5 years	9	1	0
Between 5 and 10 years	5	5	6
Between 10 and 15 years	1	0	0
over 15 years	4	0	0



visaged that they will develop considerably over the next year or so. The lack of experience and full trained Assistant Governors hampers real movement in this direction and has done so in past years. Over the last seven years only five of 15 Assistant Governors posted to Bullwood have had previous management experience. A great effort has been made to promote a higher level of job satisfaction for senior discipline staff, by creating the post of house-manager and encouraging those staff to follow their own individual styles.

Sadly, the serious lack of discipline staff has prevented further developments in this area and opportunities for potentially greater job satisfaction are easily negated by the frustrations which occur as a result of the lack of time and resources to perform new tasks.

Probably the greatest response to the situation found at Bullwood has been the establishing of special units to meet special needs of different sorts of trainees. Martyn House was opened in 1969 as a psychotherapeutic unit run upon group lines which was aimed at the more articulate and intelligent trainee with a disturbed behaviour pattern. Particularly disruptive and difficult trainees often do very well in this unit as their behaviour within the institution is concerned. It affords them a more flexible regime which in one respect puts less pressure on them to conform to the more structured regime of a mainstream borstal training.

The Day Training Centre was established at Christmas 1975 to provide an appropriate environment in which to contain and train girls who are difficult to manage in ordinary location and who would benefit from a more specialized regime suited to their needs. Prior to the establishment of the D.T.C. an unacceptable percentage of senior staff's time was spent dealing with situations created by these very difficult youngsters. Random details of some of the trainees allocated to this unit were as follows:

**Trainee A.** Criminal damage. Knowingly giving a false alarm of fire. Returned to borstal. Diagnosed as having a schizoid personality. I.Q. 106. Not recommended for Borstal Training by M.O. at the Remand Centre.

**Trainee B.** Arson. B has spent many years in a special school. She has been diagnosed as being brain damaged, a mentally subnormal girl with psychopathic features. I.Q. 63.

**Trainee C.** Theft, breach of probation. Handling. Forgery. C attended two special schools for E.S.N. children. She has a speech defect and has received regular speech therapy. No

evidence of serious mental illness or subnormality.

**Trainee D.** Theft. D spent some time in a mental hospital, both as an out-patient and an in-patient. She was diagnosed as a high grade subnormal with psychopathic tendencies. She was also said to have severe personality disorder. Psychologist report not available. No I.Q. figures. Recommended for Borstal Training by Consultant Forensic Psychiatrist.

The Day Training Centre was set up to resemble similar centres found outside the community with a regime designed to use the resources available within the borstal. The immediate priority being to take specific trainees out of the mainstream of the borstal to occupy them constructively and to control them. It has been successful in achieving these aims.

There has been an Induction Unit at the borstal for many years, but a new one opened in January 1977. The complete induction programme runs over a period of four weeks with a treatment training plan as an end goal. Because of this unit each trainee is now very much involved in her treatment/training programme and indeed she herself decides what resources she wishes to use during her training. The completed treatment/training document goes with the trainee to the agreed location and is used as a continuing guide for staff and trainee throughout her sentence.

A greater involvement by the trainee with her training produces a greater commitment and interest. Experience to date suggests that the verbal contact made at the Treatment/Training Board does produce positive results as far as behaviour within the institution is concerned with the bonus of a greater sense of purpose and motivation for the trainee. The induction unit is the beginning of a positive, formal involvement by both staff and trainee which continues throughout the girl's training.

The development of the Probation Liaison Department over the past three years has produced a unique scheme which works extremely well in promoting effective through-care. The re-organization of Governor grades into management-orientated roles has disposed of the traditional rivalry between the Probation Officers working within the institutions and Governor grades.

An essential ingredient in the Senior Probation Officer's role is that of being head of department and therefore a member of the senior management team. The nature of the task is such that it

continually takes the Senior Probation Officer into contact with staff at all levels rather than having direct contact with trainees. The induction process is the only exception to this for it is at this stage that the foundation is laid for through-care and release plans.

The Senior Probation Officer acts as a liaison officer between the outside services and the institution. He is responsible for making the contacts between trainees and their supervising officers on reception, and between the supervising officers and the officers in charge of the Houses within the borstal. He undertakes no casework at all, except in exceptional circumstances. This leaves the staff in charge of the Houses free to do the social work task which produces a great deal of job satisfaction for them.

## CONCLUSIONS

We would like to repeat the view that dealing with girls presents no greater problems than dealing with boys, but different problems. This difference is demonstrated in the high incidence of disturbed behaviour within the institution. This is difficult to quantify due to lack of research and monitoring work at Bullwood, but we hope we have been able to highlight the extent and nature of that disturbed behaviour. Real differences, as described in the Aycliffe paper are beyond the scope of this article but we would recommend it to all those who are looking at the problems peculiar to girls.

The high instance of disturbed behaviour has to be accepted as the norm when dealing with such a disturbed and diffuse population as found at Bullwood. Consequently, the difficulties that present themselves, are likely to be problems created by the lack of resources to cope with such a disturbed population. Here, management is often faced with an almost impossible task.

Bullwood, despite all its staffing difficulties and the inappropriateness of its position, is providing a number of specialist facilities to cope with the diffuse population that has to be dealt with. To colleagues who believe that Bullwood is a "hell hole" located just outside of Southend, one would like to say that the impression is false. It is a place where one is required to earn one's living by being prepared to accept a diversity of roles and the need for constant flexibility when utilizing very limited resources.

1. Report of the Work of the Prison Department. Statistical Tables 1957. H.M.S.O.
2. "Troubled and Troublesome". Aycliffe Studies of Problem Children.
3. "Young Adult Offenders: Report of the Advisory Council in the Penal System". 1974. H.M.S.O.



# THE YOUNG PRISONER

PAUL WHITEHOUSE

After graduating from Cambridge, spent ten years in the Education Department of the Northern Nigerian Government. Joined the Prison Service in 1967 and served at Leeds, Wakefield O.T.S., and the Prison Service College, and is now Deputy Governor at Aylesbury Prison.

IT WAS in 1835 that Government first officially and actively showed concern for the predicament of sentenced offenders under the age of 21 and recognized the need to separate such offenders from adult offenders. Although there was no immediate recognition in terms of the powers of the Judiciary, the prison system itself provided a reformatory on the Isle of Wight, whose basic *raison d'être* was segregation. The Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 provided for convicted persons under the age of 16 to be detained in a Reformatory School for not less than two and not more than five years, in addition to, and on completion of, a sentence of imprisonment of at least 14 days. The necessity of qualification for Reformatory School by imprisonment was removed in 1895.

The Gladstone Committee then recommended a system of Juvenile/Adult Reformatories for offenders in the age range of 15 to 35, but the Prison Commission's Annual Report for 1901 suggested that "figures have testified that the age between 16 and 21 is essentially the criminal age and that from criminals of this age the professional criminal of later years is generated. It is also known to students of human nature that this age is a particularly plastic age and the habits which may lead to crime or virtue cannot be said to be fully formed before the age of 21", and so the age of 21 was still seen as the official age of "maturation".

And so followed the first of a number of attempts by succeeding Governments to prevent under 21 year olds being sentenced to imprisonment. Borstals, Detention Centres and Approved Schools were all born as separate regimes and concepts aimed at identifying and responding to the specific and identified needs and problems of the under 21's, providing systems which were quite separate and

distinct from those for adults.

In 1933 the Children and Young Persons Act, while not able to prohibit totally the sending of people under the age of 17 to prison, empowered Courts to detain in a place and under such conditions as the Secretary of State may direct, offenders under the age of 17 who are convicted of an offence for which an adult may receive 14 years imprisonment or more. The discretion thus presented invited a degree of flexibility in the use of available accommodation resources, but subsequent history would indicate firstly that an allocation once made under Section 53 of this Act often becomes finite and permanent with only infrequent interchange between different types of Institutions within the system, and secondly that there has been in more recent years a tendency to allocate to prisons those aged between 14 and 17 who were considered too unruly to be allocated elsewhere. While there are many questions to be asked about the appropriateness of current methods of dealing with the under 21's as a group, it is the infusion into the prison system of boys as young as 14 which can create the greatest concern in terms of the emotional adolescent, development and educational problems these youngsters present. They are required to serve their sentences alongside others several years older, often more experienced in the ways of institutions, and more sophisticated in crime. Because the 17-21 year olds serve fixed terms of imprisonment attracting remission, they may well be released back into society after a shorter period in custody than a boy sentenced at 14 to be detained for four years for a basically similar offence. Although the latter are subject to parole consideration, there is no predictability of review date, and this, added to the other problems, only exacerbates the difficulties this age group has in coming

to terms with the sentence in developing any priorities or constructive attitudes conducive to change.

The Criminal Justice Act of 1961 eliminated the passing of short and intermediate prison sentences, and restricted imprisonment to a term not exceeding six months, or a term of not less than three years, except where the offender is serving a current sentence or has undergone a previous borstal or prison sentence. While clearly the spirit behind this was based on the concept that the intervening period would be catered for by Borstal Training, there is an arbitrariness implied which raises some cause for concern. While the imposition of longer sentences (i.e. five years imprisonment, etc.) may justifiably reflect the gravity of the offence, there are currently over 500 Young Prisoners in the system who have been sentenced to over three years. The majority are serving three years, many of whom have not previously served a period of Borstal Training or Detention Centre training. It may be argued that the imposition of such sentences was intended to be a deterrent, but it does result in a rigidity of sentence length which can only be mitigated where appropriate by parole. The situation equally poses problems for the judiciary in terms of the consistency of use of sentencing powers throughout the country. Young Prisoners not infrequently look at others charged with basically similar offences who have been sentenced to Borstal Training and could in the normal course of events expect to be released earlier. While this is not intended as an attack on the discretion of the courts, there is an argument I feel in favour of greater flexibility within the prison system for determining the moment of release, in conjunction and co-operation with outside agencies, but I will refer back to this later.

Obviously the expectations of various

Acts was that the number of under 21 year olds committed to prison would be minimal. In 1971 the total number of sentenced male Young Prisoners was 1,466. On 30 September 1977 there were 2,145. These are broken down as follows (1971 figures in parentheses):

- (i) Sentenced up to and including 18 months: 1,121 (442).
- (ii) Over 18 months and up to 3 years: 657 (762).
- (iii) Over 3 years (including life and H.M.P.) 367 (262).

At 30 September 1977 the total number on roll at Y.P. Centres (i.e. Aylesbury, Erlestoke, Onley and Swinfen Hall) was 1,005, while the remaining 1,024 are spread around the local prisons. These figures represent a significant increase since 1971 and if one adds to this total the 1,506 sentenced or unsentenced young men in Remand Centres, there would appear to be little hope of a lessening of pressure upon the already strained Young Prisoner resources and regimes.

The Young Prisoner "system" then contains a full range of prison sentences, up to and including life imprisonment. An increasing number of young men sentenced under the 1953 Act to terms of detention up to and including detention at Her Majesty's Pleasure, and offenders whose ages range from 14 to 21 or over, all of whom, irrespective of age or condition, are subject to the same prison rules which apply to adults, as opposed to Borstal or Detention Centre rules which apply to others in a similar age group. There is little doubt that the absence of a minor report system is largely responsible for the extremely high number of Governors' Reports in a Y.P. Centre. The main philosophy therefore which emerges about Y.P. Centres is that of segregation from adults (while still operating to Prison Rules) and currently segregation as supplied by separate institutions can only cater for about half of the current Y.P. population.

Paragraph 134 of *The Sentence of the Court* states that the "emphasis in Young Prisoners' Centres is on a brisk tempo and a high standard of discipline, and on personal attention of the kind given in Borstals. At all Centres there is a good range of work (this was written in 1969) with vocational training classes, physical training and evening education provided by the Local Education Authority".

The same concept of an extension of Borstal Training is contained in the occasional references to the Y.P. "system", in the Younger Report, which talks of prison sentences for

under 21's "as a form of deprivation of liberty, imposed to show that the law cannot be broken with impunity, to ensure a respite for society from offences, to deter the offender from committing further offences or to deter others from emulating him. The Prison Department clearly distinguishes the reasons for which sentences of imprisonment are passed from the aims and principles which should guide staff in dealing with prisoners and deciding how the time in custody should be spent. Among the latter is the encouragement of a good and useful life, and the regime in Young Prisoner Centres has accordingly developed on Borstal lines".

*People in Prisons* recognized the difficulties of providing a range of suitable establishments and regimes for Young Prisoners, "but it must be admitted that until recently Young Prisoners have been towards the end of the queue in the allocation of resources". (This was written eight years ago).

Standing Orders direct the "Governor should bear in mind the special needs of young prisoners and the need to provide a constructive programme. Emphasis should be laid on the prisoners of adequate work, satisfying recreational and educational pursuits and careful preparation for the future after discharge. Prisoners of this age are more likely to be influenced by close personal interest from prison staff than by the impersonal exercise of routine discipline and a rigid regime".

But while all these statements reflect some concern, they scarcely add up to a coherent policy for dealing with the special problems presented by under 21's. The tug-of-war attempts to pull policy towards Borstal concepts at one end, while at the other the pull is towards an adult prison concept. Department reflects the conflict experienced in the higher echelon. Some instructions address themselves to the Wardens and Governors of all Young Offender Establishments (except Young Prisoner Centres), while others are to Governors of all prisons (except Young Prisoner Centres). In the middle is the adolescent offender who resents the pull towards the Borstal end and is often equally fearful of the pull to the adult end. Reclassification transfers some of the overcrowding pressure to the adult prisons, but is not always the most appropriate solution. The young man who appears to be too mature for the more juvenile elements of the Young Prisoner Centre which would appear to be holding back his progress, can

be, and perhaps often is, seen in the adult prison as immature and disruptive. While it is now widely held that the age of 21 should continue to be regarded in the Prison Department as the official age of demarcation, there must inevitably be some degree of flexibility which would allow those whose 21st birthday falls during sentence to be retained in the Y.P. system providing that system has something to offer.

Nowhere is this perhaps more relevant than in the case of Y.P. life sentence inmates, who are spread around the Y.P. system, subject to a variation in approaches and methods, and subject to reclassification to periods of further assessment in an Adult Main Centre. He may well have been in a Y.P. Centre since the age of 14/15 and has become better known to staff during that period than might be the case in an Adult Main Centre. Equally, the sending of a lifer at nearly 20 to a Y.P. Centre would appear to be an uneconomic proposition, and for any real benefit to be derived, a stay of at least three years should normally be envisaged.

It often appears, therefore, that Young Prisoners are in the system, either because of the arbitrary sentencing situation, or because they are felt to be largely untrainable, and are just therefore being contained until old enough to join adult prisons and become the hard core of that system for years to come. This is not necessarily an accurate view. Some of the problems stem from chronic overcrowding, others from a general lack of statement of clear policy concerning the treatment of such people. The introduction of a generic sentence which would remove most of the anomalies in the current D.C./Borstal/Prison situation could well result in a more even spread of offenders and enable more effective use to be made of current resources and, by releasing people at an appropriate point, reduce some of the overcrowding problems.

There will still however be a need to hold people in the system sentenced for over three years whose needs are quite distinct from those of adults. In these cases the regime should not in itself be any less constructive than for regimes in any other part of the Y.P. system. A clear recognition of the Y.P. as an individual in terms of his personality development, his adolescence and his needs must be part of the objectives of the regime.

At the age of 19 the young men would have left school, and would be developing skills in their work and

*The articles concerning H.M. Borstal, Hewell were written originally for the monthly magazine of the West Midlands Probation and Aftercare Service, "The West Midlands Bulletin". The contributors have agreed to them being reprinted by the Prison Service Journal as the January edition is being devoted to development in the Young Offender System. Whilst the exchange of information and feelings about the developments at Hewell Grange were for local consumption, in the hope they would stimulate reaction, comment, and more understanding about what was happening, it is felt that the articles could be of interest to both Services outside the Midlands.*

# THE NEIGHBOURHOOD BORSTAL — HEWELL GRANGE

## The Neighbourhood Borstal—a Challenge

THE STAFF of Hewell Grange Borstal and members of the Probation and Aftercare Service in the West Midlands have been asked to participate in an experiment which seeks to ascertain whether it is helpful to keep trainees placed in an institution near to their home areas. The scheme has been in operation almost four years now and we should all be interested in what has happened, what has been a success, what difficulties have been encountered and what are our hopes of the future.

### WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

The borstal initially felt very vulnerable. Staff were used to showing a bright "Sunday face" to visitors, but now it was suggested that they could be expected to drop in regularly asking searching questions about the trainees' treatment and their future. Not only a shining "Sunday face" but a morose "Monday morning face" could be seen. Could those "billeted" upon the staff become like members of the family?

Relationships had been established with statutory and voluntary social organizations in Hereford and Worcester and by virtue of the experiment the borstal staff were being asked to work with a new set of people from a different territory. To facilitate these new relationships with the neighbourhood scheme professionals the organization within the borstal was changed. Previously it was divided into three living units called Houses, each of which had its own staff, territory and

customs. It was now decided that the primary unit of the borstal should become groups of trainees all of whom had previously lived in a specified geographical area. These areas were based upon the administrative divisions of the Probation and Aftercare Service. Each group was given two Case Officers responsible for direct contact with their trainees. The old warm "family" security of the larger Houses was exchanged for a smaller group necessitating more direct personal control. A new and vulnerable position for relatively inexperienced officers. A number of experienced staff well grounded in the old system's ways took transfers and departed.

For those who stayed, endless meetings were called to thrash out new routines, new problems and new responsibilities. These meetings involved members of both Services at all levels, so that financial principles as well as practice and support could be tackled in a consistent way.

The Probation Service had to question the nature of its commitment and the way it would organize its involvement at Hewell Grange. It decided not to have permanently seconded officers responsible for co-ordination, communication and statutory aftercare responsibility, but to produce a two-tier system of staff. First, a Liaison Probation Officer was appointed for each geographical area. His prime function was to establish a regular presence in the institution, to ascertain its system of operation, current level of activity and communicate this to the second level of staff who were the supervising Probation and Aftercare officers, responsible for contact throughout sentence with the trainees and for statutory aftercare on release. This system was devised so that as many members of the Probation Service as

possible could have a stake in Hewell Grange and retain their previous links with trainees. The borstal staff were presented with large numbers of unknown professional Social Workers.

Borstal staff have been on three-day attachments to the geographical areas of the West Midlands. Induction programmes for Liaison Probation Officers have been organized at the Grange. Staff of both Services have had to examine preconceived ideas about each other's view of their respective Services. The old false dichotomy of caring and controlling has kept raising its ugly head.

Staff have been conscious that Hindley Borstal, in Lancashire, is also involved in the experiment, although interested in what is happening there, a need has been felt to maintain independence of action as Hindley's needs may not be the same as Hewell's.

We are aware that involvement in this social experiment may have cushioned us against some of the severe financial restrictions imposed in both Services in recent years. We have not, however, been totally free of losses resulting from aspects of budgetary control. At Hewell two vocational training courses have been lost, the education grant reduced along with the authorized strength of borstal staff. No money has been forthcoming from the Government for Community Service involvement. Some Liaison Probation Officers have not been provided with the full number of hours originally agreed for the scheme and commitments to courts have not always been reduced.

The average age of trainees on arrival has reflected the general lowering of age of borstal boys. Although protected from the increasing proportion of young offenders who have committed violent offences we have received

trainees with considerable personal difficulties—those who are still of school age or who have never had experience of working and the increasing numbers of those who have had previous institutional experience. The majority have low numeracy and literacy standards and we have seen a large increase in the number of coloured trainees.

## SUCSESSES

The reception figures during the operation of the scheme show we have been receiving all of those who should have been coming to us from the catchment area. This points to appropriate allocation commensurate with the scheme. The only trainees from the catchment area who do not come to us are those in need of medical care that Hewell cannot give.

Location near to home does appear to have had bearing upon the increased number of letters and visits received by trainees. It is a heartening sight to see visitors arriving by the bus load. Trainees are also receiving more frequent visits from Supervising Probation Officers than during pre-neighbourhood days, and we are pleased to note that each week large numbers of people visit to join in sporting fixtures with the lads. The interest and enthusiasm of these sportsmen is greatly appreciated and return matches are looked forward to. We are all grateful to the W.R.V.S. for the provision of refreshments to visitors and the profits which are donated to the borstal.

Trainees' involvement in community service work has increased. They work hard, enjoy meeting new people and see their activities as a worthwhile use of time. A local charity has funded these activities for the last four years as well as providing a land rover and caravan. The Hewell Association is now a registered charity seeking to earn and receive financial assistance from the West Midlands so that trainees can be transported to projects in their home areas.

The new "weekend visits" scheme agreed by the Steering Committee is working with few teething troubles. Problems of finance have been overcome by a generous grant for homeless boys and Associate Volunteers have helped by transporting trainees who would not otherwise be eligible.

Those involved in the scheme have shown flexibility in altering procedures and it has been encouraging to note their preparedness to act outside their traditional roles. Borstal officers have taken trainees to meet the inmates' families when a problem has arisen.

Homeless trainees have been taken to visit hostels and employers by borstal staff, and on other occasions by supervising Probation and Aftercare Officers. Problems of demarcation have been evident in some cases, but consultation and examination of principles has led to improved routines and increased trust. This has been hard work for all those concerned as reciprocal, open relationships do not come out of the blue.

## PROBLEMS

The first problem arises out of the solution to many of the trainees' difficulties—the closeness to home. Absconding has for many years been at a high level as Hewell is an open institution. It is tempting to leave when the centre of Birmingham is no more than a bus ride away. It is pleasing to note an improvement in the rate of absconding recently.

Keeping lads from the same area in one institution gives rise to the criticism that criminal alliances are allowed to continue. Parents have sometimes voiced resentment and anxieties about this. We can help trainees to challenge the nature of these criminal groups whilst all members are together. We are aware that our trainees bring with them the threads of their past lives including aspects of delinquent group activity.

Because the borstal population is becoming younger, it is not unusual to find that we are dealing with disruptive 15-year-olds who present not only problems for the staff, but the married 21-year-old trainees.

Conflicts arise in dormitories where lack of privacy, stealing and lack of identity of interest exacerbates problems.

We worry about coping with the increased numbers of coloured trainees who provide an easily identifiable strong minority group in an environment where warring factions can easily arise, whether colour prejudice is a precipitating factor or not. We are concerned about the general lack of knowledge regarding our coloured trainees' cultural mores. If we are to deal with them more sensitively, we need to learn to appreciate our cultural differences.

## HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

We aim to establish a hostel in the West Midlands where selected trainees can spend the last three months of their sentence, working in outside employment and learning to readjust to the pressures and temptations of life in Birmingham. This is a logical

extension of the neighbourhood concept, but we wonder when the neighbourhood will be ready to give it a try. As the trainees will eventually be returning to their old haunts, one hopes that residents may appreciate that our active involvement will provide them with a measure of protection not available to them at the moment.

This year effort is being made to bring Probation Volunteers into the borstal on a regular basis. A small number of volunteers have started to visit on Wednesday evenings to help run a coffee bar. We hope that eventually each area might be able to find members of the community prepared to give time to meeting trainees and staff. From amongst those volunteering, we should be glad to find some who would be prepared to visit the sad group of homeless trainees who receive no visitors.

Perhaps both Services might consider the possibility of joint in-service training programmes to meet with the special operational requirements of the neighbourhood borstal. One thing is clear, the more people from both disciplines meet, the less paranoia there will be knocking around.

Our main hope for the future must be for the success of the trainees in their lives. We are in the business to help young men stop re-offending and therefore when the Young Offender Psychology Unit produces its six-monthly review of reconviction rates we will be watching closely to see if the lads from Hewell have done well.

P. J. KITTERIDGE  
Governor

R. W. SHIPLEY  
Deputy Chief Probation Officer  
and Aftercare Officer  
West Midlands

## A Borstal Officer's View

1. Dervan, a tall West Indian youth, returned from Home Leave a few days ago. In between telling me of the frustrations of trying to obtain work, he said, "By the way, Kelvin wishes to be remembered to you, and thanks you for all your help". It turned out that in the year since he left Hewell, Kelvin has been working hard and in all aspects his life was progressing well. This highlights two points to me: firstly, a good feeling deep down that Kelvin seems to have made it; so often all I hear is of the bad news; we see our failures all too soon. Secondly, the lack of feedback of trainees on



Licence means we hear nothing of our success stories; not good for our morale. For so long, we in institutions have been on the defensive. It is time we proclaimed the good news of what we are doing. Our success rate is improving: latest figures from the borstal males discharged in 1973 shows that in the two-year follow-up 62 per cent were reconvicted and we had a success rate of 38 per cent, so let us be pleased that the tide is turning in our favour. Also, to return to Dervan who, I think, will identify with Kelvin, both on arrival at Hewell were anti-authority, but worked this out of their system. We have an advantage over other institutions in that we are never overcrowded and we have space, over 300 acres of it. Officers are given a large percentage of time for casework. So we have the space and time for these young men to gain their self-respect.

I have been at Hewell Grange seven years and a most important aspect of those years has been the growing relationship with the Probation Service. That seed has now grown into the Neighbourhood Borstal. A growing appreciation of each for the problems of the other has developed. It has often been said to me by Probation Officers of the advantages.

2. I have an advantage in seeing young men in the group setting with their peers. Something the Probation Officer is cut off from when he sees his client every few weeks, and we see them 24 hours a day. Recently, a young man of mine had difficulty in getting up in the morning; it came as no surprise that he had lost many jobs through poor time-keeping.

As Case Officers in the Neighbourhood Borstal, we cover a certain geographical area. The total area we cover is the West Midlands area, plus Warwickshire and Worcestershire. This area is divided into nine areas and two borstal officers are responsible for each area. Myself being for trainees from Birmingham North, mainly working with Probation Officers from Perry Barr Office. Each area has a Liaison Probation Officer to act between the borstal and the trainees' officer. The trainees' progress is reported on monthly at a Review Board, attended by the young man, borstal staff, the Liaison Probation Officer and, it is hoped, the trainee's Probation Officer. The Liaison Probation Officer can spend 40 per cent of his week at Hewell. He is important in the two weekly Area Classes which he runs with the Area Officers and a Teacher syllabus of which covers

aspects of life such as seeking employment. Personnel Managers from firms have come along and taken part in such sessions and often in the following weeks taken on young men from them at their factories. We have visited factories. At the moment we are in the early stages of developing a special relationship with a college in our area. Who can tell where that will lead?

An important development now taken place in my area has been the allocation of one Probation Officer from each Senior's Group to be the Probation Officer for all lads at Hewell. So in dealing with a limited number of Probation Officers, it means that I am on good terms with them, which must benefit the trainee as soon as he arrives. Often now a Probation Officer will ring me within 48 hours of a new lad arriving. We are known to each other and can at once get to grips with the new challenge. I cannot stress too much the value and dividend of these friendships between Probation Officers and myself as the borstal officer; the pay-off for the greater understanding of two very different services with a common interest must be good. I have always had a very warm welcome at Perry Barr, having a three-day attachment there and visiting on other occasions; including being invited to speak to their volunteers meetings. Also, I have spoken to classes in school of my work, these mainly to children at risk in the community. I see myself as an organizer, to get a trainee a day's parole for a job interview, with the consent of the Probation Officer a home visit because of a family crisis. Above all, a trainee has time to think at Hewell; to get him to look again at his problems to make the dependant able to cope with the complex challenge of modern living and to remove "chips from shoulders".

Of course, there are frustrations, cut-backs in Government finance. The problem at Hewell of dealing with urban youth in a rural environment. The fact we can offer little experience of factory-type work. The change in the role of the borstal Assistant Governor from Housemaster to a Manager has removed them from close contact with trainees. The need of an appreciation from the Probation Service that we are task-orientated as compared with their client-orientation, now increasingly accepted but not understood by volunteers. The realization by both Services that problems can arise, but by mutual trust can be overcome. Above all, to return to my Home Office figures and proclaim the good

news with faith that borstal is doing an increasingly good and useful job and that Neighbourhood Borstal is one way, a new alternative.

B. LLEWELLYN  
Case Officer

## A Probation Officer's View

"HAVING BEEN deeply committed to the Hewell Grange Project since its inception three years ago and one who was initially involved in its planning, I feel that I am able to put forward my views as a Probation Officer in the field as well as one who had liaison responsibilities to Birmingham East group.

In the Service we hear quite a lot of talk both in the staff room and on training courses regarding the question of relationships, adaptability and understanding. I find it hard to understand why we can show all these things to our clients yet many of us are so inflexible in our approach to the "screws" of the Prison Service.

I fully appreciate that going into a new situation one feels a little apprehensive, especially when entering a prison establishment for the first time, but some of us have become so indoctrinated with the image of prison officers that we fail to recognize their potential in this new borstal system.

Of course, there are those amongst them who are against the system but please do not let us close our eyes to the fact that some of our colleagues hold somewhat the same view. I found as a Liaison Officer that the members of our staff who ridiculed the idea of working with prison officers were those who rarely visited Hewell Grange and so were perhaps unaware of the qualities of the prison staff they were continually complaining about.

From my observations, it has been the staff at Hewell Grange who have leaned over backwards for our own and our clients' benefit and we as a service have not taken full advantage of it. On paper, two and a half days per week per Liaison Probation Officer is perhaps a commitment too great for our present staffing levels, but I do feel concerned as to how the time is taken up at present. How far does one go in liaising, knowing full well how colleagues are under such continual pressure? Do we get on with the problem in hand and suffer on occasion the wrath of the Throughcare Officer for interfering, or do we liaise and hope time is found to tackle the many problems that rear up? Should

we consider specialization?

Personally, I received great support from my Assistant Chief Probation Officer, my senior and colleagues in the Eastern Area to the extent that when conditions warranted I just got on with the job in an attempt to ease their pressures. Unfortunately, this did not work in all areas and it was quite an experience to find how possessive some Probation Officers are with their own clients. It was also very tragic to hear trainees in evening groups continually complaining that so-and-so had not been, or written, although promises had been made.

As previously stated, some prison officers have shown their inability to work in this changed regime and have found the need to ask for transfer. In my own opinion, their replacements have turned out to be young, energetic officers who have shown their ability to be "human" whilst carrying out their responsibilities of being controllers. Unfortunately, Probation Officers generally do not see this side of the coin or will not allow themselves that privilege and only those who have opted for placement at Hewell really know what I mean. On the other hand, prison officers have little idea what our work consists of and the value of their probation placements has been very apparent. Having travelled around the area and visited trainees' homes, it has been very noticeable how the officers react to what they see and have said. This has given them a better understanding of why trainees behave as they do.

I feel that if this scheme is to be continued, two-way placements are essential. It would certainly give us a better understanding of their problems with trainees whom they perhaps see on average ten hours a day in both work and recreational pursuits. Very different from, say, half an hour per week upon release if they are lucky.

Now that one sees the length of training being curtailed even more, it is essential that we make full use of the time allotted to us, meaning the Hewell staff and the Probation Department. As a direct result of Government expenditure cutbacks, we have seen some of the training courses change drastically at Hewell and this is an ideal opportunity of using the extra time and the great potential already present, to more positive ends. The daily educational programme is, I think, successful but let us extend it. Why not prove that we can work together by assisting the Governor in the usage of his very depleted manpower? Why should not Liaison

Probation Officers be at Hewell for two and a half days using the time not only carrying out duties such as initial interviews, Training Plan and Review Boards but group work with the trainees and the case officer. These officers are the trainees' link and are a course of information to Probation Officers if they can be contacted. Is this a sore subject to some? Of course, we have all experienced difficulty in contacting case officers, but have you ever tried to ring a Probation Officer? The main problem is staff shortage and although the borstal may allocate a day to casework with every good intention, an escort, court duty, or extra duty rota may require that particular officer.

Looking on the scheme long term, I feel that some full-time secondment of Probation Officers to Hewell Grange to carry out both liaison and through-care would be beneficial, not only to the service but to the trainees. The potential of work at present is untapped and the curtailing of continued involvement with individual trainees because "they are not ours" has been very frustrating to some Liaison/Probation Officers. I have always felt that if this Hewell Grange experiment was used to full advantage, all work with the trainee would be done during his stay there, thus the need for long licence would be alleviated. The latest Home Office ruling regarding the licence period being reduced to one year is a step in the right direction, but why a year? Borstal caseloads could come down drastically with regard to Aftercare only by using the staff already allocated to better advantage. The trainee would no doubt benefit because he would, or should have, a Through-care Officer who is fully committed to the new borstal scheme.

With regards to the area identification, this I feel is not working as it should. From my experience trainees love to go out to the area, but whether they are interested in community work is anyone's guess. I think we are failing them in as much that we are putting before them ideas and suggestions regarding community work which they are unable to understand. Surely our first priority is to enable them to understand themselves, so that they may recognize the reasons they are alienated against a society and the community at the moment.

I thoroughly enjoyed the challenge of Hewell Grange over the last three years and believe it or not was not surprised at the courtesy, friendship and assistance offered to me by members of its staff. The Hewell staff and

ourselves have not always been in agreement, but many problems have been tackled and solved amicably because of the willingness on all our parts to respect each other's point of view.

During a visit to Canada a few years ago I took advantage of an offer to visit certain of their correctional institutions. From my observations on this visit and the conversations held afterwards with Probation Officers I gained the impression that their system is being geared to the rehabilitation of the Young Offender. They recognize the needs of the older recidivist and Aftercare is put at their disposal, but more emphasis is placed upon the caring and training of the under-21 years of age group. Perhaps we could learn from this!

B. A. SATCHWELL  
*Probation Officer*

## Community Work at Hewell Grange

IT IS in some ways a mistake to connect community work at Hewell directly with the fact that Hewell Grange is now a Neighbourhood Borstal. Nor indeed is community work with borstal trainees inextricably linked to the Neighbourhood concept. This is demonstrable insofar as other conventional borstals are carrying on similar community work programmes and indeed there was quite a thriving community work programme here at Hewell prior to the "Neighbourhood" label and local allocation of trainees. It is necessary to make the above statements because it has been my experience in the past two or three years that there has been a certain amount of confusion in some circles about what community work is at Hewell and how it fitted into some overall "treatment" plan linked to the local community. In fact there is no overall plan of community work linked to rehabilitation in the local community and I have no evidence that involvement in community work programmes arranged through Hewell Grange has any therapeutic impact upon our clientele. That is not to say that community work at Hewell is of no benefit to trainees; I merely state that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to produce any evidence to support the claim that community work at Hewell has an effect on subsequent criminality, however that is measured.

It may be asked, therefore, in the

light of the above, "What is the purpose of community work at Hewell?" Here again a host of differing answers, some diametrically opposed to others, would be elicited by that question. The answer largely dependent upon the person of whom it was asked. I can only give my answer which I must add is no more valid or expert than anyone else's. Community work at Hewell provides as its most valuable addition to the total atmosphere of the borstal a wide and constantly differing range of experiences for trainees to undergo and partake in here and now! Experience of different situations, people, problems and happiness. Yes, community work may, for some, be just good fun in the company of people they may not otherwise have met. It may be an insight into the dreadful, almost inhuman, suffering of the mentally ill or brain-damaged, or it may simply be a way of escaping from the boring old borstal for a few days with the opportunity ever present of getting one's hands on illicit cigarettes, etc. Which of the above reasons and innumerable others operate for which trainees I have no way of knowing. I can say, however, that there is no shortage of volunteers among our trainees for community work projects even in the face of other "competing" free time attractions such as visits, sports, games, television and the chance to do nothing at all. I can only conclude, therefore, that community work here at Hewell fulfills a need in our trainees which is not met by any of our other activities and therefore justifies its place within the fabric and total environment of the borstal.

The way community work is structured at Hewell is somewhat different to other types of structure used by organizations such as Community Service Volunteers. Indeed we have come in for a certain amount of criticism on that score. There are basically two types of available structure:

1. The project is tailored to fit the individual client.
2. The project exists and the client takes from it and gives to it what he can, if he can.

At Hewell, of necessity, we adopt the latter type of structure. We thus manage to involve by far the majority of all the trainees passing through Hewell Grange in community work projects of one sort or another. To adopt the former structure, whilst theoretically desirable, would mean we should be able to accept far fewer projects and far fewer trainees would

be involved in community work; in short, it would become a "special" treatment for a very few, a treatment which indeed is already available to us by using the resources of other organizations such as Community Service Volunteers themselves. "How then does it actually work at Hewell?" Firstly, projects are usually proposed by "outside" interested agencies who want our help or feel that we could be usefully employed in a certain way helping others. These agencies include our colleagues in the Probation Service and particularly our own Liaison Probation Officers who have a foot in both the borstal and the local community which they serve, Social Services, schools, hospitals, churches, voluntary groups such as Citizens' Advice, etc. In addition, there are a number of long-running involvements with such agencies as Action Force Volunteers, etc. with whom we have a continuous commitment for our trainees to work with their children volunteers on their projects. All these projects before being accepted as suitable for our involvement are inspected by a member of our staff or our resident Community Service Volunteer and are finally vetted by the Governor. Following acceptance of any project, trainees who are thought to be suitable are selected, on a volunteer basis, to participate in the project. The trainees are sometimes advised to apply to be included in a certain type of project by their case officer who may seek to use this involvement in community work as an aid to his overall handling of their particular case. Others ask to be involved in projects simply on their own initiative perhaps for some of the reasons outlined earlier. In all cases, the trainees are vetted by both the Senior Officer responsible for the strategic organization of community work and by the Principal Officer in charge of the unit. Thus are projects and trainees finally brought together.

It remains simply to give an idea of the sort of projects our trainees have been involved in over the past few years. They range from assisting nursing staff to deal with chronic brain damage and mentally ill people through to completely renovating a 70 foot canal barge with the help of civilian enthusiasts. Included in this range of projects are, of course, many helping jobs such as painting, cleaning and renovating property, assisting old people and acting as interpreters for the blind and deaf. Overall, I believe that whilst on numerous occasions and for numerous reasons we may have been criticized by various people,

our standing in the community has been enhanced by the involvement of our trainees in community work and for the reasons given earlier I would suggest that we do meet some trainees' needs. I conclude, therefore, that community work at Hewell is a valuable asset which should be viewed as a worthwhile venture in its own right without the need for a supporting "treatment" label.

JOHN ALLRIDGE  
*Assistant Governor*

## Six Years on

THE MEETINGS held at Moreton-in-Marsh in 1971/72 saw the seeds of the Neighbourhood Borstal being sown. We tend to be cautious folk in the Prison Service. Germination took its time. At the meeting held at Hewell Grange in March 1973 a greater number of interested parties were involved. Those of us from Hewell welcomed this opportunity to share the thoughts of those who had conceived this new approach to borstal training. At the close of the meeting some of us expected drastic changes to take place overnight. Some of our staff were almost packing their bags before the dust from the departing cars had settled. They made it quite clear that this was not for them. They saw the move to have the probation officer take a more positive role in the borstal as a threat to their own position. One can understand their feelings at that point in time. I recall a tremendous feeling of excitement and enthusiasm, coming across from the probation service. This was not reflected, however, in the minds of many of our staff. We had time to collect our thoughts and discuss our feelings. In January 1975 the greatest and most shattering move took place. For many of us this was when the Neighbourhood Borstal became reality. Overnight our traditional image crashed to the ground. In its place came the single unit clearly designed from the managerial angle and well laid out in domestic arrangements. Would we still be able to retain those fine qualities that Paterson had in mind when he fashioned our borstal system all those years ago. In particular the quality of spirit and that sense of belonging! I thought about this during the evening following the move. After a day of humping beds around, re-arranging offices to dormitories and generally turning the place upside down we had a little party for the lads. We had a group in to play to them. We had chips and sausages for supper. Some

probation officers had joined us for the occasion. They occupied a table with some of our senior staff. The boys ate their chips and one was heard to comment "What a big cock-up".

Now, here we are two years and nine months later. It is useful in the light of experience, to stand back and take stock of the Neighbourhood Borstal as it presents itself. There have been considerable changes. The period following the loss of the house system was particularly traumatic for many. This was to be expected though: To lose a traditionally well founded system only to have it replaced by a seemingly cold, soulless organisation was for some too much to bear. In the last two and a half years 60 per cent of our officer staff have moved for one reason or another. This figure includes five officers who resigned the Service. For such a small establishment this figure was very high. Having worked through this period, one can fully understand how they felt. The management brought in new names. Unit took the place of the house. House officer became desk officer. Housemasters became assistant governors, and so they moved on. There were certain feelings about the probation officer and the part he played. It was clear to all that a lot of work would have to be done in this area. Everyone was talking about the need to develop a meaningful working relationship with the probation service. All in all, this period was not the easiest of ones in the early life of the Neighbourhood Borstal. It was clear to me that all was not a bed of roses with the probation officers. They were having their problems with officers coming and going. At the time of writing only one of the original team remains. Could it have been that the liaison officers were expecting too much too soon? After all, we were still a penal establishment and as is so often quoted, "The needs of the institution must come first". 1976 brought with it some promise of a brighter future. Probation officers and case officers were beginning to be on christian name terms. We were sharing our problems and this much-sought-after and talked-about relationship thing was beginning to make sense after all. We were pooling our resources. The liaison officer was going out on attachment with us. It was not uncommon to see him on the landing at unlock or enjoying a social hour in the recreation club during the evening. The case officer was going out on nattachment with the Probation Service. This facility

was extended to members of the middle management and very useful it was too. By the end of the year one was feeling that we were both working towards the common goal. What a change this was to the distrust of the early '70s? Make no mistake about it, there was sufficient evidence to suggest on both sides that we were parochial and were not keen to let go or even share that which had been traditionally ours.

Let us give a thought now to the officer who has come to replace those who moved on. How does he fit in? The opportunity offered certainly gives him the impression that this is the "Modern Prison Service" that he reads about.

During the past two years or so, I have been delighted with the type of man who is coming along. There is considerable potential at hand. It is a pity that this quality cannot be released to the full, but with financial restraints coupled with a difficult shift working system, much energy lies untapped. There is always the cry from above that the needs of the institution must come first. This, of course, gives way to feelings of frustration and a sense of just being part of a system that requires one to churn out quarterly reports and the like. In the present organisation the probation officer, being much more independent, and not tied to a bell scale has a much better bite at the cake. When I talk to case officers and discuss their involvement I get a mixed reaction. Sometimes I am left with the feeling that they would be happier in the black and white environment of a prison.

Here in the Neighbourhood Borstal there is a great shade of grey where discretion may be used. Often I think that for some officers too much has come too quickly for them in their service career. Some have difficulty in handling their role to their own satisfaction. I would be the first to admit that this is a demanding post to fill—counsellor and confident one moment—disciplinarian the next. During the period of gaining in experience, staff can become frustrated and disillusioned. Take the case of an officer who wishes to take his group into the community, either on an educational visit or to work on a project. He is required to make a paper out to six different departments and believe it or not, he must obtain security clearance. To them it is incredible—an open borstal containing lads selected for these conditions, yet one must go to these lengths. If the case officer

is doing his job properly, surely he should be the best judge of the individual. Support in the staff training field can help but there remains a quality that only time can give.

There is no doubt in my mind that managerally the present system has its good points. The opportunities for trainees' involvement in their own neighbourhood are excellent. The facilities extended to parents for visiting are second to none. The probation officer is a familiar figure, being regarded now as a member of the team. This mix is good, but there is something lacking. The establishment is emotionally cold.

We have talked about the geographical group taking the place of the house. I think this would fail dismally. Since one must have a physical division to cultivate and develop that sense of belonging and identification. We could be falling into the trap of allowing administrative convenience to take over completely. As we approach the 1980s perhaps we should be asking ourselves "Is there any relevance today in the comment made by that young man at the supper table those years ago".

MARTIN KEALY

*Training Principal Officer*

## The Board of Visitors

IT IS a pity they chose the word "Neighbourhood" which, in normal usage, means something much more limited than the area served by Hewell. "Neighbourhood" implies Bromsgrove and Redditch, whereas Hewell's catchment area is the whole West Midlands, plus parts of Worcestershire and Warwickshire. I wish personally, they had called us "Regional", as everyone would understand the title better. However, the interests and background of the members of the Board of Visitors are certainly wider than the local neighbourhood and this has helped us in trying to meet the needs of the new organization. Members live in the main in North Worcestershire, South and Central Birmingham. Many members, moreover, work in or near the areas the trainees came from—my own job, for example, has taken me to visit schools and meet young people in Sandwell, Dudley and West Bromwich, although I live in Bromsgrove, while the deputy chairman, Canon Stevens, has had a long experience of life and work in Birmingham and the Black



Country.

The trainees' basic group within the borstal is based on the probation area from which he comes. A member of the Board of Visitors is attached to this group, this member interviews each trainee individually at least twice—once, four months from the date of sentence, and again when the trainee is on the discharge list.

In this way the Board of Visitors maintains a real interest in the progress of each trainee through the institution. We are able to bring individual as well as general problems to the notice of the governor and, where appropriate, the local knowledge and contacts on the part of the Board member can be a help. This local knowledge is more often used at an institutional level than an individual one—for example, two members of the Board have given considerable background support and information in trying to establish a hostel for Hewell discharged trainees—so far without success, unfortunately. We have also given all the support we can to community work projects undertaken by trainees.

The change of emphasis in the role of Hewell has not affected the fundamental role of the Board of Visitors. We still visit regularly, talk to staff and trainees, receive the governor's recommendations for discharge on licence, hear applications and carry out adjudications. It is worth noting that the last two tasks occur very rarely—we have not adjudicated on or heard formal applications from trainees more than once or twice a year. We have, however, noticed some differences in the establishment since it became a "neighbourhood" borstal. The most obvious is the much lower average intelligence. Under national allocation, Hewell was used as an institution for relatively high intelligence offenders. Regional allocation has meant we take all abilities suitable for open conditions; clearly this results in far fewer trainees of the ability level the institution worked with for many years and this is apparent in our interviews with trainees.

The establishment has responded by giving considerably increased time and resources to remedial education.

We have also noticed the increased pressures on staff. Such a fundamental change in the internal organisation and overall tone of an institution makes considerable demands and takes more time to absorb. I think the staff have responded to this extremely well. In talking informally

to officers, which we try to do as often as possible, I have noticed the anxiety and uncertainty of these changes, but also what comes over strongly is the knowledge about and concern for individual trainees and their situations. We have all noticed too, the developing and my roving relationships between the borstal staff and the Probation Service, a relationship that I think can now deal with problems and professional differences much more openly than would have been the case three or four years ago.

Another obvious change is the increased number of coloured trainees, particularly those of West Indian background. I have never been aware of overt racial tension in the establishment, but there is no doubt that the absence of a substantial racial minority group brings problems. The coloured trainees tend to identify strongly as a group and to be even more sensitive to authority than white inmates. An officer sometimes can do no right—if he gives a perfectly reasonable and legitimate instruction to a coloured boy, he is picking on him because he is coloured, if he gives the instruction to a white trainee, then "these coloured blokes can get away with anything, like you can always get Social Security if you are coloured"—attitudes I have met in apprentices at a Further Education College just as strongly as amongst white trainees at Hewell. These problems will remain with us, demanding considerable patience from staff; race relations produce deep-seated reactions which take a long time to come to terms with for all concerned; institutional pressures offer opportunities here as well as increasing the difficulties.

I think I am even more concerned, however, by another attitude which has shown itself more strongly recently in our discharge interviews with some trainees. They have stated (at least openly, anyway) they see nothing except graduation to prison in front of them, or they state quite openly they have no intention of working or trying to get a job or anything like it. We are very aware, in this kind of interview, of the totally different worlds we and the trainees inhabit. We do what we can to bridge this gap, but this is mainly a job for professionals, whether in the Prison Service or the Probation Service. It is an increasingly difficult task, in which the support of the public attitude, understanding and cash is very important. Those of us on the

Board of Visitors see it as an important part of a role to create, as far as we can, this understanding and support.

D. H. GREEN

*Chairman, Board of Visitors*

## Evaluation

ALTHOUGH THERE are few who would hold that the concept of a neighbourhood or community borstal is unsound in principle, there are those who may have reservations about its practicability. Certainly all who are involved, however indirectly, may be interested to know whether or not the neighbourhood idea is "working".

Evaluation of the project is aimed towards answering three basic questions:

1. Have the policies underlying the neighbourhood scheme been fully implemented at Hewell? That is, are trainees now all coming from the defined local catchment area? Has the machinery for ensuring frequent contact between community and borstal been established?
2. Is implementation of these policies bringing about the kinds of changes that were anticipated? For instance, is there improved liaison between borstal and Probation Service? Are trainees having more contact with their supervising officers? Are families visiting more often? Is aftercare being planned more effectively? Have the characteristics of the population changed?
3. What are the *outcomes* of the Neighbourhood Borstal regime as it stands? For instance, what impact is the regime having on trainees' institutional and post-institutional behaviour, relationships and offending patterns?

To date, work by the headquarters-based Young Offender Psychology Unit, (Y.O.P.U.) has addressed questions one and two above. Y.O.P.U. have compared a sample of trainees discharged in 1973 (pre-neighbourhood) with a sample discharged during 1975, and this has produced at least some encouraging results. For example, in 1975 *all* trainees did in fact come from the defined local catchment area; in 1975 trainees were receiving more letters and visits from their families than in 1973 (even allowing for shorter distance from home, on average); contact with Probation Officers was more frequent in 1975; and the extent of community work had increased

considerably between 1973 and 1975.

The characteristics of the population had changed in various ways as a result of neighbourhood allocation: for instance, the 1975 sample had fewer highly intelligent boys than the 1973 sample.

Comparative data on reconvictions as between the 1973 and 1975 samples will be available shortly, and this will begin to shed some light on question three above. Y.O.P.U. plans to continue this work by comparing a sample of trainees discharged during 1977 with the 1973 and 1975 samples.

Locally, the psychiatrists are carrying out a study of aspects of the regime (with respect to questions one and two above). This included a further, more detailed look at Probation Service/borstal contact; trainees' contact with their families; extent of involvement in community work; and use of the pre-release scheme, amongst other factors. To date, analysis of probation visits to Hewell during 1977 suggests that liaison officers and supervising officers are visiting frequently and regularly.

The study as a whole will, it is hoped, point up any residual problem areas which can be tackled locally, and where necessary, jointly between Probation Service and borstal. It will also contribute to the design of a longer term study, to be commenced in 1978, into the nature and quality of the impact of the Neighbourhood Borstal regime on trainees' institutional and subsequent relationships and behaviour.

ROBIN MACPHERSON  
HELEN EVERS  
*Senior Psychologists*



# LETTER: Compensation for Victims

## Editor's Note

*In October we published a series of articles about the victims of crime. One of these articles was written by Charles Irving, Member of Parliament for Cheltenham, and contained some criticisms of the work of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board.*

*The following letter has been received from Mr. Michael Ogden, Q.C., who is not only Chairman of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board, but a practising Q.C., a Recorder and Leader of the South Eastern Circuit.*

THE EDITOR,  
*Prison Service Journal*,  
Dear Sir,

In your October edition you printed an article by Mr. Charles Irving M.P. in which he said that the operation of the Scheme for compensating victims of crimes of violence suffers from "grave and glaring defects", which he enumerated. Plainly, this calls for comment.

First, he said that the Board is extremely badly publicized. The Board receives publicity on television and wireless and in the press. It is the Board's view that anyone who has not seen such publicity is not going to read expensive advertisements, and they are very expensive, e.g. eight half-page advertisements in daily papers for one day only would cost about £50,000. What the Board does is to ensure that those whose jobs bring them into contact with the victims of crimes of violence know about the Board's existence and are asked to tell victims about us. For example, Mr. Irving said "Nor has the Board sought to have its services brought to the attention of victims by the police". The information which Mr. Irving has been given about this is wholly inaccurate. Not only does the Board ask the police to tell victims about our existence, but, in my experience, the police recognize the importance of their duty in this respect and perform the task with diligence and care, for which the Board is very grateful. I do not believe that there is a single police force in the country which does not accept that it is the duty of the police to act in this way; if Mr. Irving thinks otherwise, I would be grateful if he would write and tell me which forces they are so that I can investigate the allegation.

By way of example of the manner

in which the Board acts, when, in March this year, the Government announced an amendment of the Scheme, the Board sent 1,500 letters to Citizens Advice Bureaux, reminding them of the Board's existence. In addition, all local D.H.S.S. offices, Chief Constables, Chief Probation Officers and Clerks to Justices were told. In short, the Board takes considerable trouble to ensure that those whose jobs bring them into contact with victims know about us and I would need a lot of persuading that victims who have apparently not read about us in the papers, heard about us on the wireless or television, would be likely to read or listen to expensive advertisements.

Mr. Irving complains about the size of the awards and quotes cases about which, with one exception, I can make no comment because he did not name them, although I must add that I suspect the accuracy of the information given to him. Parliament requires the Board to award compensation on the same basis as the courts would award damages. This we do. The Board Members consist of 11 Q.C.s and three very senior and experienced solicitors; all have great experience in the level of damages awarded by the courts. In addition, with the assistance of Judges and experienced barristers, assessment exercises are conducted by the Board in order to ensure that in certain types of cases, with which the Board regularly deals, consensus figures are agreed and that, therefore, the Board's awards are in line with what a court would award for the same injuries. In November 1976 we published these figures in our Annual Report and they received wide publicity;

no one suggested that they were out of line with the courts.

Mr. Irving is a Member of Parliament. The Board does what Parliament tells it to do. If Mr. Irving wants the Board to award compensation on a higher scale than that adopted by the courts, he must persuade Parliament to alter the Scheme.

I said that there was one case mentioned by Mr. Irving about which I could comment; it is his reference to an award of £25 to the parents of a murdered boy. I can well believe that this is correct. In fatal cases in England and Wales, we can make no award for grief or bereavement but only for funeral expenses, less the value of the death grant, and for any pecuniary loss by dependents, e.g. loss due to death of a family's breadwinner. The case quoted was doubtless a case in which the Board was unable under the terms of the Scheme to award anything save funeral expenses less the value of the death grant. In Scotland, the law is different and we can and do make awards for what used to be called "solatium" and is now called "loss of society".

I would like to see the law in England and Wales altered to follow, in general terms, the law in Scotland. I hope that Lord Pearson's Royal Commission will make a recommendation to that effect. If the law is altered, then the Board would apply the new law. I hope that Mr. Irving will attempt to have the law altered accordingly.

The last criticism made by Mr. Irving about which I should comment is the fact that the Board is required under the Scheme to reduce compensation or reject an application altogether if the applicant's character and way of life is such that it is inappropriate that he should receive a full award or any award at all. Mr. Irving thinks that this is wrong. I would like him to consider the following examples:

1. A terrorist blows up a coach load of children, killing some and maiming others. Two weeks after he has been sentenced to life imprisonment, the Board has to decide his application for compensation for a broken nose received in an unrelated incident.
2. A man rapes, mutilates and kills several young girls. Just after he is sentenced, the Board has to decide an application by him similar to that made by the terrorist.
3. A prison officer is brutally done to death by two prisoners. One of them subsequently applies for compensation for a broken finger caused by another prisoner.

I consider that, if the Board made an award in any of those cases, there would be a howl of outrage by the public and rightly so. We do not make awards in cases such as these; we do not believe that the public would wish us to do so. I am confident about the public reaction to this kind of situation because there was an outcry when, in

Northern Ireland, for which the Board is *not* responsible, an award was made to a member of the I.R.A., subsequently rescinded on appeal. To avoid doubt, the Northern Irish Scheme was altered and, in general terms, now accords with our Scheme in this respect.

However, I emphasise that we apply this principle only in two categories of case. First, if there has been a serious offence of violence or a number of less serious offences of violence. Second, if there is a long history of serious offences of dishonesty so that it is obvious that the applicant supports himself by preying on the public.

Again, if Mr. Irving wants any of this altered, he should persuade his fellow M.P.s to alter the Scheme. Indeed, with the exception of the point about advertising, all these points are matters about which the Board can do nothing. If Mr. Irving persuades Parliament to change the Scheme, we will change our practices accordingly. I should add that this would extend to giving care and support to victims as well as monetary compensation if told to do so, although I suspect that Parliament might think that the cost would be enormous and that, rather than duplicating functions performed by local authorities and voluntary organizations, it would be preferable to give any available additional money to them.

Yours faithfully,  
MICHAEL OGDEN Q.C.  
*Chairman of the Criminal Injuries  
Compensation Board*

FELTHAM AND FINNAMORE WOOD BORSTAL continued from page 3

need for repeated experiences, many quite short; for others, for societal protection, it will remain necessary to retain fairly lengthy periods of incarceration. None of these need be mainly, or even significantly, destructive experiences for those undergoing

them. However, society cannot expect institutions to be effective "on the cheap". Resources of staff and materials have to be supplied; if their use is to satisfy society's wish both for constructive action and value for money, it will remain necessary for

tasks to be analysed, defined and monitored. It is in these respects, perhaps, that Feltham has been setting, and hopefully will continue to be able to set, some Prison Service standards.

THE YOUNG PRISONER continued from page 8

social life. They would be attempting to establish their identity and to exercise their right to make decisions for themselves. The regime inside should provide constructive opportunities for these natural processes to sentence, and this can only be achieved on an individual basis.

Many wish to project themselves as tough, uncompromising challengers of authority—an image which is often only a façade. All too many are homeless, by accident or design, and have to fend for themselves without often having the basic skills to do so with success. Others are heavily conditioned from an early age throughout the process of non-custodial alternatives,

and Borstal and D.C. to the future inevitably of imprisonment, and when it happens, appear often indifferent beyond the level of concern about deprivation of liberty. The regime should provide for treatment appropriate to their stage of adolescent development, rather than attempt to assume all offenders are at the same stage, or attempt to enforce the view that they are still juvenile, or invariably pre-empt an adult status. To this end, work particularly should be specially provided for the often physical needs of this age group. The painting of toy soldiers, while at least being labour industries, does not in itself motivate constructive attitudes to work.

Equally, the regime should reflect the inmates' role in the community through projects which do not in themselves provide cheap labour, but which allow the inmates to recognize there are people infinitely more deprived than themselves.

The future solution does not necessarily lie in the provision of new establishments, for which the cost would be prohibitive, but in the incorporation of the Young Prisoner into the total Young Offender policy, and the recognition that everything that can be done we have an obligation to do if there is to be any success in preventing the Young Prisoners of today becoming the old lags of tomorrow.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## REVIEWS COMMITTEE:

RAY MITCHELL (Prison Service College, Wakefield)

RICK EVANS (H.M.P. Bristol)

MARK BEESON (Leeds University)

DAI CURTIS (Officers' Training School, Wakefield)

## Unit of Change

### A SENSE OF FREEDOM: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

JIMMY BOYLE

Canongate (hardback) £3.95.  
Pan (paperback) 80p., 1977.

THE publication of Jimmy Boyle's book, *A Sense of Freedom*, in September prompted several newspaper articles with titles like "A Break in the Nick of Time", "Secure Prisoner Smuggled out Autobiography", and "Out of the Tiger Cages". They told the story of how "Scotland's most violent prisoner" had turned into a creative and articulate person; how "hard man" Jimmy Boyle was now sculpting, writing, studying psychology and helping to develop the Special Unit at Barlinnie Prison. Something important seemed to have happened there to someone who, five years into a life sentence, could have sunk no lower and yet, sometime later, was smuggling out a most readable and hopeful book.

Jimmy Boyle grew up in Glasgow's Gorbals. His childhood was a steady escalation of crime and violence in a world divided into "us" and "them"—toffs (the people who had curtains), teachers, police and, later, screws. Boyle's father was a "heavy", killed in a gang fight. His mother struggled to keep the family together by doing three jobs. For Jimmy, there was clothing from the parish, food from the houses she cleaned, and mounting competition from other kids to ape the local "big men" who drank, fought and stole. "By the time I was fourteen I had been doing lots of breaking into shops and warehouses and fighting with other gangs but I was finally caught for screwing shops and given twenty-eight days detention in Larchgrove". From here on, it was all downhill. Remand home, approved school, borstal, and—at the age of 18—the first taste of the punishment cells at Barlinnie.

Outside, Boyle was deep into the underworld and admits to associating with the Krays at one time. Working for the illegal money-lenders in Glasgow, he was acquitted on two murder charges but eventually sentenced to life imprisonment for a third, at the age of 23. Inside, too, the violence steadily escalated. Shuttling between

the punishment cells at Inverness and Peterhead prisons, Boyle notched up a frightening quota of fighting, rioting, destruction and bloodshed. He received further sentences for attacking staff, including assaults on the prison governor. The special "tiger cages" at Inverness were no solution. There, Boyle and others were charged with the attempted murder of six officers and with attempted escape: one officer lost an eye in the affray. Five years into a life sentence, here was a man with nothing to lose, living like an animal in a cage, surrounded by his own filth.

Then, in 1973, a Special Unit was set up at Barlinnie to cope with men like Boyle: the uncontainables. "It was only through the courage of those people in the Scottish Home and Health Department in 1973 who approved the opening of the Special Unit that the course of my life took a dramatic change". Certainly, the book alone is testimony to the effect of the unit. But what was the nature of this incredible transformation and how was it achieved in Barlinnie?

The key to Boyle's transformation is not found in comparisons with religious conversions. Nor is it just another side to the same man, or the story of him "growing up". It certainly was not "giving in" to the system, though this is nearer to the explanation. In fact, it was only when the system ceased to be harsh and brutal that Boyle had room enough to stand back and contemplate his position. Although he does not say much about this process, it is clear that he had felt himself to be a victim—both in his upbringing in the Gorbals and, later, in institutions. From the start, people were classed as members of one of two forces, "them" and "us"; this was the origin of a vicious circle of hate, retaliation and hopelessness, which was reinforced daily in Jimmy Boyle's prison existence. When you feel yourself to be the victim, your hate justifies your attacks against your persecutors. In this sense, Boyle was one extreme example of those thousands in our prisons who feel victimised by society: but unlike most of them, he is exceptional in having stopped and considered his own part in this downward spiral.

There is no doubt that the Special Unit at Barlinnie was decisive in breaking this very vicious circle. Boyle describes the bewilderment

of six men finding themselves being spoken to like human beings and being expected to share responsibility for the running of the unit. Like any radical reassessment, this was a difficult and painful time for Boyle. Not all of his companions could make the transition: some went back to the traditional system and to the punishment cells where the battle-lines are clearly marked. Jimmy Boyle, however, grew and flourished: he became responsible for himself and explored the avenues that art and relationships offer for development and self-respect. This is the *Sense of Freedom* hinted at in the title of the book. He is now one of the main forces behind the continuing success of the unit. In a funny way, this process is not far different from his earlier years: by his own account, Boyle was always highly susceptible to the praise of others and the excitement of being out ahead. The difference is that the influences now are for self-responsibility and achievement where before they were for brutality and playing the "hard man".

Despite its importance, the section of the book dealing with the Special Unit is not very long. Half of the book relates Boyle's previous prison experiences, while the first third describes his early life. Nevertheless, many readers have been convinced by the section about the Special Unit that this experiment in Barlinnie is one of the milestones in penal reform—although, ironically, the unit is going through a crucial stage at present with very few official well-wishers. The point is that the unit focuses the debate on how the most villainous people in the system should be contained. Should they be kept in the most repressive of regimes or should they be given a chance and allowed some say in the design of their containment? Your answer to this question will determine whether you consider the Special Unit at Barlinnie to be lax and irresponsible or progressive and worthwhile. The problem is not confined to how we should contain the most dangerous offenders: it spills over into the rest of the prison system. Many people are concerned that the special privileges conceded to the men in the Barlinnie Unit will be inducements for other prisoners to match the violence against staff or other inmates. A similar problem has already arisen in English prisons over Rule 43 units. Those of us working in such units which contain people whose crimes are totally abhorrent to many staff and to most prisoners, have daily to come to terms with the conditions which appear to be better than for many other offenders. The issues are alike: first, how to contain particular types of offenders and, secondly, how not to encourage other prisoners to "seek protection" as a means of getting into the units eventually. And in a general sense, the problem of how any prisoner should be treated is being fought out over the issue of the Special Unit. Whatever your position, however, there is no denying that, in the case of Jimmy Boyle, the unit at Barlinnie has worked.

What now? Boyle is still in the unit and still has no release date (the publishers make some mileage out of this in their handout: "... that he has pulled no punches in what he views is wrong with the prison system, that the publication of the book could do his chance of parole no good at all deserves consideration"). He is, after all, a convicted murderer and has attempted to kill prison officers. He has smuggled his manuscript out of prison and, while as one newspaper said this has made "prison and publishing history", it is ready ammunition to throw at the unit for those who do not like the concept and were dismayed at its inception. At present, the future of the unit is very uncertain. On the positive side, we know that the royalties from the book will be used to set up a trust fund to help kids in Glasgow from falling into the same traps as Boyle. This is the espoused aim of the entire book: to help break the inevitability of the paths followed by young people from deprived areas and to dispel the hero-worship for the "big men" which led to such a disastrous road for Jimmy Boyle.

RICK EVANS  
Senior Psychologist  
Bristol Prison



## TOWARD A JUST AND EFFECTIVE SENTENCING SYSTEM

PIERCE O'DONNELL,  
MICHAEL J. CHURGIN  
and DENNIS E. CURTIS  
Praeger, 1977. £11.05.

This work attempts the daunting task of drawing up a new federal sentencing scheme for the United States. The proposals are based upon ideas formulated in a workshop on parole and sentencing at the Yale Law School. The study raises considerations which are relevant outside the American system.

The authors argue that federal judges are left on their own to develop sentencing philosophies and that this leads to widely disparate sentences for similar offences. They argue that this undermines law and order on the technical grounds of whether the sentence falls outside the range of penalties authorised under the relevant federal statute. They feel these ranges are far too wide and propose the drafting of a new federal sentencing statute. Up to this point the problem, although interesting, appears to be fairly parochial: the federal system needs to be made more fair.

The authors next tackle the question of parole and it is at this point that the work has far wider significance. They recommend the abolition of the parole system. Their argument is that although the U.S. Board of Parole has made reforms to promote uniformity and visibility of parole decisions, this does not alter the disparities produced by the courts. More significantly for other parole systems, they argue that virtually all the criteria used for granting parole are based on information which is available at the time of sentence and that a perfectly good decision as to sentence length could be taken at this time. The authors argue that the "magic moment" theory of parole, based on an assumption that during a custodial sentence there is a peak of rehabilitative effect, is discredited by all known research and not given much weight by the U.S. Board of Parole anyway. I find their arguments quite convincing although I do not totally accept that all the information relevant to the best sentence length is always available at the time of sentence. Nevertheless, there is a movement in America to abolish the parole system. The authors also propose that only one tenth of a sentence be subject to "good time". This would seem to me to be inadequate for the maintenance of good behaviour.

The proposal for sentence ranges is that these should be defined by a Commission on Sentencing and Corrections. The body would also be responsible for continuous research. There would be a presumption against incarceration and federal judges would be required to use a lockstep progression making specific findings on four of the six proposed sentencing purposes. The judge, when sentencing, would consider deterrence, incapacitation, rehabilitation and denunciation. A sentence would be considered for each purpose and the most severe would be the final sentence. The final two purposes are the justness of the punishment and the relative gravity of the offence and are seen by the authors as providing a check on the other four purposes to which they give most weight. Guidelines would be set by the Commission on Sentencing and Corrections and the judge would compare his sentence with these guidelines. A statement of reasons for all sentences would be required and this would have to be detailed if the judge sentenced outside the guidelines. The sentences would be subject to appeal and a government appeal would be allowed—so a sentence could be found too lenient in the Appeal Court.

These proposals obviously have political implications and, although the American system is under review, there must be considerable doubt as to what reforms will ultimately be made. The book does attempt to set out a rational sentencing system and is certainly well researched and well argued. One of the recurring themes in the book is the emphasis on the need to make all sentence and release decisions open

to the prisoner. The authors do not discuss some of the difficulties this entails and their assumption that it must reduce frustration and even bad behaviour in prison is, I feel, a little fanciful. I do not think their presumption against imprisonment and their conclusions on custodial rehabilitative programmes reflect a good deal of current thinking and are realistic.

There is a great deal of detail in the book to which I couldn't hope to do justice here; suffice it to say that the book has a very definite purpose and each stage of the argument is well presented. The authors express as one of their aims the hope that their proposed model statute (Appendix A) will continue to stimulate debate. It should certainly do that.

MIKE SHELDRICK  
Assistant Governor  
Nottingham Prison



## LAWYERS AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

A Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Legal Services.

Howard League for Penal Reform, 1977.  
25p.

THE memorandum basically covered four aspects of prisoner/lawyer relationships.

### 1. Access to a lawyer at first Court appearance and bail.

For a prisoner on a serious charge or for his first offence, this is often a traumatic experience and, although most courts have duty solicitors schemes, the value of these depends on the quality of the duty solicitor. An inexperienced, over-awed, over-worked duty solicitor cannot do his client justice. Of more concern perhaps to the accused is the mass of form-filling involved in an application to a Judge in Chambers. The need to simplify and speed this up is obvious. Why not an immediate right of access without a mass of form-filling on the same day, or at least within 24 hours?

### 2. Legal representation at the trial.

The memorandum mentions what must be an exceptional case of a prisoner who received a life sentence without having been seen by his counsel beforehand; but are the usual ten-minute conferences on the day of hearing sufficient? Or should counsel, like solicitors, be expected to see the prisoner some time before his court appearance? This, of course, hits at the very system of a divided profession, and an experienced barrister can clearly rely upon the details prepared in a brief by an experienced solicitor. The memorandum, however, does highlight what is an undoubted defect in our system; the defending solicitor or barrister does not, as part of his training, receive any information on sentencing. Those who have a duty, not merely to make a plea in mitigation, but also to advise the court on the most appropriate measures, may be unaware of the resources of the penal system and, apart from the visiting boxes, may never have visited a detention centre, borstal or long-term prison.

### 3. Legal advice and assistance on appeal.

Although Legal Aid covers advice to a convicted prisoner, appeals officers well know the seething discontent which frequently exists. The proposal to hold "legal clinics"—regular visits by lawyers to advise prisoners on legal problems—would clearly result in a diminution of tension as it has in some American Institutions, and also in Ontario.

### 4. Legal services for convicted prisoners.

In English law, prisoners do not suffer the "civil death" or deprivation of civic status

imposed elsewhere; in practice, their ability to resort to the law is severely circumscribed and "where law ends, tyranny begins". This situation is scarcely conducive to a respect for the law which imprisonment presumably seeks to inspire. In short, the view taken is that prisoners should have a right of unrestricted access to a solicitor, leaving it to the solicitor to decide whether or not he accepts the prisoner as a client. After all, there is a further safeguard against abuse; a Legal Aid committee still has to decide whether or not to grant Legal Aid.

The final point in the memorandum touches upon an important and topical area of discontent, namely the degree of legal assistance which should be, but sadly is not, available before adjudications in prisons. In a situation where the Board of Visitors has the power to impose heavy penalties of up to 56 days cellular confinement and 180 days loss of remission and to make consecutive awards in respect of separate charges, is it not extraordinary that such adjudications can be made in the absence of anyone with any legal qualifications, and that the hearing takes place *in camera*? The memorandum states that at the very least a legally qualified person should be present, as prisoner's representative, as a member of the Board or as a clerk to the Board. There can hardly be any argument against the suggestion that in the light of the seriousness of the punishments which can be awarded, alterations should be made to a system whereby this is the only tribunal in the land before which a person can be denied a period of liberty (even accepting that remission is a privilege and not a right) and yet be denied legal representation or at least advice.

BARRINGTON BLACK LL.B.  
Solicitor



## NO BRIEF FOR THE DOCK

Howard League for Penal Reform  
Barry Rose, 1977. £1.25.

THESE recommendations from the Howard League, on the question of custody during trial, raise many questions. It is, for example, claimed that the right of access between an accused and his legal adviser is impeded by the use of the dock. This is not my experience, except in a few courts around the country; in general, especially in Crown Courts, there is ample room for counsel to seek instructions without much difficulty.

The proposal for the American style of courtroom, where counsel and accused are seated together, seems to present no additional security problems. Indeed, with special precautions for Category A and some Category B defendants, and good liaison with police and prison staff, the problem of security in courtrooms has been well covered in this pamphlet.

The report's emphasis on human rights is obviously fair. The dock has always been a focal point in court, and I agree that the minds of the jury could be affected adversely against those accused who have to sit flanked by police or prison staff. One question which I find rather worrying is: if the dock were abolished, except in the case of Category A defendants, for example, would not the special use of the dock affect the jury even more adversely than it is now claimed to?

*No Brief for the Dock* produces new ideas which, without the necessity for statutory change, could be tried out in some courts along the lines of the Howard League's recommendations.

P. O'SHEA  
Officer  
Liverpool Prison

## MAKING AMENDS: Criminals, Victims and Society

THE HOWARD LEAGUE FOR PENAL REFORM  
Barry Rose, 1977. £1.00.

MANY of the points made in the last issue of the *Prison Service Journal* about the victims of crime are also found in this pamphlet. Spelling out the Howard League's policy, *Making Amends* recommends wider powers for the courts to order personal amends from the offender and, in some cases, "mediation panels" to arbitrate on suitable reparations. It also calls for more voluntary schemes to help victims and argues that Community Service Orders are one way in which offenders can make amends to society. Neither is the criminal left out of the policy: there are some people, the League says, who are so disadvantaged in society that—although they have broken the law—they should be regarded as victims in their own right. Making amends to them might be through society providing education, training and support, and through self-help schemes.

In an appendix, the pamphlet criticises the Criminal Injuries Compensation Scheme and proposes ways of overcoming its limitations. Prison staff may be interested to see the tentative recommendation that an official should receive compensation for an injury sustained in the course of his work even when the act causing that injury cannot strictly be classed as "criminal".

R. E.

## THE BEHAVIOUR OF LAW

DONALD BLACK

Academic Press, 1976. £8.90.

MIKE TODD gave us Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*, a riot of lampoon, adventure and caricature. Donald Black gives us a whistle-stop tour of the world's anthropologists, past and present, to drum home, as surely only a Yale man could, an obvious message. Crime is made by the law; the law protects the interests of those at the top of the heap, at the centre of things and those with organisation behind them. Not only the law, but etiquette, propriety, respectability and other sorts of social control operate with the same sorts of bias, leaving the poor, the unattached, the disreputable at the receiving end of the buffets of regulation whether they are bellicose bushmen, errant eskimo, indolent indian, troublesome Tiv's or rebellious Romans.

The core of Black's book is that it is possible to approach crime and deviance in a fresh way which complements sociology and psychology. Instead of trying to explain why crime occurs where it does and among whom, he chooses to explain that the law, as one arm of social control, follows some simple rules across all societies, across all time. In particular, he produces evidence about how the stratification of societies, their division of labour, their cultural aspects and their organisation are reflected in the way the law works. Repetitively, in each of the chapters, he is satisfied that he can show how different sorts of society have more law, that it is more severe towards certain sorts of people who are more often on the receiving end and more often unable to escape its clutches.

There is something in this line of argument, of course, but Black simplifies it to the point of silliness. He continually confuses the seriousness of offences with the severity of the sanctions they incur or the likelihood of their leading to prosecution. He confuses differences of wealth with differences in power. He confuses "being cultured" with "being educated". He grabs assertions out of the blue: for example, "Among themselves, organisations and groups are more litigious than individuals, and the more organised

they are, the more litigious they are".

This is a neat idea and if simply saying it was as good as proof, Black could be white. Black's technique of proof is to scatter the good seed of anthropological observation over everything—with a complete disregard for the unevenness of the quality of his sources. He demonstrates that he is, indeed, very widely read, but he is also astonishingly shallow.

The blurb credits one of Black's collaborators with describing the book as a "crashing classic". It is something of a crashing bore as he uses and re-uses the same evidence in slightly different ways and it is perhaps classic in the way it extends from occasional cases to general propositions. Even the anthropology suffers the fault of colonialism as the author regards societies other than the Western as primitive, as earlier stages rather than as alternatives. As for his appreciation of anarchy, it is rudimentary to the point of ridicule.

Does this book have any value? Try this: "Among the most penal (organisations) are those... that embrace their members 24 hours a day, or 'total institutions' (Goffman), such as homes for the aged, concentration camps, ships and monasteries. All are highly centralised, and all have a penal style of social control. The prison is an extreme example, but each total institution is a prison to some degree, with patterns of discipline usually applied only to children and animals (Goffman). Increase the centralisation of decision-making in any organisation... and it becomes more like a prison". On the strength of this the book has little value, though the fact that it was printed suggests the publisher's faith in such as intense thirst for understanding that almost any sort of speculation can make it into print. The book might have achieved something, but its author is too naïve. These days, it is widely claimed by new-found Marxist approaches that the law is little more than a conspiracy on the part of the ruling classes to suppress the working class. Black could have shown that the law survives because, and as long as, it succeeds in doing this while satisfying most of the people most of the time that it protects their interests, whether they coincide with those of the ruling class or not. But for that, he'd have needed a sharper analysis than he can provide.

MARK BEESON  
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## POLICE CAUTIONING IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Home Office Research Study No. 37

J. A. DITCHFIELD

H.M.S.O., 1977. 65p.

IN this short paper, Mr. Ditchfield begins by rightly pointing out that before a decision is taken to caution an offender, the police must be satisfied that: the offence is capable of being proved, the offender admits his guilt, and the complainant does not insist upon a prosecution.

The autonomy of Chief Constables is such that disparities are inevitable and police cautioning has attracted the attention of researchers for a number of years. It is, therefore, appropriate that in the first part of the study, Mr. Ditchfield reviews some of the more important work undertaken. He highlights the fact that the offences most frequently cautioned were shoplifting and minor theft; suggests that in those areas where police cautioning was high, there were fewer absolute or conditional discharges by the Courts; and draws attention to the evergreen criticism that the considerable variation in cautioning rates between police forces was due to the different policies adopted by senior officers.

Juvenile offenders are high on the list of those likely to be cautioned and Mr. Ditchfield devotes Part Two of his work to the effects of the *Children and Young Persons Act 1969*. He examines the growth of police cautioning and there is merit in his claim that the Act, prompted police forces to anticipate the provisions and set up Juvenile Bureaux well before the commencement date. His tables show that, of the offenders cautioned for indictable and non-indictable offences in 1960, 49% were juveniles and that the figure for 1974 was 74%. The number of adults cautioned between 1968 and 1974 remained around 30,000 to 38,000 whereas, during the same period, juveniles receiving a caution rose sharply from 33,000 to 101,000. The number of juveniles found guilty at court increased from 93,000 in 1968 to 111,000 in 1974.

Commenting on the large increase in juvenile cautioning, Mr. Ditchfield raises the question whether the rise represents the actual number of offenders who were diverted from court proceedings or whether it also includes those who would previously have been dealt with informally by on-the-spot warnings or by no further action. The introduction of Juvenile Bureaux and Juvenile Liaison Schemes must surely have prompted more store managers and other complainants to hand over juveniles to the police because they were reasonably sure that first offenders would be cautioned. Previously, they would have been reluctant to do so for fear that the juveniles would be prosecuted.

The variation in police force cautioning rates is another area given considerable attention. Mr. Ditchfield observes that, before 1969, forces in urban districts were less likely to caution juveniles than other forces. Since 1969, a more even pattern of juvenile cautioning has been established but the cautioning of adults remains dependent upon the type of area and the policies of individual forces.

In his conclusions, Mr. Ditchfield discusses the consequences of the 1969 Act, reviews the relationship between cautioning and discharge by the courts, and comments on the possible extension of the cautioning of adults. Such an extension may be a step towards keeping more offenders out of the already overburdened courts and, in some ways, may be in the interests of equitable treatment; but Mr. Ditchfield clearly has reservations about the cost of such a venture.

J. BREWER  
Superintendent  
West Yorkshire Police

## PROBATION JOURNAL

Volume 24 Number 2

National Association

of Probation Officers, 1977. 60p.

THIS edition of *Probation Journal* included a study, by Mark Monger and John Pendleton, of children whose fathers are in prisons. The article shows that many suffer inadequate care, feelings of rejection, and other disturbances. If the children suffered in an obvious way, help was usually provided; but little attention was paid to them otherwise. This is especially noteworthy when combined with the finding that 37 per cent of mothers underwent a definite decline in morals after the children's father was imprisoned. If the findings point to nothing else, they highlight the importance of children being allowed to visit their fathers during imprisonment.

The *Journal* also included an interesting study by Robin Mawby of "Sexual Discrimination and the Law" and articles about groupwork with probationers and hostel provision.

R.E.

**PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIAL WORK**

NOEL AND RITA TIMMS

Routledge &amp; Kegan Paul, 1977.

Paperback £2.50. Hardback £4.95.

Its authors' position ensures that this book bears all the outward signs of academic respectability. It proposes a "critical appraisal of key (social work) concepts"; it boasts a long bibliography; it quotes a lot; and its layout displays objectivity applied with vigour and properly supported by deep scholarship.

*Perspectives in Social Work* can, however, expect criticism. However much it reflects the standards demanded of those in its authors' position it departs from them time and again. For, though they rarely make their attitude plain, they use remarks, asides and odd turns of phrase, to condemn, in effect, a whole social work tradition. "We do not underestimate", they say, "the problems our approach may pose to those reared on a diet of Biesteck (1957) marinated in diluted Freud": whatever Biesteck (1957) may be, it, its admirers and its offspring are dismissed by the Timms's with contempt.

Such an attitude is certain, of course, to excite opposition. However, among those who work in a residential setting, it is almost certain to gain a sympathetic response. Early on, the authors declare: "Residential social work cannot become too precious because of the social worker's involvement with a resident's daily life", and this cannot be disputed. Indeed, the criticism frequently advanced by other staff against prison welfare departments that the commitment to treatment, casework and psychotherapy prevents their meeting prisoners' real needs exemplifies the point exactly.

It would be wrong, however, to identify the interest of the book as merely confirming or refuting its readers' prejudices or beliefs. Its value lies in its obvious desire to root social work in reality rather than in ingenious speculation. So, its authors advocate the application of proper research to social work, the rigorous analysis of the concepts it contains, and the rejection of casework in favour of the reality of the client's existence.

All this, of course, makes excellent sense. Despite its worth, however, the book contains disappointments. Its style is often confused and unclear and, by ostensibly adhering to its original intention, its underlying thesis is badly obscured. Not that this is, in a sense, wrong; but it certainly encourages the hope that one day the Timms's will abandon their pedagogic even-handedness and reticence. For were they to stop discussing the shibboleths of social work and to set about happily destroying them, they would write a book which would be not only more entertaining but more valuable in the end.

D. A. BRATTON  
Assistant Governor  
Pentonville Prison

**"UNRULY" CHILDREN IN A HUMAN CONTEXT: types, costs and effects of security**

REPORT OF A HOWARD LEAGUE WORKING PARTY

Barry Rose, 1977. £1.20.

This report has been produced in response to the recent building of secure places for children within the community home system. The programme was instituted as a result of pressure from magistrates, police and others in the face of the apparent rise in juvenile criminality and a feeling of helplessness on the part of those concerned with containing troublesome youngsters. This pressure has grown since the passing of the 1969 Children's and Young Persons Act.

It is worth noting, however, that the behaviour which has given rise to concern was evident for many years before 1969. Then, there was little demand for secure accommodation.

The Howard League are concerned that this programme will create several hundred secure places which, when built, will be used whatever the real need for them is. In this report they point out that little has been done to clarify the concept of security, to examine the different forms it may take, and to identify in any detail the number of children who should be contained in secure conditions at any given time. It is therefore vital, they suggest, to analyse the purpose and nature of secure accommodation before making any wholesale commitment of resources. Accordingly, the report sets out to clarify aspects of the concept of security and the main types of secure accommodation, to consider the justifications currently being put forward for placing children in security and to indicate the objectives which may be aimed at in secure accommodation. In addition, they propose criteria which should be met before children can be placed in a secure unit and procedures for reviewing the placement regularly.

The report itself is quite short, but it does achieve its aims remarkably well. It gives a very clear analysis of the issue of security for children. It makes a good case for the need for clear statements of objectives, for better estimates of numbers and costs, and for a constant attempt to use non-institutional methods to relieve the pressure on secure establishments. It points out the ineffectiveness of security in modifying delinquent behaviour and is convincing on the question of the amount of accommodation needed. The need for such places, while clear in a number of cases, is far less than official estimates.

The child care system enjoys a great degree of discretion in the way it provides for children in its care. In this respect it is quite different from the prison system. The report will, however, be of interest to some members of the Prison Service, for it represents current resistance in another field to developments which are understandably perceived to represent a threat to the freedom to act in what is judged to be the best interests of clients.

M. D. MILAN  
Social Work Service Officer  
DHSS

**AN OPEN CASE  
The Organisational Context of Social Work**

JOYCE WARHAM

Routledge &amp; Kegan Paul, 1977.

Paperback £2.25. Hardback £4.50.

MISS WARHAM'S open-ended approach to the study of social work organizations is stimulating and her arguments convincing. She suggests that social work roles should be regarded as three-dimensional: professional, organizational and, in the broadest sense, political. She usefully examines the impact of the agency on the social worker and on the use of skills and on social work generally, arguing that the idea of the totally independent social worker is a myth in modern social work organizations. Similarly, the independent, self-contained, self-supporting social work agency is likewise a myth. She points out that the development of social work is inextricably linked with the development of social policy, and that the administration of statutory social services is a process in which the "public" as well as the "professional" element must constitute a point of reference.

The thorny concept of professionalization is

dealt with competently but briefly. Miss Warham recognises that social workers are perennially concerned about their own professional identity. She is, however, undoubtedly correct when she says: "... no definition of a profession should be taken at its face value. We need to examine the purposes for which it was constructed and the purposes for which we ourselves are using it. No definition can be adequately interpreted out of context; and the contexts in which definitions are developed and used are neither uniform nor static". We need, therefore, to discriminate between those aspects of professionalization which it is considered desirable to protect and if possible to develop, and those which should be held in check.

Her analysis of organizations is valuable; she highlights some of the shortcomings of the "ideal type" model of bureaucracy, and presents organizations as open systems. She also examines the formal and informal systems which co-exist within organizations and emphasises the importance of the informal elements.

The final chapter draws the threads of her arguments together and applies them to social work in organizations, specifically social service departments. She looks at the possible sources of tension between professional and organizational demands and the implications for both social workers and management. She comments perceptively that both administrators and social workers are employees of an organization, although they occupy different roles and positions. From this, she argues that social workers can also influence organizations and are not as powerless as they may sometimes feel.

Those working in the Prison Service will find much to interest them in this book. Traditionally, prisons have been studied in isolation from the rest of society. Clearly, the relationships between prison, society and political institutions are crucial. For, as J. E. Thomas (author of *The English Prison Officer Since 1850*) points out, it is society which decides the primary task of the prison and this in turn determines the organizational structure, staff roles and the organization's *raison d'être*.

N. A. G.  
Probation Officer

**CHILD OF A SYSTEM**

NOELE ARDEN

Quartet Books, 1977. £3.95.

NOELE ARDEN spent most of her early life in institutions. From before she was two years old till her release from Rampton at the age of twenty-five, she had been in "care". The point of her reminiscences is that "care" was far from "caring". This is a story of misunderstanding, neglect and ill-treatment made all the more poignant by the fact that the author was not criminal, not mad and not defective; just a nuisance for society to look after.

The book might encourage readers who work in "the system" to look critically at it. Although some things have changed in the past 20 years, similar accounts of injustice could be written by inmates in today's institutions. For prison staff, Jimmy Boyle's recent book (reviewed above) about prison life will have more immediate relevance, but Noele Arden's story will nicely point up the dilemma of surviving in institutions: whether to conform and go unnoticed or to rebel and risk retaliation by those who are supposed to care.

R. E.

**PAROLE, THE CASE FOR CHANGE**National Association for the Care  
and Resettlement of Offenders

Barry Rose, 1977. £1.00.

AFTER reading the 40-page pamphlet by members of NACRO on the present parole system and possible changes in its structure, I felt that it was not the best value for money as most of the information that it contains is already available in greater depth elsewhere.

The pamphlet contains two parts, an introduction by Mr. Nicholas Hinton, Director of NACRO, and an appendix which reproduces the criteria laid down in December 1975 for the guidance of Local Review Committees.

Part One of the pamphlet is given over to the cold factual information covering the conception of the parole system back in 1958 and brings readers up-to-date with the system (or at least up to the end of 1975). Stephanie Mackay, who is responsible for this particular section, has no real chance to bring the facts and figures to life but presents them in a methodical and well-written manner which describes the workings of the Parole Board since it was introduced in the *Criminal Justice Act 1967*.

In Part Two, Paul Cavadino spends so much time quoting from different authorities on the subject of parole that it was with some relief that I found the alternative ideas starting to emerge midway through this section. He covers points about the parole system that have been causing concern to people inside and outside the penal field for a long time. These include the unsettled period that the inmate and his family suffer whilst he is being considered for parole and the fact that no inmate is given a reason for not being selected. He then discusses ideas for change, like those of Dr. Roger Hood, Reader in Criminology at Oxford. Dr. Hood suggests that a new look be taken at the parole system: inmates serving less than 3 to 4 years could be given automatic release when they had completed one-third of this sentence the remainder to be under supervision. Anyone serving over 3 to 4 years would be subject to a guideline from the courts stating how long they should serve before release. Dr. Hood's ideas are discussed in a very efficient way. If Mr. Cavadino had concentrated earlier in this manner the pamphlet would have had a better impact than it has in its present format.

LES SHIRES  
Training Officer  
Liverpool Prison

**COMMUNITY SERVICE  
ASSESSED IN 1976**K. PEASE, S. BILLINGHAM  
AND I. EARNSHAWHome Office Research Unit Report No. 39  
H.M.S.O., 1977. 75p.

COMMUNITY Service Orders were introduced as "an experiment" in six probation areas, following the *Criminal Justice Act 1972* with a view to their becoming available to courts throughout England and Wales. They are now, of course, quite widely used. This short report—a half-hour read—follows on from "Report" No. 29 and looks at the consequences of the introduction of the new penalty. Apart from the two difficulties that the scheme was not really "an experiment", but a headlong rush to "try something out" and that no-one can guess from earlier evidence how the scheme is working now, the authors have been ingenious in trying to assess an almost impossible mess. As far as it is possible to tell, the early C.S.O.s did not lead to lower reconviction rates than

alternative penalties and nor did they lead to less serious offences subsequently. On the other hand, it looks as if half of those who got C.S.O.s would otherwise have got custodial sentences.

Unfortunately, the research never had the scope to test some of the other important, if pious, hopes behind the introduction of the C.S.O.: the extent to which the community received reparation, the gain from bringing offenders into contact with those in need of help and support, the financial and other savings from not using custodial penalties and, finally, the benefit to the community of retaining offenders in their midst. More important, perhaps, it had no scope to examine any hints about those for whom the C.S.O. might be suitable and those for whom it might not, though it does, in passing, show that magistrates and probation officers were in some disagreement on the subject.

This report is yet another in the remorseless hail of blows to which the optimistic penologist has long become accustomed, though it does fuel the fires of those who argue that non-custodial penalties could be more widely used without disadvantage.

M. B.

**PROBATION, PAROLE  
& COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS**  
(2nd Edition)R. CARTER AND L. WILKINS  
Wiley, 1976. £10.60.

IN THE Prison Service, where books of 400 pages are commonly assessed on their value as door-stops, this volume, which is at least twice that size, might be considered an unpopular choice for off-duty reading. In fact, this second edition, which adds 35 papers to the 1970 volume, is an interesting and practical introduction to the subject of penology and contains an easily read, if sometimes repetitive, selection of articles.

The contributions are contained in eight sections, covering rehabilitation, probation, parole, supervision, community-based corrections, legal aspects, "organization, administration and personnel" and research. Whilst there is no section devoted specifically to the prison system, a number of the issues raised about parole and alternatives to imprisonment, for example, are clearly relevant. In addition, the first section, where the aims of sentencing policy and the reality of rehabilitation are discussed forcefully by a number of commentators, including Martinson and Morris & Hawkins, is of particular relevance to the modern Prison Service: in the second section, the debate over the function of probation, as treatment or control, covers parallel ground.

Certainly the volume is a useful resource although far from comprehensive. There are at least two reasons for this. First, the editors indulge in mutual nepotism—eight articles are attributed to one or other of them, which is four too many. Secondly, the volume is explicitly devoted to the American situation. Given the considerable differences, in terms of prison organization, probation and parole practices, it is regrettable that the reader has to be careful that the subject matter is transferable to the British context. For this reason, if no other, this is a volume for reference, not a book at bedtime.

R. MAWBY  
University of Bradford  
Formerly Liaison and Advisory Officer to the  
Prison Service College, Wakefield.

**BEHAVIOUR AND MISBEHAVIOUR—  
EXPLANATIONS AND NON-  
EXPLANATIONS**

NIGEL WALKER

Basil Blackwell, 1977. £5.00.

AS THE introduction to Nigel Walker's book says: "In general, the book is critical of the orthodox positivist approach to the explanation of human behaviour, but is equally critical of the alternatives to positivism: it presents a more sophisticated positivism". Suffice it to say that this is not an introduction to explanations of human behaviour and misbehaviour themselves. It takes a rather reflective and philosophical look at the nature of what such explanations consist of. The book is both eminently readable and cogently argued. Walker feels that, apart from satisfying the questioner, an explanation can only be satisfactory itself if it meets certain minimal objective tests. He points out that many so-called explanations are incomplete, false or not even explanations at all.

He suggests that those in the field of the social sciences are too anxious in attempting to impose rigorous scientific standards on their studies when not even the pure scientist has been able to impose such standards of certainty. If the pure scientist may only be able to say that an explanation was inevitable or highly probable, all the social scientist may often be able to say is that an explanation is not impossible. Moreover, explanations that predict behaviour with high probability are normally more relevant to the study of normal behaviour rather than abnormal behaviour: the expected rather than the unexpected.

Instead, he suggests that social scientists should look more carefully at the use of analogy in their studies instead of attempting to make the human behaviour they find fit pre-determined models. Walker is not asking for abandonment of the scientific approach to the study of human behaviour, but he wants to see a greater realization of the limitations of explanations that say that certain behaviour is highly probable. There should thus be less misplaced optimism that the causes of misbehaviour can be tackled at source and thus solved. Theories such as the one popular a few years ago linking poor housing and delinquency—which could therefore be dealt with by the straightforward method of improving housing standards.

Finally, Walker demolishes (if this still needs to be done) the reasoning of those criminologists, who in the past had put forward their own all-embracing general explanations of crime and delinquency: the idea that one single theory could be the key to explaining all delinquency.

This book should be compulsory reading for all those who seek to give us further explanations of our own human behaviour. They need be reminded in the first place of the necessity of asking the question, "what precisely is the nature of what I am trying to explain?"

COLIN LAMBERT  
Deputy Governor  
Northeye Prison

**THE AMERICAN PRISON BUSINESS**

JESSICA MITFORD

Penguin, 1977. £1.00.

*The American Prison Business* has been issued in paperback since it was first reviewed in the *Prison Service Journal* (number 21, page 16). If Jessica Mitford's aim in writing the book was to produce a readable horror story, then she must rate some success.

A more complete, and appropriate, title for the book would have been "An Attack on the American Prison Business". In the early chapters, Miss Mitford makes plain her mistrust



of prison staff, suggesting that the work attracts a sadistic type of person who enjoys wielding power over the powerless. Prison is likened to a game of *Monopoly* in which the players are not made aware of the rules.

Two chapters, "Clockwork Orange" and "Cheaper than Chimpanzees", are particularly disturbing. Psychiatric experiments in American institutions, including sensory deprivation and neuro-surgery, are said to resemble brain-washing techniques while medical research is unfavourably compared to the sort of experimentation which went on in the Nazi concentration camps. The issue of large pharmaceutical companies using the inmate population as guinea pigs in experiments with new drugs (see *Prison Service Journal* number 21, pages 16 and 17, and number 25, page 24) is highlighted by Miss Mitford. If the situation is as described, she has most certainly done a service to American society.

Miss Mitford has undoubtedly put much effort into her investigation of the U.S. prison system. Much of the impact of her book is lost, however, because of her failure to present a balanced view and to represent the many humane and dedicated administrators who must work in the American prison service.

D. WILLIAMS  
Principal Officer  
Officers' Training School  
Wakefield

else, and the hell of serving a sentence was, and possibly is, matched by that of working there. What comment can be made on an administration that dealt with disciplinary reports for prison officers on the scale: 137 cases in three months during 1975 of which 58 were suspended? (This does not include 37 officers with "terribly unsatisfactory attendance records" and 103 with unexcused absences and lateness.)

It would merely be smug to say that we manage things better here but, for learning purposes, the conditions and penal philosophy are so different that little useful comparison can be made. One fact does emerge; whatever the treatment methods, without a soundly based structure and management skills, disasters can happen and frequently did at Stateville. Every method was tried and each, by Mr. Jacobs' account, failed miserably. Of the latest, that of intrusion by the legal system with its proliferation of law suits in the "rational-legal bureaucratic model", he states: "Whether rational administration and responsive grievance mechanisms will be sufficient to meet the press of inmate demands is a serious issue to be faced in the future".

There is however one statement we should note which does have future applicability here. Mr. Jacobs states: "Black consciousness and the political ramifications of incarceration have become salient issues". One articulate white inmate has said: "Although the benefits to the inmate are increasing daily, they are becoming increasingly more resistant and unresponsive to the enticement of the administration. Clear and simply, emerges the fact that the new inmates, especially the militant blacks, are no longer interested in the reform policies of the administration, because they symbolise the White Society that is oppressing them . . .".

M. F. G. SELBY  
Governor  
Brixton Prison

service. Thus, the more money one had on admission the longer it was possible to remain in the most comfortable part in which friends could be entertained or whores brought in for company. As the money began running out the prisoner would be moved to less comfortable surroundings. When all the money had gone, the prisoner found himself in the "Hole", where death from starvation was not unknown. The author's conclusion, that most of the abuses within the Elizabethan penal system were due mainly to the poor pay the staff received, seems to be oversimplified. It was probably a combination of factors, including the amount of power the staff had and the indifference of those in positions of authority. The other chapter investigates the establishment of the Houses of Correction. At its inception, Bridewell, despite the harsh conditions and corruption, was regarded as a pioneering institution. Inmates were to be allocated constructive work and be under the supervision of craftsmen, in the hope that they could be made into better citizens. An Act of 1576 authorised counties to build houses of correction on the model of Bridewell. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign they were, in fact, little more than gaols: that they failed to "correct" inmates is evident, and it would have been pertinent to have discussed this important point.

These chapters are a useful and informative introduction to our penal system, as indeed the book as a whole is a worthwhile introduction to the criminal underworld. Professor Salgado has produced an entertaining and educative book which is lucidly written. It should be of benefit not only to those interested in the history of crime and the origins of our penal system, but to anybody who enjoys reading a good book.

MARTIN BAGGOLEY  
Probation Officer  
Manchester

## STATEVILLE, The Penitentiary in Mass Society

JAMES B. JACOBS

The University of Chicago Press, 1977.  
£9.40.

STATEVILLE is an enormous prison in the State of Illinois and was built in the early part of the 20th century to replace Joliet Prison (built in 1866). The picture of this vast prison with its four circular houses built on the panopticon design of Jeremy Bentham fills one with dread; the book exceeds one's forebodings.

Mr. Jacobs, following the work of Clemmer and Sykes, observes the prison society but attempts also to describe it in its relationship with outside society. Between 1925 and 1975, Stateville passed through four distinct phases—"anarchy, charismatic dominance, drift and crisis"—and Mr. Jacobs describes these in ever increasing detail, especially when he was a participant observer. In a long appendix he describes the difficulty of this role and his inability to maintain a neutral attitude. This is by far the most interesting and significant part of the book and explains much of the disquiet I felt whilst reading it. This arose from Mr. Jacobs' ambivalence towards all with whom he came in contact, especially authority figures. One example refers to the work of the strong disciplinarian of whom he disapproves: "Ragen was not without outstanding examples of reformed ex-offenders to 'prove' the success of his system". Notice the double negative, the snide use of quotation marks, yet his honesty in including this statement.

Yet, despite repetition—many events are referred to again and again but never satisfactorily developed—this book gives a fascinating history of an institution over a long period of time reacting to, and reflecting, the changing world outside; the result is horrifying. Stateville was spared political interference, but nothing

## THE ELIZABETHAN UNDERWORLD

GAMINI SALGADO

Dent, 1977. £5.50.

TUDOR England was a land of great economic, social and religious upheaval. The agricultural revolution had catastrophic effects on the small farmers and, during the sixteenth century, the English Church drew away from Rome. These factors created massive unemployment amongst those who had depended upon the monasteries for their livelihood, and amongst the peasant farmers. At the same time, there were many discharged soldiers, with little likelihood of finding work, but well trained in the use of arms.

That the paupers turned to crime in many cases, is the basic theory of this book. Professor Salgado skilfully explains how these interacting socio-economic factors influenced the criminal activity of the day, and how the underworld developed as a new social phenomenon. It posed a real threat, quite simply because the criminals were better organised than the forces of law and order.

Two excellent chapters describe the Elizabethan penal system. One discusses the eighteen gaols already existing in London, which were places of extortion and corruption on the largest scale. They were not meant to be a form of punishment, but holding-places for those awaiting trial, debts to be settled, or execution. Conditions between prisons varied little but, within each, a prisoner's food and conditions depended totally on how much money he possessed. Gaolers expected payment for every

## THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACTS 1974 AND 1976

CATHERINE SCORER

National Council for Civil Liberties, 1977.

THE *Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1974*, was introduced after the public outcry which followed two bomb explosions in Birmingham pubs. The *Act* contained three sections: the proscription of certain organizations, the exclusion from Great Britain of suspected terrorists, and the extension of police powers to hold for questioning any person suspected of connection with terrorism. Whilst the National Council for Civil Liberties has consistently opposed terrorism, they also opposed emergency legislation designed to counter terrorism on the grounds that it does not work and can create and feed the conflict from which the terrorist emerges. Despite a careful monitoring of the implementation of the *Act* and considerable lobbying of Members of Parliament, their opposition failed and a strengthened *Prevention of Terrorism Act* was passed in 1976.

This booklet presents the arguments for and against the main clauses in the *Act* and gives an account of the comparatively few occasions on which the special powers sanctioned by it have been used, drawing particular attention to the very small percentage of convictions which have resulted from arrests under the *Act*. The NCCL are particularly concerned about the possibility of almost automatic renewal of the 1976 *Act* and Catherine Scorer suggests that it be allowed to lapse after 12 months. Fresh legislation can be introduced if it proves necessary.

R. M.

# PRISON PRE-NATIONALISATION

## A STUDY OF BEDFORD PRISON 1660 - 1877

ERIC STOCKDALE

Phillimore, 1977. £6.25.

ON a dark January evening in 1974 an officer on patrol discovered two mysterious figures in a little-used passage near the centre of Bedford prison. The Governor was being introduced to parts of his establishment by a Circuit Judge. Judge Eric Stockdale was then working on his study of Bedford prison. He was soon to write an invaluable chapter for the prison handbook then in course of preparation. This must have whetted appetites for the book which has been happily timed for the centenary of the nationalisation of prisons.

Eric Stockdale begins his study in the year in which John Bunyan first entered Bedford prison. This was the old jail in Silver Street flanked by the Chequers and the Bull inns. In 1773, John Howard was High Sheriff of Bedfordshire and so appalled was he by the conditions in this prison that he began his investigations which led to his travels and writings described by the author as "the greatest one-man achievement in the history of penal reform". There was little improvement in Bedford in Howard's lifetime but in 1801 the new prison was built. The elegant building is still there, forming the front part of the larger addition of the 1840's. It will be no surprise to those familiar with the problems of prison planning to learn that the new prison soon proved to be too small and, when added to, was so large that some cells were occupied by prisoners from Middlesex and elsewhere.

Two statues adorn the town of Bedford: John Bunyan stands by St. Peter's Green; John Howard in St. Paul's Square. There is no memorial to Samuel Whitbread, Howard's cousin, who was M.P. for Bedford from 1790 to 1815. He, too, became involved in penal reform and was much concerned with the building of the new jail and its furnishing. The old prison was demolished and the site (still an open space) was given to the town by Whitbread. For twenty years after Whitbread's death, the Visiting Magistrate, Rev. Dr. Philip Hunt, was closely involved in the life of Bedford prison and Eric Stockdale devotes two chapters to this remarkable man. Lord John Russell (is it more than coincidence that members of the British Society of Criminology adjourn from their meetings to the pub in Bloomsbury named after him?), son of the Duke of Bedford, had a great effect on the prison during his years as Home Secretary.

Important as these people were in the life of the prison, there were many others: magistrates, chaplains, surgeons, jailers and prisoners are vividly described in this fascinating book. The jailer, Charles Foster, who disappeared when the accounts were queried, and Governor Roberts, who did so much to stimulate prison industries, are not easily forgotten.

For some years, Eric Stockdale sat at Bedford Quarter Sessions as Deputy Recorder. He became interested in the history of the prison and has since given time in a very busy life to much detailed research which has resulted in this book. He surveys every aspect of the life of Bedford prison drawing on accounts, letters and official documents. It is extremely well done

and very readable. In less than 250 pages, we have a social history reaching far beyond Bedford. There is much useful information about transportation and the growth of national penal policy. The inclusion of careful references, plans of Bedford and the prison, and a comprehensive index enhance the value. It gives me real pleasure to recommend this book and I hope that it will be read by the many people who take an interest in Bedford prison.

DERMOT GRUBB  
Governor

Bristol Prison

(Governor of Bedford Prison, 1973 - 1976)

\* \* \*

I AM honoured to have been asked to review Judge Eric Stockdale's book *A Study of Bedford Prison 1660 - 1877*. I prefer to regard these few words of mine not as a critique but more as a tribute to a remarkable piece of research which (after the many painstaking hours it must have taken to complete), has resulted in the publication of a significant contribution to our social and penal history.

The presentation is admirable; the style flows easily and a sharp but sensitive wit is apparent on every page. The portrayal of the "giants" of yesteryear—Bunyan, Howard, Samuel Whitbread, Phillip Hunt and Lord John Russell—reveals the humanity, the single-mindedness and the compassion of men who moulded history, and whose example, words and works had a tremendous impact on contemporary life, and an even greater influence on the slowly developing pattern of reform. Against the exertions and persistence of those men we see religious intolerance and bigotry, the constraints of political activity and the economic climate, and a generally ill-formed and confused penal philosophy (not uncommon in the present age). How apt is the quote from George Ives: "And so more 'philanthropists' of various grades and professions continued shutting people up, starving them in body, mind and soul, and expecting reformation to arise out of the cell. And the world waited a generation or so with all the patience and insight of a deluded fowl that vainly warms and tries to hatch an artificial egg".

The lesser characters: justices, chaplains, jailers, architects are seen as men of some stature, subject to their own foibles and frailty, often struggling with their own consciences, usually attempting to serve the fluctuating demands of society, and yet striving to improve the quality of life for those incarcerated (however unorthodox some of their methods). The setbacks, changes and even reversals of policy, the conflicting views on penal practice and treatment, highlight the ever-problematic issues of what society does with, or should provide for, its outcasts, its human derelicts and its persistent offenders.

Some of those offenders too are portrayed as highly colourful characters whose excesses and inadequacies are seen only too plainly; the Aman-Bland family whose separate and concerted activities ranged from arson to incest, stealing to sacrilege, "conning" to counter-

feiting, certainly led the authorities within and without prison a merry dance; the Hunt brothers whose seditious libel of that Prince of Wales resulted in their imprisonment in 1812; the Reverend Edward Drax Free, "who in 1823 was accused by his own churchwardens of drunkenness, swindling, shoplifting, selling the lead of the Church roof, pasturing cattle and horses in the churchyard and of having three illegitimate children"; also briefly mentioned is Sarah Daizley whose husband-poisoning ventures were finally terminated with her public execution in 1843.

The jailers (most of whom seem to have died in office), include "the delightfully-named Chambers Potter" (House of Correction, c. 1740); John Moore Howard, dismissed for the profitable but unacceptable custom of using the prison and prisoners for his personal benefit; and Robert Evan Roberts, who, at the age of 67 and after a total of 32 years' unbroken and dedicated service, incurred the wrath of the Home Office by his refusal to accept a transfer to York Prison in 1885. Roberts, described as "the most competent jailer", had indeed paid a high price for his professionalism, his hard work and his perseverance: within his first four years of office his family had suffered grave illness, and three of his children had died because of the condition of the Governor's House. (The present incumbent is hardly encouraged, and views his own tenancy and the conditions of the modern environment with some misgiving).

The Planning and Architecture of Prison Building is dealt with fully and reveals a great deal about the ambivalent theories on prison life and the competence of many who were responsible for such a weighty task. The architect, John Elmes, who subscribed avidly to Howard's philosophy and who deprecated the "ancient and ruinous errors" of other designers, himself omitted cell windows from his plans for the new House of Correction—and the builder followed the blueprint. Economic constraint and respect for the public purse often determined the end-product as far as design and philosophy were concerned; and reference to the problems of overcrowding, staff recruitment, work and privilege for prisoners, are reminiscent of the kind of meetings that still take place in many a Governor's office today.

The immediate effects of transportation to the Americas and Australasia are vividly described: the hardship, the despair and the desolation of those who journeyed thence, and the joy of those few who eventually made good. Even more significant was the end of transportation, the continuing use of the abominable "Prison Hulks", and the building of the penitentiaries—Millbank, Pentonville, Parkhurst, Portland and Dartmoor—all of which (except Millbank) are still with us and in full use today.

Judge Stockdale's book is a sensitive account of people, politics and penology. It explodes certain myths and makes good some of the omissions that have hitherto existed in the rather sketchy history of this period as far as Bedford and its place within the national scene are concerned.

It is most fitting that this book has been published in this particular year—three centuries after Bunyan, exactly two centuries after Howard's book *The State of the Prisons*, and exactly one century after the "nationalisation" of the prison system. It is a book about many people who cared—not necessarily in a sentimental way, not essentially in an academic way—but cared about their fellows and about the society in which they all played a part. It is an important study written by a man who also cares, and who has given us an intrinsically excellent and comprehensive work of reference.

I can do no more than quote from Lord Denning's Foreword: "it deserves to be read, not only by criminologists, penologists and historians, but also by ordinary folk who like... a good, true story".

D. J. THOMPSON  
Governor  
Bedford Prison

**THE GROWTH OF CRIME**  
**SIR LEON RADZINOWICZ AND JOAN KING**  
**Hamish Hamilton, 1977. £6.95.**

If you are professionally concerned with delinquency and know little or nothing of criminology and its history, then read this book: if you are a criminologist, or have studied criminology in any depth, do not bother. The foreword tells us: "This book is not written for the specialist. It is intended for the much wider circle of people who would like to know more about crime and who may find, in this broader picture, a stimulus to further reflection". I doubt that this wider audience exists. Either you have an interest in crime as a specialist, or you limit yourself to newspaper reports, TV documentaries and *The Sweeney*. I cannot believe that anyone seeking the "broader picture" will pick up a book of 329 pages to satisfy his general curiosity. That is a pity, because the book is well pitched for this unlikely circle of readers.

The book is in five parts with two chapters comprising each part, and a final chapter of summary. The subject divisions are logical and helpful and contribute to the ease with which the book may be read. I found part IV, "Enforcing the Law" particularly good value. It examines the role of the police, and of those who sentence, and the authors venture some subjective debate, almost thinking aloud. For me, this perked the book up in a way that the more descriptive, historical perspective elsewhere failed to.

Are there any irritants to distract you? Yes, two come at once to mind. First, the book is sub-titled "The International Experience", but understandably it draws mainly on Western European and North American experience, and in particular it seems almost to have been written with an eye to the U.S. market. Secondly, and more irritating, you will be hard put to discover which bits Radzinowicz wrote, which Joan King, and which jointly. This would not much matter if it were not for the frequent use of the personal pronoun: "I am often asked what is going on in China", "I would suggest the following . . .". You will lose concentration trying to guess whether Radzinowicz or King was approached by a Mafia leader in America, or argued with a South American police chief, and you will be annoyed because you cannot check your answer (my guess is that "I" is always Radzinowicz).

I cannot help comparing this book with Professor Walker's *Crime and Punishment in Britain* and, if it is a fair comparison, I prefer the latter. Even so, if you want to know more about criminology today, and a good deal more about criminology yesterday and the day before, this is a book well worth obtaining: it may annoy you, stimulate you, or even amuse you, but you will keep reading to the last page.

DAI CURTIS  
 Assistant Governor  
 Officers' Training School  
 Wakefield

**PUBLISHING ERROR**

P.S.J. Number 27 (July 1977) contained a joint review of *Of No Fixed Abode* by John Stewart and *Vagrant Alcoholics* by Tim Cook.

Unfortunately, the publishers of these books were transposed in the title and it should have read:

OF NO FIXED ABODE published by Manchester University Press. VAGRANT ALCOHOLICS published by Routledge and Kegan Paul.

We apologize for any inconvenience caused.

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